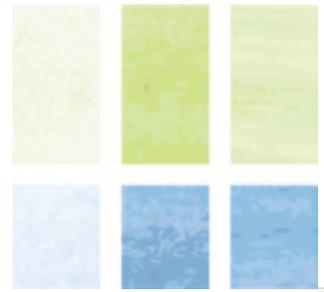


Participation in Urban Climate Protection

Answers of European
Municipalities

 **HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG**
Brandenburg





**Participation
in Urban Climate Protection**

Answers of European
Municipalities



Education and Culture DG

'Europe for Citizens' Programme



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KRISTINA DELY

Head of the Covenant of Mayors Office

Participation is an important and sometimes underrated topic in the field of urban climate protection. Cities' direct influence on energy consumption and CO₂ emissions on their territory is comparably small, only approximately 10 to 30 per cent come from public sources. However, indirectly, local authorities' influence can be huge, not only because they are consumers and often producers of energy (district heating, combined heat and power), but also because they set local rules and regulations, offer financial incentives, approve construction permits, and take charge of planning and urban mobility. Local authorities' close relationship with their citizens means that they are well placed to lead by example (e.g. green procurement) and raise public awareness through local campaigns. Working together with citizens and local stakeholders is thus crucial for a successful climate policy.

The Covenant of Mayors strongly recommends that cities involve citizens and local stakeholders in all stages of the Sustainable Energy Action Plan, from develop-

ment to implementation. Citizens should be involved as early as possible, not only in terms of one-way communication to raise awareness, but also by offering possibilities for active participation. All cities are encouraged to organise a local energy day when they begin the process and also, normally, to hold a public consultation process at this stage.

The Covenant of Mayors Office comprises five European city networks that work closely with their members and also promote participation. Most of them have initiatives, campaigns, and processes in place to enable citizen participation and create local intelligent energy forums. For instance, in the European Display Campaign (www.display-campaign.org) launched by Energy Cities, local authorities monitor and display their energy performance in public buildings, for example in schools, thereby involving and educating children in energy awareness. Similarly, based on a local campaign launched in Heidelberg to promote citizen participation in climate protection,

a European campaign called ENGAGE (www.citiesengage.eu) has developed, to promote simple no-cost or low-cost measures targeting local stakeholders.

The Covenant of Mayors can only actively encourage local governments to engage their citizens and local stakeholders in their actions, we cannot and do not want to force them. The cities of course have their own cultural heritage and political culture, their traditional way of working with local stakeholders, which differs in its openness

to participation. Traditionally, Nordic cities and the less centralised countries such as Denmark, have greater success in involving their citizens and local stakeholders than do the more centralised countries. But, all in all, most of the Signatory cities of the Covenant engage in a process to involve their citizens: by organising local Energy Days or public consultations, which they acknowledge is important for the sake of acceptance and unanimous understanding of the objectives, and for monitoring future actions.

Participation in Urban Climate Protection – Answers of European Municipalities

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Public Participation in Urban Climate Protection – Added Value for Citizens and Administrations?

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Climate protection demands commitment from cities. International climate policies and multilateral agreements such as the Kyoto Protocol are certainly important, but they are not sufficient by themselves for reaching climate goals. The EU has made its own commitments to achieving ambitious climate targets. Yet individual member states lag far behind in attaining them. Cities and municipalities are critical sites for accomplishing these climate goals and reducing dependency on fossil fuels. Today, more than half of the world's population already lives in cities, and by the middle of this century, this proportion is expected to increase to over two-thirds. In Europe, urban residents already represent 70 per cent of the total population, and by 2050, their share is predicted to increase to 80 per cent, if not higher. Cities generate a majority of climate-damaging greenhouse gas emissions, and they account for the largest share of total energy consumption. At the same time, cities and municipalities are more flexible and agile in their decision-making. Especially smaller and mid-sized cities and municipalities represent reasonably governable entities, and, as a result, decisions are more direct, more easily comprehensible and can often be implemented more rapidly than decisions made at a national, supra-national or international level. By virtue

of their independent authority and administrative structures, cities and municipalities constitute the smallest units of the larger democratic commonwealth, and as such, they are located in immediate proximity to their citizens. Urban quality of life is largely determined by what takes place at the local level, and it is also at this level that citizens have the greatest options for participation, which is an indispensable factor for realising climate goals.

The future of climate change will ultimately be decided in cities. Many cities in the EU are fully cognisant of their high level of responsibility. This is demonstrated, among other things, by the fact that so many cities have organized themselves into climate protection networks. At this time, 1,000 cities and municipalities are members of the Energy Cities association, and 1,600 participate in the Climate Alliance of European Cities. The Covenant of Mayors currently includes over 2,700 signatory cities, and of these, 500 have already submitted a Sustainable Energy Action Plan that is a requirement for membership. This means that they have not only taken an active stance in favour of climate protection, but have gone on to formulate and implement concrete climate protection measures. Additionally, a growing number of Eastern

European cities have become engaged in these networks. Among the signatories of the Covenant of Mayors, for example, there are 16 cities from Poland, 20 from Romania, ten from Bulgaria, six from Hungary, five from Latvia, seven from Lithuania, three from Estonia and additional cities from the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia. Cities become members of the network based upon the initiative of local government and administration. Once they have made a commitment to a proactive climate policy, changes to the ways in which local authorities approach climate protection also become essential.

The most important actors for climate protection in any city are its citizens, civil society, and the local business community. The success of urban climate protection measures largely depends upon participation by its citizens and other actors, such as local businesses and associations. This is true for two important reasons. Firstly, emissions directly related to municipal government activities typically represent only a small part of a city's total emissions. Also, climate protection policies at the municipal level often have such broad impact that they demand broad acceptance on the part of the population. Climate protection measures that are under the direct control

of municipal authorities represent only a small part of what is possible. Thus, local government may undertake the energy-saving refurbishment of municipal buildings. However, what about the vast numbers of other buildings that are privately owned? A city can establish incentives for climate-friendly transportation and construct bicycle paths. Yet it is the city's many citizens who must make the ultimate decision to leave their cars at home. The city can purchase energy-sparing appliances that directly impact the energy consumption behaviour of its employees, but what about energy use by local businesses and the local population in general? If the municipality does not succeed in involving its citizens and local businesses and in motivating their active participation, then it is impossible to achieve the level of reduction in CO₂ emissions that is required.

Secondly, municipal climate protection programmes entail far-reaching transformations. For example, the incorporation of more renewable energy in a city's power supply is often linked to a change in local energy infrastructure, and energy-related renovation programmes alter the familiar urban landscape. In addition, even though many climate protection measures will amortise into long-term savings in terms

of lower energy costs and avoided damage to the climate, these measures frequently require an initial financial investment. In a democracy, all of these changes depend upon the consent of the citizenry. Without public backing, even the best-intended climate protection programmes cannot be realised. Past attempts to expand renewable energy in Germany show that despite general public consensus in favour of switching to low-emission energy sources and technologies, unanticipated citizen initiatives have arisen in opposition to wind parks, gas power plants and solar facilities, not because people have something against renewable energies per se, even in their immediate neighbourhood, but because the public has been insufficiently included in the process.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, local governments face a critical challenge of reinventing the 'polis' as a democratically functioning commonwealth and fostering its ongoing development. The first step in this process is for local authorities to avoid walling themselves off from their own citizens; instead, they must enter into a dialogue with their citizens, provide them with information, engage their participation, and arrive at decisions together with them about future ways to organise their city in a climate-friendly way. This requires new procedures that fulfil the prerequisites for a democratic community – a goal that sounds less complicated in principle than it often proves to be in practice. The first

roadblock that often impedes successful participatory efforts is the presence of stubbornly held prejudices on the part of both sides. Municipal governments all too often regard citizen participation as just another burden rather than a long-term facilitator of their own activities, and often consider the issues involved as being too complex for ordinary citizens to understand and decide upon. Moreover, participatory processes are often insufficiently well developed or firmly anchored. When citizens are invited to be heard, organisers are often disappointed that so few people actually get involved, and that it always seem to be the same individuals who participate. On the other side of the coin, many citizens seem to have reservations about participating in political processes, since they are under the impression that no matter what, their opinions will not be properly considered, and that even if they make their best efforts to express their views, this will not influence the ultimate outcome. As a result, they rapidly lose confidence in the process. In Eastern Europe, both sides in addition feel the legacy of dictatorship, and although it has been 20 years since communism was overthrown, this background of experience still marks all those involved in the processes of political life.

Thus, the issue is not merely that citizens should become involved, but also the nature of that involvement. This book seeks to make a contribution toward examining this question. It has emerged in the con-

text of the project 'Participation in Urban Climate-Protection' of the Heinrich-Boell-Foundation Brandenburg, in collaboration with project partners from Poland, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Germany, and France. The book is directed toward European cities and municipalities, municipal administrators and employees, community representatives and city council members, engaged citizens and other community actors, such as municipal housing cooperatives. Municipalities will find suggestions about how to advantageously organise citizen participation. Citizens will find encouragement to fully leverage existing options for involvement and to assert their demands for participation. The first part of the book explores different frameworks for participation and the second part presents concrete best practice examples from different European cities. The contributions focus especially on the situation in transition countries in Central and Eastern Europe, and are available in English, German, French, Polish, Estonian, Czech, Slovakian and Bulgarian.

In their contribution in the first section, Stefan Bouzarovski and Saska Petrova address transition-related challenges to citizen participation in Eastern European cities. Andreas Karsten presents different participatory models and concepts at the intersection between institutions of local democracy and the citizenry whose support they require. Cécile Cuny's contribution addresses criteria for successful participa-

tory processes, specifically the question of representation in participatory procedures. In their paper, Marke Muiste and Hector Pagan turn to the challenges posed by the historical absence of an adequate culture of cooperation between government and citizens in many Eastern European countries, and explore the issue of mutual trust as a foundation for participation and successful urban climate protection. In her contribution, Zuzana Drhová describes to what extent the Aarhus Convention, which regulates public participation in environmentally related decision-making processes, has been successfully implemented in the Czech Republic. In the final paper of the first section, Burghard Flieger expands upon the political dimension of citizen participation, exploring concrete economical participation in local climate protection, using the example of energy cooperatives.

The second part of this book presents a set of best practice examples drawn from various European cities, especially cities in Eastern Europe. These examples illustrate how cities organised participatory processes in practice, what constituted factors for their success and what challenges they faced. Thereby they provide valuable starting points for similar activities in other cities.

The book demonstrates that when it is well organised, intensive participation of citizens and other local actors provides great additional benefit to both municipal government and citizens. Local governments can usefully

employ the collective intelligence of an engaged population and profit from their sustained support for long-term climate protection measures. In collaboration with citizens, associations and local businesses, local governments can decide upon common climate goals and programmes that will be supported by all parties, and because they are jointly determined goals and procedures, they will generate greater levels of commitment. For their part, citizens are able to contribute their own ideas, can help actively shape the future of their city and make an important personal contribution to climate protection.

The inclusion of citizens in formal participatory processes as well as the soliciting their concrete involvement in climate protection represents the greatest challenge for our cities during the coming years – and the single critical factor that will determine the success or failure of European climate protection during this period.



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Can the Urban Public Sphere in Eastern and Central Europe Deliver Participatory Climate Change Protection?

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Introduction

The governance of climate change adaptation and mitigation is becoming a major policy issue across the globe. It is being increasingly recognized that fundamental changes to the ways in which state apparatuses function will be necessary in order to develop effective policies. This also concerns the regulation of relations between government, the private sector and NGOs, as well as the distribution of government finance and subsidy. Considering that ‘in order to address the challenges of climate change, attention needs to be focused not only at the international level but also on how climate protection policy is taking shape locally’, since ‘municipalities are increasingly deploying self-governing and enabling approaches to undertaken emissions reductions’ (Bulkeley and Kern, 2006: 2237), recent years have seen the rising importance of the transition to a low carbon economy at the urban scale. It is widely recognized that cities will become a central arena for the addressing of climate change concerns.

One of the regions where such issues are becoming particularly pertinent is the space occupied by the former communist states in Eastern and Central Europe (ECE). Ur-

ban areas in these states have undergone a double transition: from a centrally-planned to a market economy, and from a carbon-intensive and wasteful energy sector to much more sustainable energy technologies and practices. Choices about transformations that are being made in the present, therefore, will affect generations for years to come. ECE states have effectively been facing multiple sets of ‘critical junctures’, which, while determining the paths of development to come, are themselves embedded in the specific legacies and trajectories inherited from the previous system. The enmeshing of future and past path dependencies has often created institutional traps and ‘lock ins’ – situations where economic, political or social inefficiencies persist, despite pressure to change from the external environment.

Social scientists have frequently questioned the idea that post-communist regions and cities are undergoing a linear movement from one state to another, emphasizing the existence of diverse ‘transformation’ trajectories instead. However, much less research has been done on the movement towards a low-carbon and less energy intensive urban and regional system, in the context of climate protection policies. While there is some knowledge about the overall movement towards more sustainable

environmental practices in post-communist ECE, it has generally failed to communicate with broader scientific debates concerning science and technology studies, as well as bottom-up developments related to social movements. Moreover, discussions on urban post-communist and climate protection transitions have rarely communicated with each other. The transition experience of post-communist states is rarely invoked in debates about the political decisions and policy steps associated with the need to move towards a more sustainable energy system.

In particular – and in the light of the need for better climate protection policies – it remains unclear whether the urban political sphere in post communist ECE has the capacity to deliver participatory and effective environmental policies. This essay, therefore, brings together some of the available knowledge on the subject to explore some of the local governance and public participation challenges that ECE might face in the future as they attempt to move towards a more sustainable urban system, in line with the demands of broader climate protection policies.

Considering the importance of past legacies in determining current and future develop-

ment, the essay commences with a review of existing knowledge on the role of the communist centrally planned economy in shaping local government in ECE – as one of the overarching features in the region. We then explore the ways in which decentralisation processes and broader urban transformations have unfolded in post-communism. This is then supplemented by a brief survey of environmental and climate protection policies in ECE cities; the conclusion connects such knowledge to debates on post-communist local government restructuring.

Territorial government during communist central planning

The creation of a one-party system after World War Two led to the complete transformation of the state administrative system in ECE. Sub-national government structures were completely reorganised to match the Soviet ideology and political approach. At the same time, ‘territorial governments were established on the local level (rural and urban municipalities), district level, and regional (provincial) level’ (Illner, 2002: 10), with an organisational structure that involved ‘an elected assembly, an executive board elected by the assembly and headed by a chairman, several committees composed of deputies, and an

administrative apparatus'. Central government was given supremacy over basically all matters of regulatory importance, with sub-national units being relegated largely to utility and service management functions. Based on the available literature, it is possible to identify the following key features of local government under communism:

- The inexistence of accountability and democracy – despite the holding of formal elections at sub-national levels, these were mainly done for public relations purposes rather than fostering any meaningful democratic processes;
- The maintenance of effective power over all appointments and staffing policies by the apparatus of the Communist party, which meant that all officials in the line of management were vetted by its governing structures and there was a firm vertical line of command among all levels of administration;
- The insufficient economic autonomy of territorial government, which besides lacking its own property had its budgets completely determined by the central state;
- The inexistence of cross-sectoral cooperation and integration among the various branches of local government, and the corresponding central government departments. The vertical line of

responsibility meant that there were overlaps in many domains, while others were insufficiently covered by state liabilities;

- The gradual emergence of local clientelism, as a result of the growing power of economic organisations as well as the expansion of relations of networking, negotiation and informal economic exchange. This meant that certain actors were more privileged than others, and effective action at the local scale was determined by the ability of individuals and firms to win favours from the political elites linked to enterprises and the Communist party;
- The divergence of national level conditions post-1960, as a result of reforms undertaken by individual countries (early 1960s in Czechoslovakia, early 1970s in Poland and Yugoslavia, and the early 1980s in Hungary).

Illner (2002) claims that a number of specific legacies arose out of this process. The policies adopted under communist central planning, according to him, created 'a separation of the private and the public spheres' accompanied by 'a popular distrust of institutions, of any political representation, and of formal procedures' (page 14). They also resulted in an 'unwillingness on the part of citizens to get involved in public matters and to hold public office'. At the same time, there was 'a paternalism that was charac-

terized by a belief that local needs should be and will be taken care of by extralocal actors, usually by higher standing authorities' accompanied by 'a popular feeling of being chronically disadvantaged, of the community being neglected by authorities' (ibid). Overall, it can be concluded, local communities in most ECE states were in position where a culture of proactive local public participation was lacking at the end of communism; even though a burgeoning environmental NGO movement started to appear already in the late 1980s, citizens found it difficult to define the common interest on matters of local community concern, and to be proactive in lobbying the authorities for change.

Post-communist decentralisation processes: challenges and dilemmas

The post-communist restructuring process that commenced in 1990 led to radical changes in the structure of economic and political institutions in ECE. However, this was not necessarily a rational process of constructing new institutions in order to move toward optimal economic development goals. Stark (1996) contends that it involved '...rebuilding organizations and institutions not on the ruins but with the ruins of communism' (page 995). He argues that because of the importance of the 'ruins' of the state socialist system (in terms of trade, links, institutions, regulation, personal, and inter-firm networks), the economic transformation can be characterised as

path dependent. This is not a deterministic trajectory, however, since the actors in the transformation process are constrained by existing institutional resources. As a result, some courses and horizons of actions were limited, while others were favoured.

The local government policies adopted by ECE countries during the transition were variegated and diverse. Overall, however, it can be concluded that there was a widespread process of political and administrative decentralisation. The roots of this structural movement can be traced back as far as the 1980s, when local political action became a key focus for political resistance in countries like Poland. Despite the factors noted above – i.e. the low overall development of a grassroots political culture – citizens generally wanted their governments to give greater power to decisions made at the local level. In part, some of these expectations harked back to pre-communist nostalgia, when the Austrian, German – and to a lesser extent, the Ottoman – empires that ruled this part of the world had developed extensive and functional systems of territorial management.

In terms of decentralisation policies, the basic principle followed initially by most countries was to create small local government units that would reflect historical legacies and local peoples' wishes. Hungary was possibly the most successful in this regard, having established a functioning system already at the end of the 1990s. Other

Central European countries were quick to follow. However, one of the main problems was the insufficient capacity at the middle tier of government – regional level governments often lacked resources, democracy, or both. Also present was the issue of political and economic fragmentation, due to the excessive number of municipalities in some countries. Work to resolve this is still in progress – while some countries still lack a middle tier of government with a properly functioning and clear mandate (especially in Central Europe), in others, there still is an effective lack of fiscal and political decentralisation to the local level (particularly in the Balkans).

Such changes unfolded alongside the extensive transformation of post-communist cities. The breakdown of the land allocation and urban planning model favoured by the central economy led to rapid processes of residential and commercial suburbanisation and exurban sprawl; decentralisation policies also made a contribution in this context. There was also an overall reorganisation of the urban system in most countries, with national capitals or the centres of prosperous regions tending to expand at the expense of many small- and medium-sized towns in less prosperous regions. This process was catalysed by the uneven economic geographies of transition, which resulted in the concentration of high-value-added industries and services in a limited number of metropolitan agglomerations. ‘Winner’ urban centres

(e.g. Prague, Budapest, Warsaw, Krakow, Ljubljana, Bratislava, Bucharest, Timisoara, Sofia) also saw dynamics of reurbanisation and inner-city regeneration, while the effects of industrial decline and population outflow were most visible in ‘loser’ regions (such as Eastern Poland, Northern Bohemia and Northern Moravia in the Czech Republic, the Great Plain and Northern Hungary, Eastern and Southern Serbia, Northeastern Slovenia, Northern Moldova and the Southeastern Romanian Plain, North Central Bulgaria).

Local-level climate protection policies in transition

The post-communist transition led to important reform decisions in terms of the ways in which the energy sector’s infrastructure networks, economic relations and legislative systems were organised. Most countries in ECE – partly under pressure from the EU – developed extensive energy efficiency support programmes to deal with the inherited communist legacies in this domain. Such policies resulted in significant improvements of the intensity of energy use, especially in the residential sector. Combined with the major decrease of industrial energy intensity as a result of downsizing, this meant that most ECE states have seen significant energy efficiency gains in recent years (see Ürge Vorsatz et al., 2006).

Municipalities have been taking an increasingly prominent role in managing climate protection matters in ECE. A central part

of this has been the development of municipal energy strategies and plans, as key components of regional and local strategies for the sustainable development of regions and cities. In addition, many ECE municipalities have developed energy programmes and action plans to address climate protection and energy security issues. These have been coordinated with wider spatial and urban development plans, as well as national building rules and standards. They have offered different options for the development of energy networks (see GEF/UNDP, 2004).

Some ECE local authorities have also been involved in programmes for retrofitting the municipal building stock – as well as energy efficiency measures and energy management – in addition to energy audits of municipal buildings and carrying out projects for energy efficiency improvement. In their role as energy producer and supplier, cities and regions have been addressing issues surrounding the efficiency of heat and power generation (particularly district heating) and the use of renewable energy sources. A central part of this has been diminishing losses in the transportation and distribution of energy (since most such networks are municipally-owned) (ibid).

Typical activities undertaken in the public participation domain have included disseminating information on the advantages of investment in energy efficiency measures, and conducting campaigns on the opportunities for more efficient energy use. Some local

councils have also implemented demonstration activities, which point to the advantages of energy efficiency, while offering practical ways and means to achieve it. Municipalities have also been involved in the provision of consultancy support for the implementation of energy efficiency projects (ibid).

While the list of the measures noted above is neither exhaustive nor comprehensive, one would struggle to find a local authority that has implemented it in its entirety. Commonly, the lack of economic resources and effective political power have prevented municipalities from acting comprehensively in the domain of local energy efficiency and climate protection. What is more, the combination of rigid national policies and inadequate legal regulations has often created conditions in which local authorities are unable to affect infrastructural and technological systems that fall under their jurisdiction. This is perhaps most evident in the domain of district heating, which, despite providing a potentially highly sustainable method to heat collective residential buildings, has been in decline across many ECE states (particularly in Southeastern Europe, where such networks have often suffered from vicious circles of disconnection). The problems faced by district heating networks illustrate the inherited technological issues faced by this type of infrastructure, as well as the inability of municipal governments (which often own the networks) to provide for effective means of public participation (Poputoaia and Bouzarovski, 2010).

Another case where ECE municipalities have struggled to influence the management of public matters pertains to the domain of spatial planning. ECE cities have often suffered from dynamics of urban sprawl and inner-city decline as a result of broader processes that local authorities have been either unwilling or unable to control. In the Czech Republic, for example, the construction of thousands of satellite settlements – with all of their negative long-term impacts on climate change mitigation and adaptation – happened at the behest of suburban municipalities who were eager to attract the population and tax revenue that accompanied this phenomenon. The poor capacity of regional and metropolitan government to regulate the matter, coupled with local authority fragmentation, meant that its larger scale consequences remained unchecked.

Conclusion

This essay has highlighted the different ways in which moving towards a low carbon energy future in the ECE context has to take into account the legacies of the communist past in the regulation of territorial government, as well as the present capacity of local authorities to undertake policies in this domain. It is clear that the challenges brought about by the post-communist restructuring process have affected the ‘institutional and economic parameters [that] determine the underlying vulnerability and adaptive capacity of societies’ in the context of ‘interventions

and planned adaptations at the most appropriate scales’ (Adger, 2001: 921).

