

## Assessing risks of low-carbon transition pathways

Lieu, Jenny; Hanger-Kopp, Susanne; van Vliet, Oscar; Sorman, Alevgul H.

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## **Editorial**

## Assessing risks of low-carbon transition pathways



#### **1. Introduction to risks**

Limiting climate change to well below 2 °C, as defined in the Paris Agreement, challenges current greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions trajectories of many countries. At the country level, nationally determined contributions (NDCs) require governments to specify, mitigation actions and policies to achieve the required emissions reductions. However, thus far NDCs have been conservative in their outlook and ambition. Moreover, decision makers still struggle to provide the details in achieving these pathways that are necessary to secure stakeholder by-in and participation of citizens that are vital to realizing a low-carbon transition. This special issue highlights that multiple stakeholders' perspectives at all levels of governance are required and crucial to the design of transition pathways along with the identification of associated risks.

Transition pathways consist of a set of policy instruments, strategies and technologies that contribute to promoting low carbon innovations in one or more sectors. As such they are a tool for discussing and comparing the long and uncertain roads that could lead us towards a low carbon future. Often, these low carbon transition pathways and their intended outcomes are portrayed as inherently positive; however, there are associated risks that need to be identified and managed in order to secure their social, economic, and environmental compatibility. This raises two questions: "*what are the specific risks in low carbon transition pathways?"* and "*what methods can be used to evaluate these risks across different contexts and disciplines?".*

The sixteen papers in this special issue contribute to providing the answers. A summary of each paper is provided in [Table 2.](#page-4-0) Moreover, all studies featured here fulfil a set of four requirements that we consider crucial to the analysis of risks associated with transition pathways: (1) They broadly apply the same risk and uncertainty framing ([Hanger-Kopp et al., 2019\)](#page-9-0) to describe their findings. Eight of the studies in this collection result from the TRANSrisk project, where the risk framing was first developed and later applied in the empirical studies. The other eight papers were independent research studies outside of the TRANSrisk project where researchers primarily applied the risk framing ex-post. (2) Each paper illustrates different contexts of low carbon transition pathways within the energy, agriculture, industrial and financial sectors covering a multitude of regions, exemplary from the Global South as well as the Global North; more importantly they highlight different contextual factors that shape risks and stakeholder perceptions thereof. (3) The studies apply cross-disciplinary approaches. Finally, (4) all use a mix of qualitative (e.g. stakeholder engagement) and quantitative methods (e.g. modelling and statistical analysis) in order to draw conclusions with respect to the policy and decision-making processes required to arrive at a low carbon future.

Risk is an elusive term that is difficult to specify across disciplines, often intangible and thus either poorly or inconsistently defined. Risk is often confounded with uncertainty, but while risk always involves a level of uncertainty, an uncertainty is not necessarily a risk. We consider uncertainty as "a state of incomplete knowledge that can result from a lack of information or from disagreement about what is known or even knowable" [\(Kunreuther et al., 2014,](#page-9-1) p. 155). Uncertainties, as such, may result in positive outcomes, creating opportunities and benefits. They also may have potential negative outcomes. These uncertain, potential negative outcomes are what we call risks.

In the context of low carbon transition pathways, we find two different perspectives on risk. *Implementation risk* is the potential for negative impact on the implementation of a low carbon pathway; and *consequential risk* refers to the potential for negative impacts resulting from the implementation of a potential pathway. [Fig. 1](#page-2-0) shows a framing developed in the TRANSrisk project (TRANSrisk, 2015; [Hanger-Kopp et al., 2019](#page-9-0)) indicating that risks are negative outcomes of uncertainties and that risks in transition pathways can be viewed as implementation risks or barriers as well as consequential risks or negative outcomes.

The distinction between implementation and consequential risk is not always straightforward, as the knowledge of consequential risks may function as a cognitive barrier to a policy even being chosen, which also makes it an implementation risk. Finally, most risks do not occur in an isolated fashion, but are part of cause and effect chains or cascades, which often are difficult to identify. For instance, most mitigation policies support a certain technology, and in turn this technology may have negative impacts on the

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<span id="page-2-0"></span>

**Fig. 1.** Implementation and consequential risk framing.

environment, health, or other technologies in the market. An environmental impact, e.g. greenhouse gas emissions and air pollution can potentially cause a negative impact on health that can, at scale, have negative impacts on local communities.

