Original Article

Lifestyle politics and the concept of political participation

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Abstract   Van Deth's comprehensive 'conceptual map of political participation' has reinstated a lively debate about the concept of political participation, and provides some compelling solutions to it. However, an important question that has been raised is whether van Deth's map actually achieves its main goal of unambiguously identifying and classifying emerging, complex types of participation, like online political activism – or lifestyle politics. To contribute to this debate, this article aims to evaluate the usefulness of van Deth's approach for the analysis of lifestyle politics. Such an evaluation requires a clear classification of lifestyle politics. This, however, is still missing from the literature. The second aim of this article, therefore, is to identify and classify different types of lifestyle politics. On the basis of a literature review, this article argues that lifestyle politics are often enacted throughout different private, public and institutional arenas, and that they are often targeted at various social, economic and political actors at once. Applying van Deth's conceptual map to these empirical realities, then, suggests that it cannot always account for their complexity sufficiently. Therefore, this article proposes a modification of van Deth's framework that increases its usefulness for analyzing emerging, complex political participation repertoires.
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Introduction

On 20 April 2008, about 80 000 cyclists occupied the streets of Budapest to demand a more bicycle-friendly infrastructure, staging the largest action ever conducted under the banner of the *Critical Mass Movement* (CMM) (Furness, 2010). The CMM is a worldwide grassroots movement committed to demand a better bicycling infrastructure by gathering in large groups of cyclists who occupy a city's streets, thereby blocking car traffic and claiming attention for their demands. The CMM's activists

are driven by a clear environmental motivation: they want to promote green modes of transportation like cycling to advance a more environmentally friendly lifestyle (Furness, 2010). However, because they believe that the urban infrastructure presents an important obstruction to such modes of transportation, CMM participants demand that governments act to alter cities' infrastructure in order to support those environmentally conscious lifestyle choices. In this fashion, the CMM presents an interesting case of emerging political repertoires that typically interact throughout various private and public arenas, integrating multiple political action forms and drawing on more traditional, state-oriented political participation, as well as recently emerging 'lifestyle politics'.

The complexity that characterizes emerging political participation repertoires such as that of the CMM has inspired recent debates about the concept of political participation (for example, Brady, 1998; van Deth, 2011). Traditional conceptualizations have often covered only political activities aimed at selecting and affecting government personnel (for example, Verba and Nie, 1972; Verba *et al*, 1995). However, more recent studies have observed that with the diffusion of political power, the targets and tactics of political participation have diversified as well (Norris, 2002; Van Dyke *et al*, 2004; della Porta, 2013; Fox, 2014). Political activities, like those of the CMM, are increasingly used across different private and public arenas, often targeting various social, economic and political actors at the same time (Micheletti, 2003; Forno and Graziano, 2014). In line with these observations, various authors have argued that our concept of political participation should be redefined so as to incorporate this growing complexity (Norris, 2002; Fox, 2014).

One of the most recent and most comprehensive attempts to provide such a reconceptualization is van Deth's (2014) *Conceptual Map of Political Participation*. Looking at the different loci and targets of action, van Deth identifies four categories of political participation. These include institutional forms of participation, extra-institutional state-oriented forms of participation, extra-institutional non-state oriented forms of participation and non-political activities that are used to express political views. Although van Deth's conceptualization certainly helps to broaden traditional concepts of political participation, it remains to be evaluated how useful it is for systematically identifying and classifying the complex subject it sets out to grasp. For instance, Hosch-Dayican's (2014) application of van Deth's framework to the field of online activism has already indicated that complex political repertoires often do not fit the strict categories proposed in his model. Expanding on Hosch-Dayican's review, then, the first goal of this article is to further evaluate the usefulness of van Deth's framework for the analysis of another field of action that is typically associated with the ongoing expansion of complex political repertoires: *lifestyle politics* (Giddens, 1991; Bennett, 1998, 2012; Micheletti and Stolle, 2011).

Such an evaluation requires a clear notion and a systematic classification of the forms of action lifestyle politics refers to. As will be discussed below, lifestyle politics are used to describe a large variety of activities. Lifestyle politics are

activities that advance social change by fostering politically inspired lifestyle choices (like in the case of the CMM's advancement of ecological modes of transportation), and as such, they may include various actions carried out within (and beyond) the numerous dimension of everyday life, with different levels of organization, and following very distinct strategic logics (Giddens, 1991; Bennett, 1998; Wahlen and Laamanen, 2015). Considering this diversity, a systematic classification of those action forms is necessary to clarify what types of action lifestyle politics may exactly refer to, and to assess to what extent van Deth's conceptual map can determine whether these types of action can be considered political participation, and if so, what kind of it. However, while some overviews of the literature on lifestyle politics have recently been published (Haenfler *et al*, 2012; Forno and Graziano, 2014; Wahlen and Laamanen, 2015), a systematic classification of different types of lifestyle politics has not yet been provided in the literature. The second goal of this article, therefore, is to provide this classification. Doing so will allow to assess the usefulness of van Deth's framework in the field of lifestyle politics, and will moreover provide the growing literature on lifestyle politics with sharper definitions of the related but distinct types of action it describes.

