How to Interest People for the Hare instead of the Chase, An exploration of open script design to change consumer behaviour.

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Abstract
In this paper we raise the question: does our consumer behaviour make us happy? The infinite source of consumer desires seems to be the justification of an ever increasing amount of products that inundate our lives. Consumption itself is set free from any functional bond, bringing our current consumption levels to the point that it is ecologically destructive and unsustainable. By examining philosophical theories of well-being we argue that consumer satisfaction does not of necessity lead to happiness, and we reach the conclusion that it is in the act of appropriation -fitting the acquired artefacts into our lives- that consumption of goods renders a meaningful attribution to our well-being. Building on theories of Science and Technology Studies, we propose the design of objects with open scripts, as a means to facilitate and encourage this act of appropriation as a conscious process. This design perspective is made more tangible by the examination of several examples from fashion design and investigated further in a short design exploration. Five design professionals were asked to apply the open script design perspective in the design of new garment concepts. The results of both activities show that it is possible to design products that encourage the process of appropriation by demanding a certain dedication of the user in accomplishing her use-goal. We expect that this encourages product bonding and render our possessions less replaceable.

Although the few products that employ an open script will not overcome consumerism and transform society at large, we do believe they can help bring about an attitude change and help to establish well-being as the purpose of consumption.

Keywords
Well-Being; Consumer behaviour; Design Ethics; Design Activism; Open Scripts; Desire Fulfilment Theories; Value Fulfilment theory; Interpretative Flexibility.

We live in a society in which many hold the belief that the economy is fundamentally ruled by consumer desires and that consumer satisfaction is the ultimate economic goal. But as Gibbs (2004) argues, there is little attempt in literature to consider the worth of what is being satisfied in terms of well-being: we fail to ask whether our consumer behaviour makes us happy.

Gibbs observes that the opposite might even be the case and suggests that consumer satisfaction does not of necessity lead to their well-being. To underline, he paraphrases Bauman: “society proclaims the impossibility of gratification and measures its progress by ever rising demand and makes the consumer ‘the consuming desire of consuming’” (Bauman, 2001, p. 13). The inevitable course that the cycle of desire follows – desire, acquisition, reformulation of desire, ad infinitum– presupposes us to be in a perpetual state of dissatisfaction and reveals the self-propelling and perpetuating nature of consumer desire. In agreement Belk, Ger & Askegaard point out that: ‘the act of consumption may be more satisfying or relieving than is the purchased object itself’ (Belk, Ger, & Askegaard, 2003, p. 327). It seems -so to speak- consumers are more interested in the chase (pursuing the object) than the hare (owning the object).
Structure of this paper

The infinite source of consumer desires seems to be the justification of the ever increasing amount and variety of products that inundate our lives (figure 1). Consumption is set free from any functional bond (Bauman, 2000), bringing our current consumption levels to the point that it is ecologically destructive and unsustainable.

![Figure 1: Possessions of South Korean Children](image)

Against this background, the purpose of our research is to explore if and how we can reintroduce limits to consumption by means of design, without limiting the consumer herself. As part of this research, this paper will explore if, and how designers can intervene to (re-) establish well-being as the purpose of consumption.

In doing so this paper is structured as follows: using the work of Zygmunt Bauman we start by examining the core values of consumer society, and discuss how the typical organization of our society prescribes its members what a good life is. Next we will discuss this image of the good life in relation to philosophical theories of well-being. We will introduce Tiberius' (2011) value-fulfilment theory as a valuable account of well-being to understand the 'consumerist good life'. Based on this theory we argue that a product contributes to our well-being if we care about that product. Subsequently we suggest that to encourage product engagement it is important to adopt a broader understanding of consumption.

The third part of this paper explores what these notions mean for actual design practice. The theoretical considerations lead us to adopt the idea of ‘open scripts’ as a perspective for designing consumer objects. Finally, we will present a small case study in which we asked five professional designers to work with the proposed design perspective.