#### **2. Risk as a matter of context and stakeholder perceptions**

In practice definitions of risks are *context specific* ([Glickman and Gough, 1990](#page-9-2)), not the least, because they depend on the point of view of the person experiencing or observing the risk. What is negative for some stakeholders, may be positive for others. This can be especially extreme for climate change impacts, and mitigation where cause and effect are disproportionately distributed among different stakeholders. This special issue places a strong focus on how risk impacts different stakeholder groups – including those who influence technologies, policies and actions as well as those who do not have decision making authority but are impacted by low carbon transition pathways.

In this special issue we distinguish *environmental, social, economic, political, policy and technological* contextual factors of transition pathways (see [Table 1\)](#page-3-0). While they are not clearly distinct and overlap in practice, they enable us to structure our thinking on *specifi*c risks.

We thus summarised the key contextual factors that helped to specify the risks under investigation<sup>[1](#page-2-1)</sup> (also see summary in [Table 2\)](#page-4-0). The results yield some interesting insights on risks that emerge across the contextual factors in different transition pathways. The contextual factors that appeared most frequently were *social* factors (appearing at least in 11 out of 16 papers), followed closely by *economic* and *technological* factors (≥10 papers). *Political contextual* factors also appeared quite frequently (≥8 papers) and often overlapped with *policy* (≥4 papers). Finally, *environmental* factors did not stand out as we would have expected (≥7 papers) for low carbon transition pathways.

*Economic contextual factors* have different implications at the economy-wide level, sectoral level, and the individual level. Incumbent technologies and their corresponding infrastructure for sectors including fossil fuels ([Antosiewicz et al., 2020](#page-9-3); [Silaen et al.,](#page-9-4) [2020;](#page-9-4) [Skoczkowski et al., 2020\)](#page-9-5), transport [\(Wanitschke and Hoffmann, 2020](#page-9-6)), and large/heavy industry [\(Bachner et al., 2020](#page-9-7); [Schneider et al., 2020](#page-9-8); [Wanitschke and Hoffmann, 2020](#page-9-6)) were often cited as crucial to the economy and could be potential barriers to low carbon innovations. At the sectoral level, businesses faced challenges within the market for low carbon innovations such as renewable energy due to their high cost ([Nikas et al., 2020\)](#page-9-9). This led to uncertainties for investors [\(Kitzing et al., 2020\)](#page-9-10), needs for financing mechanisms [\(Bertheau et al., 2020\)](#page-9-11) as well as higher investment costs of low carbon technologies [\(Bertheau et al., 2020](#page-9-11); [Schneider et al., 2020](#page-9-8)). At the individual level, a lack of professional and technical skills to be re-employed [\(Skoczkowski et al., 2020](#page-9-5)) and job losses in fossil fuel sectors [\(Antosiewicz et al., 2020;](#page-9-3) [van Vliet et al., 2020](#page-9-12) were highlighted as consequential risks while job gains in renewable energy [\(Nikas et al., 2020](#page-9-9)) and potential reskilling were opportunities.

*Social contextual factors* emerge when livelihoods and well-being are impacted due to unequal opportunities and rights and

<span id="page-2-1"></span> $<sup>1</sup>$  Note: we, the guest editors of this special issue, summarised the contextual factors that stood out to us in the papers. We have not included every</sup> contextual factor presented in each study, and therefore acknowledge some inherent biases in the selection of contextual factors.

#### <span id="page-3-0"></span>**Table 1**

Contextual factors and corresponding risk descriptions.



overlap with economic, technological, political and environmental factors. For instance, employment issues were not only discussed in terms of economics, but often emerged as a social factor that impacts livelihoods. A transition into a low carbon economy can lead to unemployment, a negative outcome in high carbon sectors such as coal power. Thus, there is a need to consider re-employment into other sectors ([Antosiewicz et al., 2020;](#page-9-3) [Skoczkowski et al., 2020\)](#page-9-5); but such mitigation cannot occur immediately and requires longer term planning across sectors ([Nikas et al., 2020](#page-9-9)). The impact of low carbon technologies also raises the issues of social justice [\(Bachner et al., 2020\)](#page-9-7), as renewable energy is often more costly (at least during the early phases) and these costs are often passed to consumers ([Nikas et al., 2020](#page-9-9)). Increased cost of electricity has varying impacts on different populations, particularly for more vulnerable groups ([Fell et al., 2020\)](#page-9-13) as well as broader social welfare impacts [\(Kitzing et al., 2020](#page-9-10)), leading to potential negative impacts. The acceptance and resistance of low-carbon technologies was also brought up in several studies at the societal level [\(Arning](#page-9-14) [et al., 2020](#page-9-14); [Bachner et al., 2020;](#page-9-7) [Bertheau et al., 2020](#page-9-11); [Mayer et al., 2020](#page-9-15); [Schneider et al., 2020](#page-9-8)), as well as social unease due to a lack of policy enforcement leading to greater uncertainty ([Taylor et al., 2020\)](#page-9-16). Additionally, potential barriers occurred due to individual choice such as behaviour change [\(Bachner et al., 2020](#page-9-7)), end-user demand [\(Taylor et al., 2020](#page-9-16)) as well as with end-user responses for self-consumption ([Nikas et al., 2020\)](#page-9-9). These societal factors are also closely linked to responses of technological change.

