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# **EURO-COMMENTARY**

# LOCAL AGENDA 21: PROGRESS IN SPAIN

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## Summary

A consensus exists regarding the idea that, in the search for sustainable development (SD), Local Agenda 21 (LA21) is a key tool for implementing a set of sustainability policies at local level. From a consensus of this nature both an important flow of scientific production and a significant degree of real implementation might be expected. However, a review of the literature and a real case-study (Spain) lead us to conclude that although increasing effort is being made in both fields, there is still a long way to go.

KEY WORDS ★ environmental policy ★ Local Agenda 21 ★ local government ★ Spain ★ sustainable development

Today, 10 years after it was approved at the Rio de Janeiro Summit as a chapter of the Agenda 21 Programme, LA21 is seen as one of the most powerful instruments for environmental, social and economic management on the local scale. The programme comes within the frame of sustainable development (SD), a more specifically local and somewhat controversial concept, subject to multiple interpretations and even manipulations. In the present paper we investigate the concept of sustainable development and its application at the local level by means of Local Agenda 21 (LA21). The paper includes a comparative study of Spain's autonomous communities that concentrates mainly on the action taken by regional governments. The idea is to provide an overview of the state of these processes in Spanish autonomous communities and

to analyse the influence that autonomous or regional sustainability policies have on town and city council decisions to embark on an LA21 process. The methodology followed here centres basically on: (a) the analysis of bibliographical and documentary information referring to the concept of LA21; and (b) a field-study combining in-depth interviews with stakeholder participants in these programmes and surveys sent to autonomous communities currently implementing LA21.

#### Conceptual framework

LA21 is a specific application of a very particular global policy that seeks to be compliant with the general principles and political goals adopted by more than 150 countries at the Rio de Janeiro Summit (Font and Subirats, 2000; Jones and Stokes, 1998; Lafferty, 2001). Consequently, LA21 argues for decentralized SD and requires a proactive response from the local-government sector and more urban autonomy, mainly because towns and cities have a better idea of what is in their own environmental interests (Adolfsson Jörby, 2002; Bond et al., 1998; Ekins and Newby, 1998; Hutchinson and Frances, 1996; Lake, 1996). At the same time, such policies need to be introduced in a broader framework and be coherent with those of the rest of the policies of superior administrative levels. Agenda 21 aims to reach and mobilize people, in the knowledge that nothing is going to be achieved without a change of mentality and, in particular, without a change of attitude and conduct. Some authors (Adolfsson Jörby, 2002; Barnes and Phillips, 2000; Bell and Evans, 1998; Freeman et al., 1996; Kelly and Moles, 2000; Kitchen et al., 1997; Pellizoni, 2001; Rahardjo, 2000; Rutherfoord et al., 2000; Selman, 1998; Young, 2001) consider participation as a key element in any LA21, as a means of mobilizing popular support and, above all, with respect to the implementation of the strategy chosen. Some LA21-related concepts have

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developed rapidly over the last few years, such as civic ethics, participative democracy and forums of citizen participation, which insist on the vital role of the citizens in stimulating and promoting this kind of programme.

A review of the literature on LA21 points to the major relationship between LA21 and municipal environmental issues, although LA21 is a wider programme that also encompasses economic, social and institutional criteria. Most of the articles are case-studies (Adolfsson Jörby, 2002; Bennett and Newborough, 2001; Gram-Hanssen, 2000; Jones and Stokes, 1998; McMahon, 2002; Mehta, 1996; Narodoslawsky, 2001; Rahardjo, 2000; Selman, 1998; Sharp, 1998; Steinberg and Sara, 2000). A few of them are quantitative analysis (Bond et al., 1998; Carter et al., 2000). LA21 literature demonstrates how strongly specific these processes are and that local needs require to be resolved by local people (Hutchinson and Frances, 1996). Many of the articles analyse citizen participation processes and the need for citizens to become involved to create a sense of 'their own strategy'.