**Consumer society and Desire**

The typical way in which a society is organized (e.g., as a consumer society) favours some ways of living over others (e.g., consumerism), and informs its members what a good life is and how to live it (Wong, 2012). Bauman (2007) argues that well-being cannot be understood without examining it in the context of the existential conditions of our society. He compares a society of producers with consumer society through inquiring various changes in social-cultural, epistemological and institutional dimensions of these societies. Bauman asserts that “the present-day situation emerged out of the radical
melting of the fetters and manacles rightly or wrongly accused of limiting the individuals freedom to choose and to act” (Bauman, 2000, p. 5), which undermined the pre-existing sources of authority and generated unprecedented uncertainty. He elaborates the metaphor of liquidity to describe the present state of our society (Bauman, 2000, pp. 2-15) and proposes immediacy and novelty to be the existential values of liquid modernity. Immediacy has become a cornerstone of our society as an answer to the prevalent uncertainty. Whereas novelty was raised as a core value because it invokes a state of incomplete satisfaction, satisfying the condition of an ever-rising demand.

The prioritization of immediacy and novelty facilitated the emancipation of consumption from its past instrumentality (serving real life needs) that used to draw its limits. The emergent society celebrates limitless consumption and primarily needs and engages its members in their capacity as consumers, who are driven by desire. This society closes in on an image of the good life, based on the extent to which one is free and able to instantly gratify one's infinitely renewing desire. In the following chapter we explore how this image of the good life lines up with more abstract philosophical theories of well-being.

**Desire-fulfilment and Value-fulfilment**

Well-being is used to describe what is ultimately good for a person; achieving well-being means living a life that is good for you (Brey, 2012). It is generally accepted that there are three main categories of well-being theories (Parfit, 1984, p. 493): hedonist, desire-fulfilment and objective list theories. According to hedonistic theories pleasure is the only intrinsic good; according to desire-fulfilment theories it is the fulfilment of desire; and according to objective list theories there is a list of things that are intrinsically good for us independent of their consequential pleasure or pain.

Desire-fulfilment theories are currently the more dominant view in understanding well-being (Crisp, 2013; Heathwood, 2005). They emerge in the 19th century with the rise of welfare economy and hold that well-being lies in the satisfaction of desires or preferences. The popularity of desire-fulfilment theories might be explained by the seamless fit between their characterizing features (e.g., liberalism, pluralism) and the image of the good life raised by contemporary (liquid) society. However, Brey (2012) points out that desire-satisfaction theories present a very abstract, formal theory of well-being that neglects to tell anything about the source(s) of well-being. According to desire fulfilment theories, it is a necessary and sufficient condition that our desires are satisfied and thus claim that all desire-satisfactions are intrinsically good. Yet, are things good for us simply because we desire them, or do we rather desire things because they are good for us? This raises the problem of so-called defective desires. There are cases abound in which a person desires things that are bad for him: we can have ill-informed desires, irrational desires, poorly cultivated desires, base desires, pointless desires, desires to be badly off and artificial desires (Heathwood, 2005). Satisfaction of such defective desires does not necessarily make the subject better off in terms of well-being. In other words, what we are motivated to pursue does not automatically give us reasons to do so.

This critique of desire-fulfilment theories is also relevant to consumerism. We argue that consumer activity is often fuelled by defective desires. It seems that all too often the joy in realizing a consumer desire is short-lived and as Belk, Ger & Askegaard describe “is transformed into routine, boredom or even negative feelings about the purchase.” (Belk et al., 2003, p. 342). The magical promise of goods-not-yet-possessed is strengthened not only by marketers, who put in considerable time, money and effort in enticing consumers, but also by consumers themselves through window-shopping and daydreaming. The incredible offer of goods, combined with the constant pressure of society to renew our desires, is likely to often lead to the gratification of desires that are defective, in the sense that they are not true to ourselves.
This conclusion evokes the question, if we want to justify the consumption of goods in terms of well-being and desires are too irrational to guide consumer behaviour, what then should guide consumer activity?

Hubin (2003, p. 327) holds that the most important problem with artificial desires is that for some of these desires their objects may be in conflict with the subject’s values. Values serve as a basis for deliberation and planning, and for assessments of how well our lives are going, therefore value commitments must be more than simple motivational or affective states. Accordingly, stability and appropriateness are distinctive features of values that allow them to play the role in our lives as they do (Tiberius, 2011). These features stand in contrast with the whimsical and ephemeral nature of desire: desires can literally take any form and do not have any necessary condition of authenticity. In contrast, values are by their very nature more lasting. Moreover, by their *internality requirement*, values cannot be external (Seidman, 2009, p. 273).