In what follows, I will subsequently address the two main goals of this article. First, I will provide an overview and classification of different types of lifestyle politics. Building on the latter, I will then evaluate the usefulness of van Deth's reconceptualization of political participation in the field of lifestyle politics. I will then propose possible adjustments to his framework, which have benefits beyond the field of lifestyle politics as well. I will conclude by engaging with previous reviews of van Deth's conceptual map provided by Hosch-Dayican (2014), Hooghe (2014) and Theocharis (2015).

Classifying Lifestyle Politics

Lifestyle politics refers to the politicization of everyday life choices, including ethically, morally or politically inspired decisions about, for example, consumption, transportation or modes of living (Giddens, 1991; Bennett, 1998; Micheletti, 2003).[1] Lifestyle politics derives from a realization that one's everyday decisions have global implications, and that global considerations should therefore affect lifestyle choices (Giddens, 1991). This idea is often covered in popular proverbs like 'think global, act local', and Gandhi's 'be the change you want to see in the world'. For instance, environmental lifestyle politics build on the premise that 'reversing the degradation of the environment depends upon adopting new lifestyle patters (…) [as b]y far the greatest amount of ecological damage derives from the modes of life followed in the modernized sectors of world society' (Giddens, 1991, p. 221). Other moral or political considerations, such as animal welfare or ethical modes of production, are linked to lifestyle choices in a similar way (Micheletti and Stolle, 2011; Balsiger, 2014).

They all use private life decisions for the allocation of values and resources for public matters and common causes, which, according to Micheletti and Stolle (2011), is what makes them political. What sets apart lifestyle politics from other types of lifestyle choices, then, is that the latter are motivated by 'self-regarding' motives, like one's personal health, whereas the former is 'other-regarding' by considering the organization of society at large (Micheletti and Stolle, 2011; Haenfler *et al*, 2012).

Various studies indicate that this type of action is on the rise, and as the politicization of lifestyle decisions may occur in any aspect of everyday life, a large number and a wide variety of actions have been labeled as lifestyle politics (Bennett, 1998; Micheletti and Stolle, 2011; Forno and Graziano, 2014; Wahlen and Laamanen, 2015). The politicization of citizens' role as consumers has clearly received most scholarly attention, as witness the large literature on political consumerism (for example, Micheletti, 2003; Stolle *et al*, 2005; Brunori *et al*, 2012; Copeland, 2014; Parigi and Gong, 2014), yet lifestyle politics have also been described referring to other aspects of daily life, including transportation, household waste disposal, the use of energy sources, fashion, and housing (Lichterman, 1995; Bennett, 1998; Wahlen and Laamanen, 2015). To bring more clarity to what types of action lifestyle politics may exactly refer to, then, I propose an inductive classification on the basis of two key dimensions of differentiation that stand out throughout the recently growing literature that is devoted to the subject: (i) the level of organization (individual or collective) and (ii) the strategic logic (direct or indirect).

First, although lifestyle politics transpose political considerations to the private sphere, a growing body of literature emphasizes the link between lifestyle politics and social movements, showing that lifestyle politics has both an individual and a collective dimension (Forno and Graziano, 2014; Wahlen and Laamanen, 2015). Thus, on the one hand, lifestyle politics may refer to 'an individual's choice to use his or her private life sphere to take responsibility for the allocation of common values and resources, in other words, for politics' (Micheletti and Stolle, 2011, p. 126), while on the other, it refers to collectives who 'consciously and actively promote a lifestyle (…) as their primary means to foster social change' (Haenfler *et al*, 2012, p. 2).

Second, empirical studies increasingly show that lifestyle politics often follow various strategic logics at the same time (Haydu and Kadanoff, 2010; Forno, 2015), which suggests that a distinction can be made between lifestyle politics that are intended exclusively as a direct means to social change, and strategies that additionally aim to use lifestyle politics to advance change indirectly. In the case of direct strategies, lifestyle change itself is believed to lead to social change. Here a further distinction can be made between lifestyle politics that are oriented inward, focusing on one's own lifestyle or that of a collective's adherents, or oriented outward, focusing at mobilizing lifestyle change in the general public. In the case of indirect strategies, efforts to change one's own or others' lifestyles are additionally intended to create leverage for making demands for change at a larger scale from companies or governments. A distinction is therefore made between lifestyle politics

that *exclusively* follow a direct strategic logic, and lifestyle politics that pursue indirect strategies *in addition* to direct strategies.