Though often quite similar methodologies are available for preparing LA21, each municipality has its characteristics and idiosyncrasies and should therefore establish its own way of action (Valentin and Spangenberg, 2000). Nevertheless, the 'Guide' proposed by ICLEI (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives) in 1995, and followed by most local authorities, considers LA21 a process based on the agreement over a philosophy for the future of a city culminating in the application of an Action Plan (see Figure 1). Previously it should provide a framework for achieving consensus among stakeholders and effective participatory structures need to be developed to ensure consensus on SD strategies (Foh Lee, 2001; Freeman et al., 1996; Steinberg and Sara, 2000). In the initial stage, local reality must be analysed to provide a diagnosis. The ICLEI 'Guide' suggests that experts should be consulted and a forum of citizen participation created to channel the community vision and allow multiple stakeholders to share ideas and experiences and to consider how best to move towards the goal of SD (Barnes and Phillips, 2000; Valentin and Spangenberg, 2000).

Later, indicators will be chosen to present a synthetic image of the local situation and monitor the LA21 process (Dooris, 1999; McMahon, 2002;

Valentin and Spangenberg, 2000). The following step is to identify short and mid-term objectives and goals and set them out in order of priority, basically because town and city council budgets are limited. In this phase, there is a need for capacity-building measures at the local level, in particular those of local government officials (Rahardjo, 2000). Next, the administration should provide a first draft of the action plan. The citizenship forum must be called in for discussion before the plan's approval and publication. Finally, the city council introduces any modifications, proposed in the publicity phase, that it considers necessary for the definitive approval of the action plan, in which the powers of civil servants responsible for the plan and the budget according to delegated functions are assigned. It is essential to evaluate the evolution of programmes during application and ex-post, using indicators of action (indicating the degree of fulfilment of the programme) or of result (revealing whether the targets set have been fulfilled). The LA21 process should not, therefore, be considered linear, since once the process is completely finished, another, similar cycle has to be launched, this time starting from an improved local environmental situation (at least, if the measures and action have been successful). In short, SD is a long-term goal for which short-term and mid-term targets may be set and used as milestones for attaining sustainability (Foh Lee, 2001).

# The state of play in Spanish regions

In recent years, many LA21 processes have been launched in Spain. This is a remarkable phenomenon, because in the majority of cases they have begun despite a total lack of sustainability policies at municipal level. In 2002 the Spanish central government launched the Spanish Strategy of Sustainable Development (EEDS), which indicates the agencies providing coordination between different administrative levels. Although this strategy is designed to guarantee cooperation between other institutions on LA21 processes, it does not specify any measures to ensure this collaboration. It also invites local authorities to develop Agenda 21 measures, but it does not propose promoting them itself. So the Spanish Strategy of Sustainable

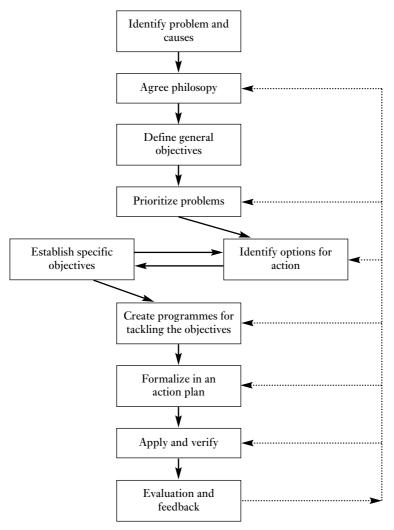


Figure 1 Local Agenda 21 methodology Source: Authors' own work based on ICLEI (1995).

Development can be seen as a document used as an instrument to give a political image of environmental concern, instead of representing an active stand on local sustainability. However, it should be remembered that the main powers over the urban environment are held by the municipalities themselves. The regional governments play a fundamental role when promoting the implementation of LA21. Most regions award grants to municipalities with this objective and usually give technical or methodological assistance or organize

meetings. Some regional governments, such as Navarre and Catalonia, have developed their own action plans. Other regions, however, such as Aragon, are simply not working on the issue, although municipalities in Aragon, including the capital Zaragoza, are making good progress on implementing LA21.