These characteristics of values lead Tiberius (2011) to propose the value-fulfilment theory of well-being, which states that living a happy life means to succeed by the standards of your values. Value-fulfilment theory succeeds to capture both the subjectivity and normativity of well-being: values have a specific relation to the subject because we identify ourselves in terms of our values, and we take values as ends that are normative for us: “we avow them as things that it makes sense to care about, pursue or promote” (Tiberius, 2011). This account of well-being is very valuable in understanding ‘the consumerist good life’. Following this theory, we hold that in achieving well-being, in contrast to our desires, our values can be considered as rational guides for our consumer behaviour. To make this conception more tangible, it helps to focus on our *carings*. Tiberius points out that “to value something is to care about something in a particular way, and to care about something is at least in part, to have some positive affective orientation toward it” (Tiberius, 2011). Quoting Frankfurt (2004) beautifully illustrates the importance of our carings:

“It is by caring about things that we infuse the world with importance. This provides us with stable ambitions and concerns; it marks our interests and our goals. [It] defines the framework of standards and aims in terms of which we endeavour to conduct our lives.” (Frankfurt, 2004, p. 23)

Accordingly we argue that we find our happiness in coming to care about our products. Obviously, there are many reasons why and how we come to care about a product: it might fulfil a certain function, it might do something to our identity, we might find it very beautiful or we might come to care about it simply through use and the inherent creation of valuable memories. But independent from why we come to care about a product, it requires a bond to form between user and product.

**Re-interpreting, rather than limiting the act of consuming**

In today’s society we are inclined to understand consumption solely in the act of buying. Buying is the activity of consumers: when we say that consumers fail, we mean that they are not pulling their wallet, and not for example that they are not enjoying their products or that they don’t care for their products. With the rise of consumer society and consumption becoming a goal in itself, the objects of the desire (the products) are no longer the primary goal of consumption. The emphasis is on the circulation of goods rather than on the goods themselves. Bauman describes these patterns that result in the ceaseless succession of goods in a way that bears quoting at length;  

“The consumerist syndrome has degraded duration and elevated transience. It lifts the value of novelty above that of lastingness […]. It has sharply shortened the time span separating not just the want from its fulfilment […], but also the birth
moment of the want from the moment of its demise, as well as the realization of the usefulness and desirability of possessions from the perception of them as useless and in need of rejection. Among the objects of human desire, it has put the act of appropriation, to be quickly followed by waste disposal, in the place once accorded to the acquisition of possessions meant to be durable and to their lasting enjoyment.” (Bauman, 2007, pp. 85-86)

Here, a paradoxical relation is revealed. Consumerism on the one hand requires a commitment to the material, while it simultaneously requires disengagement. It seems better not to get too attached to our products because we are constantly pressed to part with them again. The constructs of consumer society put the bonding process under extreme stress. To overcome these structures we need to re-conceptualize our understanding of consumption as well as our notion of being a consumer.

To keep the consumer from losing herself in infinite renewal of desire we must encourage product engagement and regain focus on the objects of our wants - the products themselves. More importantly, if we want to overcome the cycle of desire we need to understand consumption in the act of appropriating, rather than in the act of buying. The act of appropriation - making something to be your own - might include the act of buying but involves a much broader set of actions that allow you to create a bond with the product. In this perspective consuming a product would mean to incorporate the product in your life in a way that is meaningful for you.

**Emphasising the act of appropriation**

In traditional views on product development the consumer and subsequent user are considered passive agents: marketers deliver finished products which are purchased by the consumer and used by the user as such. The consumer is not understood to be part of the shaping of the product. Even despite the focus shift in product development from technology-push to user-centred design, this has virtually not changed. Although many recently developed design methodologies include users in the development process, the actual consumers are not necessarily the same people. Therefore consumers are still often seen as, and more importantly understand themselves as passive recipients of the product. We will argue that to encourage product engagement, consumers must be conceptualized as active actors in the shaping of their products. As we will elaborate next, following the predicament of scholars of user-technology relations, they become active actors through the act of appropriation. It is important to note that this simultaneously introduces a form of responsibility to the notion of consumers: a responsibility to ‘fit their acquisitions into their lives’.