Given the diversity of the urban public sphere in ECE, it is difficult to make an overall assessment of its public participation abilities. What is clear, however, is that energy policy making in ECE is increasingly devolved to the local and regional level. An entire de facto legal framework is being created to support this process. Given the poor financial and regulatory power of regional government, as well as the problem of liability fragmentation at the local level, it is clear that a significant amount of capacity-building will be necessary in order to increase the administrative competence, institutional transparency and democratic proficiency of local authorities, civil society organisations, enterprises and the public more generally.

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Meeting Citizens Half-way? Different Models and Concepts of Participation

ANDREAS KARSTEN

Frankly Speaking

Participation is widely regarded as an essential, if not the most important principle of democracies of our time. Democracies have arguably reached a significant point in their development in Europe – being widely accepted and practised across the continent – and yet, at the same time, increasingly confronted with widespread mistrust and declining voter turnout. (Pratchett and Lowndes, 2004: 3).

It is the diminishing participation in formal political institutions that continues to capture attention and take centre stage in public discourses about the perceptions and realities of growing democratic deficits in young as well as established democracies. Following in the footprints of globalisation, patterns of political involvement seem to shift towards issues beyond the control of nation states just as traditional institutions and forms of democracy find their legitimacy called into question.

Participation is frequently considered key to any policy response, more often than not with the ambition to orchestrate the comeback of previously established forms of political involvement. At the same time, participation tends to be encumbered with the responsibility to reconnect the politically disenfranchised, overlooking the fact

that the mechanisms of exclusion reach far beyond the political domain.

Embedded in these dilemmas, the participation of young citizens illustrates an additional paradox – even more so in light of recent demonstrations of young people across Europe, from Spain and Portugal to the United Kingdom and Ireland. Yet while public arenas for youth involvement appear to be more numerous than ever before, few would claim that these opportunities have amplified the participation of young people. (Forbrig, 2005: 7).

Not surprisingly, lamentations about the dramatic decline in political involvement frequently zero in on young people. It is also for this reason that many participation models focus on the participation of children and young people, which explains why this chapter introduces both generic models for citizen participation as well as specific models for youth participation.

Two positions mark the extremes of a diversified and nuanced discourse on the participation of citizens: pessimistic voices tend to argue that citizens jeopardise the future of democracy by turning their backs on its institutions, as manifested by decreasing voter turnouts. More optimistic is the

conclusion evidenced by the globalisation movement: that forms of citizen participation are moving towards novel patterns of intervention and engagement.

The underlying questions concerning the relationship between democracy and citizens—as well as the relationship between democratic institutions and citizen organisations—inform and challenge the different concepts and frameworks of citizen and youth participation presented in this chapter.

The various conceptual models help to highlight the demands placed on democratic institutions – which are required to be responsive to the concerns and requests of citizens in general and young people in particular – and the demands placed on citizens to participate in political processes beyond their immediate interests – a relationship characterised by shortcomings on both sides.

As showcased in this chapter, conceptualisations of citizen and youth participation increasingly aim to resolve the inherent contradictions and dilemmas outlined above by relating questions of citizen commitment to citizenship, which is commonly understood as a fundamental dimension of democracy resting on the notion of human rights, and instantiated through (the right

to) active participation. (Council of Europe, 2005: 99).

The central paradox, however, remains unresolved: multiplying arenas for political discourse – expedited by the need to accommodate the growing cultural diversity in Europe’s pluralist democracies – are accompanied by and confronted with the apparent absence of stronger democratic participation, threatening the legitimacy of political institutions, which, seemingly, are disconnected from their social environment.

Whether, and how, this Catch-22 can be resolved—in theory and in practice—is one of the key questions of our time, both within and beyond climate protection. As Bridgland Sorensen observes:

It is no longer adequate to see participation simply in terms of the ‘components of participation’ repeated in various publications and embraced over the past twenty or so years. Fundamentally, the means and modes of communication [of citizens] have changed. (2006: 135)

Many of the concepts and models introduced subsequently argue that the question of power and power-sharing is crucial to

understanding citizen participation. Correspondingly, much of the current research suggests that there is a strong and direct relation between the real participatory power that citizens have and their readiness to get involved in any political process. (Lauritzen, 2005: 5).

As a result, sharp questions have begun to be asked: to what extent do the currently institutionalised structures and institutions offer citizens opportunities for participation; are they sufficiently honest offers to share power and fully negotiate the co-production of relevant public policies with citizens?

Many have argued that it is time to ensure that the invitation is genuine:

... authentic participation involves inclusion – wherein the system changes to accommodate participation – rather than integration – wherein participation works in predefined ways in predefined structures. (Percy-Smith and Malone, 2001: 18)

While this rationale is not yet fully reflected in theories, models, and frameworks on citizen and youth participation, it captures the direction in which the field is heading.

Ladder of Citizen Participation

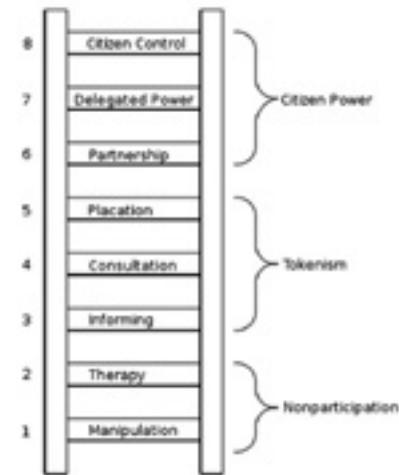
Sherry Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation, published in 1969 in the Journal of the American Planning Association, is a

classic, considered to be one of the most influential participation theories. Arnstein rests her theory on the declaration that citizen participation is citizen power, arguing that participation cannot be had without sharing and redistributing power.

The ladder of citizen participation developed by Arnstein has eight different levels that are subdivided into three groups: first, manipulation and therapy (non-participation), second, information, consultation, and placation (tokenism), and third, partnership, delegated power, and citizen control (citizen power).



Poster by a French student, 1968. In English it reads: 'I participate, you participate, he participates, we participate, you participate ... they profit'.



Ladder of citizen participation, Sherry Arnstein, 1969.

Arnstein's typology of eight levels remains a key theory in the construction, analysis, and review of participatory policies, its approaches and practices, despite some valid criticism most commonly targeted at the hierarchical and sequential nature of the model, which suggests that participation can be constructed in a specific hierarchical order and that it occurs in a particular sequence. *Source: Sherry Arnstein, 1969.*

Typology of Participation

Sarah White developed a typology of participation to highlight that the politics of participation are underpinned by tensions around actors, terms, and power. She observes that participation has become a buzzword, 'bringing a warm glow to its users and hearers,' (White, 1996) that is often used to masquerade a lack of power-sharing.

In response, White developed a table to aid a move beyond the catch-all term 'participation,' that looks at the diversity of func-

tions and interests across four forms of participation (nominal, instrumental, representative, and transformative). She contends that almost all projects will typically involve a mix of functions and interests, and thus forms of participation, over time. *Source: Sarah White, 1996.*

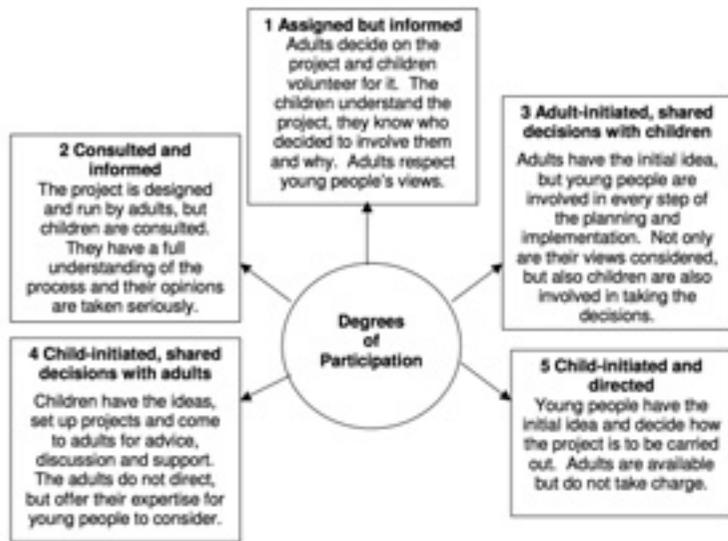
Form	Top-Down	Bottom-Up	Function
Nominal	Legitimation	Inclusion	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency	Cost	Means
Representative	Sustainability	Leverage	Voice
Transformative	Empowerment	Empowerment	Means/End

Typology of participation, Sarah White, 1996.

Degrees of Participation

Phil Treseder's model reworks the five degrees of participation from Roger Hart's ladder of youth participation in two significant ways. It first steps away from and responds to some of the most frequent criticisms of the ladder metaphor to illustrate that there is neither a progressive hierarchy nor a particular sequence in which participation should always be developed. Treseder then argues that there needs to be—and should be—no limit to the involvement of children and young people, but that they will not be able to take an active part in child-initiated and directed projects right away, and will need to be empowered appropriately in order to fully participate.

Treseder rests his model on Hodgson's five conditions, all of which must be met if



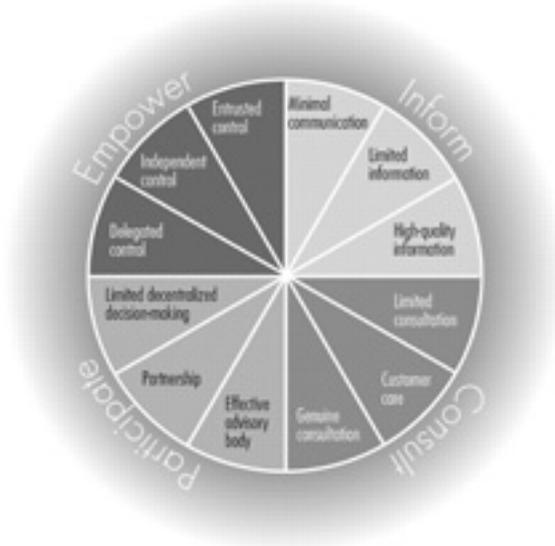
Degrees of participation, Phil Treseder, 1997.

youth participation and empowerment is to be achieved, which stipulates that young people need to have: (1) access to those in power as well as (2) access to relevant information; that there needs to be (3) real choices between different options; that there should be (4) support from a trusted, independent person; and that there has to be (5) a means of appeal or complaint if anything goes wrong (Hodgson 1995).
Source: Phil Treseder and Lina Fajerman, 1997.

Wheel of Participation

Scott Davidson developed the wheel of participation for and with the South Lanarkshire Council to define and encourage levels of citizen participation for community planning and development. With an ambition to rejuvenate citizen participation, Davidson pres-

ents the wheel as an innovative approach to conceptualising the process of engagement.
Source: Scott Davidson, 1998.



Wheel of participation, Scott Davidson, 1998.

Pathways to Participation

Harry Shier's pathways to participation diagram identifies five levels of participation, from (1) children are listened to, to (5) children share power and responsibility. At each level, the model sets out three progressive stages of commitment: openings, opportunities, and obligations.

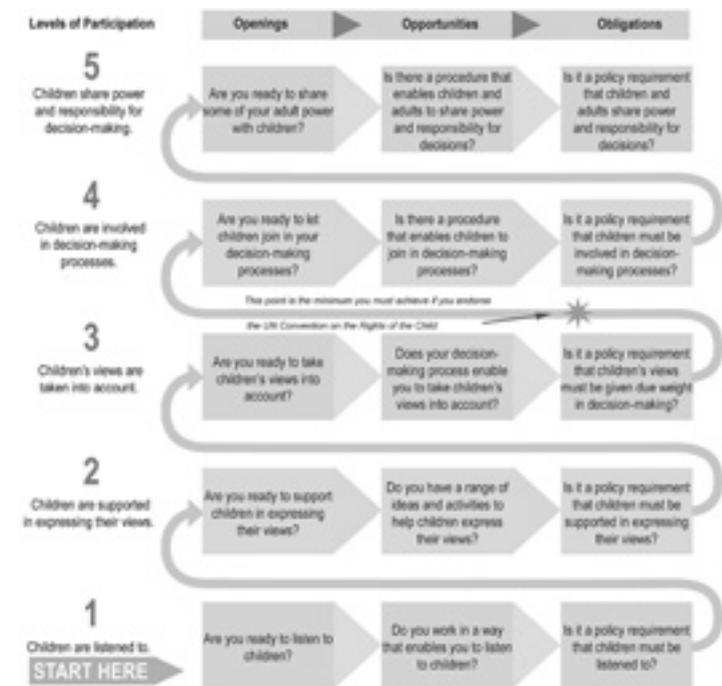
Harry Shier provides a question at each level and each stage, which aim to identify, and subsequently enhance the level of young people's participation. Through these questions, his matrix-like model—combining levels of participation with stages of com-

mitment—evolves into a hierarchical flow-chart. Source: Harry Shier, 2001.

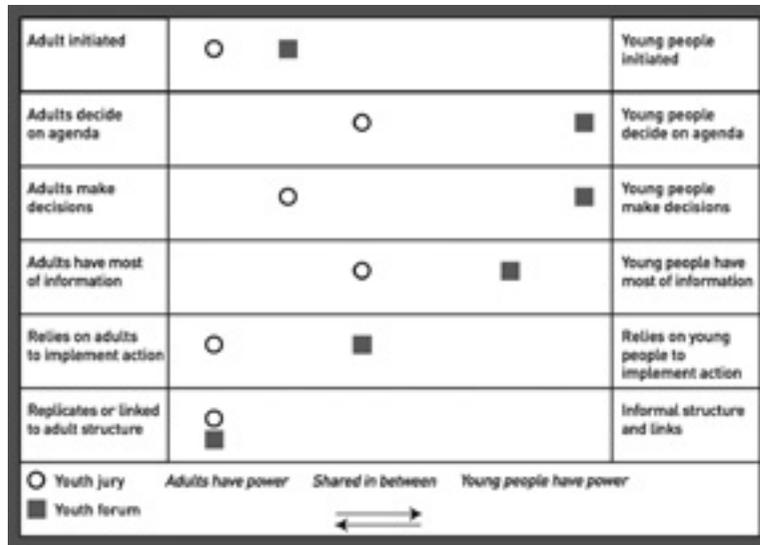
Youth Participation Grid

Clare Lardner draws on Phil Treseder's five degrees of participation and David Hodgson's five conditions for youth participation to devise a grid that can be used to analyse and assess the degree of empowerment offered by different approaches and methods of participation.

Lardner's grid proposes six dimensions of participation and spans across a continuum of power. The model, evolved from research,



Pathways to participation, Harry Shier, 2001.



Grid model of participation, Clare Lardner, 2001.

compared and contrasted twelve different methods of participation, two of which are plotted on the illustration to exemplify the use of the grid.

The six dimensions address: initiation of an idea for a project, programme, or method; agenda-setting, decision-making, access to information, modalities of implementation, and structures of participation.

Source: Clare Lardner, 2001.

Triangle of Youth Participation

Marc Jans and Kurt De Backer's triangle suggests that young people will actively participate in society when there is a dynamic balance between the three dimensions of the model, namely challenge, capacity, and connection.

There first needs to be a challenge that incites young people to participate. Second, young people need to feel that they have the capacity to make a difference through their engagement. Third, young people need to have a connection with others to be able to tackle the challenge collectively.

Jans and De Backer designed their triangular model in a way that allows – and calls for



Triangle of youth participation, Kurt de Backer and Marc Jans, 2002.

– flexibility in application, which, depending on the context, may be used to look for a powerful challenge that both expands young people's capacity, and/or strengthens the existing network.

Source: Kurt De Backer and Marc Jans, 2002.

Dimensions of Youth Participation

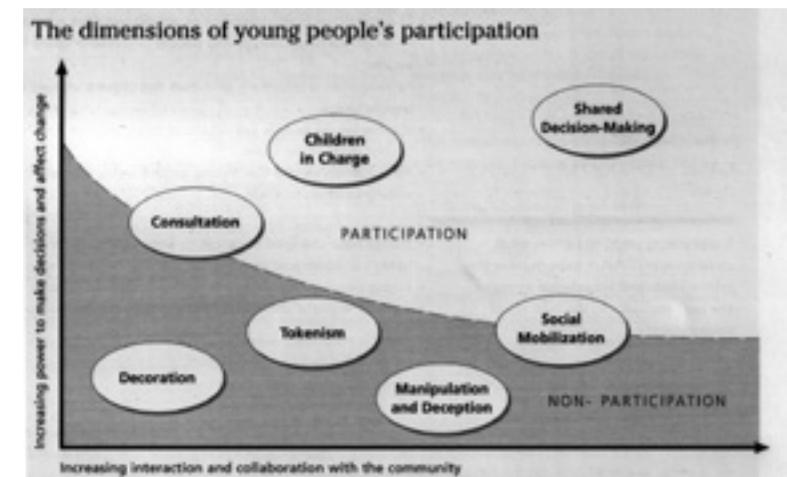
David Driskell developed his dimensions of young people's participation within the framework of a practical manual on how to conceptualise, structure, and facilitate the participation of young people in community development.

Driskell's model borrows from Arnstein and from Hart's eight degrees of participation and non-participation, rearranging the methodologies in a conceptual framework that focuses on two dimensions: first the power of young people to make decisions

and affect change, and second, the interaction of young people with others in their community. Driskell contends that participation without some degree of power-sharing is tokenism; proper participation provides participants both power and interaction.

The combination of these two aspects sheds new light on the unresolved debate around the ultimate goal of participatory work with young people. Driskell argues that while it is a powerful experience for young people to be fully in charge of their own projects, they are only allowed to do so for smaller projects; but when young people are treated as equals and valued partners through shared decision-making, influence can then be gained on larger issues, and the power to make decisions and affect change can be maximised.

Source: David Driskell, 2002.



Dimensions of young people's participation, David Driskell, 2002.

Spectrum of Public Participation

The spectrum was designed by the International Association for Public Participation to define the level of participation and the role of the public in any public participation process.

Essentially it shows that differing levels of participation are legitimate, depending on the goals, timeframes, resources, and levels of concern in the decision to be made.

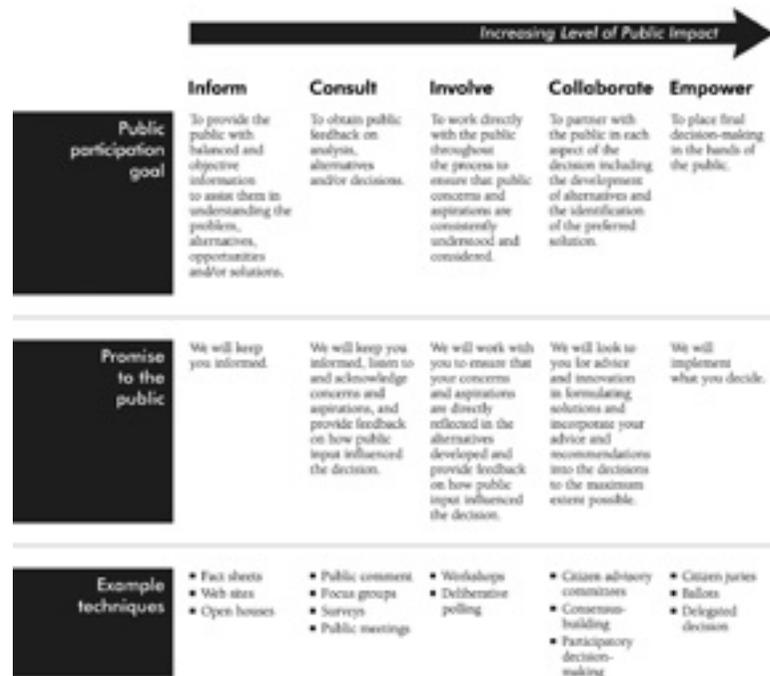
The spectrum, essentially a matrix, identifies the various levels of public participation to include: informing, consulting, involving, collaborating, and empowering. Each level of public participation chosen is

based on the specific goal of the project and the promise made to the public.

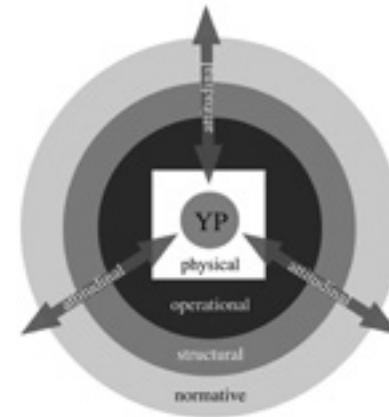
Source: International Association for Public Participation, 2007.

Key Dimensions of Participation

Focusing on everyday participatory practice in communities and community-based organisations, David Driskell and Kudva Neema have developed a framework that presents participation as a spatial practice shaped by five overlapping dimensions. The aim of the framework was a response – a repositioning of the analytic lens in the field from a relatively episodic focus on participatory projects – towards a more enduring one,



Spectrum of public participation, International Association for Public Participation, 2007.



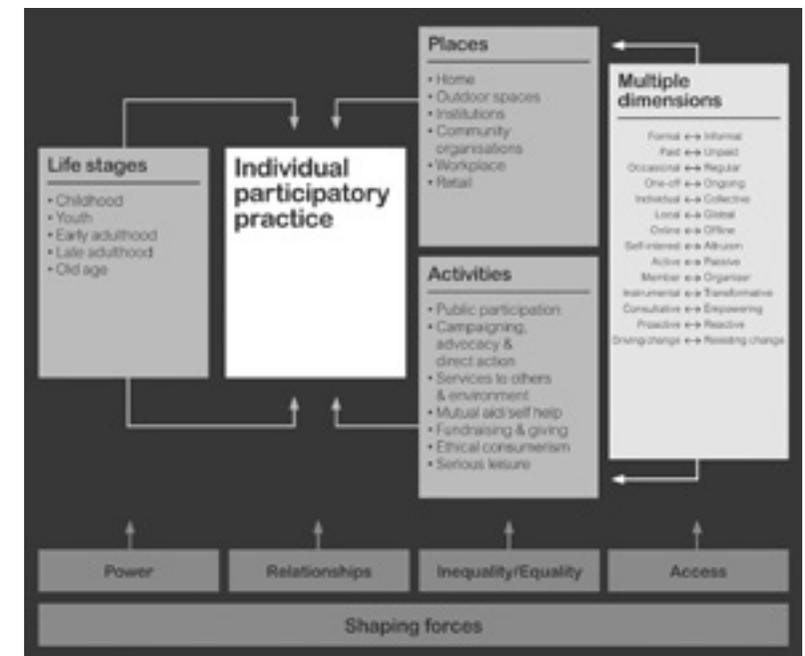
Five key dimensions of youth participation, David Driskell and Neema Kudva, 2009.

The framework introduces five key dimensions: normative, structural, operational,

physical, and attitudinal, that are all mutually constitutive and highly interactive, and which have the potential to create and open up physical spaces for meaningful youth participation. While the absence of one or several of these dimensions may not preclude participatory practice, Driskell and Neema contend that meaningful youth participation beyond episodic experiences can only be developed and sustained through the presence of all five dimensions. Taken together, the five dimensions facilitate spatial opportunities for participation through organisational norms, structures, operations, facilities, and attitudes.

Source: David Driskell and Kudva Neema, 2009.

Participation in Urban Climate Protection – Answers of European Municipalities



Pathways through participation, National Council for Voluntary Organisations, 2009.