*Technological contextual factors* that were highlighted in the studies primarily focused on low-carbon electricity generation technologies as a means to achieve a transition pathway ([van Vliet et al., 2020\)](#page-9-12). Several studies explored the readiness level [\(Wanitschke and Hoffmann, 2020](#page-9-6)), technological awareness ([Bertheau et al., 2020](#page-9-11)), technical potential ([Sharma et al., 2020](#page-9-17); [Skoczkowski et al., 2020](#page-9-5); [Arning et al., 2020;](#page-9-14)) as well as the gaps between the potential and actual installation or implementation [\(Mayer et al., 2020\)](#page-9-15). Other studies explored barrier in deploying low carbon technologies due to energy infrastructure issues, [\(Bachner et al., 2020\)](#page-9-7), intermittency of renewable electricity [\(Antosiewicz et al., 2020](#page-9-3)), and inadequate selection energy technology options for biogas energy end-users leading to unsuccessful deployment and scaling up ([Silaen et al., 2020\)](#page-9-4). The choice of low technologies is often impacted by other factors such as political and policy support.

*Political contextual factors* were closely linked to *policy contextual factors*. Politics would often dictate the extent of policy support for low carbon technologies ([Mayer et al., 2020;](#page-9-15) [Schneider et al., 2020;](#page-9-8) [Spijker et al., 2020\)](#page-9-18). The implementation of these policies would also depend on planning and coordination [\(Bachner et al., 2020;](#page-9-7) [Bertheau et al., 2020\)](#page-9-11). Barriers to adequate policy implementation included the lack of coordination between different levels of governance [\(Silaen et al., 2020](#page-9-4)) as well as a technology that crosses multiple policy areas and jurisdictions, leading to confusion and uncertainty ([Taylor et al., 2020\)](#page-9-16). Additionally, internal politics such as political agendas ([Spijker et al., 2020\)](#page-9-18) or political instability would result in unstable policy and regulatory frameworks [\(Nikas et al., 2020](#page-9-9)) or conflicting policy mixes [\(Mayer et al., 2020\)](#page-9-15) as negative outcomes that threaten a low carbon transition.

*Environmental contextual factors* stood out the least in the studies even though climate change mitigation is a core premise for low carbon transitions [\(van Vliet et al., 2020\)](#page-9-12). This could be due to the level of concern for environmental issues versus other more urgent societal or political issues. Environmental concerns were noted when a technology in a transition pathway impacts health due to poor outdoor air quality [\(Skoczkowski et al., 2020](#page-9-5); [Spijker et al., 2020;](#page-9-18) [Arning et al., 2020;](#page-9-14)) as well as poor in-door air quality ([Silaen](#page-9-4) [et al., 2020\)](#page-9-4). Negative impacts on the environment were discussed in terms of resource consumption [\(Bachner et al., 2020](#page-9-7)) and land use changes or carbon leakage where a reduction in a high carbon sector in one country is replaced by increased production in another [\(Spijker et al., 2020](#page-9-18)). By and large, the overall negative environmental impact did not stand out as a current risk that needed high attention. This is in line with earlier studies which reveal that environmental risk are not necessarily the key driver to implementing low carbon pathways; rather environmental factors are often secondary to other factors such as economic and societal impact (see Hanger et al. 2019; [Lilliestam et al., 2014;](#page-9-19) [van Vliet et al., 2012](#page-9-20)). For instance, there are synergies between addressing environmental and social issues, such as off grid technologies, which can provide electricity for community in remote locations as well as reduce emissions [\(Bertheau et al., 2020](#page-9-11)).

## <span id="page-4-0"></span>**Table 2**

Summary of risk discussion and methods applied in each paper of the special issue.



