Governing Sustainable Cities

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Preface

Urban local authorities have been some of the most committed institutions working towards sustainable development during the last decade. A survey undertaken by the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) in preparation for the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 2002 showed that over 6000 local authorities had started Local Agenda 21 or similar planning processes, with their citizens, the aim being to develop strategies for future development that reconcile a good quality of life with the need to reduce the use of natural resources. In 2000, a consortium of European research partners coordinated by ICLEI began to investigate the outcomes of Local Agenda 21 processes in European cities and towns in the framework of a project entitled Local Authorities' Self-Assessment of Local Agenda (LASALA). The project (which analysed some 150 municipalities in a two-stage exercise) identified 24 cases of 'good practice' for sustainability. Although these cases originate from many different countries and thus represent different cultural, political and economic framework conditions, one question that remained unanswered was: are there any common factors and conditions that allow good practice to occur?

To date, there has been a widely accepted assumption amongst both researchers and practitioners that one way of spreading innovation in local policy is through documentation and dissemination of good examples, which are then transferred, adapted and further developed from one place to another. But what if this transfer fails? What if there are preconditions that have to be fulfilled before a local sustainability process can produce tangible results? To answer these questions, the same research partners formed a new consortium and started to look in greater depth at the processes operating within European cities and towns – in particular, considering those that had already been identified as implementing 'good practice' in local sustainability. The project in which this assessment was conducted is entitled Developing Institutional and Social Capacities for Urban Sustainability (DISCUS), and its results are presented in this book.

The DISCUS project contributes to the ongoing debate about the relationship between 'government' and 'governance'; but it has had a further aim: to analyse the links between these processes and sustainable development policy processes. Local governments from across Europe usually consider a participatory approach to governing a town or city as being an integral part of sustainable development. In fact, a majority of the 'good practice' cases are 'successful' in the way that the local authority works together with interest organizations and involves citizens in a dialogue about the future of their municipality. So, is this a contribution to sustainable development? The common assumption here is that this shift from a top-down ('government') to a more dialogue-oriented ('governance') approach increases awareness, shared responsibility and acceptance among citizens of the necessary, yet so far unpopular, policy steps towards less resource use and better social inclusion. This suggests that at some stage in the future, citizens – encouraged by this shift and led by their local governments – take ownership of their municipality and respond in a spirit of cooperation to the challenge of sustainability. This may sound idealistic and, indeed, it requires a good deal of stepping back from immediate short-term interests for both local government and civil society. For this to happen, certain capacities have to be built up and in place before local 'government' and 'governance' will contribute to more 'sustainability'.

In order to examine and understand the forms of institutional and social capacities that are required for sustainable development policy achievements, the DISCUS fieldworkers undertook research in 40 cities and towns all over Europe. The analysis of the enormous amount of data gathered during the one year of fieldwork confirms that a shift from 'government' to 'governance' is not sufficient to create more sustainable towns and cities. While it is clear that the rules of interaction between local governments and civil society need to be modified in order to prevent the sustainability agenda from running against citizens, rather than taking them on board, strong and self-confident local governments are central in bringing about tangible and long-term results for sustainability.

The 'art' of *Governing Sustainable Cities* is thus to create competent local governments that, in interaction with a highly responsible (and responsive) civil society, apply a form of governing that brings about the most sustainable solutions. Building up the institutional and social capacity needed in order to achieve this goes beyond weekend courses in new public management or an 'environment day' every year. It is a long-term process that includes education and awareness-raising, but also the creation of a new societal attitude of shared responsibility for the public welfare (or the 'common goods'), which at present seems to be a straight contradiction to the current paradigm of individualism and enhanced competition.

However, if there is any 'entrance door' to building up this capacity for 'governing for sustainable development', then it is local government: a local government that has genuine concern – not only for the interests of its elected or professional representatives, but for the 'common good' of its municipality – while at the same time engaging in a continuous local debate with civil society of what the 'common good' of the city actually is. *Governing Sustainable Cities* is about changing local governments and thus local society in order to come to a form of local governing that fertilizes local sustainability. This may sound confusing and, in fact, requires more than just applying a handful of new methods of managing a town or city. However, I hope the DISCUS project and its results can help in clarifying these concepts and their interrelations; certainly, it will outline a number of those 'ingredients' needed to enable more sustainable towns and cities to emerge.

I would like to express my thanks to the DISCUS project consortium – composed of the Sustainable Cities Research Institute at Northumbria University,

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Åbo Akademi University, FocusLab srl, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, WWF-UK, and the two consultation partners: the European Sustainable Cities and Towns Campaign and the Regional Environmental Centre – for three years of highly inspiring and often intensive, yet always enjoyable discussion and trustful cooperation. On behalf of this team, my thanks also extend to the group of fieldworkers without whom the data for this book would not exist; our academic Advisory Board and our Panel of Practitioners for their critical feedback and encouragement; and the European Commission's Directorate-General for Research Fifth Framework Programme, which largely co-funded the DISCUS project.

Stefan Kuhn ICLEI – Local Governments for Sustainability, European Secretariat, Freiburg, Germany DISCUS coordinator October 2004

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During the three years of the DISCUS project, we have been privileged to be part of the DISCUS team, comprising:

- Stefan Kuhn, Gino van Begin, Naomi Luhde-Thompson and Sarah Lahmani (ICLEI – Local Governments for Sustainability, European Secretariat, Freiburg, Germany: project coordinators);
- Marko Joas, Susan Sundback, Maria Nordström and Tove Måtar (Åbo Akademi University, Åbo, Finland: project partner);
- Joao Farinha (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal: project partner);
- Walter Sancassiani (Focus Lab, Modena, Italy: project partner);
- Bob Evans and Kate Theobald (Sustainable Cities Research Institute, Northumbria University, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK);
- Lucy Young and Ken Webster (WWF-UK, Godalming, Surrey: project partner);
- Anthony Payne (European Sustainable Cities and Towns Campaign, Brussels, Belgium: consultation partner);
- Agata Miazga (Regional Environmental Centre, Szentendre, Hungary: consultation partner).