In spite of the lack of real support from central government and the fact that many regional governments do not allocate budgetary resources to this aim, progress made in Spain on implementing

LA21s is significant. Proof of positive developments can be found in the increase in the number of Spanish signatories to the Aalborg Charter, which officially commits them to adopting these plans in their municipalities. Some 60 or so local corporations subscribed to the Aalborg Charter in 1998 and at the present time almost 700 municipalities have now signed or have begun proceedings to do so.

# Local Agenda 21 in practice: a survey

# Methodology

The information used to describe the situation in the different autonomous regions has been obtained from several sources: primary sources included a survey sent to Departments of the Environment of the autonomous governments, with some staff from

these departments involved in the processes occasionally being interviewed. The survey was sent in September 2002. Subsequently we spoke to them by telephone on several occasions. Nevertheless, some autonomous governments did not answer the survey and so are not included in our research. In general, the autonomous governments that have not answered are the ones in which LA21 has not been implemented. Secondary sources involved information accompanying the survey or available on the web pages of autonomous governments. This analysis looks at two basic issues in autonomous regions, which are the programmes implemented and the financial support assigned to the implementation of LA21 (see Table 1). We distinguish the autonomous regions currently working on a great number of procedures in favour of greater sustainable development (the Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Andalusia, the Basque Country, Navarre and Castile Leon) and a group of autonomous regions

Table 1 LA21 in Spain: implemented programmes and councils' financial support

| Autonomous communities | Implemented programmes   | Financial support  |  |
|------------------------|--|--|--|
| Andalusia              | Environmental diagnosis, Environmental indicators,<br>Network of sustainable cities  | €6,000   |  |
| Aragon                 | They are not realizing activities from the autonomous government from the autonomous government from the autonomous government           |  |  |
| Asturias               | Autonomous SD strategy, Training courses In sum, €140,000<br>€12,000 per council   |  |  |
| Balearic Islands       | Sustainability indicators, Balearic sustainability network, Balearic sustainability forum  | €2,000   |  |
| Canaries               | A guide  | No answer  |  |
| Cantabria              | No answer  | No answer  |  |
| Basque Country         | Network of municipalities, a guide, Environmental  | €12,020  |  |
|                        | strategy, Project with groups of municipalities  | In sum, €408,688   |  |
| Castile la Mancha      | No answer  | No answer  |  |
| Castile Leon           | Sustainable development strategy for Castile and<br>Leon, Training courses, Publications   | No answer  |  |
| Catalonia              | Catalonia Agenda 21  | No answer  |  |
| Extremadura            | No answer  | No answer  |  |
| Galicia                | Specific agreements with local organizations, Indicators   | €15,000–31,000 per council                                       |  |
| La Rioja               | Pilot project with 7 councils  | In sum, €72,124  |  |
| Madrid                 | Seminars, Publication of a guide for promoting LA21,<br>Environmental indicators   | €12,000 per council  |  |
| Murcia                 | Specific agreements with local organizations   | No answer  |  |
| Navarre                | Network of local organizations   | €48 for every 5,000 inhabitants                                  |  |
| Valencia               | They are not realizing activities from the autonomous government. It is the Deputy of Valencia who is in charge of the promotion of LA21 | They are not realizing activities from the autonomous government |  |

with fewer LA21-related initiatives but which are also running important initiatives in this area (Madrid, Asturias, La Rioja, Galicia and Murcia).

Comparative analysis of Local Agenda 21 development in Spanish regions

Table 2 shows that in the autonomous communities analysed – with the exception of Catalonia, where the President's Office coordinates LA21 programmes – the Department of the Environment is responsible for these activities. Other departments – such as the Department of Justice and Public Administrations in Madrid – or public organizations – as is the case of FIDA in Madrid, DEYNA in Castile and Leon or IHOBE in the Basque Country – also collaborate on specific activities. Also, municipal associations, such as the recently created sustainable development networks (the *Xarxa* in Catalonia or RECSA in Andalusia), and federations of municipalities or provinces also play a fundamental role, mainly when it comes to putting

Environment Department of Madrid

town and city councils into contact and assisting the exchange of information between them.