Pathways through Participation

The UK's National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) in partnership with the Institute for Volunteering Research (IVR) has developed a framework for understanding individuals' pathways through participation based on a literature review.

The partnership considers the pathways as an emerging theoretical framework that focuses on the key aspects – 'shaping forces' – of participation as identified in the exten-

sive literature review, covering actors and activities, places and spaces, access and equality, and power and relationships.

Source: Pathways through Participation Project, 2009.

Ladder of Online Participation

Josh Bernoff and Charlene Li developed their ladder of online participation in 2007 and revised it in 2010 to reflect recent findings. The concept is based on the notion of 'social technographics' – the analysis of

online activity according to participation at seven different levels – ranging from spectators to creators.

While the ladder seeks to show that the degree of participation increases with each rung, it does not intend to suggest a sequential progression of online participation. The levels overlap significantly and represent profiles more than segmentation: people do participate in multiple ways and with multiple – sometimes even simultaneous – approaches and strategies.

Source: Josh Bernoff and Charlene Li, 2010.

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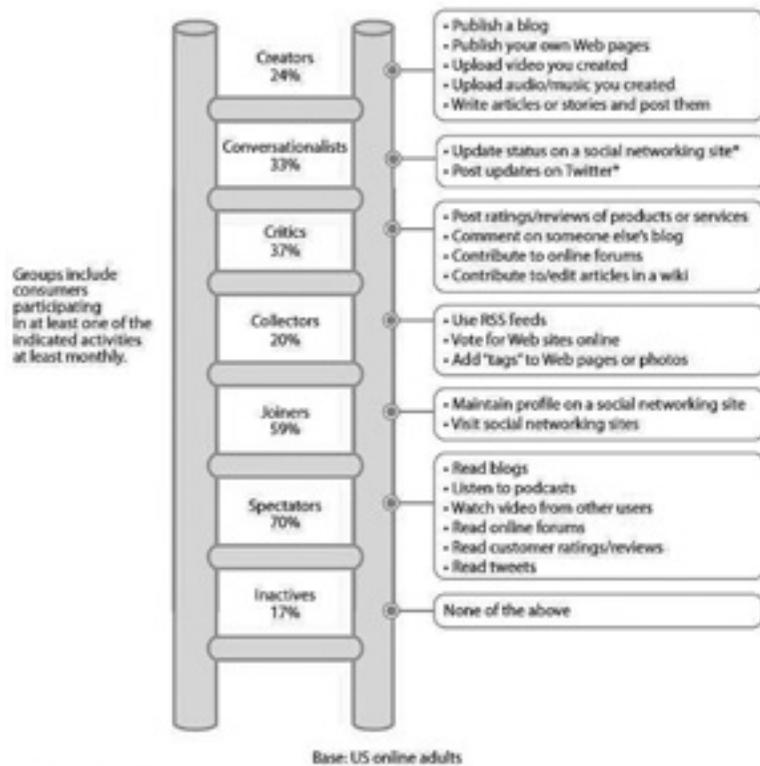
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Source: North American Technographics* Empowerment Online Survey, Q4 2009 (US)
 *Conversationalists participate in at least one of the indicated activities at least weekly.
 56299

Source: Forrester Research, Inc.

Ladder of online participation, Bernoff Josh and Charlene Li, 2010.

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What Are the Criteria for Successful Political Participation in the Context of Sustainable Development?

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The concept of sustainable development, as defined in the second chapter of the Brundtland report published in 1987 by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), is a political vision of development that combines the objectives of economic growth, social justice and environmental protection. The issue of climate change and the measures to be taken to curb or, in worst-case scenarios, to adapt to climate change are a component of the aforementioned goal of sustainable development as well as of the policies implemented at different scales in order to promote sustainable development.

Although the issue of political participation or democratisation of political systems does not appear in the triangle of sustainable development objectives, it is a recurring theme (albeit perhaps often a symbolic one) in sustainable development policies implemented since the end of the 1990s by European cities. Since the 1980s, cities have indeed become major players for sustainable development in most European countries thanks to national policies for decentralisation and European integration (Le Galès, 2003).

The recurring call for participation stems from several factors. It follows demands

by urban and social movements since the 1970s that have requested involvement in the formulation of urban, social and environmental policies. As noted with respect to France by Loïc Blondiaux and Yves Sintomer, participation has become an imperative of public policies since the 1990s (Blondiaux, Sintomer, 2002). It would therefore have been a surprise if sustainable development policies had presented an exception to the general dynamics of public policies in Europe (Bacqué, Rey, Sintomer, 2005; Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, 2008). Regarding environmental issues, various factors combine to make participation a necessary instrument in sustainable development policies. In order to face the ecological crisis, many proposed solutions involve reducing consumption of natural resources and reducing pollution (greenhouse gas emissions, industrial and household waste). However, it is commonly accepted by experts that technological progress that improves the performance of technical tools and networks (recycling of waste and polluted water, low energy housing, development of public transport) cannot lead to significant results without a concurrent change in behaviors (sorting household waste, limiting vehicle use, using water wisely) – in other words, success requires an active commitment by the public

in favour of sustainable development. In this context, participation is seen as an instrument to simultaneously raise awareness of ecological issues and mobilise citizens to adopt practices consistent with the objectives of sustainable development.

From the perspective of sustainable development, the concept of ‘participation’ covers two meanings that do not exclude one another: on the one hand, it refers to participation in the formulation of public policy, and, on the other hand, to participation in the elaboration of a new development model. The first form of participation involves establishing proven methods such as consensus conferences, citizen juries, referendums and deliberative surveys. As we shall see, this type of procedure does not involve all citizens at all times. This form of participation seems to me to be a political instrument that is realistic and easy to implement, both to integrate citizens in decision-making and to foster awareness for the environmental implications of one’s actions. For this reason, my article will focus mainly on this first meaning of the term ‘participation’. The second concept relates to a much more ambitious goal and cannot be implemented with easily identifiable instruments, for it presupposes a politicisation of social life even in its most

ordinary habits (for example, with regard to the simple purchase of a loaf of bread). This politicization would necessarily require varying levels of sacrifice depending on social class: It would certainly be more of a financial burden and take longer for a worker living in the outskirts of a city that is poorly serviced by public transport to go and buy organic bread by bicycle than for a middle class citizen living downtown.

If we take the first meaning of the term ‘participation’, what are the conditions under which we can speak of success? Before answering this question, we must first agree on what we understand by ‘success’. This question is controversial among political theorists, and I won’t be able to solve the debate in this article. But the debate shows that there are several conflicting ideas on participation, that draw on at least four criteria of success: 1) the capacity of citizens to be present in politics, i.e., to voice and articulate their interest (Phillips, 2005); 2) the capacity of the ones involved in the participatory process to reformulate their positions and perceptions in order to define a common good (Habermas, 1997 [1992]); 3) the capacity of the participatory procedure to solve social problems for citizens (Scharpf, 1997); 4) the capacity of the participatory procedure to explore the different

aspects of a scientific or technical problem (Callon, Lascoumes, Barthe, 2001). The diversity of these criteria explains the huge diversity of the participatory procedures, which have been implemented up to now at different policy levels all around the world. Most experiences try to apply to more than one of these criteria but, as shown by several empirical studies on participative democracy conducted by the Centre Marc Bloch since 2000 (Koehl, Sintomer, 2003; Röcke, 2005; Cuny, Herzberg, 2007; Sintomer, 2007; Sintomer, Herzberg, Röcke, 2008; Topçu, Cuny, Serrano-Velarde, 2008; Herzberg, 2008; Cuny, 2009; Röcke, 2009; Bacqué, Sintomer, 2010; Bacqué, Sintomer, 2011), the first one is still the least improved. For that reason, this article will focus on this particular criteria and discuss two problems, which occur when it comes to its implementation: 1) how to diversify participants according to social status and 2) how to achieve a better representation of marginalised groups?

First problem: how to diversify participants according to social status ?

Empirical studies on participative democracy undertaken over twenty years in Europe all agree on the following finding: the rate of participation never exceeds 5 per cent of the population. Considered from a strictly quantitative point of view, these methods have nothing to do with conventional forms of political participation specific to contem-

porary democratic systems such as voting or referendums. It is not ‘mass’ participation. These participative schemes don’t aim to survey the individual opinions of the ‘people’. In this sense, participatory democracy is not a form of direct democracy. Rather, it designates a set of procedures that fit, not without difficulty, in the classical operation of Western representative democracies.

Although these methods do not have the ambition nor purpose of surveying the ‘people’, they nonetheless address an audience whose composition raises two problems: general interest and legitimacy. To illustrate this point, I will begin with the example of citizen juries set up by the city of Berlin between 2000 and 2003 as part of the Soziale Stadt programme intended for less favoured neighbourhoods (Koehl, Sintomer, 2003; Röcke, Sintomer, 2005). 51 per cent of the jury members were inhabitants selected at random from the municipal register and 49 per cent were representatives of civil society (public services and associations); their mission was to select a series of development projects for the neighbourhoods to be funded under the programme. The choice of such a composition and such a method of recruitment has two issues. The first refers to the willingness to open the debate to ‘laymen’. In this context, a random drawing is considered to be the preferred means of selecting ‘ordinary’ citizens – that is, people who are usually not given an opportunity to speak because they possess neither relevant technical knowledge (such as that held by

a municipal official, community activist or a professional) nor political expertise in the narrow sense of the term (such as that held by a local politician or activist). The goal of opening the debate in this way is to produce an ‘objective’ (sachliche) debate that is reduced to the facts and freed from any scientific-technical or ideological-political limitations. We find such an ambition in the consensus conferences held in several European and English countries in order to settle controversies related to scientific or technical innovations (Callon, Lascoumes, Barthe, 2001).

According to Anja Röcke and Yves Sintomer, the rule requiring that 51 per cent of positions be occupied by ‘ordinary’ people also testifies to the distrust of public authorities in Berlin towards organised interests and their influence on the direction of discussions. ‘Objectivity’ is here synonymous with impartiality, and from Rousseau’s perspective on the expression of the general will, impartiality corresponds to a wise blend between involvement and distance (Röcke, Sintomer, 2005). In practice, this composition, coupled with the distrust displayed by Berlin’s authorities towards organised interests, has contributed to polarising the discussion: in the Marzahn-Hellersdorf borough, located on the outskirts of East Berlin, there is only a small range of associations. For this reason, the quasi-monopolistic situation of these associations in providing services was highly criticised by ‘ordinary’ residents who saw this situation

as an obstacle to volunteering in more informal structures (Cuny, 2009).

Second problem: how to achieve a better representation of marginalised groups?

The second issue targeted by the method of composition and recruitment of citizen juries concerns the representation of the group of ordinary citizens. A random drawing makes it possible to compose this group as a representative sample, in the statistical meaning of the term, of a neighbourhood’s population. This statistical representativity relies on three criteria that correspond to the types of information contained in the German municipal registers: sex, age and nationality. These characteristics make the draw for an attractive instrument of inclusion. Women, youths and foreigners are in fact the groups that, because of their subordinate position in social space, are usually the least represented through conventional forms of participation such as voting (Gaxie, 1978). This makes it even more important to include these groups in the practice of participative democracy which explores a range of potential solutions: having little opportunity to make their voices heard in the public arena, these groups’ points of view are rarely considered in political debates, reinforcing their subordination and social exclusion.

In practice, a random drawing does not always meet these promises: in the case of

the Marzahn-Hellersdorf borough, for example, youths, lower-class citizens, and foreigners remained marginal in the practice of citizen juries. In contrast, youths and lower-class citizens were better represented in the participatory budget put in place in the borough in 2005 and 2006. This second approach aimed on involving residents in the preparation of the municipal budget. It was tested in three pilot neighbourhoods selected on the basis of their socio-structural differences: the Marzahn Nord district (22,560 inhabitants) is a district of large housing projects that is subject to a federal programme aimed at combating the effects of socio-spatial segregation; the Hellersdorf Süd district (24,333 inhabitants) is a district of large housing projects with a social situation that is more stable than that of Marzahn Nord; finally, Biesdorf (24,051 inhabitants) is a residential neighbourhood with a middle class population. In each of these three neighbourhoods, community centres under contract with the borough social services organised working groups to meet approximately ten times over a three month period. Investment proposals from the working groups were then reviewed by elected representatives from the borough's parliamentary assembly based on their feasibility and sector of activity in order to be incorporated into the municipal budget. The success of this approach in terms of mobilising youths and persons from lower classes was based essentially on the method of group work that allowed these people to express themselves in the pres-

ence of their peers (Cuny, 2009). The social resources necessary for the presence and actual expression of marginal groups must not therefore be neglected within participative approaches. The method of working in small groups, already tested in the context of social work, can be complemented by other methods which have their origin in the same field of intervention or in urban planning: theatre forum, communal planning methods (planning for real, open space, charrette), filmed or photographed walks. To this must be added that Berlin's citizen juries offered compensation to participants (a few dozen euros) and child daycare services. These arrangements are sometimes necessary to compensate for the financial costs that are incurred by low income households in order to participate in these programmes on a regular basis over several months.

At this stage, we can learn from these different programmes that the principles of composition and recruitment of the public must be adapted to the given context. Several general ideas nonetheless emerge from these examples. The establishment of quotas ensures a certain social diversity among participants that is needed in order to improve citizens' capacity to voice their interest, to reformulate their position and define the common good, to solve a social problem or to explore the different aspects of a technical problem (depending on the criteria you want to follow). It is advisable to avoid a majority or equal distribution so as to not polarise the debates. Finally, the

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choice of selection criteria must be made to favour representation of groups that are the most marginalised in conventional forms of participation. From this point of view, it may be worthwhile to mix methods of recruitment (ballot, call for volunteers, delegation, co-option, etc.) and tools of participation (e-participation, discussion in small groups, photo-walks, planning for real, etc.).

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Sustainable Energy Development and Social Acceptance in the European Union's New Member States

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This chapter seeks to identify the weaknesses in the social links inside the communities of the EU's new member states focusing on problems related to sustainable energy development and energy leadership. Weak social connections within the community add an extra dimension to the already problematic area of sustainable development and make the goals even more difficult to achieve. The energy agency's model, seen as an indicator of the vitality of local energy leadership, may offer a means by which social acceptance of sustainable energy efforts can be achieved.

The city engineer of Tartu (Estonia) began his presentation with the words: 'We are coming from the big black hole,' referring to conditions during the Soviet period. In his presentation he described the progress of sustainable urban planning, and then introduced the efforts that were made on a Sustainable Urban Transport Plan (SUTP). After two years' work, the plan was finalised and sent to the city council for approval. The council was rather critical about the document, rejecting the SUTP on the grounds that it had failed to get the required political support. Following this incident, in 2007, the city government made the decision not to continue with the SUTP in Tartu.

Does this sound familiar? It should do, particularly if you are from one of the new member states, where you may know of other examples like this. It demonstrates a lesson that has been well learned in the West: that planning policy and decisions, perhaps more so than most other public policies (with the exception of taxes), depend heavily upon political and public attitudes.

The city of Tartu has made many efforts towards sustainable transport modes. It is a fairly sustainable city by EU standards: walking, cycling, and public transport are used in over 60 per cent of journeys (roughly the same as Copenhagen, the unofficial capital of bicycles) and car journeys are way below the EU average. However, the reasons for this are not conscious lifestyle changes or well-coordinated planning, but are more the result of historical socio-economic factors (such as families not being able to afford a car). To move beyond this to the next level of sustainable development, a more strategic cooperative approach is needed.

There is a desire to move to the next level of sustainability, and the necessary technical competence and other resources do exist, but like most other Central and Eastern

European (CEE) communities, expertise and resources tend to be scattered among various institutions working at different levels (local, national, regional, and EU). Due to the scope and size of sustainable planning processes in particular – requiring a large number of stakeholders to represent the public, private, third-party, and financial sectors – close cooperation is essential to ensure an effective outcome.

Getting all the pieces to fit together is made all the more difficult in new member states because of the lack of understanding and mistrust that exists among decision-makers, technical experts, and citizens. Various studies have demonstrated the low level of trust in post-Soviet civil societies, for example according to the 2010 Eurobarometer, twice as many people in other parts of Europe (66 per cent) trust Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) compared to countries like Bulgaria (34 per cent) and Romania (33 per cent).

Estonia, relatively speaking, suffers less from public sector corruption and has lower levels of ethnic and cultural diversity than among the new member states, but it is nevertheless an important (and difficult) issue to address. Inexperience in forming cooperative relationships is demonstrated

in various ways, notably, for example, in the reluctance of local government agencies, private firms, and NGOs to consult local experts in order to find solutions. A recent study of Estonian ministries found that only 34 per cent indicated they had consulted experts while carrying out their work. In turn, low levels of trust in the public sector lead to political processes that minimise public input, thus making it more difficult for the state to influence the lifestyle and consumer habits of its citizens.

Turning to sustainable energy issues in particular, one way of assessing the level of state cooperation is to look at the number of successful international cooperation projects in which the country is engaged. One indicator could be participation in the Intelligent Energy Europe (IEE) programme – a dedicated grant scheme for financing promotional activities in the field of sustainable energy and transport. A low level of participation might indicate a lack of knowledge and trust in the scheme and the activities that it is supporting.

From 2005 to 2011, the IEE programme funded a total of 567 projects. Only 48 of these had Estonian partners, and among these, only one had a lead partner from Estonia, the very project that provided the

funding for the Tartu Regional Energy Agency.

Although these problems are very typical for new member states, they can be difficult to understand for countries with a longstanding tradition of democracy and an active

civil society. Combined with the specific problems of promoting sustainable energy development elsewhere in the world, a unique mix of problems that block and hinder sustainable development are evident in new member states such as Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary and Cyprus.

One way to develop trust within this specific area is to promote effective cooperation via energy leadership; and a targeted way to improve local energy leadership is by creating energy agencies. As global energy and climate policy is implemented mostly at a local level, supporting the creation of energy agencies has been one of the most interesting actions taken by the European Community to address sustainable energy development. For over two decades the European Commission has supported the development of energy agencies through the European Agency of Competitiveness and Innovation (EACI), which runs the Intelligent Energy Europe (IEE) programme. The EACI supports sustainable energy and transport development by advising state institutions and local citizens, and through communicating the European Commis-

Country code	No. of energy agencies	No. of active IEE projects 2005–2011 (567 total)
EE	1	48 (1 with local leader)
LV	2	55
CY	2	18
LT	2	55
HU	4	91

Country comparison of IEE-funded projects in Eastern Europe, compiled by the authors.

sion's policies. Energy agencies can therefore become a vital component in the development of the community.

The energy agency approach has been very popular, with over 422 energy agencies established all over Europe. Looking at the map of energy agencies in the EU, it is clear that the density of them decreases drastically towards the new member states in Eastern Europe. For example, only 17 per cent (73) of agencies are located in the 12 countries that have joined the EU since 2004. That is 12 less than in Italy and Spain alone, which are of a comparable size in terms of population. Finland and Sweden have 28 agencies among less than 16 million people – one-sixth of the population of the new member states. Germany alone has 63 agencies for a population that is 20 million people smaller than the population of the new member states. Estonia has only one energy agency.

In regions where energy agencies have been established, they can widen the possibilities for a sustainable energy development through local energy leadership. In the best



Map of energy agencies in some of Europe's new member states, www.managenergy.net.

case scenarios, energy agencies become the backbone of regional energy development, supporting the community in many ways. In new member states in particular, energy agencies have been seen to serve as key intermediaries, helping to break down the barriers of distrust, and connecting segments of society together.

- **For the public sector:** energy agencies are low-cost sources of independent expertise.

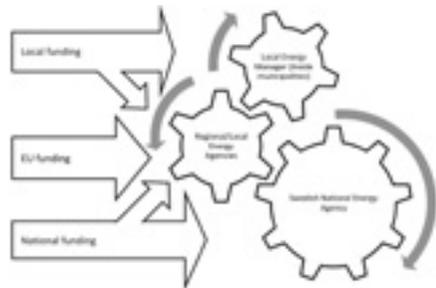
- **For the public:** as NGOs, energy agencies have more flexibility and freedom to communicate with the general public about relevant issues. Their independence from the state and other institutions can make it easier for some people to trust them.
- **For the business community:** energy agencies are able to provide expertise in specific areas, which can help businesses to gain access to capital and new markets, cut costs, and give them a competitive advantage.
- **For the media:** energy agencies can supply and communicate the general knowledge needed for topics such as climate change and EU energy policy.
- **For the financial sector:** energy agencies can analyse the feasibility of energy investments.

In other words, effective energy agencies act as 'translators,' communicating the language of finance to companies, the language of energy efficiency and climate change to consumers, and offering communities added value from a well managed energy sector.

Unfortunately, however, this ideal is not often reached. In the new member states in particular, where experience of civil society is narrow and trust in the state is low, regional cooperation is not easy to develop. One reason for this lack of cooperation is

that there is no certainty about the sustainability of energy agencies, and the short lifespan of them (only three years of guaranteed funding) is problematic in a society where trust is hard won and, like anywhere, developed over a period of time.

To address this, some older member states have developed a range of support strategies for energy management. In Sweden, for example, each municipality directly pays a per capita sum towards energy management. In new member states, cooperation and support structures such as this do not exist.



The Swedish model of energy agencies (simplified), compiled by the authors.

There are several reasons why older member states perform better than new ones, not least that: they already have experience in operating and supporting energy leadership; they possess more resources; and benefit from a longer history of living in healthy civil societies with better developed relationships between the public and private sectors in general.

When the city of Tartu and Tartu Science Park took the initiative and developed the Tartu Regional Energy Agency (TREA), they discovered during the process that bringing together technical expertise into one organisation, although beneficial, could not achieve maximum impact in regional energy development. The reason for this was that the energy experts in the agency were trying to operate in situations where local cooperation models in this field were dysfunctional; discovering a variety of social problems that led to the dysfunction, and which made the development of sustainable energy leadership difficult. After visiting other energy agencies all over Europe, two important factors regarding energy management in new member states became clear: first, they found that although this problem is universal, in newer member countries the market gap for successful energy leadership is much greater; second, they found that while it is difficult to get into the market, it is not easier to stay there. As a result, in the short term, energy agencies in new member states have been less successful in promoting sustainable strategies, and the achievements they do realise, require greater levels of effort and resources.

A strategic objective of the European Commission should be to increase the long-term sustainability of regional energy agencies within new member states. This will assist new member states in nurturing trust among citizens and building stronger col-

laborative relationships with key energy sector actors, such as the local government, civil organisations, private business, the finance sector, and other utility agencies. As a result of this process of building stronger relationships, participating communities will be able to achieve the long-term environmental targets they have already set and, for example, increase their share of renewable energy in total energy consumption, as predicted below.

Country	2005 RES	2020 RES Target
Estonia	18%	25%
Latvia	34,9%	42%
Cyprus	2,9%	13%
Lithuania	12% (2010)	23%
Hungary	4,3%	13%

Renewable energy targets among new member states, compiled by the authors.

Several new member state municipalities are also members of the Covenant of Mayors Office (CoMO) agreement, or have explicitly agreed to contribute to the EU's goal of reducing CO2 emissions by 2020. Other relevant sustainability goals will be pursued through the interactive processes of CoMO and the EU, fuelled by the consen-

sus of its key energy actors. Energy agencies as independent bodies can add extra impetus, therefore, by providing the knowledge needed locally in order to fulfil current and future goals.