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Bob Evans, Marko Joas, Susan Sundback and Kate Theobald October 2004

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

API DISCUS	Associazione Piccole e Medie Imprese Developing Institutional and Social Capacities for Urban Sustainability
DUC EC	Dunkerque Urban Community European Community
ECAT EIA	Environmental Centre for Administrative Technology, Lithuania environmental impact assessment
EMAS EU	Environmental Management and Audit Scheme European Union
ICLEI	International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
IFOC	local employment agency for sustainable development jobs (Spain)
ISO	International Standards Organization
KLIMP	Nordic Climate Alliance
LA21	Local Agenda 21
LASALA	Local Authorities' Self-Assessment of Local Agenda 21
NGO	non-governmental organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
REC	Regional Environmental Centre
SD	sustainable development
SDP	Social Democratic Party of Germany
SEKO	Swedish eco-municipality network
SME	small and medium-sized enterprise
SPSS	statistical package for social scientists
SUSCOM	Sustainable Communities in Europe
UBC	Union of Baltic Cities
UDS	Urban Development Strategy (Munich)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development

Chapter 1

'The Level of Governance Closest to the People...'

Because so many of the problems and solutions being addressed by Agenda 21 have their roots in local activities, the participation and cooperation of local authorities will be a determining factor in fulfilling its objectives... As the level of governance closest to the people, they play a vital role in educating, mobilizing and responding to the public to promote sustainable development (United Nations, 1992).

This book is about local government and sustainability, and, crucially, it is concerned with understanding how the first can help to deliver the second. More specifically, it is about cities and towns: the need to create more 'sustainable cities' reflects the fact that the world's population is increasingly an urban one, and that in Europe, in particular, the majority of citizens now live in urban areas. Cities are the source of most of our pollution; they consume our non-renewable raw materials; they have substantial ecological footprints – requiring vast areas of land to provide the food, energy, water and natural resources to keep them operating; and, as centres of population, they contain vast disparities between wealth and poverty.

But cities are clearly more than this. They are the heart of our civilization, the primary source of wealth and enterprise, places of inspiring architecture and the great centres of learning, culture and politics. Perhaps most importantly, though, cities are the locus for change and innovation in all of these things, the places where new ideas, concepts and political visions are moulded into life. The very existence of cities demonstrates the past achievements of humankind and its potential for the future. As Raymond Williams observed: 'This is what men have built, so often magnificently, and is not everything then possible?' (Williams, 1973). As the city emerged in what is now Europe, so did the political structures and institutions that gave it life and order. The processes of the internal government of Aristotle's Greek polis were not so very different from Machiavelli's Italian city state, which, give or take the question of the extension of the franchise, might be seen to be the precursor of 19th-century Birmingham, Lille or Stockholm. The central point, of course, is that it is impossible to disassociate the geographical form and social structure of the city or town from its government. The two go hand in hand. 'Good' urban government presumably

results in successful, prosperous and stable cities, whereas 'poor' government does not, and while these two designations are in themselves highly contentious and difficult to satisfactorily define, it does seem reasonable to assume that both states of affairs are inexorably linked.

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However, the scope of this book is not quite so ambitious. We are not seeking to define 'good' or 'bad' government. Our task is more specific. We wish to examine the veracity of a proposition that is at the heart of the sustainable development agenda, and implicit to the statement quoted at the start of this chapter, which is that good governance is a precondition for achieving sustainable development – particularly at the local level. This proposition naturally raises definitional questions. Apart from those relating to 'good' and 'bad' noted above, a central issue is that of 'governance' – what exactly is meant by this, how can it be conceptualized and, most importantly for this book, does it relate in any meaningful way to tangible shifts in public affairs towards what might be regarded as a more sustainable way of life?

Governance is discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters; but, first, we need to emphasize that, as the title of this book suggests, we are actually interested in the process of governing. By this we mean that governing encapsulates two related and intertwined processes, those of government and governance.¹ We need to be precise in our use of these terms because, within the wide and extensive discourse of sustainable development, there has been a tendency to suggest that, first, governance is somehow unarguably a 'good thing' and that more of it should be encouraged; second, by implication, that 'government' is somehow less desirable; and, finally, that changes in the processes of local politics and administration can usefully be conceptualized as a continuum moving from government to governance with, as indicated above, a clear assumption that any movement along this continuum towards governance is both progressive and supportive of sustainability. To an extent, these positions reflect the analysis offered by the academic political science community (see, for example, John, 2001; Goss, 2001); but the sustainable development discourse, and the actors operating within it, tend to be more normative in approach. Moreover, there is a tendency within this discourse to conflate government and governance, sometimes using the terms interchangeably. However, as will be seen, for the purposes of this book and the research upon which it is based, it is necessary to be clear that these two processes have distinct identities.

Figure 1.1 illustrates these contrasting interpretations and subsequent chapters provide further explanation of our position. Nevertheless, put simply, we have chosen to regard the sphere of local authority activity, the internal organization of local government, and the legal, financial and political processes therein as *government*. In particular, as will be seen in Chapter 2, we are concerned to assess what we term 'institutional capital': the knowledge, resources, leadership and learning that can make local governments effective and