Table 1 summarizes the resulting classification. Its goal is not to present a definitive taxonomy of lifestyle politics and to reduce all of its complexities into just a few 'species'. Rather, it tries to outline a number of key characteristics that distinguish the many related action forms found in case-studies into a more comprehensible set of ideal-types. The two basic dimensions of the classification (individual/collective and direct/indirect) create categories that are in principle exclusive, yet as is commonly the case with ideal types, we will see that there are some empirical complexities that do not fit in perfectly. For instance, while indirect strategies generally function as an addition to direct strategies, it is of course possible that someone is only motivated by the indirect effects of his/her lifestyle change, even though in most cases the idea of 'additionality' seems to hold. Furthermore, the subdivision into direct inward and direct outward strategies is not exclusive as in some cases, actions have an inward and an outward focus at the same time. The latter could have been resolved by adding a mixed type, yet doing so would not benefit the conciseness of the typology. Finally, even if some of these categories are in principle exclusive, we will see that all types of lifestyle politics in reality relate closely to each other, as for instance, different types of lifestyle politics are often operated in a single campaign. To appreciate these complexities, I will conclude this section with a discussion of the interrelatedness of the different types of lifestyle politics. First, however, I will discuss each of them separately on the

Table 1: Proposed classification of lifestyle politics

Strategic logic		Level of organization	
		Individual	*Collective*
Direct strategies (exclusively)	Inward orientation	*Type 1: Individual lifestyle change* Example: ● Individual political consumerism	*Type 2: Collective lifestyle change* Example: ● Alternative food networks
	Outward orientation	*Type 3: Individual lifestyle mobilization* Example: ● Discussing political lifestyle choices to persuade peers	*Type 4: Collective lifestyle mobilization* Example: ● Promotion campaign of alternative food solutions
Indirect strategies (additionally)		*Type 5: Individual indirect lifestyle politics* Example: ● Boycott product to pressure company	*Type 6: Collective indirect lifestyle politics* Example: ● Politicization of consumers to pressure governments or companies

basis of the case-studies from which they were induced (following their numerical order in the table).

Lifestyle politics as a direct strategy

Lifestyle politics are essentially defined by their direct approach to social change. It is assumed that if people change their lifestyles according to certain political considerations, broad social change can be achieved. Within this direct strategic logic, a further distinction can be made between those individuals or groups who only focus inwardly, on their own lifestyles, and those who also turn their gaze outward to use lifestyle politics as a tool for the horizontal diffusion of change throughout the wider population. This dimension sets apart the first two types of lifestyle politics: *lifestyle change* and *lifestyle mobilization*, both of which have an individual as well as a collective dimension.

Lifestyle change refers to the most basic strategic logic of lifestyle politics. It advances societal change either by changing one's own individual lifestyle, or as a collective that supports the conscious lifestyle choices of its adherents. Individual lifestyle change (Type 1) is mainly discussed in the growing literature on political consumerism, which shows that citizens are increasingly using their role as consumers to directly address their political concerns (Stolle *et al*, 2005; Shah *et al*, 2007; Copeland, 2014). For instance, consumers may wish to limit their carbon footprint by buying local or seasonal produce. (Below it is discussed how political consumerism can also follow a more indirect logic). Another closely related example of this type of activism is vegetarianism. Although Micheletti and Stolle (2011) find that vegetarianism is often motivated by (non-political) health considerations, political or ethical concerns for animal welfare or the environment also motivate many people to adopt a vegetarian lifestyle, in which case it is a clear example of lifestyle politics.

Collective lifestyle change (Type 2), on the other hand, can be illustrated well by the case of alternative food networks. These collectives provide members with the possibility to buy food directly from local and organic food producers, reducing transportation and intermediate trade costs, thereby advancing environmental or fair-trade considerations. Among the most famous examples of this type of collective are community supported agriculture (CSA) and farmers markets (Brown and Miller, 2008). CSAs are farms that are jointly operated by an owner and a group of members who help the owner throughout the production process, and who share the risks and harvest the farm in exchange for a fixed contribution. At farmers markets, farmers sell their products directly to customers to bypass transporters, auction-houses and retailers. In both cases, producers and consumers engage in a cooperation that aims to reduce the ecological impact of consumption, and that seeks to support a fair economy. Other examples of such initiatives that have been described in the literature

include *Voedselteams* in the Flemish part of Belgium (van Gameren *et al*, 2014), and the Italian *Gruppi di Acquisto Solidale* (Brunori *et al*, 2012; Graziano and Forno, 2012), which both aim to provide more direct links between producers and consumers. Such organizations all follow the logic of collective lifestyle change: they foster social change by catering the morally or politically inspired lifestyle choices of its adherents.