Another strategic objective of the European Commission should be to increase the number of successful and sustainable regional energy agencies in new member states. This could be achieved through training programmes and/or a guidebook outlining effective cooperation strategies, which would reduce the learning curve experienced by new regional energy agencies when setting up. Further communication strategies might also include the creation of a

'feedback loop' through which new member states' specific circumstances (and unique problems) are sent to the European Commission. This would provide not only valuable data, but also a much needed touchstone, but all of this will only be of use if the benefits of good communication are taken seriously by everyone.

How Successful Is the Aarhus Convention Implemented on the City Level? Analysing EIA, SEA and Land-use Planning Processes in the Czech Republic

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Discussion about public participation and its forms in national and regional policy-making has been running in the Czech Republic for many years and protection of public participation standards in legislation belong among the main issues on which environmental NGO advocacy activities have been focussed.

Key Acts have given the public the right to participate in environmental matters: the Nature and Landscape Protection Act (1991) and the Environmental Impact Assessment Act (1992). These Acts can be viewed as a result of the post-revolutionary atmosphere of the late twentieth century when protection of the environment was at the top of the public's list of concerns and politicians were willing to vote for more public participation in decision-making processes.

Why Public Participation?

Public participation in environmental matters is a political issue embedded in Agenda 21 (UNCED, 1992), where is said: 'One of the fundamental prerequisites for the achievement of sustainable development is broad public participation in decision making. Furthermore, in the more specific context of environment and development,

the need for new forms of participation has emerged.'

The benefits and arguments for public participation in decision-making processes can be summarised as follows (Connely, 2002):

- Harnessing local knowledge;
- Necessity of a public definition of 'quality of life' and involvement in goal setting;
- Greater 'ownership' and legitimacy of decisions with public involvement;
- Subjectivity and value-laden nature of all 'scientific' input needs to be scrutinised and balanced with other values and knowledge;
- Political and value-laden nature of policy decisions need the input of the public;
- Harnessing democratic accountability as a way of protecting public interest;
- Education of the public about sustainable issues;
- Development of a democratic civil society.

Forms of Public Participation in the Czech Republic

Public participation takes different forms according to the intensity of public involvement. This can be described at three levels: a) being informed, b) being consulted, and c) being involved as a partner in the decision-making process. In the Czech experience two main elements can be identified that influenced the form of public participation. The Aarhus Convention focused on relaying to the public their right to know, their right to participate (in early stages of decision making), and their right to justice in environmental matters, mainly through legislation and establishing obligatory procedures in the decision-making process, e.g. the process of an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA).

A new area for public engagement was introduced when in 2006 the new Building Act was passed and applied in the process of land use. It made consultations with the public and public hearings an obligatory part of the planning process.

The second element is the Local Agenda 21 movement. It is focused on participatory strategy planning at the local level, methodologically coordinated by the Ministry of

the Environment and with differing levels of public participation that depend on the local situation.

How is the Aarhus Convention Implemented in the Czech Republic?

The right to know and the right to be heard (to comment on the policy or project) is the right of everybody according to current Czech legislation (Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) and the Building Act (2006)). However, access to the justice system on environmental issues have only NGOs (Nature and Landscape Protection Act; Water Act) and according to the Building Act also the empowered representatives of the public.

The Czech NGOs follow the Aarhus Convention and put its principles into practice to protect long-term interests. The NGOs participated in the preliminary wording of the Convention and took part in the ratification process; and in the few years since the Convention was ratified they have analysed the process of its implementation. The Green Circle report on the state of implementation of the Aarhus Convention in the Czech Republic (Green Circle, 2008) pinpoints weaknesses in implementation, focusing on the

principles of public participation seen in Articles 6 and 7 (taking part in proceedings according to the Nature and Landscape Protection Act, consultative processes according to EIA/SEA Act) as follows:

Article 6: Decision-making on specific activities is the most frequent as well as the most typical area of public participation. In practice, this is the matter of decision-making on specific activities with potential for the most significant environmental impact, e.g. building lay-out, high-rise building projects, activities of large facilities, or approving products for the market. The main areas of insufficient practice are:

- Lacking definition of ‘the public’ in relation to the Aarhus Convention. This fact has serious consequences – the group of participants is much smaller than the Aarhus Convention requires. This means that only civic associations take part in the proceedings, not the unorganised public. (Nevertheless, civic associations have problems with access to legal protection as well as to the judicial review of the decision, and that in itself diminishes the strength of public participation).
- The (physical) official counter or desk remains the most frequent way of communication in terms of public administration. This might be the cause for the low rate of public participation in proceedings. Insufficient are also

opportunities for direct address, times of meetings, and the way in which information is published.

Article 7: Decision-making on plans, programmes and policies. In comparison to the decision-making processes in specific activity areas, the rights and obligations in this area are, in the Czech Republic, defined less precisely. The main areas of insufficiency in practice are:

- Unsuitable ways of informing the public; insufficient direct address procedures such as use of the local press;
- Bad collection and inferior settlement of the comments raised by citizens, including not appointing someone to settle these comments;
- Little public interest in the process of SEA participation;
- Unsuitable times of public hearings: the times tend to meet the needs of officers, not the public (i.e. during the working week in the morning);
- SEA outputs are too complicated – the quality-assessment conclusions summary is missing;
- Insufficient information on SEA processes, as well as in the area of planning between professionals and the lay public;

- Insufficient knowledge of public involvement techniques among public administrators (unprofessional approach);
- Lack of information on advantages of public involvement in planning processes.

Under What Conditions is Public Participation Effective?

Consultative processes and public hearings are the tools most often used for public participation in decision making. They are an obligatory part of Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA), and land-use planning processes. As the NGO report (Green Circle, 2008) pointed out, participation of the general public (not NGOs) in consultative processes and at public hearings was low. Why? We might ask. To be able to answer the question: ‘Why is public participation low?’ it is necessary to ask a more general question: ‘Why should the public participate?’ or ‘What motivates or demotivates the public to actively participate?’

Public hearings are generally organised in order to hand out information and allow public comment on the project or policy under review. We assume that people attend public hearings either because they are curious or want to get a more balanced view from both sides; they may also want to attend in the hope of influencing policy

making, and/or to be able to comment on new policies under discussion.

According to Arnstein (1969) public participation ranges from citizen control to outright manipulation, and as most public hearings are somewhere in the middle, they can be considered informative or consultative. Informative meetings are held primarily to provide information to audiences, such as through the use of technical presentations. Consultative meetings have informative aspects, but also emphasise the gathering of citizen input (McComas, Besley and Trumbo, 2006). Concerning motivation, there is literature to suggest that people attend public meetings for the practical purpose of seeking specific goals or objectives, and that they actively weigh the costs of attendance (missing work if they fear their input will not have an impact) against the benefits (e.g. new information). When the costs outweigh the benefits, they have less incentive to attend (Whitely, 1995). Other aspects of motivation are the degree to which people actually feel threatened by the issue. Research confirms that people with higher levels of concern about a specific topic are more likely to attend public meetings about it. Curiosity, or simply the wish to hear what the authorities or other citizens have to say, are other explanations for attending public meetings (McComas, 2003).

The findings of McComas, Besley and Trumbo (2006) concerning the motivations for attending public meetings in local

communities suggest that the majority of citizens who attend can be categorised as the curious, fearful, and the available. The majority of citizens who do not attend can be described as the uninformed, the indifferent, the occupied, and the disaffected.

Heberlein (1976) assessed the motivations behind attending environmental public hearings and concluded: 'The individual who believes the issue will affect him, has knowledge of the time and location of hearing, is free from competing demands, views himself in a responsible role, is knowledgeable about the project and believes his presence will have an impact, will be likely to attend a hearing.'

Experience with Public Participation in EIA/SEA Processes

To look at why there is low public participation at some public hearings, questions can be grouped into four areas:

1. Effectiveness of the EIA/SEA process;
2. Effectiveness of public participation;
3. User friendly procedures for citizens;
4. Level of understanding in the process by the public.

Effectiveness of the Process

The aim of EIA/SEA procedures is to as-

sess the environmental impact of policy drafts or development projects, to identify the main threats, and suggest measures for minimising them. During an EIA/SEA meeting it is not relevant to state whether the policy or project is viewed as good or bad for general, economic, social, or any other reasons. Participants are invited to say what they think might be the impact of the policy or project on the environment, and/or identify possible conflicts with current legislation. Citizens at public hearings may ask for amendments to the assessment to be considered, taking into account aspects that were left out concerning environmental impact, or suggest new indicators for measuring environmental impact. The result of an EIA or SEA procedure is a statement made by the Ministry of the Environment; it is not legally binding and its character is only one of recommendation.

What this means is that public hearings are organised not to improve either policies or projects, but to improve the process of EIA/SEA, which is a specific area that requires expert knowledge.

Effectiveness of Public Participation

The public's trust in the process; that it is fair, along with the belief that their input might have concrete output, are considered crucial to citizen motivation to actively participate in consultation processes. Concerns about the possible impact on quality of life, or curiosity concerning the character of the debate, might also motivate partici-

pation in more informative public hearings. Citizens expect to find out new information, delivered in an interesting and understandable way, and also expect that there will be some space for debate, which might influence the final decision. But it must be clear to everybody – the public, organisers and stakeholders – what the expectations of the public hearing are and the purpose of public involvement must be understood. If the public attend in order to offer their input they will expect their comments to be included in the report, or may demand an explanation as to why their input was excluded.

User-friendly Procedures for Participants

In order that the public can attend the public hearing they must be informed of the location and time. If a public hearing is scheduled to take place in the morning, when it is fair to assume that many potential participants will be at work, high attendance cannot be expected. Conversely, if the location of the meeting is in the city centre, the probability is higher that more people will attend. There are other important aspects as well: is the information that is to be discussed or required for active participation at the public hearing, available online or been made available through another form of media? Further considerations are whether the information available is understandable for most people, and is the purpose of public involvement clear to both

participants and organisers? Added to this are issues about timing, such as how much time will be needed for the general public to get an overview of the issues to be discussed; was the information made available early enough for someone to read three or five pages beforehand? Is the information available very technical; will it be necessary to study technical documentation?

At what point in the process the meeting is scheduled is another important issue. If the meeting is held early on in the process the debate will be more general, about policy goals and possible environmental threats, indicators and so on. If the public hearing is later in the process (such as is often the case in the Czech Republic) good preparation and access to expert knowledge are important, as often the debate will be more technical. For example, to have competent input at an EIA/SEA public hearing procedure in the Czech Republic you would need to know the EIA/SEA Act, and work through all the documentation beforehand, which amounts to some few hundred pages, complete with technical data.

Public Understanding of the Process

For effective participation (with some output) in EIA/SEA procedures, it is necessary to know how the system works, and what kind of input is expected from the public. That said, it should be stated that not all comments are relevant to the procedure, because if citizens do not know their role

they will not have realistic expectations, and they will therefore be disappointed that they attended. They will only need to experience a similar sense of disappointment following a public hearing once or twice before they consider that such events are a waste of their time and ignore future invitations.

Findings and Conclusion

Environmental Impact Assessments and Strategic Environmental Assessments are expert procedures where effective participation needs expert knowledge. If citizens or organised public groups (NGOs) want to express their views on development-project proposals or policy drafts, EIAs/SEAs might be the only way for them to do so, but as often these individuals or groups lack understanding as to the precise procedures involved with EIA/SEA, they arrive at the public hearing to find that their input is not relevant (i.e. does not concern environmental impact or otherwise too

general). In some cases, public comments are relevant but do not influence the final decision, because, as noted above, the EIA/SEA statement is only recommendatory in character. If the public feel that their input is not effective they are left feeling disappointed and de-motivated.

The timing of a public hearing in terms of where it comes in the process is another important aspect. In Table 1, the differences in timing – whether in the early- or later phase of the EIA/SEA procedure – are compared. It is clear that public involvement at a later stage in the process (as it is according to the Czech law) cannot be effective. Public EIA/SEA hearings in the Czech Republic are only informative in character, more about the EIA/SEA process itself, whereby the content of the assessment policy itself cannot be effectively influenced in reality.

As the case of land-use planning processes in Prague, and other processes similar to

Early Stage Hearing	Later Stage Hearing
<i>Public hearing takes place at an early stage before work begins on the EIA/SEA document (scoping).</i>	<i>Public hearing takes place at a later stage when the EIA/SEA document has been finalised and it is presented to the public.</i>
<i>The methodology of the assessment process can be discussed and changed as necessary.</i>	<i>The methodology cannot be changed, it can be only criticised.</i>
<i>It is not necessary to study EIA/SEA documents (generally debate is sufficient), and only concrete concerns about the possible impact of the plans are relevant.</i>	<i>It is necessary to study the SEA documents as the debate may be more technical.</i>
<i>It is possible to continue discussion and change goals and priorities.</i>	<i>The documents are final, nothing can be changed.</i>
<i>The public participation plan, its timing and the tools to be utilised during the SEA process, can be presented and clarified, changed if necessary, in cooperation with the public.</i>	<i>The SEA process is over.</i>

Comparison of efficacy of early and later stage hearings in EIA/SEA processes, compiled by the author.

this currently running in the Czech Republic show, public hearing organisers (officials and EIA/SEA teams) have no clear expectations of what they want from public participation, and no perception of the possible benefits it might offer them. Public consultations and public hearings are seen as necessary complications that must be organised in line with current legislation. Low public attendance and minimal input on the part of the public that does attend gives rise to scepticism about public participation in policy-making in general. The only exception to this is when NGOs fill the gap between the public, officials and EIA/SEA experts. NGOs such as Arnica in Prague or Veronica in Brno have succeeded in informing a concerned public, providing them the necessary assistance in orientation of land-use planning and SEA process, then assisting them in submitting their comments. The result of this intervention: thousands of public comments amounting to 16,000 in Prague.

These findings raise new questions: Should there be a formal or informal process of public participation, and can poor management of a formal process paralyse public participation?

In conclusion it should be noted that consultations and public hearings are not the only instrument for public involvement in policy making. The practical experience of the Czech Republic illustrates that an inefficient organisation of public hearings and

consultations do not motivate the public, and as a result, public participation is low. It is important that the formal processes connected with the Aarhus Convention are continually reviewed and improved, particularly in the context of EIA/SEA and land-use planning. This will ensure that the processes are more effective, with public hearings organised in the early stages of decision making, meetings are more focused, and that understandable information is provided beforehand. The engagement of NGOs, and public representatives concerned with working groups or as part of EIA/SEA teams, might improve best practice. However, EIA/SEA procedures are specific expert-based documents that should not form the only option for the public to participate in policy making.

Collaborative Participative Processes (CPP) of land use and Local Strategy Planning (LSP) are new areas for public participation. The experiments with methods and techniques such as used in the Delphi policy – which involves task forces, workshops, deliberative mapping, citizens' advisory committees, along with other strategies, are missing or just beginning in the Czech Republic. CPP and LSP demand a new context for strategic planning, and it is at this juncture that we pick up the challenge to bring about more effective engagement of citizens in decision-making processes, particularly at a local level.

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Economic Participation in Urban Climate Protection

Energy Cooperatives: Citizen Participation in the Municipally-organised Energy Turnaround

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Energy cooperatives in Germany are currently experiencing a minor start-up boom. One of the focal points of these new start-ups is cooperatives which install solar units for the purpose of producing renewable energy. Many of these approaches can be seen as a first step towards a more complex form of active citizen participation with both an eco-political and economic orientation. Following a brief initial look into photovoltaic cooperatives, the direction such participation might take will be illustrated using the example of the cooperative, Energie in Bürgerhand eG, which is actively involved in the remunicipalisation of power grids. The cooperative is pursuing a national approach with strong, local roots in municipalities that are particularly open-minded to citizen participation.

Energy Cooperatives as a Counterweight to Globalisation

As globalisation progresses, direct municipal or regional value-creation often only occurs to an inadequate degree. This is accompanied by the loss of opportunities and instruments for designing local social areas and controlling community development (Häußermann and Siebel, 2004). The question at this stage is: 'How do we want to organise ourselves in the future: as places

with evolved traditions based upon shared infrastructures and self-government, or as thoroughly privatised communities?'

One of the most important alternatives to countering the process of continued asset accumulation in the hands of large, multinational corporations is financial and participative citizen involvement. The organisational form of a cooperative is particularly appropriate in this case. Being an enterprise under private law, it is the only real alternative to a state-run energy supply system oriented towards the interests of the local community. Cooperatives – both energy generation and energy consumer cooperatives – are legally obligated to promote their members, the citizens of the community. Their actions must be consumer- and not investor-oriented.

In terms of their self-conception, cooperatives are primarily commercial associations. Many people have always viewed cooperatives as a particular type of enterprise, under which societal, cultural or ecological goals may also be pursued (Flieger, 2003). At any rate, the legal structure of the cooperative provides a legal framework for people to financially help themselves. In this case, such self-help is also a means of organising energy supply cooperatively when inexpensive and simultaneously climate-friendly options

are not available. Correspondingly, energy cooperatives exist as consumer-oriented corporate organisations for the systematic involvement of consumers or producers. They currently assume an important pioneering function in the conversion towards a sustainable energy industry. Their observable diversity highlights the complexity, scope, and opportunities for change in this sector. At the same time, they can serve as a looking glass for the future. Their proliferation and further development is an important task in bringing innovation to climate protection.

Possibilities and Limitations of Photovoltaic Cooperatives

Energy generation cooperatives are most heavily prevalent among the newly established energy cooperatives. Above all, these include cooperatives that set up and operate roof-mounted photovoltaic installations. When it comes to solar energy cooperatives, this legal structure is chosen because individuals have an equal and democratic say regardless of the size of their shareholding. Consequently, the will of the citizens can be implemented directly, based on the principles of direct democracy.

In contrast to many citizen-run solar power plants that already exist in the form of ener-

gy associations, photovoltaic cooperatives strive to do more than 'just' operate a solar power unit. Through the cooperative, a legal form is available to the initiators, which allows many projects (solar power units) to be realised in the framework of one organisation. Thus, the goal is the implementation of more than one individual project. The knowledge acquired through the planning, creation, activation and maintenance of the installation does not get lost, but is rather used for further activities in the same company. Another distinguishing feature of a cooperative is that it sustainably connects social guiding principles with an economic form of operation. Cooperatives stand for cooperation, social responsibility, operational democracy, and, above all, community-based self-help.

A distinction can also be made between the cooperative approach and the counterpart to the energy associations, the solar funds. Sufficient opportunities for investing in renewable energy exist for investors with several thousand Euros of personally disposable capital. Money should not be the issue, however. For that reason, one of the core aims of most energy producing cooperatives is to include many people in the investment opportunities offered by them, limited primarily to a particular region.

To this end, the ability to offer financial participation in the energy turnaround the less financially solvent citizens in their community is at the forefront of cooperative approaches. Thus, a number of such cooperatives exist in Germany which allows people to join by contributing as little as 100 Euros.

The legal form of the cooperative is particularly suited to photovoltaic installations with an output of around 30 kW or approximately 300 sq. m. of roof surface, preferably on the roofs of schools or other public institutions. Such a size allows for the best possible subsidies, at least in accordance with the provisions of the German Renewable Energy Act (EEG) – quite apart from the fact that this size of roof is not too uncommon. At the same time, roofs of this size already offer the economic benefits of a large installation. Put simply, it can be said that, for the beginning of 2010, each roof would require roughly 30 members subscribing shares valued at 1,000 Euros on average. Overall, this would translate into roughly 300 shares and 30,000 Euros in equity, which would equate to the 20 per cent minimum equity capital required for financing.

It is not uncommon that no dividends are paid in the initial set-up years, since this would presuppose a balance sheet profit had been achieved in the corresponding year. In many cases, however, no profit is made due to planning expenses, investments in new installations, and initial amortisations. For

this reason, there is the risk that members joining the cooperative later may receive overly beneficial treatment when dividends are distributed. That said it may be reasonable for the shareholders' meeting of an energy generation cooperative to resolve that an admission fee be levied. The exclusion of new members from dividends paid in the first few years is another possibility. Such an approach could mitigate the unfairness of paying dividends caused by members joining the cooperative at different times.

Unquestionably, photovoltaic cooperatives offer numerous advantages that are not limited solely to the members as the subscribers of shares:

- **Advantage for investors:** investing pays dividends. The investors receive income from the sale of solar power for many years.
- **Advantage for the regional economy:** the solar power unit boosts the regional economy. Solar power units are installed by local tradesmen.
- **Advantage in terms of independence:** with solar power, scarce resources are conserved and independence from politically unstable energy imports promoted.
- **Advantage for the environment:** these environmental investments benefit both climate protection and the wallet. A 5 kWp unit relieves the environment of

more than three tons of climate-damaging carbon dioxide per year.

Energy generation cooperatives are an important initial step for involving the citizens of a community in the energy turnaround. However, their potential is too low in order to achieve lasting changes. Fundamental changes will be brought about by energy grids, their further development, and their transformation into so-called smart grids, among other measures. To this extent, the opportunities to successfully turn communities and regions into so-called 100-per cent renewable-energy regions are especially great in municipalities where decentralised energy feed-in systems are supported by the respective grid optimisation.

This can be set on solid and secure foundations as soon as the grids find themselves in municipal or cooperative ownership or, ideally, in ownership structures mixing both forms. This approach is the ideal means of preventing politicians from selling the grids when funds are scarce – to the detriment of guaranteeing the long-term provision of services of general interest and thus attempting to consolidate the municipal budget. Conversely, public ownership shares can also contribute to the limitation of purely private sector considerations, even if they stem from cooperatives. Consequently, the involvement of cooperatives in municipal grids represents a particular quality of citizen participation, which will become increasingly important for the en-

ergy turnaround. Energie in Bürgerhand eG [energy in citizen's hands] is the first cooperative in Germany that is attempting to implement this approach consistently. However, other approaches, such as in Wolfhagen and in Titisee-Neustadt, are already under development.

Energie in Bürgerhand eG: an example of further developing citizen participation in cooperatives

The Energie in Bürgerhand (EiB) cooperative was founded on 9 April 2009 with the purpose of realising the idea of an ecological, trend-setting energy industry with the help of many others. The focus of the original project was to gain a shareholding in the company, Thüga, with the aim of integrating citizen participation into this public utility organisation. Many people and a lot of money were mobilised in an astonishingly short period of time (roughly nine months). At the end of 2010, commitments and payments from more than 5,000 citizens amounted to 30 million Euros.¹

Part of this success can be explained by the support given by numerous prominent supporters as well as well-known founders, many of whom have successfully completed projects in the environmental and energy sectors over the course of many years. Rolf Disch from the company Solararchitektur and Michael Sladek from Elektrizitätswerke

1. <http://www.energie-in-buergerhand.de/>

Schönau are particularly well known. They operate the power grid in Schönau and supply more than 100,000 users nationally with green power. Mr Sladek is the Chairman of the EiB Supervisory Board.

The shareholding venture in Thüga did not materialise – the only offer made during the negotiations was to follow-up on a so-called ‘participation right’ model without voting rights – but since then, numerous exciting projects have been pursued. What is always important with these projects is that they should involve the participation or buyback of grids, because this in turn ties in with the business model, the purpose of the cooperative:

- Share participation in public utilities and public utility networks;
- Development and operation of decentralised climate-friendly power plants;
- Support for participation and shareholding concepts in the energy sector through the stabilisation of local partnerships, creating added-value for customers in the area.