# **Table 2** (*continued*)



## **Table 2** (*continued*)



pathways in 15 case studies in **12 countries**

consequential risks from an existing research project

**Environmental**: all case studies were focussed on climate change mitigation **Technological**: technological innovation was an essential element in all pathways.

and target audience NGOs, business, marginalised groups for being essential to a balanced and useful outcome

based modelling, fuzzy cognitive mapping, Qmethod **QL**: literature review, social discourse analysis interviews, stakeholder workshops, policy dialogues

(*continued on next page*)

#### **Table 2** (*continued*)



°QT: Quantitative methods; °°QL: Qualitative methods; \*TRANSrisk research projects.

## **3. Cross-disciplinary and mixed methods to analyse risks**

Various disciplines can be applied when analysing risks across different contextual factors. All papers in this special issue are at least multidisciplinary [\(Bachner et al., 2020;](#page-9-7) [Kitzing et al., 2020](#page-9-10), [Mayer et al., 2020](#page-9-15); [Schneider et al., 2020;](#page-9-8) [Spijker et al., 2020](#page-9-18); [Wanitschke and Hoffmann, 2020](#page-9-6)) in that authors contributed approaches from two or more disciplines [\(Choi and Pak, 2006\)](#page-9-21), to assess risk and uncertainty in transition pathways. However, more than half go beyond multidisciplinarity. Six papers [\(Arning et al.,](#page-9-14) [2020;](#page-9-14) [Antosiewicz et al., 2020;](#page-9-3) [Fell et al., 2020;](#page-9-13) [Skoczkowski et al., 2020](#page-9-5); [Taylor et al., 2020](#page-9-16); [van Vliet et al., 2020\)](#page-9-12) can be considered interdisciplinary as their authors collaboratively joined approaches and perspectives from different disciplines to generate new knowledge and added value (Choi and Pak, 2006). Another four applied aspects of transdisciplinary methods [\(Bertheau et al., 2020](#page-9-11); [Nikas et al., 2020;](#page-9-9) [Sharma et al., 2020](#page-9-17); [Silaen et al., 2020](#page-9-4)); they combine scientific knowledge and insight with expertise and know-how from outside academia ([Polk, 2015\)](#page-9-22). Multi- and inter-disciplinary research may include stakeholders in the research process, but transdisciplinary research differs in the extent to which stakeholders who have to live with pathway outcomes, like residents and businesses, are integrated in the entire research process from problem framing and co-design to analysing problems and exploring impact ([Pohl et al., 2017](#page-9-23)).

Depending on the discipline, risk can be analysed qualitatively or quantitatively ([Doukas et al., 2019](#page-9-24); [Renn, 2008](#page-9-25)). All contributions to this special issue involve different levels of integration of qualitative and quantitative approaches (see [Table 2](#page-4-0) for details).

*Quantitative research* mostly explores close-ended research questions, with methods that include statistical and other types of modelling ([Creswell, 2013](#page-9-26)). The quantitative approaches applied in the papers in this special issue includes: macroeconomic models [\(Antosiewicz et al., 2020](#page-9-3); [Bachner et al., 2020](#page-9-7); [Mayer et al., 2020;](#page-9-15) [Nikas et al., 2020;](#page-9-9) [Silaen et al., 2020](#page-9-4); [Spijker et al., 2020](#page-9-18)); energy models ([Antosiewicz et al., 2020;](#page-9-3) [Fell et al., 2020](#page-9-13); [Sharma et al., 2020;](#page-9-17) [Schneider et al., 2020](#page-9-8)); agent-based models [\(Taylor et al.,](#page-9-16) [2020;](#page-9-16) [Nikas et al., 2020;](#page-9-9)); quantitative survey instruments [\(Arning et al., 2020](#page-9-14); [Bertheau et al., 2020](#page-9-11)); economic scenario analysis [\(Kitzing et al., 2020;](#page-9-10) [Schneider et al., 2020](#page-9-8); [Wanitschke and Hoffmann, 2020](#page-9-6)); and fuzzy cognitive mapping, which is complemented by qualitative methods to include stakeholder preferences (see [Nikas et al., 2020\)](#page-9-9).

Generally, models are able to capture large or complex sets of data and provide insights on changes across multiple contextual factors including changes and impacts of technological innovations and policies on the economy (e.g. GDP), climate (e.g. carbon emissions) along temporal scales. However, there are many risks related to climate change and sustainability that cannot be easily quantified, usually bearing more subjective features [\(Wallquist et al., 2009;](#page-9-27) [de Vente et al., 2016;](#page-9-28) [Reed et al., 2018\)](#page-9-29). These are most often located in the social, policy, and environmental dimensions mirroring changes in well-being, efficacy of policy measures and overall environmental integrity and are better assessed through qualitative approaches.