Lifestyle mobilization resembles lifestyle change to the extent that it also concerns people who individually or collectively advance morally or politically inspired lifestyle choices. However, in contrast to the internal focus of lifestyle change, lifestyle mobilization targets a more general public. Often, lifestyle activists add this externally focused type of action to their internally focused work, because they believe that in order to achieve the greatest societal impact, a maximal number of people needs to be involved in lifestyle change (Bossy, 2014).

In its individual form, lifestyle mobilization (Type 3) can be thought of as individuals who communicate their political lifestyle choices to their peers (for example, family, colleagues, friends) in order to convince them to adopt similar lifestyles (Portwood-Stacer, 2013). While the literature on this individual form of action is rather scarce, lifestyle mobilization is much more frequently referred to in the literature on collective lifestyle politics. Collective lifestyle mobilization (Type 4) is for instance described by Dubuisson-Quellier *et al* (2011) in their analysis of the French alternative food movement, which advances its goals of changing consumption patterns by informing the general public about certain problems of the conventional market, and by providing consumers with (information about) alternative trade solutions. Furthermore, studying Italian grassroots anti-Mafia politics, Forno and Gunnarson (2010; Forno, 2015) describe the case of the *Adiopizzo* initiative, which uses public campaigns to urge consumers to take ethical considerations into account in their daily shopping routines, while at the same time providing opportunities to buy 'Mafia-free' products. Finally, Balsiger (2014) illustrates how activists from a Swiss Third World advocacy organization aimed to advance ethical fashion by providing consumers with a map of shops that meet specific ethical guidelines. In all these examples activists aim to provide the general public with information or tools to mobilize them into making politically informed lifestyle choices.

Lifestyle politics and indirect strategies

Finally, there are lifestyle politics that *also* follow an indirect strategic logic. Special emphasis is here on the additionality of this strategy: if indirect strategies do not *build on* the promotion of lifestyle change we must conclude that we are outside the realm of lifestyle politics. For instance, a petitioning campaign targeted at a company may be within the realm of consumer politics, but it is not lifestyle politics because it does

not foster social change through the advancement of an alternative lifestyle in the first place. Moreover, indirect strategies also need to be distinguished from cases where a collective engages in both lifestyle politics and actions that are targeted at political or economic decision makers: only when the very same activities aimed at promoting lifestyle change *also* aim to target companies or government do we talk about indirect lifestyle politics.

Individual indirect strategies (Type 5) are mainly discussed in association with political consumerism. In addition to its direct impact, like reducing one's 'carbon footprint', political consumption can namely follow an additional indirect logic, where, through the refusal to buy certain products, a consumer intends to pressure companies to change their modes of production (Zhang, 2015). Klein *et al* (2004) indeed find that many individuals who participate in boycotts do so because they believe it is an effective means to changing a company's behavior. To reflect this indirect logic, then, political consumerism has sometimes been defined as 'actions by people who make choices among producers and products with the goal of changing objectionable institutional or market practices' (Micheletti, 2003, p. 2).[2]

This description of political consumerism highlights the indirect strategy that sometimes underlies individual lifestyle politics, yet more often, indirect strategies are discussed in studies on collective lifestyle politics (Type 6) (Wahlen and Laamanen, 2015). Here, two main approaches can be distinguished. First, lifestyle politics are sometimes used to lead by example, and to convince governments or companies about the desirability of following suit through the implementation of the movement's examples at a larger scale. As such, small scale lifestyle politics, including communal living, the establishment of alternative economic systems, or alternative modes of production, have been used by movements to provide a basis to target governments or companies (Haenfler *et al*, 2012). For example, Bossy (2014) describes a number of French and British lifestyle collectives who use their lifestyle politics as an example to enthuse political elites to provide the change they promote at the local level at a larger scale. Similar strategies have been described in the context of farmers markets in the United States, where grassroots organizations gather data about the successfulness of the farmers market initiative, which they then use to persuade policymakers to support the development of the initiative (Lev *et al*, 2007; Brown and Miller, 2008). In short, groups focused on lifestyle politics often use their alternative practices as examples to engage with decision makers 'in ways that may build to broader social and economical changes' (Schlosberg and Coles, 2015, p. 16).

The second indirect strategy that can be distinguished relies not so much on persuasion, but instead uses lifestyle mobilization to build pressure on governments or companies. On the one hand, this is done when social movement use their ability to influence its constituents' lifestyle choices to make demands on political, and in particular, economical actors (Wahlen and Laamanen, 2015). According to Holzer, 'Under certain circumstances, social movement organizations can claim to be able to influence the decisions of consumers and thus "borrow" their purchasing power.

They can then use this as a threat, i.e. as a potential negative sanction, against business' (2005, p. 187). This strategic logic is of course known as the boycott.