This idea is supported by recent works in the field of Science and Technology Studies (STS), especially the Social Construction of Technology (SCOT) by Bijker & Pinch (1987) and Actor Network Theory (ANT) by Latour, Callon and Law (Latour, 1992). In general, scholars of STS recognize the crucial role of users in shaping technology and claim that the dichotomy between designer and user should not be taken as an *a priori* fact (Oudshoorn & Pinch, 2008). SCOT introduces the term ‘interpretative flexibility’ to indicate the multiple ways in which technologies are interpreted by people and thus attain social meaning. ANT also regards users as active actors in ascribing meaning to technologies. It uses the concept of ‘script’ as developed by Akrich (1992), which centres on the understanding that artefacts can invite, demand or evoke certain behaviour. A designer, through anticipating future use, implicitly or explicitly builds use-prescriptions in the materiality of the product:

“[…] when the technologists define the characteristics of their objects, they necessarily make hypotheses about the entities that make up the world into which
the object is inserted. Designers thus define actors with specific tastes, competences, motives, aspirations, political prejudice, and the rest, and they assume that morality, technology, science, and economy will evolve in particular ways. A large part of the work of innovators is that of ‘inscribing’ this vision of (or prediction about) the world in the technical content of the new object. I will call the end product of this work a ‘script’ or a ‘scenario’.” (Akrich, 1992, p. 206)

However, despite the designer’s inscriptions, actual users are likely to interpret the script in their own way and do not per se follow the designer’s script. Both the concept of interpretative flexibility as well as script show that when a technology is introduced its meaning is not predetermined, but socially (and historically) situated. In accordance we must not consider a product as finished when the marketers take their hands off it: the final stage of the shaping process starts once a design ‘catches the consumer’.

Silverstone and Haddon (1996) call the process that follows ‘domestication’, analogue to the appropriating of livestock to the human needs in ancient history. Domestication is the aspect of technology development where consumers are confronted with new technologies and try to fit them in the patterns of their daily life: “…what is involved is quite literally a process of taming the wild and cultivation of the tame.” (Silverstone & Haddon, 1996, p. 62).

In sum, we have argued that if we understand consumption in the act of appropriation and see the consumer as an active agent in the shaping process of a product we can overcome current structures of consumer society and transcend the cycle of desire. Not only will this introduce a notion of responsibility to the consumer, but it will also encourage product engagement. More importantly, we believe that this way of conceptualizing consumption will help in re-establishing boundaries for consumption: not in terms of needs and survival, but in terms of well-being. To put it in Bauman’s words: we believe that understanding consumption in the act of appropriating will transform the acquisition of possessions to be once again durable and a lasting enjoyment.

**How to interest people for the hare instead of the chase?**

From our theoretical framework we have come down to the idea of creating products with an open script -or a high level of interpretative flexibility- in order to stimulate people to enjoy the possession of products more than the acquisition of new ones. The following section explores the implications of this idea of open scripts in design practice. We examined a number of designs that incorporate open scripts and conducted a small design exploration on fashion design. We chose fashion design as our subject of research because of its relevance to both consumerism and well-being. Its continual, cyclical nature presses people to pursue new ‘fashionable’ garments over and over again. Also, fashion is very closely related to our identity and the way we want to express ourselves, and therefore also closely related to our value system.

**Open script examples**

The first example is the Fatal Dress by Wolford, originally designed by Philippe Starck (Sweet, 1999). This dress is sold in a box, so small that upon sight it seems nearly impossible for it to contain a full length dress. Opening the box for the first time might be quite disappointing: the tube of elastic fabric does not look like a piece of clothing at all, let alone capable of transforming into a fatal dress. But it does. Even more so, it does not only transform into a fatal dress, but it can also be worn as a skirt of any length, or as a top with a straight or sweetheart neckline (figure 1, mid). This simple looking garment secretly embodies an amazing set of possibilities that allows the user to mold it to her use-goal.
Figure 1. The *Limitless Dress* by Emami (left) and the *Fatal Dress* by Wolford, originally designed by Philippe Starck as *Starck Naked* in 1998 (right).

The *Limitless Dress*, by Emami (figure 1, left) is a garment based on a similar concept, however slightly more complex than the fatal dress. This garment can be draped into many different dresses, skirts, tops and even pants. Due to the complexity of this dress it requires the user to put in some serious effort to create a dress – it cannot be simply ‘thrown on’. Via their website Emami offers instruction videos of almost thirty different ways of draping this dress (Emami.dk, 2013). But this is not all the dress has to offer; for example, via YouTube users have posted instructions of dresses of their own invention testifying that the *Limitless Dress* evokes creativity and engagement of the users. Both examples show a garment with an open script in that before being able to wear it, the user must consciously reflect on her use-goals. Only then she can shape the dress such that it meets these goals. However, although every time she uses the garment she has to quite literally shape the product, she might not feel as a part of the shaping process because her contribution is not permanent.