*Qualitative research* explores open-ended questions and research designs, with methods that include case studies, narrative research and participatory methods ([Creswell, 2013](#page-9-26)). Fourteen out of 15 studies in this special issue integrated stakeholder engagement in their studies through interviews, focus groups, and/or workshops [\(Kitzing et al., 2020](#page-9-10) took on a theoretical analysis of investors response as means to include stakeholder's perspective). Other qualitative methods applied in this special issue include: Q-method, a bottom-up approach to collect and interpret stakeholder viewpoints [\(Silaen et al., 2020](#page-9-4)); literature reviews (e.g. [Skoczkowski et al.,](#page-9-5) [2020;](#page-9-5) [Wanitschke and Hoffmann, 2020\)](#page-9-6); social discourse analysis [\(Silaen et al., 2020\)](#page-9-4); and back casting exercises which complemented modelling work [\(Bachner et al., 2020](#page-9-7); [Sharma et al., 2020](#page-9-17); [Schneider et al., 2020\)](#page-9-8).

#### **4. Take home messages from the special issue**

Transition pathways take place within different political, social, and economic contexts, and there is no universal approach for addressing risks associated with these pathways. However, based on the contributions in this special issue, we identify some overarching relevant trends and lessons on risks and risk management in low carbon transition pathways that are valid across different decision-making contexts.

Answering our first research question: "*what are the specific risks in low carbon transition pathways?"*, we find that the overall distinction between implementation and consequential risk is a first useful step to unravel the challenges decision makers face in designing and following low carbon transition pathways. Managing implementation risks requires detailed understanding not only of the barriers themselves, but also of the decision makers involved and stakeholders affected. Frequently, barriers result from consequential risks, which can fundamentally question aspects of or the entire pathway itself due to its potential negative impacts. This is for example the case for distributional injustices [\(Fell et al., 2020\)](#page-9-13). Mitigating negative outcomes may include incremental or fundamental changes such as the abandoning a particular technology or policy that was initially intended to play a major role in the transition pathway ([Silaen et al., 2020](#page-9-4)).

Risk can be more concretely explored when considering contextual factors relating to the *environment, society, economy, political, policy, and technology.* While the environmental context (i.e. climate change), may initially seem to be a driver for transition pathways at the global level, we have observed at the local level that economic, social, technological, political and factors are more important barriers or drivers of transitions. It is these factors that overlap, interact, and spill over.

For instance, several studies underline the shortfalls of globally-agreed climate strategies and the instability of a political, longterm and ambitious climate agenda, contributing to overarching implementation risks, especially hindering investment opportunities, a prerequisite for financing decarbonization pathways ([Antosiewicz et al., 2020;](#page-9-3) [Bachner et al., 2020;](#page-9-7) [Bertheau et al., 2020;](#page-9-11) [Kitzing](#page-9-10) [et al., 2020;](#page-9-10) [Silaen et al., 2020](#page-9-4); [Taylor et al., 2020\)](#page-9-16).

Another example is carbon leakage, illustrating the inherent risks within changing global trade patters or shifts in the locations of industrial activities therefore causing socioeconomic risks such as loss of jobs in place of origin, and a shift in emissions from one country to another leading to political and environmental risks ([Spijker et al., 2020\)](#page-9-18).

Unjust outcomes are among the key consequential risks in low carbon transitions, and potentially very controversial. For example, regions that are economically and socially "locked in" to fossil fuel [\(Antosiewicz et al., 2020](#page-9-3); [Silaen et al., 2020;](#page-9-4) [Skoczkowski et al.,](#page-9-5) [2020\)](#page-9-5) portray different risk perceptions among stakeholders faced with the transformational changes a low-carbon transition requires; particularly questions of justice require more profound risk analyses than a mere technocratic analysis and should consider the social dimension for a renewable transition agenda.