On the other hand, pressure on governments or corporations can be generated when the promotion of certain lifestyle choices is not only used to change the everyday behavior of the general public, but also its political views and engagement. Lifestyle politics is thereby used to build momentum that can be used as pressure for targeting governments and companies. In particular the work of Dubuisson-Quellier emphasizes that lifestyle mobilization can be used to politicize audiences concerning certain issues, which creates a reservoir of political engagement that movements may use to commit their constituents to join collective actions targeted at governments or companies. She notes for instance that within the French alternative food movement this indirect strategy forms an important addition to the direct strategy of promoting lifestyle change (Dubuisson-Quellier *et al*, 2011). By advancing political ideas through lifestyle politics, some organizations also aim to mobilize consumers into joining state-oriented action to demand policy change: 'The idea is to re-engage citizens in collective life by asking them to put new issues about food, market regulation, environmental and ethical issues on the public agenda. Consumption appears to be the pivotal area where citizens can develop their capacity to address these issues and demand improvements in public regulations' (Dubuisson-Quellier *et al*, 2011, p. 315). In a more recent publication, she stresses that a similar strategy is used to build pressure on companies when lifestyle politics are used to engage politicized consumers into campaigns to name and shame companies (Dubuisson-Quellier, 2015). In such cases, promoting an alternative lifestyle targets not only the everyday decisions of citizens, but also builds pressure on other, political or economic targets. Other case-studies that describe similar indirect strategies can be found in Graziano and Forno (2012), Lichterman (1995) and Haydu and Kadanoff (2010).

The interrelatedness between direct and indirect strategies

The overview provided above indicates that many activities can, and have been, labeled as lifestyle politics, and that different action forms can be distinguished by taking into account the actions' level of organization and strategic logic. Although these forms of action all start from the premise that lifestyle change is the key method to achieve social change, and they each connect these means and ends following different strategic logics. Lifestyle politics can either be oriented inward at changing one's own or a collective's lifestyle, or individuals or collectives can orient their actions outward to mobilize the general public into making politicized lifestyle decisions as well. Moreover, in addition to the advancement of direct social change, lifestyle politics are sometimes also used as the basis for indirect action that is targeted at governments or companies. These distinctions form the basis of a classification of lifestyle politics into six ideal types. However, such a classification

naturally overemphasizes the distinctiveness of the proposed categories and it is therefore important to highlight some of the ways in which they are in fact interrelated.

First, some of the case-studies discussed above describe campaigns or movements that bring together multiple types of lifestyle politics. For instance, the *Adiopizzo* movement described by Forno and Gunnarson (2010) and Forno (2015) involves both individual consumers who, through shopping under the *Adiopizzo* label, aim to contribute to a Mafia-free economy, as well as organizers who do not only shop, but also mobilize other consumers and entrepreneurs to participate in the campaign. Other examples are found in American farmers markets or the French alternative food movement that both involve individual shoppers as well as organizers who actively promote certain lifestyle choices (Brown and Miller, 2008; Dubuisson-Quellier, 2015). Second, sometimes a single action can integrate different strategic logics, like when someone uses his/her own lifestyle change as an example to mobilize others' into making similar decisions, thus bringing together lifestyle change and lifestyle mobilization into one action. This is particularly salient in the case of indirect strategies where activists use lifestyle politics not only as a direct means to social change, but also to build momentum for creating a larger scale impact on society by persuading or pressuring governments or companies into making changes.

This discussion shows not only that different types of lifestyle politics are closely related, but also that single actions can (subsequently or simultaneously) be used to target different actors, ranging from the self or a collective, to the general public, companies and governments. Moreover, the discussion shows that although lifestyle politics generally originate in the arena of private life, they can be transposed into public, institutional or economic arenas as well.

Van Deth's Conceptual Map of Political Participation and the Field of Lifestyle Politics

The conclusions drawn from this classification offer important insights for current discussions about the expansion and conceptualization of political participation. In particular the discussion of indirect lifestyle politics underlines the complexity that characterizes this expansion by stressing the interaction between different strategic logics, the multiplicity of the targets of certain modes of participation, and their mobility across different private, public, political and economic arenas. Van Deth's (2014) conceptualization of political participation is an explicit answer to recent calls to rethink the meaning of political participation against this backdrop (for example, Dalton, 2008; Fox, 2014). Such conceptual debates have been ascribed great importance, because what type of activities we include in our concept of political participation has serious consequences for our diagnosis of the health of democracy in an era of declining electoral participation. That is, while a narrow definition

focused on electoral politics alone will lead to the conclusion that political participation is declining and that our democracy is in a state of crisis (for example, Putnam, 2000), a broader definition will suggest that citizens have not become politically inactive, but have turned to activities outside the realm of electoral politics (Dalton, 2008). Van Deth's goal, therefore, has been to come up with a clear conceptualization that provides room for the growing complexity of political participation. However, whether it accomplishes doing so sufficiently has been questioned (Hosch-Dayican, 2014). In particular, while it has been noted that one of the main fields where political activity is expanding is the area of lifestyle choices (Bennett, 1998, 2012), it remains to be evaluated to what degree van Deth's framework can identify and classify lifestyle politics as some form of political participation, or as outside that realm. To evaluate this is the goal of the remainder of this article.