The organisational form chosen was the cooperative. The principle of ‘one person, one vote’ is designed to rule out the possibility of investment companies buying their way in, in order to influence the cooperative’s goals towards their own interests. A cooperative’s main focus lies in the over-

all goal of fostering a community-based economic system. EiB’s objectives are:

- Phase-out nuclear energy;
- Organise citizen participation;
- Decentralised, climate-friendly energy supply;
- Organisation of local value-creation.

EiB is presently on its way to becoming the role model and support structure for citizen participation in cooperatives. The following support services are available from EiB on request from local initiatives:

- Advice on how to develop an energy cooperative with extensive regional citizen participation;
- Buyback of shares held by the respective public utility, which are owned by supra-regional energy companies, with the widest possible involvement of local citizens;
- Support for the buyback of local power grids upon expiration of concession contracts through the widest possible participation of local citizens;
- Assistance for cooperative organisations in the development of municipal power companies; here, EiB would take on the role of citizen participation and partial funding through citizens’ capital.

At the forefront of EiB’s strategy, three models are offered to initiatives, public utilities, and municipal representatives:

Model One

The least complicated form of support is **advice and assistance** on how to engineer the establishment of an independent energy cooperative, supplemented if necessary by a bridging finance package through EiB by means of a shareholding. Such a package is being concretely implemented currently with the Wolfhagen public utility (http://www.stadtwerke-wolfhagen.de/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=61&Itemid=112).

Model Two

With regards to the difficulties and procedures involved, experience is already available for this approach, as it is presently being used in Jena: **participation in a public utility through buyback of third-party shareholdings** (usually from one of the large energy corporations), in conjunction with participating citizens who use the energy of the respective public utility. In Jena, EiB is presently engaged in an extensive bidding process for a 10 per cent shareholding (<http://www.jenapolis.de/92791/schwaebische-genossenschaft-energie-in-buergerhand-macht-sich-schick-fuer-jena/>). A similar discussion is currently underway in Unna regarding a 25 per cent shareholding in RWE, even though EiB has

not yet become involved in any official bidding processes.

Model Three

Integration in **remunicipalisation in conjunction with expiring concession contracts** is becoming increasingly important. Preliminary talks on this are currently underway in various municipalities that do not have their own public utility companies. EiB has officially applied to several municipalities in North Rhine-Westphalia. Often, neither financial nor technical prerequisites exist in the municipalities for doing so. For this reason, a strategic partnership is being forged to improve the chances of implementation. Presently, three companies are involved that complement each other exceptionally well. Here, EiB is working hand in hand with Alliander and EWS Schönau. Like Energie in Bürgerhand eG, both of the other companies see themselves as partners to the municipalities, working towards remunicipalisation of the grids, with the aim of strengthening municipal self-determination and phasing out nuclear energy.

- **Alliander** is an energy company owned by municipalities in The Netherlands. All its activities are focused on the operation of grids. Alliander is interested in acquiring and operating power grids (not selling or generating power). It turns the power grids into smart grids to achieve a sustainable, decentralised energy supply. Alliander

offers equity capital for the grid and the necessary know-how to optimise the grid for a sustainable, decentralised energy supply (www.alliander.de).

- **EWS Schönau**, since reorganised by the administrative body into a cooperative, is one of the most credible consumer cooperatives in Germany in terms of eco-power supply. It provides its knowledge for the purchase and supply of eco-power to end consumers (www.ews-schoenau.de).
- **Energie in Bürgerhand eG (EiB)** provides equity capital for buying back the grid and developing a municipal energy supply. Since this is citizens' capital, a concept not only for the financial participation but also the involvement of local citizens should be an integrated component (advisory board, supervisory board, and the development of a local energy concept).

If municipalities want and are able to develop their own public utility in the short-middle- or long-term, but cannot immediately acquire an appreciable share of the grid or the distribution system due to financial shortages, corresponding purchase options can be granted. In addition, support for the development of a local energy cooperative can be given, which would concentrate on the installation and operation of power-generation facilities and thus the development of local energy generation structures

while, in the mid-term, the energy generated would be distributed through the local grid if the German Renewable Energy Act (EEG) ceased to be an attractive option for energy feed-in. Exclusive contracts could be developed for this if necessary. To this end, Burghard Flieger, Member of the Board of Energie in Bürgerhand eG (<http://www.energiegenossenschaften-gruenden.de/>) would be willing to assist with his expert knowledge and extensive experience.

In summary, one thing remains clear: Energie in Bürgerhand eG is a suitable model for participation in recomunalisation processes, such as those initiated in Berlin. The development of a concept, including an ecological and sustainability advisory board, together with other forms of citizen participation, should be agreed upon in consultation with local initiators. Public utilities as well as public utility organisations can integrate citizen-based public utilities and citizen participation in the form of cooperatives, and thereby, also initiate a shift towards sustainable development, which in addition will enable citizens to participate financially in their public utilities. Contact: info@energie-in-buergerhand.de.

Management Tools for Energy Cooperatives

To establish energy cooperatives in the form outlined, the active players – so-called initiators or promoters – will require the necessary tools. Both these, and marketing strate-

gies for a cooperative, can be acquired at an innovative seminar entitled 'Project Developers for Energy Cooperatives'. Through this seminar, citizens are empowered to assume responsibility for climate protection and take control of their energy supply as a counterweight to globalisation. They will thus be able to launch solar cooperatives systematically in one of the three forms listed above (<http://www.energiegenossenschaften-gruenden.de/>)

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Local Climate Policy and the Role of the Citizen – The Case of Potsdam (Germany)

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Local Climate Policy and the Role of Citizens

Until recently, it seemed self-evident that international negotiations between nation states are the adequate arena for dealing with global issues such as climate change. Two independent developments have challenged this view: the rather disappointing outcomes of the two UN climate summits in Copenhagen (2009) and Cancún (2010), and the growing relevance of local climate policy activities.

Cities cover only about 2 per cent of the Earth's surface, but are home to more than 50 per cent of the world's population, and own a disproportionately high share of the global GDP. In other words: cities are the planet's economic growth machines, besides being its major knowledge centres and cultural laboratories. They are also major greenhouse gas (GHG) emitters and thus bear global responsibility. Greater London's GHG emissions, for example, exceed those of Greece, but only Greece is participating in the UN climate policy system.

While addressing international climate policy, many national states show symptoms of free-rider behaviour—leading to sub-optimal outcomes, incremental progress, and a dominance of averaged national interests—while

at the local level, it has been observed that some cities move ahead and implement ambitious GHG reduction targets well beyond their national government's counterparts. As there is no international policy arena for local climate policy—only voluntary associations in cities such as the Climate Alliance (see <http://www.klimabuendnis.org/>) or the Local Governments for Sustainability Organisation (ICLEI, see <http://www.iclei.org/>)—all these are local activities and, being voluntary, come without conditions.

To what degree do citizens and their willingness to do something about climate change influence this fact? Can the proactive role of some cities in the domain of climate policy be traced back – at least in part – to the policy preferences and the behaviour of citizens? What role do citizens play in the context of local climate policies? And can cities perform better in terms of climate policy if they improve the participation of citizens? These are important questions, which we would like to discuss briefly against the background of a German case study: the city of Potsdam.

Potsdam's Local Climate Policy

Potsdam, more than 1,000 years old and located southwest of Berlin, is the capital of

the German Federal State of Brandenburg and has about 155,000 inhabitants. Unlike many other cities in the former East Germany, Potsdam is not a shrinking, but a growing city, with more than 1,000 new inhabitants every year. The attractiveness of the city is due, partly, to its steadily growing (mostly, service) economy, its beauty and high quality of life, and its vicinity to Berlin, where many inhabitants work.

In 1990, the GHG emissions from the city area (excluding indirect emissions resulting from consumption and air travel) were about 1.59 million tonnes of CO₂eq (11.2 t. per capita and year). At the time, a lignite-based power plant provided the bulk of the city's heat and power. In a very heavily debated decision (Brandenburg is a coal producing country, Potsdam is its capital), the city decided to replace the old power plant with a new, natural gas-based CHP plant in the mid-1990s. In addition, many inefficient buildings – owned mostly by public utility housing enterprises – were retro-fitted during the 1990s. As a result,

the city's emissions in 2005 amounted to 0.867 million tonnes of CO₂eq (5.9 t. per capita and year).¹

In 1995, Potsdam joined the Climate Alliance, which included a 'soft' commitment to reduce GHG emissions by 10 per cent every five years. In 2000, the city administration published its first GHG inventory as part of its Climate Alliance membership duties. In order to fulfil the recurring duty of GHG reporting, as well as to coordinate tasks of local climate policy, an administrator post was created in 2000 to act as the nucleus of the Climate Protection Coordination Office established in 2007. In the same year—the global climate debate had reached a historical peak during the publication of Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's (IPCC) Fourth Assessment Report that very year—the city council (the legislative body of Potsdam) decided in a resolution to further reduce the city's emissions by 20 per cent by 2020, with 2005 as the base year. This translates into an average annual reduction of 0.173 million tonnes

¹ The average German emits about 11 tonnes of CO₂eq per year. But this figure includes direct and indirect emissions from food and other consumption as well as from air travel, areas that the city administration—according to the accounting rules of the Climate Alliance—had excluded from its own calculations. The sum of air travel, food and other consumption-related emissions per capita in Germany on average is 5.4 tonnes. Added to Potsdam's 2005 per capita emissions, a hypothetical per capita emission figure of 11.3 tonnes for that year is calculated. This indicates that the city still has a long way to go in order to meet its long-term goal. Despite the Climate Alliance accounting rules, however, the city felt that air travel and the general consumption patterns of its inhabitants were beyond its influence.

up until 2020. The long-term goal for 2050 was set at 2.5 tonnes per capita and year, according to the Climate Alliance agreements. It was felt that additional efforts were needed, but the council members as well as the administration did not know exactly how—with what strategy and at what cost—this goal could be achieved. For that reason, the administration decided to commission external expertise in order to realise the 2007 resolution.

It was at this point that the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research (PIK) came into play, with PIK leading a consortium of consultants that eventually won the competition to provide the city with a strategy, the so-called Integrated Climate Protection Concept.² PIK, a globally oriented climate-science think tank with a strong capacity in modelling, did not have experience in local climate policy consultancy, but this was viewed as a unique opportunity to work for Potsdam—after all it was the city from which its name was derived and where its office was based. For PIK and its partners—city planners, energy consultants, traffic planners, and engineers—the requirement to finalise the concept in only six months was a real challenge.

The Integrated Climate Protection Concept

As a result, PIK and its partners delivered a 477-page report and handed it over to the city administration.³ The study contained a detailed analysis of Potsdam's carbon footprint, including a land-travel analysis, a regionalised and digitalised account of the heating demands for all buildings, and a complete account of electricity usage in the city. In addition, the structure of the city including its large green areas, were analysed.

Based on this analysis, a general vision for climate protection and adaptation in Potsdam was provided. Although the city administration was mainly interested in concrete climate change adaptation and GHG mitigation measures, it was felt that this overarching vision was important, as it illustrated the specific 'Potsdam approach' to local climate policy. For the global goal of climate protection it is only the reduced tonnes of CO₂eq that count. But this is not the case for cities, because they are living social organisms: GHG are always connected to the specific character of the city, and reduction strategies are part of a socio-

technical transformation process; part of individual biographies—or even biographical changes. Carbon accounting is both a matter of numbers and of stories—stories of cities, and stories of people. In order to connect the 'numbers' with the 'stories,' the concept provided a vision, both as a mission statement and as a statement of how the city could utilise its particular urban capital.

But of course, even with such a mission statement, concrete measures were indispensable. The PIK-led consortium came up with 99 detailed measures for Potsdam, accounting for an average annual reduction of 0.284 million tonnes—substantially more than the city had originally planned. Whether or not Potsdam could really achieve this goal clearly depended upon the political will of the city government and the participation of the business sector and private households. For each measure proposed by the concept, the costs and benefits were listed, along with the responsible body within the city.⁴ The concept concluded by discussing different scenarios: for example, a combination of measures that was compatible with the 2007 goal of reducing Potsdam's emissions by 20 per cent. These measures differed according to the selection criteria used: CO₂ efficiency, cost efficiency, or strategic coherence. PIK and its partners clearly preferred the strategic coherence scenario over the others although it was neither the cheapest nor the most cost-effective choice. It comprised 50 single measures, leading to a combined

reduction of 0.192 million tonnes annually, which would translate into a total monetary cost of 342.3 million Euros up until 2020, and cost the city administration about 8.7 million Euros in the same period.

The reason for preferring this '*Leitbild*' (Model) scenario over the others was the consortium's commitment to a coherent and publicly visible local climate policy. Although it would have been possible to achieve most of the reductions by way of an expansion and densification of the central district heating system with which Potsdam is endowed, we rejected this idea. The primary reason for this was both economic and strategic: as district heating today is more expensive than individual heating systems based on natural gas, changes would have had to be made to pricing policies, while homeowners would also have had to be convinced to connect to the central system.

This would have required a deliberate strategic choice on the part of the public utility company, and a proactive communication strategy by the city itself. Both in turn would have required a solid climate protection policy and a credible communication strategy, clearly asking for a broad array of measures in various domains (public and private buildings, traffic and city planning, and communication), all of which are publicly visible and credible at the same time. But it was exactly these criteria that led to the *Leitbild* scenario we proposed for the city of Potsdam. In addition, the preferred scenario

2 Many cities and townships in Germany have such concepts, and usually the know-how is provided by external experts. The German environmental ministry (BMU) supports the creation of these strategies financially, which was the case in Potsdam.

3 The complete German version of the concept can be downloaded at http://www.potsdam.de/cms/dokumente/10069761_978696/a89a339e/IntegriertesKlimaschutzkonzept2010.pdf.

4 For many of these measures it was next to impossible to calculate CO₂ reduction potential and/or monetary costs, especially for measures such as the provision and dissemination of information to the public. Some measures had co-benefits that outweighed costs, these included reducing air pollution, or adaptation measures that would also improve public health or reduce the health risks of climate change.

covered (and, sometimes, burdened) various important actors in the city, but not one actor alone: public housing, private homeowners, car users, city planners, and the whole of civil society at large. It is at this point that public participation came in.

Before we discuss this point in more detail, it should be noted that the city council of Potsdam adopted the Leitbild scenario as an ‘orienting framework’ for future decisions early in 2011. The Green Party had brought in an alternative resolution, pledging to take the scenario and its 50 measures as a binding climate policy ‘package,’ but this resolution did not find a majority. Now it is up to the city to implement the measures proposed, and the city assembly will have to, wherever its consent is required, decide on each single measure separately.

Citizen Participation

Be it at the national or local level: climate policy cannot be realised without the active participation of citizens. For various reasons:

- While climate change is heavily dependent upon scientific analysis, it is—as a social, not as a ‘natural’ fact—clearly dependent upon public perception and concern, as well as on the agenda set by the political system. It was the public climate discourse—including perception and action—that put scientific findings on the agenda

of policy makers and corporate actors (Reusswig, 2010). Climate policy needs the person.

- Political decisions must be backed by the public, especially in democracies, where politicians hope for (re-)election by the electorate. It is clear from surveys that climate change is a concern for many, and that large numbers of the public ask for more proactive climate policies (BMU/UBA, 2010). Climate policy needs the citizen.
- Given the high share of consumption-related emissions (more than 40 per cent of the personal carbon footprint), individuals (private households) have a clear responsibility to contribute to climate protection. Climate policy needs the consumer.

This holds even more so in local communities. At the local level, the integration and participation of citizens is both easier to realise and more relevant politically. Urbanity and civility are genuinely connected: democracy has its origins in the city, where politics is closer to the citizen, which facilitates the collaboration and exchange between local government and citizens. Urban citizens also have more influence on decision-taking and planning processes, the consequences of which are directly perceptible, are thus more transparent, and more directly sanctioned, by vote, than on national level (Kleger, 2002). Citizens of

cities also find it easier to become active within their direct environment: in associations, neighbourhood initiatives, and local economies, they can influence the values and lifestyles of their fellow citizens, and create new modes of living and forms of economy. Furthermore, there is a strong link between citizen engagement and environmental performance. The sum of citizens’ individual decisions – from actions such as insulating their house, going to work by bike or eating less meat – has a deep impact on the environment. The individual decisions of cities’ inhabitants are, collectively, more powerful than their government’s ability to intervene. This also holds for local climate policy, even in very large cities such as London (McKinsey & Company, 2008).

In Potsdam, citizen participation played an important role in the formation phase of its local climate policy. Between 1999 and 2001 there were several energy focused round-table conferences, as a result of which the city launched several energy-saving initiatives in schools, while the mayor announced publicly that the city would work to mitigate the effects of climate change in 2007. A climate council was established in the same year as a consulting body to the mayor, comprising a broad range of representatives from the administration, important corporations, scientists, and civil organisations. In 2007, the Energy Forum Potsdam (<http://www.energie-forum-potsdam.de/>) was founded, a civil organisation dedicated to promot-

ing climate policy and clean energy for the city, which actively and critically engaged with the city administration and the corporate sector. An active student group was set up at Potsdam University, which installed solar power on the university’s roof, and actively sought to engage both the administrative heads and the students in climate policy. In autumn 2010 Potsdam University of Applied Science (Fachhochschule) staged an innovative public exhibition on climate change and climate policy, and it is about to implement a new course of study on urban climate management. Environmental NGOs in the city (mostly as local representatives of regional or national organisations) actively promote the issue. The ‘Bürgersolarverein,’ a cooperative association, recruits members and fundraises in order to realise solar energy facilities on rooftops within the city.

This sort of participation was also an important feature of the Integrated Climate Protection Concept. Once it was ready and public, and before it went to the city assembly, the administration decided to engage with the cities’ public and discussed the concept in 12 public meetings during the autumn of 2010. These meetings deliberately took place in various locations around the city in order to cover its geographical and social heterogeneity. PIK and consortium partners, together with the climate protection unit of the city administration, presented and discussed the results of the study in the context of the future of local

climate policy. These meetings saw some vivid debates, but in general, public participation has been low: a comparative participation process—the so-called ‘citizen budget’—attracted up to 100 participants, while the climate protection assemblies saw a disappointing 20 people or less. For the majority of citizens, it would seem, the issue of climate change is still quite distant to their everyday lives, not only because climate change is sometimes perceived as a scientific area that is still being debated, but also because many people assume that ‘the administration’ will somehow take care of it.⁵

On the other hand, debates at these meetings showed that this perception might change rapidly once the personal relevance of local climate change and local climate policy become clearer. For example, when it comes to discussing future energy options, a vivid debate on the sustainability of biomass for energy use ensues. Although Potsdam farmers might profit from large scale purchases of the public utility, many of them are against a land-use change, favouring corn for energy instead of wheat for food.⁶ Instead, fast-growing tree species are regarded as more sustainable—and aesthetically preferable, in addition. Fervid debates also ensue once discussion turns to

the fair balance between climate protection and monument conservation. Potsdam’s baroque inner city, as well as many other places in its boundaries, are very beautiful and subject to preservation orders. Even Green Party members loudly speak up against solar panels on historic rooftops, while strict adherents of climate protection or modern architecture—both of which are not easy to find in Potsdam—would be willing to sacrifice the look of Potsdam for a lower carbon footprint (and/or a more ‘modern’ look). The expansion and densification of district heating prompted further heated debate. Visitors to an additional public meeting, organised by the Left Party of Potsdam, even drew parallels to GDR methods as they perceived that the concept of ‘forced connection’ equated to a more expensive system.

We would like to summarise our experiences as follows: First, the public’s participation in serious debate about local climate policy in Potsdam is still limited. One generally meets ‘the usual suspects,’ a few people (plus some others), when it comes to more traditional forms of public debate or evening events on the issue, which the majority of people still perceive as distant to their own lives. Second, local climate

policy in the city of Potsdam has up until now been driven mostly by the administration—or, more precisely, by some engaged people in the administration—but it has also had the backing of the city and the mayor. Ambitious goals have been developed, due mostly to the fact that Potsdam is a member of the Climate Alliance—which as the city chose to become a member of it—these goals can be interpreted as a mixture of voluntary measures and a ‘soft compulsion’ by a civil organisation. Third, once it is appreciated that the effects of climate change and climate policy impact on the individual—be it in terms of vulnerability, responsibility, or effectiveness of public decisions—the intensity of the debate, and also presumably, the number of people involved, will increase. This does not automatically mean that people will engage in favour of climate protection or better energy efficiency; they might also choose to opt for less stringent goals once the costs are clear, or decide to shift the burden to others. In any case, this would require a much broader and more personally tailored communication strategy, as well as new formats for such events. Fourth, given the recent level of activity within civil organisations operating within the area of climate policy in Potsdam, one can predict that public participation will

become increasingly important, and that the issue will move beyond the arena of the city administration or its legislative body. In part, this is a side effect of the important role that public utilities and the public housing sector will play in the future. When new forms of renewable energy are introduced, when more decentralised energy solutions become feasible (e.g. at the level of single city quarters), when electromobility becomes more important (with mobility management), or when housing companies actively advertise lower energy costs, or even think about becoming energy providers—when all this happens, the public will have to engage much more actively with local climate policy. This will also be the time when city administrations should be prepared to actively engage with their inhabitants in order to co-govern the city.

BMU/UBA (eds.) (2010) *Umweltbewusstsein in Deutschland 2010. Ergebnisse einer repräsentativen Bevölkerungsumfrage*. Berlin/Dessau: BMU.

Kleger, Heinz (2002) *Was kann europäische Urbanität heute bedeuten?* In Hassenpflug, Dieter (ed.) *Die europäische Stadt – Mythos und Wirklichkeit*. Munich: LIT Verlag, pp. 143–176.

McKinsey & Company (2008) *Sustainable Urban Infrastructure: London edition - a view to 2025*. Munich: Siemens.

Reusswig, Fritz (2010) *The New Climate Change Discourse: A Challenge for Environmental Sociology*. In Gross, Matthias and Heinrichs, Harald (eds.) *Environmental Sociology: European Perspectives and Interdisciplinary Challenges*. Dordrecht/Heidelberg/ London/ New York/ Berlin: Springer, pp. 34–61.

⁵ This at least is the preliminary conclusion we draw from an ongoing research project funded by the EU, in which ten urban and rural regions from five European countries are compared with respect to attitudes to climate change, local climate policy, and energy saving (<http://www.gildedeu.org/>). As final results are still pending, we will have to substantiate this hypothesis at a later time.

⁶ In 2003 the city of Potsdam expanded to the north and now some rural communities with a substantial share in farming are part of the city boundary.

Engagement and Participation in Climate Protection – Three Examples from Central and Eastern Europe

JANA CICMANOVA
Energy Cities

More and more Central and Eastern European cities are transforming themselves into low energy centres with the prospect of a high quality of life for everyone. They have a vision. They are open towards Europe and new ideas, willing to contribute to European energy and climate objectives, keen to educate and involve local stakeholders and citizens in the creation of local sustainable energy policies, and ready to join European initiatives and networks to exchange knowledge and experiences. The interest in signing up to the Covenant of Mayors is growing steadily, and the number of Central and Eastern European cities participating in various European projects that pick up on the issue of citizen participation in urban climate protection, is increasing.