We discovered several key insights when addressing our second research question: "*What methods can be used to evaluate these risks across different contexts and disciplines?".* Because there are such diverse risks that are valued subjectively, single-discipline assessment of pathways runs the risk of introducing epistemic bias and highlighting very specific risks over others. The papers in this special issue suggest that quantitative (modelling) methods are often used to systematically assess consequential risks, and qualitative methods are often used to assess implementation risks [\(van Vliet et al., 2020\)](#page-9-12). A mixed-method approach was applied as a starting point to provide a more comprehensive analysis of implementation and consequential risks. For example, stakeholders may contribute to quantitative methods through the co-creation of transition pathways narratives that form the basis for scenario model runs or by providing insights on technology preferences ([Bachner et al., 2020;](#page-9-7) [Nikas et al., 2020;](#page-9-9) [Sharma et al., 2020;](#page-9-17) [Taylor et al., 2020](#page-9-16)).

We have observed a disparity between different stakeholder groups that have been engaged within studies. Domain experts observe and analyse technologies or polices but do not directly have influence or implement actions [\(Antosiewicz et al., 2020](#page-9-3); [Nikas](#page-9-9) [et al., 2020](#page-9-9); [Wanitschke and Hoffmann, 2020](#page-9-6);). Influencers frequently interact with people on the ground, for example Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and lobbyists that engage closely with inhabitants of regions affected by a low carbon transition [\(Bertheau et al., 2020](#page-9-11); [Sharma et al., 2020](#page-9-17); [Silaen et al., 2020;](#page-9-4) [Spijker et al., 2020](#page-9-18)). Another stakeholder group are decision makers such as end-users, banks/funding bodies, business, and policy makers [\(Nikas et al., 2020](#page-9-9)). Often the voices of powerful stakeholders tend to dominate the discussion on transition pathways ([Lieu et al., 2020](#page-9-30)). Thus, bringing in voices of groups typically marginalised [\(Taylor et al., 2020;](#page-9-16) [Fell et al., 2020](#page-9-13); [van Vliet et al., 2020\)](#page-9-12) in peripheral settings [\(Bertheau et al., 2020\)](#page-9-11) and in vulnerable communities [\(Fell et al., 2020](#page-9-13)) is important for an inclusive and representative policy agenda of risks in transition pathways.

Considering risks in the policy making process, we have overarching insights on reducing barriers and negative impacts in low carbon transition pathways. Risks are contextual and location specific, and mitigation efforts that may work in one region may not be applicable to another. Despite this, we encourage active policy learning to better understand risks observed in other sectors and countries. Analysing risks based on contextual factors and framing these as implementation and consequential risks may help with designing policies that minimise or avoid some of these known risks. Implementing a policy may be met with contestations, and this is an inherent risk if the policies are not co-created; an ex-ante participatory approach can therefore avoid repeated failure of policies that are designed top-down and undesirable by local stakeholders. Understanding stakeholders' response to (new) policies or technologies requires meaningful and inclusive stakeholder engagement across different governance levels. Integrating stakeholder's perceptions in the development of policies can improve societal acceptance and help link local priorities with wider national and global climate agenda and goals. Finally, taking on board cross-disciplinary and mixed methods with stakeholder to co-create actions may elucidate option not typically considered in policy making.

Overall, risks are pervasive in transitions pathways, at every level of detail, in every theme, and for every stakeholder. Systematically analysing specific risks while considering the needs and concerns of the people most impacted by a low carbon technology can potentially help mitigate the risks that could impact our ecosystems, communities, economy, and governance systems. Therefore, careful deliberation along with use of mixed methods may bring additional insight when looking into specific risks that emerge when studying multi-to-trans-disciplinary, complex issues in transition pathways. Addressing these risks can make it easier to gain societal and political buy-in to turn these pathways into real-world policies.

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> Sus[a](#page-10-3)nne Hanger-Kopp<sup>a,[b](#page-10-4)</sup> <sup>a</sup> *ETH Zürich, Institute for Environmental Decisions, Climate Policy Group, Switzerland* <sup>b</sup> *IIASA, Risk and Resilience Program, Laxenburg, Austria*

> > Osc[a](#page-10-5)r van Vliet<sup>a,[b](#page-10-6)</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *ETH Zürich, Institute for Environmental Decisions, Climate Policy Group, Switzerland* <sup>b</sup> *Faculty of Geosciences, Universiteit Utrecht, Netherlands*

> Alevgul H. Sorman<sup>a,[b](#page-10-8)</sup> <sup>a</sup> *Basque Centre for Climate Change (BC3), 48940 Leioa, Spain* <sup>b</sup> *IKERBASQUE, Basque Foundation for Science, 48013 Bilbao, Spain*

<span id="page-10-2"></span><sup>⁎</sup> Corresponding author at: TU Delft, The Multi-Actor Systems Department, Netherlands.