In order to 'cover the whole range of political participation systematically without excluding any mode of political participation unknown yet' (van Deth, 2014, p. 349), van Deth proposes four criteria on the basis of which any voluntary, amateurish activity should be classifiable as a certain type of political participation (or not) (see Figure 1): (i) the activity is located within the institutional arena of state or government politics (minimal definition); (ii) it is targeted at government or the state or (iii) it is targeted at solving a community problem otherwise (targeted definition); or (vi) the activity itself is not political but expresses a political motivation (motivational definition). This operational conceptualization has the strong advantage of taking into account a reality in which political power has become diffuse and in which the loci, targets and strategies of political participants have diversified accordingly (Norris, 2002; Sloam, 2007; Fox, 2014). The conceptual map acknowledges sufficiently that political participation is no longer exclusively targeted at the state, but may as well be oriented at non-state actors like companies or fellow citizens. Van Deth (2014) argues that in this sense, his conceptual map is exhaustive, and more importantly, allows to unambiguously place any form of political participation in one of the four fields on his conceptual map (p. 362).

However, I argue that it is exactly here that Van Deth's model falls short of capturing complex types of participation like many instances of lifestyle politics. Contrary to claims of unambiguous classification, it is difficult to pin-point where lifestyle politics could fit into van Deth's conceptual map. Van Deth (2014)does not discuss lifestyle politics explicitly, but he does place 'political consumerism' on his map as being 'voluntary, non-political activities by citizens used to express their political aims and intentions' (p. 360). He thereby contrasts them to those political activities that are targeted at the political decision-making process, or that address community problems otherwise. However, the literature review provided above clearly indicates that actions labeled as lifestyle politics, including political consumerism, do not strictly belong to this category, as they are not strictly expressive, nor untargeted. Namely, we have seen that instrumental motivations like
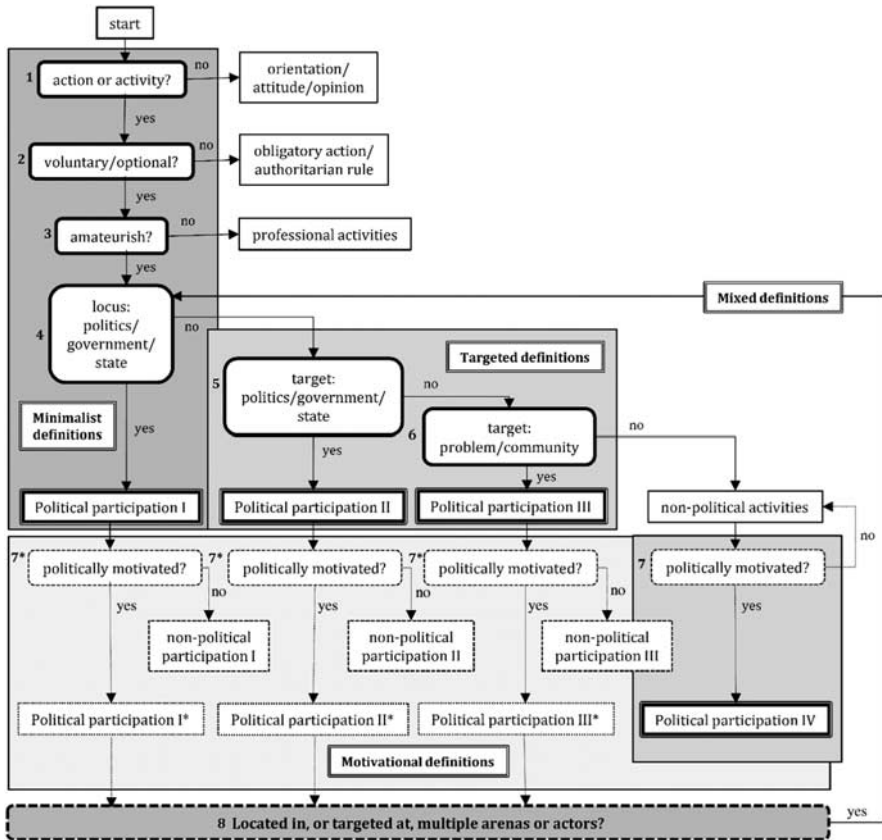
Figure 1: Van Deth's (2014) conceptual map (p. 355) including proposed modifications. Reproduced with permission of the author.

the advancement of a more sustainable society underlie many of these actions, and often they are targeted – at the general public, at companies or at political actors. Hence, the place van Deth reserves on his map for actions related to lifestyle politics does not seem to be satisfactory.