Bistrita (Romania): Local Intelligent Energy Forums

Bistrita (population 84,520) joined the European project BELIEF in 2006, a project that promotes the Sustainable Energy Communities' concept on a European scale. In all, 20 Communities from 11 European countries have organised Local Intelligent Energy Forums, involving relevant local stakeholders and citizens. Together with local actors, they have prepared or adapted

a Sustainable Energy Action Plan (SEAP), together with a financial plan containing sufficient economic resources to implement their local initiatives and activities.

Bistrita promoted its Local Intelligent Energy Forums among citizens, and sent invitations to partners from the public and private sectors, commercial associations, and NGOs. The mayor of the city signed the invitations and chaired the forums, ensuring the event had adequate prestige and underlining its importance. The forums were organised regularly every three months. Among the participants were the municipality of Bistrita, the local Chamber of Commerce, the Agricultural Industry of Bistrita-Năsăud county, the Environmental Protection Agency, the electricity supplier and autonomous water supplier, local transport companies, the Owners' Association, Softwood Sawmill Company, an information technology provider, and a food producer, among others. During the forums, participants discussed how they would contribute to the local SEAP and how they could help to develop it.

In October 2009, Bistrita signed up to the Covenant of Mayors and committed itself to reducing CO2 emissions by 20 per cent by 2020. The partnerships established

with local stakeholders and citizens in the framework of BELIEF, definitely helped in the preparation of a baseline emissions inventory and in updating the SEAP.

Further Information

Details about BELIEF:
<http://www.belief-europe.org/>

Details about Bistrita's SEAP:
http://www.eumayors.eu/about/signatories_en.html?city_id=982&seap

Details about the BELIEF guide (designed to help municipalities to unite stakeholders and citizens around common objectives and projects, especially in Local Energy Forums)
<http://www.belief-europe.org/INFO-CENTRE>

Gabrovo (Bulgaria): Municipal Intelligent Energy Days

Gabrovo (population 60,748) and 42 other cities from ten new member states and Croatia, decided to join the European project MODEL and become models for their citizens and local stakeholders in the field of rational energy usage. The cities appointed municipal energy managers, created an energy unit within their administration, developed their local energy action plans and energy information systems, and sought financing for concrete investments. Communication with citizens was crucial to the process. Municipal Intelligent Energy Days (MIED) were organised annually in order to demonstrate to the public how energy is

saved by local authorities, and the ways in which citizens themselves could contribute to the city's efforts to reduce energy consumption. In 2008, 31 MIEDs were organised in eight member states, in which over 55,000 people participated.

Gabrovo was awarded 'Best Pilot City 2008,' and also achieved the highest score in the category 'Best Municipal Intelligent Energy Days'. The city promoted its MIED through the Gabrovo Today newspaper, on the Municipality of Gabrovo website along with several other websites, and in a special broadcast on Radio Gabrovo. The population was thus well informed about the event.

Local actors and actresses, citizens, and the media actively participated in the organisation of the MIED. Several divisions of the public administration – the Center for Energy Efficiency EnEffect from Sofia, the headmasters of schools and kindergartens, managers of municipal sites, local press, radio, and TV, and local companies especially those working in the field of efficient energy use, were all also actively involved.

The MIED itself promoted various activities aimed at supporting citizens in their efforts to reduce energy consumption. A

major element of the day was a presentation that looked at all the ways citizens could become active together with an overview of energy-efficient products. Local authorities presented their activities in the domain of sustainable energy use, and a bank and several companies presented their energy-saving programmes and products. Another highlight was the inauguration of the Energy Efficiency Information Centre that was set up to provide consultation and technical assistance to the population and small and medium-size businesses. An exhibition of children's paintings was also prominent, based on the subject: 'We too are concerned with the future of our planet'.

Further Information

Details about MODEL: www.energymodel.eu

Details about MIEDs:
<http://www.energymodel.eu/spip.php?rubrique100>

Bielsko-Biala (Poland): Engaged Citizens

Bielsko-Biala (population 178,000) signed up to the Covenant of Mayors, committing itself to reducing its CO2 emissions by 20 per cent by 2020. Realising that this target would be impossible to achieve without the help of citizens contributing their bit of

action, Bielsko-Biala joined the European project ENGAGE, a pan-European communications initiative that seeks to engage citizens and stakeholders at a local level to play their part in building a sustainable energy future.

Initially, a core group of 12 cities from 12 different European countries pioneered the project. The cities' local administrations faced the challenge of facilitating communications – ensuring that participation was both feasible and desirable – mobilising its municipal departments and as many of its stakeholders and citizens as possible, to start a grassroots, from the bottom up, process. The project aimed to recruit at least 3,300 stakeholders and citizens that were willing to change one or more of their everyday actions to minimise their carbon footprint, and thus contribute to local energy and climate targets, with their commitments publicly displayed on posters.

Further Information

Details about Bielsko-Biala's activities: see Chapter 10.

Details about ENGAGE: <http://www.citiesengage.eu/>

To see the European poster gallery of ENGAGE citizens and stakeholders: http://www.citiesengage.eu/european_gallery.php

The coordinator of the projects mentioned above is Energy Cities – a European association of local authorities that are inventing their energy future (<http://www.energy-cities.eu/>).

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Participation in Urban Climate Protection – The Example of Bielsko-Biała (Poland)

An Interview of **KATHARINA ABRAMOWICZ** with
ZBIGNIEW MICHNIOWSKI
Deputy Mayor of Bielsko-Biała

What actions towards climate protection are being taken in Bielsko-Biała?

We are currently running a couple of different projects. Some of them affect climate protection directly and stem from the Covenant of Mayors (CoM), which we signed up to two years ago. The actions by Bielsko-Biała to save energy, protect the climate and reduce carbon dioxide emissions, however, go back as far as to the nineties, when upon contacts with Energy Cities, an association of European local authorities, we first decided to join this movement and begin our own actions to increase energy efficiency in the city. As early as 1994 Bielsko-Biała already had an Energy Management Office, which has been active ever since. The first projects to be implemented were dealing with energy management in our community buildings, mainly schools. There are over 150 such buildings in the city, so the results, right after implementing the basic actions in every school, were immediately visible and brought substantial profits. It turned out that simple improvements in a building's energy management issues, combined with improving its thermal insulation, can pay off within four to five years. We view this programme as self-financing in the long run.

We also emphasised the need to present our actions in a manner that is comprehensible for everybody. Not until three years ago, when I started wondering how people perceived the very idea of energy efficiency and what they thought of implementing good practice in energy consumption, I came about an idea to make a diagram. This graphical representation of the subject not only proved convincing to the city staff workers and the people involved, but first of all was very successful as a learning tool during the congress of Związek Miast Polskich. There was a lot of excitement among the mayors. The congress members could plainly see that our actions are efficient and that they bring savings to the budget.

Throughout the years, we were receiving a lot of inspiration from both Energy Cities and the Polish network of Energie-Cités, founded in 1994. We joined Energy Cities in 1997 as a natural consequence of our actions and our cooperation with other municipalities in building a certain model of urban energy management. These two organisations fostered many projects in Bielsko-Biała. The effects are therefore most visible in the facilities run by the city – first of all schools and other educational institutions. The city was also active in a project named SchooBie-Do, which was aimed at

promoting the efficient management of not only electricity, but also heat, gas, and water. The students were initially rather sceptical about the project, but upon seeing a graphical representation of its benefits, they have developed a strong will to compete with other schools, which proved extremely motivating. In this way the youth got involved in the project and they cooperated happily.

Another European project of that type – DISPLAY – was to advertise the results achieved in schools outside. Big posters were hung outside the schools stating the results in this particular school: what is its carbon emissions reduction, how much has its energy efficiency increased, how much water and electricity has been saved?

Yet another action, a very important one for us, was the project MODEL initiated four years ago. Actually, it is an Energy Cities network project. Its foundation was to create Model Cities, which could be role models for other cities. Three years ago MODEL was awarded 'The most promising project in Europe' by Andris Piebalgs, then European Commissioner for Energy. We found it very honouring, while – interestingly – we did not directly participate, because we already were a Model City, counselling via our Energie-Cités network. What constitut-

ed the essence of this project, namely to create an Energy Team and certain mechanisms to monitor the energy consumption in communal buildings, was our field of action for many years. Undoubtedly one of the Energy Team's most important tasks was to develop the City Energy Plan – the very basis for our ongoing actions for energy efficiency.

The next step was to join the Covenant of Mayors (CoM). About the same time when the MODEL project of Energy Cities was awarded, the initiative to sign up to the CoM emerged. We were among the first 41 European towns which accepted the idea and promised to take an active role in this very important initiative. It took us one year to convince all the actors, including the city council, that this was a very interesting concept and that the city should join. The council accepted the resolution to join the CoM, and together with 350 other European towns we signed the document, as one of four Polish towns. Joining the Covenant meant we took the obligation to develop our Sustainable Energy Action Plan, a plan of actions for the next ten years. This was the most difficult moment, when we established that we need to spend some 300 million złotych over that period, about 30 million złotych per annum. It frightened our decision makers, it seemed impossible that

the project would ever succeed in the city council. The mayor's attitude was extremely pragmatic – he demanded precise estimates on how much money needed to be spent and when, on what the chances were to see a return from these investments, and if such returns were possible at all. We took the effort to perform these calculations and present the exact numbers. They proved credible and realistic enough to convince all the interested parties to cooperate.

Our cooperation with both the Polish Energie-Cités Network and the European Energy Cities Network continues, including action within the scope of the Project IMAGINE – which shows, how a dozen of European cities fulfil their climate projection plans. A poster exhibition was conceived to present the most interesting climate obligations of the particular cities. The exhibition enjoyed an enthusiastic reception, also in Poland.

Another one of our actions (involving schools) lies within the scope of the project Euronet 50/50. It emphasises energy efficiency improvements through non-investment actions, which realise reductions in water, heat and electricity consumption and thus in CO₂ emissions. Through education, organisational means or plain change of habits we want to enforce efficiency in municipal spending. After some time, when we know how much was saved, half of the money saved in the project goes to the school, while the other half remains in the city budget. We have the first results and

they are worth mentioning: it turned out that one of our schools performed best! (There are 50 European schools in the project, including 11 from Poland). Those young people are very enthusiastic about their success.

I would further like to mention ENGAGE, a project with participation of a dozen European cities. Its goal is the financial, organisational and substantive support for all Covenant of Mayor's actions. Three persons of the municipality staff were selected, and for the next few years they will work on this project for about three days a month. This has an immense promotional value, because we can say that for those three days a month we work based on European resources, supporting the CoM. A wide variety of activities is planned within this framework. First of all, Energy Days are scheduled this October, with an accompanying poster campaign. We selected 300 so-called Energy Ambassadors. Their testimonials concerning the CoM's issues of interest (3x20 package, carbon emissions reduction, energy efficiency, and renewable energy sources) will be presented in a graphical manner on posters and billboards. These will show our citizens that we are top rank among European cities in terms of climate friendly actions.

What actions can citizens and other interested parties be a part of? And how?

First of all, we involved the municipal companies. AQUA operates water supply

and waste processing. This company has energy efficiency plans for all their operations, as well as a very interesting biogas project. As of now, the biogas production from waste processing covers the complete in-house demand for energy and heat. The project is still under development, so there is a possibility that the surplus will be sold in the future. In Europe, such projects (e.g. in Stockholm) are the most common ones for the operation of facilities with biogas.

Another company we cooperate with is THERMA. It is distributing (through a district heating network) heat to households and industry in more than half of Bielsko-Biała. THERMA has undertaken a substantial upgrade of their heating network, with excellent results, reducing thermal losses of the network by a few per cent yearly. As the heating network of Bielsko-Biała is a vast one, this project will continue until 2020. Minimising thermal losses is very important to the city, as are new technologies in heat distribution, insulation and breakdown management.

Another company is MZK, Miejski Zakład Komunikacji, operating the whole city transport. For the last few years, MZK has been replacing their rolling stock with buses compliant (in fuel efficiency) with the latest European regulations. We consider switching, in a couple of years, from diesel fuel to natural gas or even biogas.

Having developed our energy plan, which was our obligation under Polish energy

laws, we recognised the need to replace the energy plant in Bielsko-Biała, as in 2014 it will no longer be up to European standards of air pollution. This became a serious problem, as the plant is owned by an energy company. We initiated negotiations. Those had a difficult start, as cost estimates of the project were above expectations. After long discussions, the company agreed to implement a modernisation plan. Investment is under way to increase efficiency from current 62 per cent in heat and electricity cogeneration to 87 per cent. This will be possible due to a new, top standard coal boiler and a vast heating accumulation tower. I need to state here that coal has been our main fuel for many years and will remain so for the years to come.

The citizens of Bielsko-Biała are also involved in our energy plan, for example through a project where the city supports the replacement of boilers in individual buildings. It is called Low Emission Reduction Plan (PONE). The goal is to replace the outdated boilers in detached buildings with modern ones, consuming high quality coal, which allows a two-digit efficiency improvement, as well as a 30 per cent reduction of air pollution. We also support citizens switching from coal to gas, electric heating and regenerative heating. From this year on, subsidies will be available for citizens willing to install solar cells. It will not, however, cover the whole expense. It is still very popular among citizens, as all the available financing is utilised immediately.

We receive a positive feedback on our new projects as well.

It is hard to tell what influence the city exerts on the citizens to incentivize their participation. We notice that some citizens install solar collectors even without the financial support from the city. This means that a certain level of consciousness emerges in citizens concerning other than conventional sources of energy.

A very interesting idea was brought about by two students, who invented a zero emission school. The boys' idea was to install solar collectors on the roof – they installed eight so far – using a grant from a Polish company. We had an opening ceremony for the zero emission school recently. As the investment supplies only eight per cent of the building's energy needs, the system will be upgraded to reach 20 per cent. For the remaining 80 per cent trees will be planted to consume the carbon emissions from the power plant.

Who, according to your experience, is using the opportunities created by the city's energy actions? Is it a constant group of citizens?

It is hard to establish, for if we take the society of Bielsko-Biała as a whole, statistically the level of participation is low. What is important is that they are the proverbial swallow that doesn't make a summer, but is a sign summer is round the corner. Every

single person who starts to act in a new way becomes an ambassador of the new attitude.

Even though we are lacking signals of government support for municipal actions, I think sooner or later cooperation must be established. The former Commissioner for Energy, Andris Piebalgs, initiating the CoM, stated it very clearly: without the cities, without citizen participation, no European plan in energy efficiency or climate protection will succeed. The government must understand that renewable energies are not one big central nuclear power plant; they are thousands of local actions that affect energy consumption and must be taken into account. This is the problem of proper level of management and monitoring. This is what we call a Smart City, meaning such level of energy measurement and prediction of local energy production potential that will allow only the remaining energy to be bought from outside the city. This remaining part will still be around 80 per cent, but we need to remember it is the first step towards independence from external, including foreign, energy sources. There is also a need to orientate the internal market, in the city, to serve the needs of Smart Energy.

What brings success and what is to be avoided in citizens' participation in municipal decision-making processes?

In climate protection and energy efficiency we have a strong team, capable of convinc-

ing all parties in the municipality – including political factions in the city council. Despite dramatic discussions in the committees, the city council always votes unanimously; whether it was joining the CoM, or passing the Sustainable Energy Action Plan, which contained major financial efforts. There is great strength in mutual understanding. Therefore we have the certainty of support from the council in public discussions, and the comfort that we will not need to withdraw from the projects that have a good economical base. One must be aware that politicians work with opinions. However, we work with arguments, not opinions; technical and economical arguments. And with those arguments we manage to convince the parties involved. The success of Bielsko-Biała has three foundations: qualified staff, consequence in action, and coordination with those who run similar projects and are able to share their experience.

I think that we have a team of people qualified enough to be successful even in negotiations with an energy company. We are consequent in our actions, meaning we don't go half-way. There is no compromise available, as energy consumption cannot be half-efficient, nor can be use of equipment. It is impossible! You go all the way, or you don't go anywhere. These two issues, qualified people and consequent action, are crucial. And so is coordination. We cooperated with Energy Cities from the very beginning, so we are able to take advantage of

the other cities' experience, which helps us to develop our projects and avoid mistakes. In turn, Bielsko-Biała is always ready to share knowledge and experience with other cities, mainly in Poland.

Speaking of consequence in action, you can only be consequent if you are convinced you are doing the right thing. There is one major problem these ways. Not many people are familiar with the issues of energy production, energy efficiency, and project management. The presentation, the way of speaking, must be comprehensive to every social group. The aim is to deprive the opponents of arguments from the start. We often face a very rational attitude, demanding a very detailed assessment of economical and ecological impact on our side. It is not always easy, because sometimes money must be spent to gain benefits that can not be expressed in economical terms.

Bearing in mind the expertise we gained so far, we suggested holding a conference on municipal energy safety and new energy technologies in Bielsko-Biała. Our invitation was already confirmed by mayors and vice mayors from many cities across Europe, who have been to Bielsko-Biała before and had an opportunity to present their programmes here. Their presence is an important factor in promoting the event, it shows a lot of commitment and enthusiasm.

Examples of Citizen and Stakeholder Participation in Kopřivnice (Czech Republic)

A written Interview of TINA BĀR with IVANA RAŠKOVÁ
Town of Kopřivnice

What are Kopřivnice's activities regarding climate protection?

Some recent examples, where the town dealt with climate protection in cooperation with stakeholders or the public, are:

- Updating Kopřivnice's waste management plan
- Realisation of the project Živá Kopřivnice [Live Kopřivnice] financed by a revolving fund of the Ministry of the Environment. This project had 11 sub-activities, for example the establishment of waste separation using a barcode system, the provision of new waste containers for separated waste, the support of activities in the framework of the international campaign Den Země [Earth Day], and a one-year academy about the environment and sustainable development for seniors.
- Joining a number of international as well as Czech cities, which judge their sustainability with special indicators, called ecological footprints.

What kind of activities are stakeholders and citizens involved in and who is invited to participate?

We always try to involve the general public in our activities and tasks. If it is a topic concerning a narrower group of people, we try to address this specific target group.

An example of the latter is the project of draining the sewerage in Lubina, one of three local villages that are part of Kopřivnice. A couple of meetings were held with the citizens of Lubina. Media coverage of the events focused on the residents, although, anyone could of course learn about the events. An example of wide involvement is the public hearings, whose output affects all residents of Kopřivnice (for example in the case of updates of concepts or plans). If it is possible and desirable, we always try to involve representatives of three groups – the general public, the non-profit sector, and local businesses.

How exactly are people involved? Please describe the process a little.

Combining several methods of public involvement according to the respective topic, target group, and other aspects, has worked well for us. We often organise public discussions, round tables, and involve partners in working groups or committees. Frequently used are also awareness campaigns and in-

teractive exhibitions in the town centre. Of course, we should not forget the public opinion surveys and questionnaires which are valuable sources of information as well.

The process of integrating the public in the decision process of the town is initiated by the municipal government itself, the town employees who prepare the projects, and in some cases the citizens themselves. In collaboration with PZM [Project Healthy Town] and MA21 [Local Agenda 21]¹, the best method for involving the public is chosen. After prior promotion of the event, a planned meeting is held at a publicly announced time and date. This meeting is usually organised by the coordinator so that the impartiality of the mediator, between the public and the municipal experts

who present the plans and intentions of the town, is guaranteed.

At the same time, we always try to have at least one representative of the town government present.

What do citizens and stakeholders contribute to the outcome of the process? What are examples of decisions where they have been involved? And what would have been decided and done differently without the citizens' involvement?

In the case of preparing plans and concepts, the public is a partner during the whole process – in the meetings citizens help to

¹ Projekt Zdravé Město – the international Project Healthy Town – was initiated by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1988, which invited all the major European cities for its realisation. After 15 years of the project's existence, 1300 Healthy towns were developed in 30 different countries (for example Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Hungary, and many more). The primary goal of the project is to support towns, villages, and regions in their realisation of internationally accepted values: health, sustainable development, and quality of life.

The procedure to become a 'healthy' town is, of course, not just a task for municipal leaders, town council and authorities – it cannot do without a daily, close cooperation with several local non-governmental partners (professional institutions, NGOs, schools, companies) as well as the general public. In the 'healthy' cities, villages, and regions, you can, therefore, find a practical example of what the term Local Agenda 21 means (Promoting sustainable development at the local level with active involvement of the public).

Místní Agenda 21 [Local Agenda 21] was established as a local implementation of Agenda 21. (For more information, see <http://www.ma21.cz>) Local Agenda 21 is a progressive method for increasing the quality of public administration, leading to the practical application of the principles of sustainable development at local and regional levels. Compared to other methods, it provides higher quality and more effective results and brings along many added values: greater satisfaction of the residents, their active involvement in public life and in public decision-making, but also a strategic insight in the current and future development of the village or region.

suggest specific measures, activities, and tasks, which are then (, if relevant,) included in the plans. In the case of investment projects, we consult them at least for the final form of the projects. Sometimes the residents themselves can even co-decide what the final solution will be. For example when a new playground was to be built, its location was chosen by the residents (they suggested an entirely different location), further they defined what should not be missing in the playground area, and finally companies presented their designs and the people themselves chose the winner. A similar procedure was later also chosen in the local village Vlčovice.

Who takes the chance to participate in your experience so far, is it all kinds of people and stakeholders or just certain ones? Are your offers of involvement frequently used?

As already explained earlier, any resident of the town or local area can participate; representatives of non-profit organisations, clubs, or associations, as well as business representatives or 'ordinary' citizens, and age is not limited either. This can be proven by a series of public discussions started by young people and children from Kopřivnice, who were dissatisfied with the state of the local skate park. The result is a newly equipped skateboard area, which was chosen by the users, the children. The necessary financial means were obtained

from an external grant for the development of Local Agenda 21.

When addressing the general public, we commonly use the following options: hanging posters (in town, at organisations, and in the local villages), broadcasting on Kopřivnice Cable TV, publishing articles or invitations in Kopřivnice's newspaper and on the web pages of the town and of Project Healthy Town, radio broadcasting, exhibitions before events, and press releases. If we must address a specific target group, we use the following options: Leaflets A6 (in the post-boxes of the residents of a specific area, in the children's lockers in kindergartens to reach families with children, handed out to passers-by in the town centre), broadcasting TV discussions about the specific subject a couple of days before, with an invitation to the event (usually between a representative of the town government and a specialist from the municipality), written invitations to specific organisations as well as telephone and mail invitations, and more. All the measures are always adjusted to the character of the topic under discussion

What advantages do you see in making participation possible?

What disadvantages do you see? Have you come across any obstacles?

In Kopřivnice, we try to make communication with the public a common standard of

our town, and, generally speaking, we can say that through the process of including the public, we are trying to actively prevent the possibility of misunderstandings between the residents of the town and the town management (we prefer to discuss our intention with the people rather than having to deal with petitions and complaints later). At the same time, we believe that the people are obtaining a stronger relationship with the town they live in, because they themselves can co-decide what happens in their town. And finally, we believe that through these meetings the relations with the residents deepen; greater trust between the management of the town and the residents is established. Simply speaking, we worked on improving the atmosphere in Kopřivnice in this way for a long time. Evidence of how successful we are is provided by the results of sociological research on the satisfaction of residents with their local community (carried out in 2005, 2008, and 2010 by an external company). The results of these studies can be seen on Kopřivnice's web page.