Figure 3: *Colour-In Dress* by Berber Soepboer and Michiel Schuurman from 2008 (Soepboer & Schuurman, 2008).

This permanent contribution is implemented in the *Colour-In Dress*, designed by Soepboer and Schuurman (Figure 3). This will not only enhance product bonding because the user is encouraged to create a unique garment, but the dress will also raise questions about how to make this contribution. When will I wear this dress? Do I want to be chic or casual? By the sheer possibility of allowing the user to color the dress it will encourage the consumer to think beyond simple cravings, and spark imagination about how to use the garment. Moreover, the contribution of the user is permanent, but not definitive: it is possible to initially color a limited amount on, and to color more and different to suit the dress for another occasion. Furthermore, the *Colour-In Dress* is a very clever, admirable design. The intricate graphics allow for any color as well as any amount of color to be added, while remaining aesthetic. To put it straightforward: it is very difficult to mess up this design. This touches upon a very important issue in working with open scripts: to create a successful design the challenge for the designer is to give the user as much freedom of interpretation as possible while at the same time still being in control of the quality of the design (aesthetically as well as technically).
The final example that we will discuss here are the Fragment Textiles (Figure 4) designed by Soepboer and Van Balgooi. The goal of the designers was “to design environment friendly garments that can be worn in different ways so that the owner can make choices in how to wear the cloth” (Soepboer & Schuurman, 2008). They developed two small wool forms –squares and stars– which can be assembled to create a fabric. The forms have small slits which enables two pieces to connect and hold but also to be disconnected again. Hence, the pieces of clothing made from these fabrics are completely changeable in color and form.

**Design exploration**

The given examples of garments are open-script designs in retrospect. The designers - although sometimes with similar goals in mind- were not aware of this aspect of their designs. So these examples do not provide any understanding of what the idea of open scripts means as a design approach. Therefore we conducted a design exploration in the form of a half-day guided brainstorm session, in which five professional designers participated.

After a short introduction on open scripts, the session was divided in three design rounds. In the first round the participants were challenged to design pieces of clothing from different functionalities (e.g., to cover, to protect, to provide identity). In the second round the designers were asked to design new ways of shopping for clothing or new shop concepts addressing the active attitude of the consumer in shaping the clothes to fit her life. In the final round they were asked to design garments that would be not immediately wearable.

Two results of the first round are shown in figure 5. The *four season scarf* and The *endless jeans*. The *four season scarf* is a long haired scarf that can be modified using scissors or a razor, i.e. according to the seasons. The pattern of the underlying fabric increasingly reveals, allowing the user to create different
appearances. The *Endless Jeans* concept shows a dispenser machine that offering endless trouser leaving the consumer with separate parts that must be assembled. A similar concept is the *Endless scarf* that might be offered from a similar machine, where the consumer must choose the length of the scarf.

Figure 6 shows two results of round 2, re-thinking the way clothing could be purchased. *Choose 'n Make* is a store concept similar to a sandwich store, where you can assemble your roll by choosing all the different toppings. In this clothing store you have to i.e. combine different models with different fabrics and patterns and for example buttons. At the end of the lined you can drink a cup of coffee and wait for your garment to be assembled. *Adopt a Sheep* offers you to adopt a sheep, or a cotton patch, or an oil pump. You are then allowed to ‘harvest’ the raw materials (actually or virtually) which you can use to make clothing. This way the user is engaged with the process and becomes aware of what it takes to produce clothes.

![Figure 6. Two results from round 2: Choose 'n Make shop concept and Adopt a Sheep.](image)

Some results of the last round, thinking up garments that are not readily wearable, are shown in figure 7. *Bake a Hat* proposes that the consumer bakes a hat. Although this might not sound as a very realistic solution for everyday clothing, it might form an inspiration for more realistic products. It is imaginable that we will be able to develop a fabric that changes colour, dependent on duration and temperature, when it is ‘baked’.