When redoing the exercise on the basis of the proposed classification of lifestyle politics, however, we run into a problem. As the review offered in this article demonstrates clearly, lifestyle politics – and indirect strategies in particular – are often simultaneously acted out across different private, public and institutional arenas and they can be targeted at oneself, fellow citizens as well as political and economic actors. Hence, although van Deth's conceptual map may identify some cases of lifestyle politics as political participation, it fails to unambiguously fit many of the

empirical cases into one of his categories because each of his categories specifies only a single locus or target of action. A modification of van Deth's conceptual map that appreciates such complexity is therefore required. In fact, such a modification is not only needed to unambiguously incorporate various types of lifestyle politics, but many other types of action as well. An action form like political protest is becoming increasingly characterized by the multiplicity of its targets (Van Dyke *et al*, 2004). For instance, the globally spreading 'Marches Against Monsanto' are often simultaneously aimed at informing the general public about genetically modified organisms (GMOs), at naming and shaming companies, and at demanding legislation against GMOs from national and supra-national authorities (Davis, 2015). It is clear that this type of protest cannot be fitted into one of van Deth's four categories unambiguously. Similar conclusions were drawn by Hosch-Dayican (2014) in her application of van Deth's conceptual map to the field of online political activism, where it appears to be difficult to distinguish state-oriented political participation from expressive modes of action.

Possible modifications of van Deth's conceptual map

Despite these limitations, van Deth's operational conceptualization could still offer a useful tool for mapping the expanding field of political participation, and for identifying ambivalent types of action, such as lifestyle politics. To that end, however, the conceptual map should be adapted in order to account for cases in which the locus and/or target of a specific type or form of action is not 'unambiguous', but rather, mixed. A relatively simple adjustment in the current framework allows for this. Van Deth proposes four decision rules that lead to as many final, unambiguous categories of political participation. In order to account for ambiguous forms or types of political participation, a final classification question should be added at the bottom of the conceptual map (see Figure 1 for the proposed modification). This question should probe whether the case at hand is located in, or targeted at, multiple arenas or actors. If the answer is negative, the identification process ends and the activity can be classified as one of van Deth's four singular definitions. If the answer is positive, however, the identification process should be repeated, thereby identifying additional categories that apply to the case at hand. As a result, mixed definitions of political participation can be identified.

An empirical example further clarifies the proposed method. As discussed above, the French alternative food movement supports and promotes alternative modes of consumption for a dual reason (Dubuisson-Quellier *et al*, 2011; Dubuisson-Quellier, 2015). On the one hand, it aims to achieve direct social change by affecting people's consumption patterns. On the other hand, by spreading the movement's views about a fair and just economy, they also aim to

mobilize consumers to pressure politicians or companies to take action. When following the identification questions in van Deth's framework, this form of action would in first instance be identified as *Political Participation II*, since the movement's advancement of an alternative lifestyle appears to be indirectly targeted at the state and the political decision-making process. When going further down the conceptual map in a second instance, however, this form of action would also be identified as *Political Participation III*, as it aims to solve a social problem by directly targeting the involved community or companies. As a result, this case would be classified as *Political Participation II+III*, thereby appreciating the complexity characterizing this mode of action. Hence, the small modification I propose to van Deth's framework would not affect the comprehensive and practical strength of his model significantly, yet it would increase its internal validity by making the model a better fit of the complex reality it aims to grasp.

Discussion

The overview of different modes of lifestyle politics provided in this article leads to the conclusion that six ideal-types of lifestyle politics can be distinguished on the basis of their level of organization and their strategic logic: individual and collective lifestyle change, individual and collective lifestyle mobilization and individual and collective indirect lifestyle politics. This classification of lifestyle politics emphasizes that the politics of everyday life, and politics acted out in the public or institutional political arena, are closely intertwined. The case-studies reviewed in this article show that campaigns are often simultaneously targeted at the private sphere, at companies and at governments. Moreover, campaigns may originate in the arena of private life, but taken to the public or institutional arena once enough political momentum is reached.

This observation emphasizes the significance of recent endeavors to account for such complexities in our concepts of political participation. In this sense, van Deth's (2014) conceptual map is a valuable addition to the literature, as it presents the most comprehensive attempt to account for such complexity currently available. However, the case of lifestyle politics presented in this article also shows that van Deth's framework does not always account for this complexity sufficiently. It demonstrates that many forms and types of political participation do not fit in one of the four categories proposed in this framework unambiguously. Therefore, I have proposed a modification to the framework that allows for the identification of 'mixed' forms of political participation, thereby further realizing the map's goal of establishing for any voluntary and amateurish activity whether it can be classified as some specific type of political participation.