I would not call the following two points disadvantages, but rather aspects that have to be considered beforehand, if one wants the involvement of the public and stakeholders in the decision process to be systematically and well organised, and not just as a formality. To begin with, both issues can be solved without the need of additional costs, but these are only short term solutions.

1. Finances – for renting venues for the meetings with the residents (sometimes rooms for as much as 100 participants are needed), organising refreshments and materials, and paying the involved staff.

2. Time and personnel – depending on the type of the event, a couple of people are needed for preparation, realisation, and then evaluation of the event; tasks that are not included in their regular job description. Also needed is at least one facilitator, the venue (sound and technological equipment) has to be prepared, and comments and entries have to be passed on.

Kopřivnice's solution to these issues:

To meet the national criteria of MA 21 [Local Agenda 21], a coordinator position for PZM [Project Healthy Town] was established in 2004, whose main task is to initiate and support the local, regional, and national cooperation and to integrate the public in the decision process. Since the beginning of 2009, the coordinator position is placed under the Department of City Development, in the Division of Strategic Planning. Another similar contact place for the public is the Department of Education and External Relations, which is responsible for the town's external communications. The coordinator of PZM and MA 21 thus closely cooperates with the spokesperson of the town, who is also responsible for Kopřivnice's public

relations. In relation to providing feedback from the public, the spokesperson is for example in charge of issuing press articles, participating in TV discussions and discussion forums, and providing information on the web pages of the town.

One risk can be to ask too much of the public. With the possibility to access external resources from the EU, new opportunities for cities to obtain the necessary finances opened up. Many cities, and Kopřivnice was no exception, expanded their activities of requesting grants, and at the same time the need to include the public in the planning of events increased. Over the next two years it was then necessary to carefully consider how often, with what intentions, and in what form to communicate with our partners, so that they would not become overwhelmed. There was a risk that the residents would lose interest if it ceased to be attractive.

Has there been any feedback from participants? Has there been any evaluation of the process and what are its results?

At each meeting, among other documents, evaluation questionnaires are distributed, which are designed to collect ideas on how to improve the public meetings. Filling out these questionnaires is entirely voluntary, which is also reflected in the response rate of approximately 22 per cent. The questions in the questionnaire are focused on



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time, date and place of the meeting. We also ask whether the presented information has been clear enough, etc. At the end of the questionnaire there is a space where the respondents can state what they were satisfied and not satisfied with at the meeting.

Finally, we ask the respondents to evaluate the event on a scale from one to five (one being the worst, five the best). The questionnaire evaluations are always included in the record of the event, which is then posted on the web pages of PZM and MA 21.

Details about the Local Agenda 21:
<http://www.koprivnice.cz/index.php?id=zapisy-zdrave-mesto-koprivnice/>

Details about the Project Healthy Town:
<http://zdravemesto.koprivnice.org/>

The City of Strasbourg's Danube Workshop Project (France)

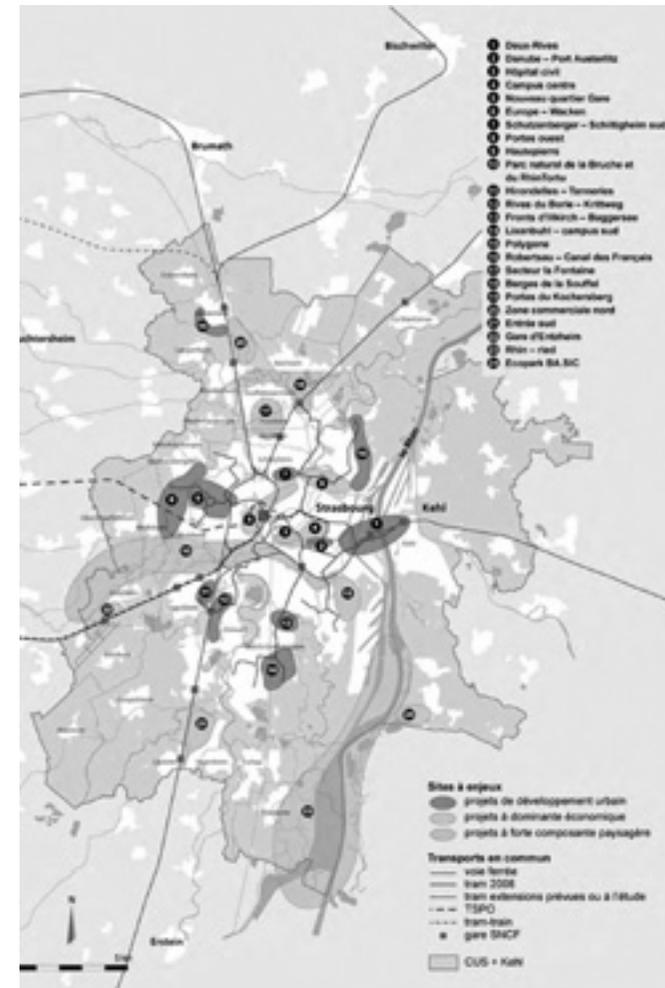
CÉCILE CUNY

Centre Marc Bloch/Université Paris 8

Similar to other Western European nations, the prevailing model of urban expansion across France since the 1970s has been that of urban sprawl. However, since the 1990s, several cities, including Strasbourg – which, with approximately 450,000 inhabitants, is the 11th largest urban area in France¹ – have developed an alternative model, characterised by a ‘renaissance’ of the urban centre (including the cessation or even reversal of inner-city flight) in tandem with a relative decline or stabilisation of peri-urban growth.

In 2008–2009, the city of Strasbourg won a national award as part of a call for ‘Eco-city’ projects that was initiated by the French Ministry of Environment. The ecological development strategy proposed by Strasbourg was based upon an ambitious expansion of the city centre along the Rhine in the direction of Kehl, the German municipality just across the border. This strategy aims to achieve demographic growth of 50,000 inhabitants by 2025, as well as the completion of 24 projects within the current boundaries of the city in order to increase the density of the city centre.

This flagship project of the new municipality, led since 2008 by a socialist mayor or whose predecessor was a member of a right-wing party, has been accompanied by a number of initiatives directed at promoting ‘local democracy’ that go beyond legislative incentives. Since the enactment of the local democracy law in 2002, all French municipalities with more than 80,000 inhabitants must establish neighbourhood councils, while the law leaves municipalities free to define the functions, competencies and the composition of these local bodies. Such local bodies are thus not a novelty in Strasbourg. In comparison to earlier legislation, however, the new initiatives have been given more autonomy in relation to the municipal government (e.g. they are no longer presided over by an elected official). Furthermore, they are systematically consulted about the planned projects for the neighbourhoods, and a portion of their membership is chosen by lottery. In addition to these bodies, the municipality also developed participatory structures that target young people (i.e. youth councils) as well as immigrant communities – that is,



Map 1: The 24 projects in the City of Strasbourg's Eco-Cities initiative, City of Strasbourg, 2009.

persons who do not have the right to vote in municipal elections (councils of non-EU foreigners).

Since 2009, a new method for public participation was established by the ‘Service de la démocratie locale’ [department of local democracy]. Under this method, known as the ‘project workshop,’ participation is not organised at the neighbourhood level or directed at a particular population, but instead concentrates on an urban plan. An initial experiment with this form of ‘co-construction of the urban plan’ was undertaken beginning in June 2008, only a few months after the municipal elections, in order to plan the development of a new neighbourhood on the right bank of the Rhine, the Danube eco-neighbourhood (see map 1).

The Danube workshop project was first conceived of by Alain Jund, the mayor’s referee in charge of urban affairs. The aim was to launch a thorough re-evaluation of the eco-neighbourhood project, for which the previous municipal administration had initiated studies, as well as to develop a transparent debate about the project². The elected officials, technical service depart-

¹ Ever since the 1990 census, the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) has used the term ‘urbanised area’ to measure urban expansion across the territory of France. It defines this concept as ‘the ensemble of municipalities within a single bloc and without enclaves constituted by an urban pole (an urban unit providing at least 5,000 jobs) and a peri-urban crown composed of rural communities or urban entities where at least 40% of the employed resident population work within the remaining urbanised area.’

² Interviews with the head of the Danube project on July 8, 2011, and with the individual in charge of the ‘workshop project’ mission on April 8, 2011.

ments, several experts and a number of associations active in the area of sustainable urban development (association for car sharing, for self-promotion, association for promoting eco-neighbourhoods) all came together for an initial meeting in June 2008 during which they were presented with their mandate. At this stage, the objective of the initiative was to redefine the specifications for a consultation to select a planner (see box 1). The participants were divided into three topical workshops: 1) public spaces, the role of the automobile; 2) urban planning; 3) the organisation of the project and governance. These workshops went on to meet in two three-day sessions, first in October and then in November 2008.

In tandem with these meetings, three local associations met internally to develop their own contributions that were submitted at the time of the final meeting, which synthesised the results of the workshops in December 2008³.

In 2009, during the public discussions regarding the selection of a planner, the group made several site visits, including a visit to the eco-neighbourhood in Tübingen, Germany. This visit encouraged the members of the workshop to include an additional criterion in the list of requirements for the selection of a planner (see box 1): This would require that about twenty different

builders be involved in the actual construction and that parcel size be variable in order to assure a diversity of structures⁴.

Starting in February 2010, the designated planner became a new interlocutor. He suggested organising a ‘competitive dialogue’ to select a project manager for the urban works (see box 1): Three preselected teams are working in parallel and each one obtains community feedback regarding their plans. A ‘limited group’ selected from all of the participants in the workshop project is taking part in this dialogue. The conditions of their participation are the following: (1) adherence to a pledge of confidentiality and (2) attendance of all meetings. This ‘limited group’ is not responsible for selecting the project manager. Responsibility for this choice falls to a ‘steering committee’ composed of elected officials and technical services staff along with two members of the neighbourhood councils that had participated in the project workshop and in the limited group.

Finally, between March and June 2011, the workshop project met again on four separate occasions to discuss the urban design plan presented by the chosen project management team.

Compared to other workshop projects set up by the municipality (there are approximately

³ Taken from the minutes of the meetings held on June 26, September 23, October 14-16, November 18-21 and December 11, 2008.

⁴ According to the interview with the head of the Danube project on July 8, 2011.

Box 1: Major steps in an urban project in France

Since the 1990s, the term ‘urban project’ has replaced the older term ‘urban planning.’ This reformulation of terminology parallels changes in the process of city planning that relate to decentralisation, aimed at providing local French governing bodies (Regions, Departments, Municipalities or Communities of Municipalities) more competencies in the areas of planning and urban design. It also marks the concomitant reduction in the power of the central government in these domains.

A number of regulatory changes have come along with this transformation. Since the Solidarity and Urban Renewal Act (SRU) of December 13, 2000, municipalities are each required to formulate a Local Urban Plan (PLU), which defines major directions for future urban development in a perspective that integrates housing, transport, the environment, the economy, etc. To put it in different terms, the PLU is a regulatory translation of the ‘urban project’ that is formulated and defined by the municipality as a means of integrating all dimensions (economic, social, technical, etc.) of the development of its territory.

When, in the framework of its PLU, a municipality is contemplating urban development projects or redevelopment at the level of a whole neighbourhood, as for example in the case of the Danube eco-neighbourhood in Strasbourg, it can use a planning tool known as the Integrated Development Zone (ZAC). To create a ZAC, the municipality must complete a series of preliminary studies on its own or through a public or private consultancy, which will serve as the basis for defining the development programme, justify its site selection, evaluate the technical, economic and financial feasibility of the programme, the terms of its insertion into the overall perimeter of the municipality, and select a procedure for actually accomplishing the programme. The French urban planning code requires local bodies to consult formally with the public (citizens, associations) beginning at this stage. Documentation of public participation must be included in the dossier for creating a ZAC, but its conclusions are not binding upon the local body. Otherwise stated, it has no obligation to alter the original programme based upon the results of public input. A ZAC comes into being after examination of the initial dossier by the commission of the municipal council in charge of urban planning and formal approval by the council.

Once the dossier establishing the ZAC is approved, which includes the programme of public facilities and construction to be performed in the area targeted by a financing plan, the municipalities frequently entrust technical oversight for the operation (i.e. the role of informing and coordinating the ensemble of participants involved in the project, acquiring and preparing the sites before ceding them to developers or purchasers) and the supervision of the urban works (i.e. the task of sharpening the project in translating the wishes of the local body into the design plan, ordering ad hoc feasibility studies and implementing specifications for cession and financing) to outside management teams (public, semi-public or private firms). In any event, the selection of such teams must be made on the basis of a public call for bids, which may take several forms, the most common being that of a competition.

The dossier for implementation of a ZAC is also contingent upon a positive vote on the part of the municipal council before actual site work can begin.

eight workshops currently under way), the Danube workshop project is the oldest. Its ‘method’ was developed empirically in 2009, and without drawing onto the expertise from the local democracy mission who helps to guide the other workshops. The workshop has benefited from the active support of the mayor’s referee who first initiated the workshop project and has taken part in all of its meetings with the exception of the two topical sessions in 2008.

Without specifying their exact form, French urban planning laws require the establishment of procedures for public participation both at the time that plans are made for defining the Integrated Development Zone (ZAC) and for implementing its proposed projects. Compared to the requirements of French law, the workshop project initiative established by the city of Strasbourg as part of the Danube eco-neighbourhood project clearly goes much further: it gives participants a chance to be involved at every phase of the project, which also allows them to observe how their input is being integrated or not integrated at any given moment during the evolution of the project. From the perspective of the local body and its technical service departments, this type of initiative allows for a ‘multiplying of viewpoints’ for the urban project under consideration: ‘This multiplies the

complexity of a project, which is not to say that it makes something more complex than it really is. In an urban project, such complexity is real, and you can never finish accounting for all the different aspects of a project. By multiplying viewpoints, you can survey the entire scope of the project, and no project management team for an urban project could possibly accomplish this function as well⁵.

However, from the perspective of its implementation, this initiative presents five distinct problems:

1. The level of participation at meetings was quite variable over time, and as a result, it was necessary to repeat information already presented in order that those persons present could discuss technical issues, such as soil pollution;
2. The project workshop includes about a hundred members (21 experts, 28 private and public real estate developers, 11 persons from local self-promotion groups, 13 representatives of associations, 18 employees from technical services of the CUS and three elected officials). The limited group was restricted to about 30 individuals and excluded developers. Despite this fact, it still proved quite difficult to hold in-depth discussions among 30 to 50 individuals

Photo Yves Noto-Campanella © Office de Tourisme de Strasbourg



(the 100 members were rarely present at the same time).

3. The ‘tools’ for the discussions, particularly techniques that would permit visualisation and a sense of spatial dimensions, proved to be inadequate for the purposes of discussing the urban design plan proposed by the project management team: for many participants, it became difficult at this stage of the initiative to move conceptually from plan to ‘reality.’ The value added through participation appears to have been less at this stage than at the stage of developing the specifications for selecting the urban planner.

4. The project director believes he has devoted about 10 per cent of his working time to tasks related to the organisation of processes. Thus, given that his working time

and the human resources of the service have not diminished since June 2008 compared to the preceding period, when the projects mobilised extensive public participation (public meetings and presentations), this represents time he has sacrificed that could have been used to further develop technical aspects of the project.

5. The scale of the debate has proved to be too limited: by restricting the debate to the perimeter of the ZAC, the local body and its technical service departments lost the larger perspective of how this project intermeshes with bordering urban development projects⁶.

City of Strasbourg (2009) Démarche ÉcoCités: Strasbourg, métropole des Deux-Rives [Synthèse]. Download: http://www.strasbourg.eu/urbanisme/projets_urbains/Synthese_EcoCites.pdf?FileID=documentsprincipaux%2furbansme-logement%2fprojets_urbains%2fsynthese_ecocites.pdf

5 Interview with the head of the Danube project on July 8, 2011.

6 Interviews with the Director of the Danube project on July 8, 2011, and with the head of the ‘workshop project’ mission on April 14, 2011.

Citizen Participation for a Sustainable Local Energy Policy – The Public Forum on Intelligent Energy in Sofia (Bulgaria)

RUMEN PETROV

Bulgarian Photovoltaic Association

NGOs with an environmental focus are among the most widely spread organisations in Bulgaria with regard both to the number of people involved and the range and frequency of initiatives. Sofia Energy Agency (SOFENA) is a great achiever in this regard. The main purpose of the agency is to assist public authorities and the municipality of Sofia in the joint development and implementation of a local sustainable energy policy, with the aim of reducing environmental pollution and its impact on climate change. Since it was founded in 2001, SOFENA has hosted a number of projects aimed at involving the city's residents in local governance in the field of climate protection. One such success is the foundation of a public forum on Intelligent Energy in a district of Sofia.

The project – initiated under the BELIEF project, which aimed at establishing forums in 20 European cities – was furthermore supported by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation and realised in cooperation with the municipality of Sofia. Organisation and coordination of the forum was undertaken together with the NGO Balkan Assist, whose experience in this area had already been implemented in a number of other social projects, but this was the first time that the forum approach

had been applied to an energy-planning project in Bulgaria.

Objectives of the Forum

The objectives of the forum were specific: to improve the local environment and the conditions of the public buildings in the district 'Zona B5,' Sofia, using local energy resources and energy efficient technologies. The forum consisted of a series of open, structured discussions to encourage the participation of all stakeholders (residents, people that work in the location, experts and businesses) in planning, initiating, implementing and monitoring sustainable energy development projects in the area, creating the ideal conditions for a broad public discussion. The presentation of common themes, issues, and problems provided citizens an opportunity to offer solutions, which in turn, offered them the opportunity to be involved in community life. And while participation of this sort certainly guarantees quality ideas, it also increases the responsibility of local authorities to commit to sustainable energy development and see to it that there is equal commitment to solve such problems from society itself.

With its pilot site, Zona B5, Sofia was one of 20 cities participating in the BELIEF

project – funded within the Intelligent Energy–Europe programme - that encourages community-based sustainable energy development. The Zona B5 district includes a complex of residential buildings, two kindergartens with a cohort of 550 children, a secondary school with a cohort of 1,000 students, a rest home with 56 residents, the Sport Sofia sports complex comprising a number of green spaces and underground parking, other green areas within the neighbourhood, and some other smaller sites in the locality.

The local forum 'Opportunities for improving the environment and conditions in public buildings in Zona B5, Sofia, on the basis of local energy resources and energy efficient technologies' was held in 2007. There were six sessions conducted over eight months, to which between 50 and 70 representatives from different social groups contributed. At the sessions a number of options were presented and discussed, including the possibility of optimising the energy efficiency of four public buildings, the status of the green areas and the advantages of using geothermal energy, together with a list of specific projects and measures for intelligent energy and improving the environment. Moreover, a seminar was organised on the application procedures for

EU structural funding, during which, instructions were given about how to prepare the necessary documents. At the sixth and final forum session on Zona B5, an action plan for sustainable energy development of the neighbourhood was adopted. There were also discussions regarding funding for specific projects. Among other planning issues, concerns about the municipal building of the secondary school were raised, and resolved.

During the forum sessions under the guidance of experts from SOFENA, university and businesses representatives and research organisations discussed the status of four public buildings, the local open, green areas, and the possibility of using solar and geothermal energy locally in order to improve the neighbourhood. Citizens received information on solar energy projects that had already been implemented using energy efficiency measures under the private–public partnership (PPP) scheme. PPP would ensure that despite the difficulties of meeting the relatively high cost of new technologies, it could be made available, thus improving environmental quality and reducing energy costs in public buildings. The forum attendees, made up of managers of public buildings, high school students, residents of the rest home, parents, and citizens then shared their ideas for improve-

ments and restoration of the school swimming pool, courtyards, green areas, and road infrastructure. A list of specific projects and measures for intelligent energy and improvement of the environment was then prepared, total costs of this amounted to around 10 million Euros.

At one of the forum meetings, a proposal was submitted to establish a Centre for Energy Management to replace the existing temporary heating plant, which was unusable. The idea of the centre was to monitor energy management and maintenance of municipal buildings in the capital, reveal new technologies, and provide consultation services for citizens and local businesses. Following a competition, SOFENA awarded the architectural design of the centre to students from the University of Architecture, Construction and Geodesy. Secondary school students were also invited to present their ideas in the form of models and essays, which attracted awards from Balkan Assist. Young people were among the most active participants during the forum, expressing the hope that the project would not remain only on paper, but that it would be implemented in the near future.

Within the international project, forum participants were furthermore introduced to good practices already implemented in other countries. In this way they were also encouraged to change their habits and way of thinking, and to invest in innovation in their homes.

It is expected that this large-scale project will be realised with funding from the Regional Development Operational Programme, part of the structural and cohesion funds allocated to the country by the EU. Specific projects, however, may be implemented more quickly and efficiently under the PPP scheme. Representatives of leading Bulgarian and German companies have expressed their interest in the project, including the installation of photovoltaic panels on the facade of the rest home, renovation of the swimming pool and the school building, and in the provision of an energy management centre. It is in this way that the municipality is able to implement the proposed projects and make Zona B5 an exemplary district where local authorities, businesses, and citizens work together to implement their ideas for creating a stable and pleasant urban environment.

The performance of the forum has proved the assumption that participation of this sort increases citizen involvement, encouraging them to take the initiative and the responsibility. Thus, together with business representatives, local authorities and experts, an alternative concept for a sustainable community has been created. Implementation is monitored, the goal being to develop specific projects of quality that improve energy efficiency in public buildings and environments. Introducing citizens to good practices that have already been implemented in other countries encourages them moreover to change their habits and



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preconceptions, and to invest innovatively in their own homes.

A survey filled out by forum participants indicated that assessments of the project's performance and results are positive. A decision has been made to continue the work of the forum in order to monitor implementation of planned projects and regularly update the action plan.

Further information about the project can be found on the website of SOFENA: <http://www.sofena.com/>

This article was prepared by courtesy of Zdravko Georgiev, Executive Director of SOFENA.

Creating Estonia's First Energy Agency

MAREK MUISTE
Tartu Regional Energy Agency

Energy agencies are a good tool for sustainable energy and transport development. The European Commission (EC) has supported the development of new agencies for over two decades through the Intelligent Energy Europe (IEE) programme, part of the European Agency for Competitiveness and Innovation (EACI). Since the launch of the Tartu Regional Energy Agency (TREA) in 2010, all member states have own energy agencies whose purpose is to support sustainable energy and transport development, advise institutions and local citizens, and communicate the policies of the EC. Energy agencies are a vital component in community development, but what has changed in regions with an energy agency, and what potential is there for energy agencies in Europe's new member states?

Overview of the Energy Agency Model

The energy agency model is based on two ideas: that energy is important for sustainable development of the region, and that this development should be institutionalised. The energy agency model supported by the IEE programme sees them as a non-profit, community driven external body that is independent of existing state or commercial institutions. That said, it is

vital that energy agencies get support from local authorities early on in order that they can survive when EC support ends. To this end, strong political support is also critical.

Today, over 422 European energy agencies have been created with EC support. Around 40 to 60 local authorities apply for new energy agencies each year through the IEE programme, the EC's dedicated grant scheme for sustainable energy and transport promotion (Matrix Insight and Ecologic Institute, 2010). Energy agencies can be viewed as a vast network across all EU member states, although not all countries are equally represented. Among these are clear 'success stories' such as France and Germany, and some less successful new member states, including Latvia and Estonia. There was no energy agency in Estonia until 2010, when the TREA was set up to fulfil this role, and since when every member state has owned an energy agency.