![Figure 7. Several design ideas from round 3: Bake a Hat, and the shirt concepts What’s my Size? and Sexy or Conservative?](image)

The other sketches in figure 7 show shirt concepts that need modifications by the user before they are wearable. The *What’s my Size?* T-shirt is an extremely large size, so that the user should stitch the model. This gives an interesting result especially when ‘the excess parts’ are not removed. The other shirt has a closed neck which can be cut into either a very low and sexy neckline or into a high, conservative neckline and everything in
between. Dotted lines invite the user to do so, and at the same time guide her to prevent messing-up this customization process.

**Discussion**

The brainstorm session served as a preliminary exploration of the pragmatic, and as such to strengthen and further develop the notion of open scripts. Although the open script concept became clearer over the course of the brainstorm, the designers experienced the concept to be difficult and still somewhat vague to work with. Obviously it is important to overcome this vagueness. Efforts in doing so should be partly directed at strengthening the notion of open scripts, and partly at the education of designers, increasing their awareness of the social significance of design.

In this perspective the brainstorm did deliver some interesting designs that employ the notion of open scripts. However not all of them very realistic and it is not sure whether they would have the intended effect on the consumer. Remarkably though, shortly after the brainstorm we discovered that the GSUS fashion brand already incorporated one of the ideas in their line of basic garments (Figure 8, left).

![Figure 8. One of the design ideas, as implemented by GSUS (the shirt is pictured inside-out). At the right, a shoe design by Janne Kyttanen, to be printed overnight in the CubeX 3d-printer from 3D Systems (dezeen.com, 2013).](image)

On a related track, it is important to note here that over the past two decades many scholars, especially design scholars, have researched ways to strengthen and intensify product bonding as such (Çakmakli, 2010; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Mugge, 2007). However, the resulting design methodologies are installing an unconscious process. The user will in most cases not be aware of the actual forming of the bond between her and her product, but she will ‘simply’ experience the relationship. As Russo (2010) shows, most people are only able to explain why they care about their products in retrospect. Moreover, the resultant methodologies are usually not developed from a societal perspective and therefore often only function on the product level, maintaining the cultural structures that stress product bonding in the first place. For example, as demonstrated in the shoe design by Janne Kyttanen (Figure 8, right) simply involving the user in the creation process of a product does not necessarily render the desired effect. Women are invited to print a new pair of lively coloured shoes overnight ‘to match the occasion’ over and over again, fostering the values of immediacy and novelty. Which, we have seen, actually encourages the ceaseless succession of goods altogether.

Accordingly, we believe that existing methodologies aimed at enhancing product bonding are not capable of contributing to a re-conceptualization of consumption. To establish well-being as the purpose of consumption we believe an attitude change of the consumer is necessary: she needs to think about why she buys a product, how she will meaningfully incorporate it into her life. We believe open scripts are an interesting
possibility in bringing about this attitudinal change, as they evoke conscious questions and actions of the user.

Reflecting on our initial challenge of understanding how design can support to establish well-being as the purpose of consumption, it is important to conclude that the impact of a single few products that employ an open script cannot reach far enough to overcome consumerism. However open script products may contribute to the realization that we can actively shape our products to fit our lives and daily routines. Based on the theoretical as well as the pragmatic exploration we believe that open script products trigger the consumer to understand that products (not only those with an open script but products in general) are not the rigid, untouchable entities that we often take them to be, but that we are active actors in shaping them by moulding them into our lives.

Conclusion
The garments that we have presented as examples of ‘open scripted’ products, and the product ideas that we presented as outcomes from the design exploration do encourage – all in their own way– the process of appropriation by demanding a certain dedication, or engagement of the user in accomplishing her use-goal. Simultaneously these products invite the user to think about her use-goal and how she can achieve it with her product. Since these products have an open script they do not prescribe a specific path, but force the consumer to make choices about how she wants to wear it. Following our theoretical framework, we believe that these garments are more likely to become something the user cares about, and renders not so easily replaceable. In this way becoming a better ‘owner’ of the product. Interested in the product itself, rather than in pursuing a new one. And with that we believe these products will be likely to contribute to the users’ well-being. Finding themselves more interested in the hare, instead of the chase.

Acknowledgements
The authors of this paper wholeheartedly thank Julia Garde, Martijn Zwart, Rick Schotman and Pepijn van Passel for their contribution to this research.

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