Two core elements of the current article's argumentation have raised concerns in earlier reviews of van Deth's map as well. Hosch-Dayican (2014), Hooghe (2014)

and Theocharis (2015) have all questioned whether the map is sufficiently precise, or rather, too complex. Moreover, they have debated what the role is of activists' motivations in identifying political participation. To contribute to this debate, in the remainder of this article I wish to speak to these issues.

First, the current article finds that van Deth's map provides a useful starting point for identifying different forms of lifestyle politics in relation to the concept of political participation, but concludes that it is not sufficiently precise when defining the type of participation the actions belong to. A similar conclusion was reached by Hosch-Dayican, who argues that 'more fine-grained classifications are (…) necessary for sound measurements of online political participation' (Hosch-Dayican ,2014, p. 345). Similarly, Theocharis finds van Deth's map useful, but concludes that an additional category might be needed that takes contextual signifiers of political actions into account to identify some forms of online political participation. In contrast, Hooghe has raised some concerns about the multiple definitions included in van Deth's conceptualization. Using multiple definitions to fit in 'grey zone' cases of political participation is dangerous because it might result in a conceptualization that is no less complex than the empirical reality it aims to grasp. Hooghe therefore prefers the more concise, traditional conceptualization of Verba *et al* (1995), as he concludes that 'it is not a good strategy to make a definition in itself for these "grey zone" cases' (Hooghe, 2014, p. 340). The problem, however, is that although it is not entirely clear what types of action Hooghe considers as 'grey zone' cases, they seem to include exactly those modes of action that are at the heart of currently expanding political participation repertoires. That is, several examples provided in this article, such as alternative food movements, the CMM and Marches Against Monsanto seem to qualify as 'grey zone' cases because they illustrate how the locus and targets of emerging action forms are often multiple or shifting. According to a growing body of literature, however, this ambiguity has essentially come to define political participation in the late modern era, in which the locus of power is constantly shifting in a similar way (Norris, 2002; Bennett, 2012; Fox, 2014). If we want to have a fruitful debate about the emergence and expansion of political participation repertoires, it is important to use concepts that can account for such complexities. Until now, it seems that van Deth's conceptual map is the only approach that, provided some modifications are made, succeeds in doing just that.

Second, in line with van Deth's conceptualization, most of the empirical studies discussed in this article accept activities as political participation if participants articulate that their motivation is to achieve certain forms of social or political change. Similarly, Theocharis concluded in assessing van Deth's conceptual map, that a motivational category is useful and in fact indispensable for identifying many emerging forms of (online) political participation. However, Hooghe has questioned whether this motivational approach is desirable. He argues that activists' intentions should not be part of a definition of political participation because it is difficult to

determine activists' intentions, and because 'intentions are simply not relevant'. As Theocharis emphasizes as well, measuring intentions can indeed be difficult, in particular, when using survey questions. Answers might not be unequivocal, and as Hosch-Dayican points out, distortion might derive from forces like social desirability and overrationalization. But this does not mean we should exclude intentions from our definitions or analyses altogether. Although these problems are relevant and have inspired countless methodological debates, they apply to many aspects of political behavior. In fact, they have not complicated research into political participation in particular, even though aims and intentions have already been a part of conceptualizations and operationalizations within this research field since its emergence (for example, Verba and Nie, 1972; Barnes and Kaase, 1979). Furthermore, despite these difficulties, motivations can in fact be measured. Studies discussed in this article show that survey questions can be successfully used to distinguish political and non-political motivations (Micheletti and Stolle, 2011), and qualitative methods can portray even more detailed accounts of activists' intentions (for example, Bossy, 2014; Zamwel et al, 2014). Still, motivations may not matter for the identification of all forms of participation and can be excluded from some definitions (van Deth, 2014). Whether or not voting is a form of political participation is independent of someone's intention for casting a ballot. However, this article has shown numerous examples of activities that, without taking into account motivations, could not be identified as forms of political participation. Participants in the CMM would simply be cycling, members of a CSA project would simply be farming, and boycotters would simply be shopping. To conclude with the words of van Deth (2014) himself: 'growing numbers of citizens reject a definite boundary between "politics" and other aspects of their lives. These activities can only be fruitfully studied when intentions and aims of the people involved are taken into account as distinctive features' (p. 362).

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Notes

1 As Micheletti and Stolle (2011) observe, a variety of terms has been used to describe this phenomenon, including 'life politics' (Giddens, 1991), 'subpolitics' (Beck, 1997), and 'personalized politics' (Lichterman, 1996).
2 Little information exists about whether the indirect logic behind political consumerism is generally additional to the direct one, or whether some political consumers are only motivated by indirect strategies. It is likely that the latter is sometimes the case though, which would of course form an exception to the additionality of indirect strategies.

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