Sweden offers an excellent example of a structural framework of energy agencies where new agencies are integrated into the network of existing ones. Unfortunately, not every country supports energy agencies with the same level of commitment; several countries, including Estonia, do not have a national energy agency. Without this

support, new energy agencies have a steep learning curve to surmount on their own. As lacking knowledge about how an energy agency might work, they spend time gaining hard-won experience. This lack of knowledge and know-how was TREA's first major problem when it was first created, bringing to mind a popular saying in Estonia: 'The chest of a brave wolf is greasy,' to which some add, 'And full of bullet holes'!

The Tartu Regional Energy Agency was created by the city of Tartu and Tartu Sci-

ence Park with the assistance of the EC (through the EACI). The Agency covers over 100 municipalities with approximately 350,000 inhabitants in southern Estonia, an area of 15,000 sq. m. Tartu, the capital of the region, has 100,000 inhabitants.

The TREA had wide community support from the beginning, but it still took over four years and two proposals for the initial idea to become a working agency. The local community and development team, along with other local stakeholders such



Participation in Urban Climate Protection – Answers of European Municipalities

Target region of TREA - Tartu region in Estonia, created by the author.

as universities and development organisations, worked tirelessly towards finalising the proposal. During this long preparation time, typically, some ideas changed, and there were times when it seemed that the project would never succeed. One of the reasons that the project did finally succeed was due to the persistence of initiators and development team during the preparation period. Their tenacity saw that the proposal was improved over time, and in their determination to surmount the steep learning curve with which they were faced, they ensured that they learned from any mistakes that were made along the way.

The TREA was launched on 1 January 2010 with one full-time employee.¹ IEE funding rules allow a pre-financing grant of 60 per cent, which the TREA found very useful, allowing it to set up an office and become a fully fledged organisation relatively fast. At the end of the summer of 2010, the TREA

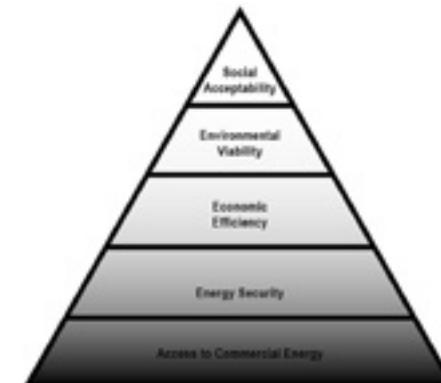
hired two energy experts, and then as the agency widened its activities further, an INTERREG IVC programme BIO-EN-AREA project was added to the TREA portfolio² and two additional members of staff were recruited. Today, these five staff members oversee all of the agency's activities including the development of new services for the future, thus fulfilling the activities foreseen by the grant agreement of both the IEE and BIO-EN-AREA, to develop a sustainable energy sector in Southern Estonia.

The role that the TREA fulfils in Estonia is an important one. Before the TREA was created there was no independent body for addressing energy issues in the region, and although some of that responsibility was covered by various other organisations, their position was not neutral and they lacked competence. In addition to the functions the TREA currently covers, it also



Staff categories and expertise in TREA, compiled by the author.

clearly represents the common consensus: to face issues of sustainability both now and in the future, and to work for a better quality of life for everyone in the region.



Energy Policy 'Maslow Pyramid', Christoph Frei, 2008.

Using Energy Agencies as a Tool for Climate Protection

Behind energy agencies lies the EC policy to shift the European economy into a new, more sustainable direction with lower environmental impact. It is not an easy job, and maybe even to this day the EC has not realised all the difficulties it will encounter. One of the main problems with the policy vision is that it represents something that has never been done before on such a huge scale and so nobody knows what is possible. To disprove the widespread belief that

economic development is related to (and based on) high energy intensity, communities need an independent and objective adviser. This is exactly the role that energy agencies may fulfil, and while this role offers energy agencies unique opportunities, it will also put considerable responsibility on their shoulders. The 'Maslow Pyramid' illustrates the long-term perspective that Chrisoph Frei suggests should be applied to growing communities with respect to energy policy, and which energy development agencies should support.

The sustainable energy and transport sector's situation in the Tartu region is ambiguous. On the one hand, over 30 per cent of the energy consumed in the region is produced from local renewable sources. In addition, over 60 per cent of the journeys made by Tartu's citizens are carried out in a sustainable way.³ These statistics indicate that the community is taking seriously the issue of sustainability. However, that said, less than 10 per cent of Estonia's electricity is made from non-fossil fuel sources, and growing private car usage in the region is impacting on planning decisions, which are influenced by an increasing car-dependent lifestyle.

There are two main areas that attract the focus of energy agencies: Renewable Energy

¹ The project was supported by the EACI IEE programme under the name Region of Tartu with grant agreement no. IEE/08/AGENCIES/695.

² These projects help regions to exchange and transfer development know-how on a variety of renewable energy and sustainability themes.

³ There is no data available for the whole region as yet.

Sources (RES) and Energy Efficiency (EE). The scale of the energy agency's involvement and the methodology applied depends on the type and reach of agency, but TREA is active in both of these areas. RES has traditionally played an important role in the region, providing local wood (and peat) for energy production, creating jobs, and fuelling the local micro-economy. However, TREA is also facing problems, such as the low efficiency of firewood usage, and the local energy market, which has to be better developed by 2013, when Estonia's energy sector opens up to the free market. TREA continues to search for solutions to these problems.

The aim of increasing energy efficiency is mainly approached by measures to increase the energy performance of the buildings in Estonia. As in many post-Soviet countries, Estonia has a large number of old multi-storey apartment buildings, many of which are over 30 years old and in need of renovation. Improvements in this area offer huge potentials for cost saving in terms of energy usage in the future, but they are difficult to carry through due to the fact that sustainable energy investment is combined with the costs of overall renovation of the buildings, which requires huge investments and long payback periods of up to 15 years, or longer. The TREA offers its services to evaluate the energy performance of buildings and advise on investments. It also provides the knowledge and expertise in energy efficient building and renovation, as well as training opportunities for stakeholders.

Improving energy management methodologies has become a key topic. The TREA is currently preparing a new energy- and climate-planning methodology for Estonia, for which it is carrying out a pilot project in the city of Tartu, which will map out the environmental impact of the energy and transport sectors. In this process, the existing energy-planning methodology has been improved to provide better coverage of environmental and social aspects of energy development. A local Sustainable Energy Action Plan (SEAP) methodology is in its planning stages, which will when finalised, be introduced to stakeholders in the region.

The TREA's role as a knowledge-sharing and promotional centre for sustainable energy and transport in the region ensures that its outreach work is wide-ranging and specific to local issues. TREA offers seminars, conferences, trainings, and events around topics that impact the region. It produces information gathered through professional bodies, research and fieldwork, and organises a National Energy Week annually, which is open to the entire community and other stakeholders, including the sustainable energy sector in Estonia.

The TREA aspires to cooperation rather than competition, and, therefore, does not try to compete with private companies with the services it offers. It generally does not offer expertise already provided by other organisations (in sufficient quality), but if TREA does provide a service that is already offered

by a private company, it charges the client the commercial rate for the service to avoid unfair competition due to its EU subsidies.

Energy Agencies and Social Development

Energy agencies always have a specific scope and area, with the minimum size of a targeted community set at 200,000 inhabitants. With this relatively small number of people the agency can ensure that it builds good relations with the local community and stakeholders. In order to gain local and political support and ensure survival of the agency after the EC funding period is over, building these strong links is critical. In or-



Main stakeholder groups for energy agencies, Matrix Insight and Ecologic Institute 2010.

der to maximise these links, involvement of several types of stakeholders into the activities of an agency are required. These include the local municipalities, private companies, consumers, and service providers. Studies show that energy agencies typically try to involve mainly public authorities (a

requirement of the EACI), the general public, industry, education and research bodies, and utility companies.

As an independent adviser in the region, the TREA tries to work with as many stakeholders as possible, but unfortunately, not all local stakeholders are open to cooperation. This lack of cooperation may be due to several factors not least that TREA is Estonia's first energy agency, which may mean that certain things are not clear to our audience. In some cases, the agency is seen as a competitor within what is a small market, but in many cases, misunderstanding and a lack of trust prevent the cooperation that TREA seeks. This is typical of a post-Soviet society, however, where levels of trust are relatively low generally, but the agency continues in its efforts to bring local stakeholders together for better cooperation in the community.

A successful example of cooperation, both with the community and stakeholders, is Estonia's National Energy Week campaign, held annually in November, with preparations beginning in March. The main goal of the campaign is to bring together suppliers and users of energy products and services. The five-day programme normally attracts an audience of approximately 2,000 people. The initiative opens up a platform on which practically anyone that wants to promote their products and services (or activities) in the sustainable energy field is welcome. Participation is free for both providers and

end users. TREA is currently organising a task force to publicise the next National Energy Week, including media coverage, internal communications, and promotional material. To do this, the agency will call on

viewed more in relation to the technical aspects of sustainable development. In the long term, agencies may evolve to take a wider role in society: for example, helping the European Community to fulfil its climate



Open platform for the National Energy Week in Estonia: 'Saving is smart thing to do!' www.energiatark.ee.

the help and support of its partners (governmental organisations, large-scale service providers, NGOs, municipalities, and other stakeholders) to provide the funding necessary to carry through these activities.

In summary, energy agencies are a very effective model on which to build community cooperation because of their independent and neutral position. These days, energy agencies are not seen as a tool for social development: their in-house expertise is

and energy objectives. The experience of the Tartu Regional Energy Agency illustrates that energy agencies are in a unique position to foster cooperation and build trust among society and stakeholders, e.g. with events like the National Energy Week.

Frei, Christoph (2008) *What if...? Utility vision 2020*, in Energy Policy, Vol. 36, pp. 3640-3645.

Matrix Insight and Ecologic Institute (2010) *Energy agencies: evaluation of the relevance of Community funding of local and regional energy agencies*. Final Report. Download: http://ec.europa.eu/energy/intelligent/files/agencies/doc/energy_agencies_report_2010_en.pdf

Citizen and Stakeholder Participation in Freiburg's Climate Protection Policy (Germany)

An Interview by LASSE BRAND with GERDA STUHLIK
Mayor of Freiburg

What kinds of climate protection programmes exist in Freiburg, and in what ways are citizens and stakeholders participating in them?

There are over 100 climate protection projects under way in Freiburg. As a direct result of our many activities, the city's 2008/09 climate balance sheet shows that we have achieved an 18.5 per cent reduction in CO₂ emissions over the past ten years. On a per capita basis, this actually reflects a 25.6 per cent reduction, since the city of Freiburg has also grown in population. The continuous reduction in CO₂ emissions that we have achieved in recent years has been possible thanks to a range of climate protection measures.

In Freiburg, we regard climate protection as a task that can only be addressed in a co-operative manner. Naturally, I have special responsibilities in this area as the head of the municipal environmental department, yet the city also has a steering committee composed of representatives from all involved departments and municipal companies as well as all important local stakeholders. Twice each year, the committee meets to exchange views about various issues: Where do we stand? Which activities

have been going well? Where do we need to make adjustments?

I would like to mention a few specific programmes. Among the most important are those that promote energy savings, since any energy we can save is energy that does not have to be generated. For nearly a decade we have been running a subsidy programme for energy-efficient renovation. Under this programme, the city provides citizens with a subsidy in the form of a cash payment – not a loan – for the energy-efficient renovation of privately owned housing. To date, we have granted subsidies to 1,300 applicants for insulation projects and the optimisation of heating systems. This 10 per cent municipal subsidy has stimulated significant private investment: under the programme, a total of 23 million Euros has been spent by public and private hands for energy-conscious building renovation. Thanks to the programme, we have achieved an average reduction in energy consumption in the heating sector of 38 per cent.

The city itself must set an example that can serve as a model. Freiburg has undertaken extensive renovation activities to augment the energy efficiency of municipal buildings. These activities have led to a 40 per

cent drop in consumption in the heating sector. A third example is Freiburg's municipal housing association. This year it completed the world's first renovation of a high-rise building in accordance with 'passive house' standards for ultra-low energy consumption and heat loss.

So we have been very involved in renovating the city's building stock. In addition, we have continued to offer certification courses and training programmes for architects, contractors and tradesman. At the moment, we are addressing the energy-efficient renovation of listed historical buildings. The development of optimal renovation solutions for these buildings is a special challenge.

Alongside energy-efficient renovation, the setting of ambitious standards for new construction projects is also an important issue. As far as municipal properties are concerned, we now only provide permits for new construction when passive house standards are met. Thus, while we have established clear requirements in the area of new construction, this only represents a small part of overall construction. Promoting energy conservation in the existing building stock remains at the heart of our efforts, and only well-trained, highly motivated

and skilled contractors can accomplish this. Our vocational schools have good training centers that place great emphasis upon ensuring that future tradesman and contractors are well-educated in this area.

In our schools, we have been conducting a so-called Fifty-Fifty programme. Together with students, we ask the following question: how can we save electricity and water, and thereby reduce expenses for the school? Half of the savings achieved are then returned to the school. During the past ten years, we have been able to save over 1.7 million Euros and avoid over 7,600 tons of CO₂ emissions through this programme.

A further question is how to get companies on board with our efforts. In this regard, we are already in the process of completing the second round of an environmental management programme for companies known as Ecofit, which is co-financed by the state government. Together with experts, we analyse a firm's production processes in order to provide recommendations for changes that will help to realise energy savings. The programme proved very successful last year, and has resulted in savings of 510,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity with a total value of more than 180,000 Euros. In this process, we have also sought the active

support of well-known local organisations. In Freiburg, one such organisation is the football club SC Freiburg. We are currently implementing the Ecofit project for the second time, and this year, SC Freiburg is on board and is letting us examine its facilities and processes.

Another core area of activity relates to the development of environmentally friendly transportation solutions. In this regard, we have been expanding our streetcar network as well as improving infrastructure for bicyclists and pedestrians. Moreover, we have been searching for innovative ways to directly engage citizens on these issues. For example, we participated in the nationwide ‘Kopf an, Motor aus’ [thinking cap on, engine off] campaign. Two deputy mayors took to the streets to provide tips to motorists. This proved quite effective, since the motorists were quite surprised to suddenly be speaking directly with Freiburg’s deputy mayors.

Another way to advise citizens and motivate them to act is embodied in our Free Sun and CO₂ Diet campaigns. As part of the Free Sun campaign, a website provides citizens with information on their options for either installing their own rooftop photovoltaic system or leasing their roof for the installation of such a system. The CO₂ Diet initiative consists of a website we developed using data on Freiburg’s residents. Every citizen of Freiburg can go to the website and, after filling out a question-

naire, obtain information about how he/she performs compared to the average German citizen’s personal energy consumption. The website also provides suggestions for the most effective forms of individual action to achieve energy savings.

I’ve said quite a bit so far about the ‘technical’ ways that we can respond to the challenge of climate protection. Ultimately, however, meeting this challenge – and I am deeply convinced of this – will depend on personal lifestyle decisions. We have been discussing this issue with our citizens for a number of years. For example, we are now conducting a new initiative called ‘200 Families Active for the Climate’. This is a major participatory project that we have taken over from our partner city of Besançon in France. In Freiburg, we have given 200 families the task of examining their lives and asking: How can we make our own lifestyle more sustainable? For the project we have developed a book of exercises. To provide an example: in one exercise, participating families are asked to try and feed themselves for one week exclusively with products produced within 50 kilometres of their home. Another question reads: ‘What new kinds of vegetables have you tried out, purchased and cooked?’ In October, we will be travelling to Besançon to exchange experiences with the French families. It will be especially interesting to have an opportunity to see the ways in which different cultures approach the issue of climate protection and a sustainable lifestyle.

All of these examples only represent a small part of the diverse spectrum of projects we have initiated as a local government, projects which have been dependent on the cooperation of many partners. We have learned that only by implementing a large number of individual efforts one can assure that the overall environmental balance sheet will show positive results.

What has been your experience with respect to the participation of individual actors in the many processes you have described? Who is participating and is participation limited to certain specific groups?

Of course, it is impossible to reach everyone; that much is completely clear. In our subsidy programme for energy efficient renovation of private dwellings, for example, we have discovered that it is much easier to elicit the participation of persons who are sole owners of a house than those with joint home ownership. Similarly, we’ve learned we have to devote much greater efforts when it comes to motivating a home owners’ association to renovate an entire building or renew its heating system. In addition, after reaching a certain age, homeowners often say they do not want to make any further alterations to their homes, since they will soon be passed along to their heirs. Thus, there are always limits, but in these situations, one simply has to come up with new ideas. Consequently, we’re in

the process of developing new approaches to address home owners’ associations and property management companies in a targeted manner.

Are there also differences in the participation of private individuals based upon their economic or educational backgrounds?

The 200 Families project allows persons of all age groups and from different social backgrounds to participate. However, we have also developed ways of addressing specific groups. Thus, we offer individuals with low incomes specialised energy consulting services. In cooperation with the Federal Employment Agency and VABE, a local employment association, we are working to achieve energy savings in the areas of electrical power and heating. Such savings are of financial benefit to the individuals involved and of ecological benefit to the environment.

What advantages do you see in citizens’ and companies’ participation?

Climate protection measures can only be successfully realised if everyone participates. No government or local administration can accomplish climate protection alone. The city is part of the process and must be a good role model – for example, in the choices we make when purchasing municipal vehicles, or when renovating



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city buildings. Local government must take action in an exemplary fashion. However, at the same time, successful climate protection always needs to be a collective endeavor on the part of all citizens in a city, and here in Freiburg, our success specifically reflects the participation of our residents, numerous NGOs and committed companies.

The only way to sustainably implement climate protection measures is with the support of all stakeholders. And yet, obstacles may arise in the process that must be addressed in order to proceed. What obstacles has Freiburg encountered?

For one thing, as previously mentioned, it has been very difficult to encourage the renovation of properties that are jointly owned, for multiple individuals are involved in the decision-making. Joint ownership has also been an obstacle to the installation of residential combined heat and power (CHP) plants. Legislators should work to create regulatory conditions that better promote the installation of such systems. In addition, I believe there are certain areas in which there are real limitations to our efforts as a community: if the private sector isn't provided with legislative incentives for improving the energy efficiency of their systems and methods, then we cannot achieve much with smaller-scale measures, such as our energy-saving power strip pro-

gramme. This simply means that as a municipality, we are necessarily dependent in part on the regulatory conditions established by state and federal governments.

What should community actors and local politicians in other cities and communities pay attention to as they try to incorporate participatory processes in their communal climate protection efforts?

They must deliver a clear message that climate protection is a shared activity that concerns everyone. In addition, the community should use specific messages to target particular subgroups.

What kind of feedback have you received from those who have participated in the programmes in Freiburg?

The feedback is: We are on the right track, and we need to try even harder. Currently, together with the Institute for Applied Ecology and the Fraunhofer Institute for Solar Energy Systems, we are conducting a study about how to transform Freiburg into a climate-neutral city by 2050. This autumn, we will be discussing the data throughout the city to arrive at an agreement regarding the additional efforts needed to accomplish this, and of course, about the contributions we should expect from each stakeholder.

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Interesting Projects and Initiatives:

BELIEF (Building in Europe Local Intelligent Energy Forums) <http://www.belief-europe.org>

The BELIEF guide on how to 'Involve stakeholders and citizens in your local energy policy' through Local Intelligent Energy Forums
http://belief-europe.org/IMG/pdf/belief_guide_final.pdf

Covenant of Mayors <http://www.eumayors.eu/>

Covenant of Mayors' SEAP guidebook (chapter four: „Building support from stakeholders’)
http://www.eumayors.eu/IMG/pdf/seap_guidelines_en-2.pdf

Energy Cities <http://www.energy-cities.eu/>

ICLEI Europe <http://www.iclei-europe.org/>



Toolboxes and Handbooks:

List of Community Participation Techniques
<http://www.dca.ga.gov/development/PlanningQualityGrowth/programs/SPRs/SPR.PartTechniques.pdf>

EU Water Framework Directive's Public Participation Techniques <http://www.wrrl-info.de/docs/Annex1.pdf>

Guidebook: Planning for Community Involvement
<http://www.dca.state.ga.us/development/PlanningQualityGrowth/programs/downloads/guidebooks/Planning-CommunityInvolvement.pdf>

Citizen's Handbook
<http://www.vcn.bc.ca/citizens-handbook/>

Participation Toolbox IAP2, in two useful versions
http://www.vcn.bc.ca/citizens-handbook/participation_toolbox.pdf
<http://www.iap2.org/associations/4748/files/toolbox.pdf>

Guidance on Enhancing Public Participation
<http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/localgovernment/pdf/155523.pdf>

World Bank Participation Sourcebook
http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSCContentServer/WDSP/IB/1996/02/01/000009265_3961214175537/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf

Community Toolbox
<http://www.nps.gov/nero/rtcatoobox/>

Guide to Online Participation
<http://www.e.govt.nz/guidance-and-resources/agency-guides/participation/guide-online-participation>

Good Community Engagement Practices
<http://www.goodpracticeparticipate.govt.nz/>

Citizen Participation Handbook
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTBELARUS/Resources/eng.pdf>

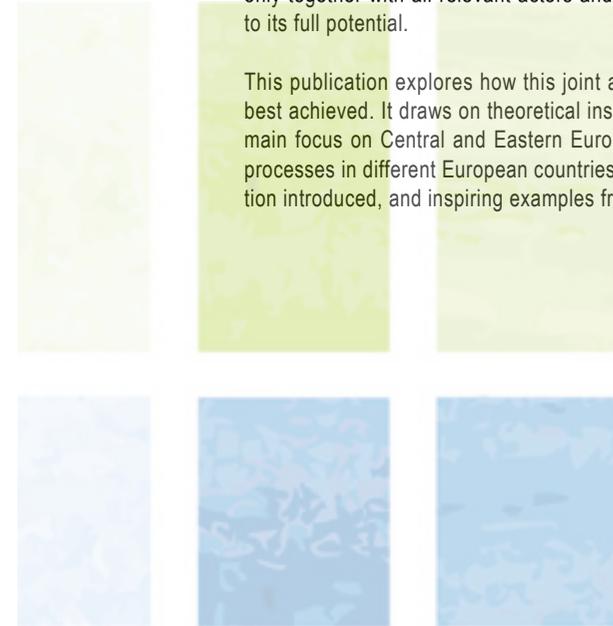
Action Guide for Citizen Participation
<http://www.justassociates.org/ActionGuide.htm>

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Cities and municipalities play an important role in climate protection. The majority of climate-damaging greenhouse gas emissions are generated in cities, and the largest share of energy is consumed here. Their commitment is thus crucial for achieving the European climate goals.

The success of urban climate protection measures largely depends upon participation by its citizens and stakeholders. Climate protection measures under direct control of municipal authorities represent only a small part of what is possible, and climate protection policies often demand broad acceptance on the part of the population. So only together with all relevant actors and civil society, can urban climate policy work to its full potential.

This publication explores how this joint approach to local climate protection can be best achieved. It draws on theoretical insights as well as practical experience, with a main focus on Central and Eastern Europe. The framing conditions for participation processes in different European countries are discussed, various models of participation introduced, and inspiring examples from nine European cities presented.



This publication can be downloaded at www.boell-brandenburg.de
A printed version can be ordered at organisation@boell-brandenburg.de

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Answers of European Municipalities**

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