The fact that in most cases the Department of the Environment is responsible for LA21 may lead to insufficient transversality in the implementation of sustainable development, thereby reducing Agenda 21 to the level of a mere environmental action plan. Furthermore, with lower budgets to play with than other departments, environmental departments usually play a secondary role in governmental activity. There is also a danger of LA21 activity programmes being biased towards environmental issues. In the vanguard of LA21 developments, Catalonia provides a good example of how to avoid such problems. Despite the heavy involvement of the Environment Department, Catalonia is, as previously noted, the only community where the Technical Secretariat of Agenda 21 forms part of the President's Office, which coordinates the program and has published L'Agenda 21 de Catalunya (Generalitat de Cataluña, 2002).

In Catalonia the political debate on LA21s started very early on, as members of the Generalitat

Table 2 Who is in charge of LA21?

Madrid

|                  | General Directorate of Environmental Promotion and Discipline   |
|------------------|---|
|                  | General Directorate of Local Administration   |
|                  | FIDA Foundation (Foundation for Environment Research and Development)                                   |
| Catalonia        | President's Office, Generalitat   |
|                  | Advisory Council for Sustainable Development (CADS) of Generalitat                                      |
|                  | Technical Secretariat, Agenda 21, Generalitat   |
|                  | Xarxa de Ciutats i Pobles cap a la Sostenibilitat (Town and city sustainability network), Delegation of |
|                  | Barcelona   |
| Andalusia        | Environment Department  |
|                  | Andalusian Federation of Municipalities and Regions (FAMP)  |
|                  | Network of Sustainable Cities of Andalusia (RECSA)  |
| Basque Country   | Department of Land Planning and Environment   |
|                  | Public Environmental Management Company (IHOBE, SA)   |
|                  | Basque Municipalities Association (EUDEL)   |
| Navarre          | Department of Land Planning, Housing and Environment  |
| Castile y Leon   | Environment Department  |
|                  | Development and Environment Foundation (DEYNA)  |
| La Rioja         | General Directorate for Environmental Quality, Department of Tourism and the Environment                |
| Murcia           | Department of Agriculture, Water and Environment  |
| Galicia          | Environment Department  |
| Asturias         | Department of Agriculture, Water and Environment  |
| Balearic Islands | Environment Department  |
|                  |   |

(the Catalonian regional government) participated in the 1992 Rio Summit. Indeed Catalonia could be considered the leading community in local sustainability programmes and the Delegation of Barcelona as the one now doing most work on LA21. In January 2002, 31.8 percent of Catalonian municipalities (300) had subscribed to the Aalborg Charter and 18 percent of them (171) were involved in Agenda 21.

A Catalonian Parliament Resolution of 27/10/1997 urges the Generalitat to harness works on the development of an Agenda 21 for Catalonia, establishing mechanisms to promote participation of social agents, including a team of experts, in the process of reflection. As a result, the Generalitat undertook to approve LA21 by 2002, by means of a seven-phase process: initial consultations, a phase of information and debate, an interdepartmental phase, a consultation and participation phase, a proposal for an Agenda 21 for Catalonia, a citizen participation phase and finally the approval of Catalonia Agenda 21.

One other feature common to the communities analysed is that they are all working on environmental training through training courses or conferences or the publication of methodological guides. Some communities such as the Basque Country and La Rioja increasingly favour implementation of Agenda 21 by groups, although such programmes are still being designed individually for each municipality.

For instance, in 2000 the Basque government launched a pilot project (Udatalde 21) in which nine city councils worked together on the implementation of LA21 by groups. Each town and city council worked with a consultant and, later, took part in meetings to pool experiences. All town and city councils in the pilot group have finished their environmental diagnoses and some (Amurrio, Zarauz, Azkoitia and Azpeitia) have already completed the action plan; although a definitive plan has yet to be approved, the rest are now working in advanced phases. Of the 10 indicators defined for the monitoring process, eight are common to all and two are specific for each town or city council.

In 2002, six new Udaltalde 21 were launched (Lea-Artibai, Arratia, Encartaciones, Urola-Garaia, Mungialde and Debabarrena), but here the groups of municipalities are grouped by communities, on the understanding that proximity helps create more

benefits since the similarities between the municipalities involved are greater. Furthermore, Udalsarea 21, the Basque Network of Municipalities for Sustainability, comprising 16 municipalities that have made most progress towards LA21, was created recently (the official presentation took place on 20 December 2002) to promote cooperation between town and city councils on sustainability-related issues.

Town and city councils are also frequently subsidized to launch LA21 programmes, mainly to produce their own diagnoses or environmental audits. Signing the Aalborg Charter or the regional 'commitment to sustainability' is seen as an essential requirement for accessing these aids.

In this respect, the number of signatories of the Aalborg Charter may be taken as one indicator of regional acceptance of LA21s. Table 3 shows the number of municipalities in each community that had signed the Aalborg Charter by 11 April 2003. Signing the Charter is, all too often, a simple declaration of intent that does not result in the real launch of an LA21 process; even so, the mere fact of signing implies that local administrations are aware of and interested in these programmes.

The table shows that, Murcia apart, the greatest percentages of municipalities signing the Aalborg Charter are to be found in the Balearics and the Canaries. This is probably owing to extensive awareness there of the consequences of development models implemented to date, a process that is much more visible on islands, where ecosystems are closed and limited. This is particularly true of course for islands with major, often untenable, tourist industries. Catalonia is the next autonomous region as regards the percentage of individual signatory municipalities, this being a direct consequence of the sustainable development policies promoted at different levels of government in the community. At the other end of the scale, not a single municipality in La Rioja has signed the Charter, although the autonomous government has launched pilot LA21 projects in seven municipalities. Clearly, LA21 is still very much in its infancy in this community.

The fact of signing the Aalborg Charter does not necessarily imply the execution of an LA21 and, vice versa, it is possible to develop a Local Agenda 21 without having joined the European Campaign for Sustainable Towns and Cities. The decision to join

Table 3 Municipalities and the Aalborg Charter

| Autonomous communities | Municipalities | Aalborg Charter signatories | %    |
|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|------|
| Andalusia              | 770            | 63                          | 8.2  |
| Aragon                 | 730            | 1                           | 0.1  |
| Asturias               | 78             | 1                           | 1.3  |
| Balearic Islands       | 67             | 27                          | 40.3 |
| Canaries               | 87             | 31                          | 35.6 |
| Cantabria              | 102            | 1                           | 1.0  |
| Basque Country         | 250            | 25                          | 10.0 |
| Castile la Mancha      | 817            | 42                          | 5.1  |
| Castile Leon           | 2,248          | 20                          | 0.9  |
| Catalonia              | 946            | 217                         | 22.9 |
| Extremadura            | 383            | 2                           | 0.5  |
| Galicia                | 315            | 7                           | 2.2  |
| La Rioja               | 174            | 0                           | 0.0  |
| Madrid                 | 279            | 8                           | 2.9  |
| Murcia                 | 45             | 41                          | 91.1 |
| Navarre                | 272            | 19                          | 7.0  |
| Valencia               | 541            | 104                         | 19.2 |
| Total                  | 8,003          | 609                         | 7.6  |

Note: Only municipalities that had individually signed the Aalborg Charter by 11 April 2003 have been included here.

depends on the initiative of the town or city council and the autonomous region has no influence over the decision. Nevertheless, Navarre signed the Aalborg Charter on its own initiative, as did 13 Spanish delegations, Andalusia being the community with most signatory delegations. The implementation of LA21s in groups can also give rise to important advantages. A good example of this is the large number of mancomunidades (communities of towns) initiating LA21 programmes; furthermore, in Catalonia and the Balearics, the decision to join the Aalborg Charter is occasionally taken by consells.

# Conclusions

Spanish regions or autonomous communities are beginning to launch programmes to promote LA21 implementation. The great majority has begun work on environmental diagnoses and offering financial aid schemes for town and city councils looking to start LA21 processes. Other regions have gone further and have elaborated their own sustainability strategies and are currently working with groups of town and city councils, advising and equipping them with instruments (staff training, publication of

methodological guides, indicator design, etc.) for them to introduce LA21. Nevertheless, general deficiencies in these LA21 processes are easy to identify. Perhaps the most significant of these deficiencies are:

# Cooperation and coordination

- The remarkable lack of cooperation between regions, although the degree of mimicry in performances undertaken is high. This is intrinsically related to a lack of leadership from the country's central government, which does not act as a coordinator of regional environmental policies.
- The lack of coordination between administrative levels in separate regions on LA21 implementation, there being virtually no programmes common to local, municipal, city and regional authorities and very few between different departments at the same administrative level.
- Many regions do not sufficiently promote the creation of networks of sustainable cities capable of sharing information and resources, although some have understood the need. One such region is Andalusia, which has set up the Network of Sustainable Cities of Andalusia (RECSA); others are Catalonia, with its Xarxa de

- Ciutats i Pobles CAP a la Sostenibilitat and the Basque Country, with the Udaltalde 21 and Udalsarea 21 groups of towns.
- LA21 is not dealt with in the policies of higherranking organizations, although it should be remembered that a regional Agenda 21 only makes sense when accompanied by LA21s. A balance needs to be struck between regional planning, local battles and inter-local cooperation.

#### Budget

 Autonomous government, provincial government and, in the majority of cases, municipal budget allocations for LA21 are best described as modest. Furthermore, economic resources allocated by municipalities are often conditional on the aid they themselves receive.

#### Advising and monitoring

 Generally, there are no systematic mechanisms for advising or monitoring councils implementing LA21. This is especially important for small municipalities, which usually face major technical and budgetary problems.

#### Assignment of responsibilities

LA21 processes are also affected by environmental imbalances, since usually only environmental departments are empowered on LA21-related issues. Habitually, these departments have little political influence and low budgets. Less expensive and more operative than initial integration, transversality and sector integration of sustainability needs to be reconsidered in all policies implemented at local level. To reduce the imbalance and ensure the success of such processes, all municipal action needs to be implicated in decision making, with feedback and permanent evaluation. And for SD to become integrated in other municipal policies, we consider that the creation of a department exclusively for LA21 would be positive. Such a department would be on a higher level than the rest, which would be under an obligation to observe the former's decisions.

#### Involvement of ordinary people

 Local sustainability therefore requires a planned process of performance involving, at the very least, all municipal staff in decision making and which requires feedback and constant evaluation.
 Besides the ability to modify departmental structures and integrate environmental and social variables in other activities, the success of LA21 also lies in the involvement of ordinary people, with new channels of participation being created in which citizens take part in the design and implementation of LA21. In this frame, environmental education is fundamental: rather than just providing information, it needs to train people and go beyond exclusively consultative participation to become a decision-making process.

To sum up, although LA21 processes are currently fashionable and many autonomous communities have decided to promote their implementation, there is still a long way to go. Central government seems to be staying on the margin of such processes, autonomous communities are not playing a central role and the quality and scope of municipal actions is variable. Many city councils implement LA21 as a mere document covering a series of actions for environmental improvement which, at best, take related economic and social issues into consideration. But, ultimately, the individual is the most important factor. If people in general are not aware of the need for change or of the need to modify their consumer habits, and if they are not educated or shown how change should come about, then further progress on sustainability will simply not be possible.

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