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Sustainable private consumption patterns

- The obstacles for Lund to promote organic provisions

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to investigate why the municipality of Lund has not done more, in relation to LundaMaTs, to inform and promote the purchasing of organic provisions to the public. This is of interest since it is determined in the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 that the current unsustainable production and consumption patterns need to change. The local authorities play an important role in order to achieve a sustainable development. One way to achieve sustainable consumption patterns is to increase the private purchasing of organic provisions. It is assumed that the same obstacles that have been found in earlier studies concerning implementation of Agenda 21 objectives at a local level also constitute obstacles for the efforts to promote organic provisions in Lund. In order to answer the aim, interviews with politicians and civil servants within the municipal administration were conducted. The results showed that the main obstacles experienced by the interviewees were political disagreement, a fear of backlash from the public and that promotion is being viewed as an ineffective tool.

Key words: sustainable consumption, organic provisions, Agenda 21, local implementation, sustainable development

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Table of contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Background	1
1.2	Aim	2
1.3	Delimitations	3
2	Theory	4
2.1	Sustainable development and sustainable consumption patterns	4
2.1.1	Sustainable private consumption patterns through the purchasing of organic provisions	6
2.1.2	How to change unsustainable private consumption patterns?	7
2.1.3	Criticism of the concept of sustainable development, sustainable consumption and ecological modernisation	8
2.2	Obstacles to the implementation of sustainable development on a local level	10
2.2.1	Lack of knowledge	11
2.2.2	Lack of resources	12
2.2.3	Short-term political decision-making and structural hindrance	12
2.2.4	Lack of support from a national level	14
2.2.5	Lack of commitment	14
2.3	Method and material	16
3	Results and analysis	19
3.1	What has Lund done to promote sustainable consumption of organic provisions to their citizens?	19
3.1.1	Miljöveckan	19
3.1.2	In-house training of environmental representatives	20
3.1.3	UFO – the youth’s forum for Agenda 21	20
3.1.4	The public procurement	20
3.2	Why has Lund not done more to promote and inform on organic provisions to their citizens?	22
3.2.1	Political disagreement	23
3.2.2	Lack of political legitimacy	24
3.2.3	Lack of knowledge among the citizens	25
3.2.4	Backlash	25
3.2.5	Legislation	27
3.2.6	Lack of money	28
3.2.7	Lack of time	28
3.2.8	An ineffective tool	29
3.3	Concluding discussion	31
4	Bibliography	33

5	Appendices	37
5.1	Appendix 1: Linda Birkedal	37
5.2	Appendix 2: Rolf Englesson.....	40
5.3	Appendix 3: Jörgen Jörgensen.....	43
5.4	Appendix 4: Matts Hansson	47
5.5	Appendix 5: Mohsen Abtin	50
5.6	Appendix 6: Matz Hagberg	53
5.7	Appendix 7: Mats Helmfrid.....	55
5.8	Appendix 8: Interview guide	59

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

The consumption of food has a negative impact on the environment due to high energy use, the use of chemicals and pesticides, land degradation, and the use of infinite resources during production. In Sweden, 40 percent of all the greenhouse gas emissions derive from private household consumption (Gregow, 2000: 8-10) of which the purchasing of provisions constitutes a large part. It is the second largest household expense in Sweden (gov.let. 2003/04:129 p. 65).

At the United Nation's Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the legally non-binding Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 were among other states adopted by Sweden, in order to eliminate poverty and environmental degradation (Agenda 21 – en sammanfattning, p 5). In these documents the importance of a change in the unsustainable production and consumption patterns in the industrialised world was stressed, in order to achieve a global sustainable development. According to principle 8 in the Rio Declaration and chapter 4 in Agenda 21, the production and consumption of sustainable products is viewed as an important cornerstone in attaining this change (www.un.org).

A way to change unsustainable production patterns is through changing private consumption patterns. Since food constitutes such a large share of people's consumption it is important to change people's consumption of provisions in order for production to become more sustainable. This can be achieved through consumer purchase of organic provisions¹ instead of the conventionally produced products. In Sweden today, the share of organic provisions only constitutes 2-3 percent of the total market (SOU 2004:119, p 126). In an earlier study it has been shown that knowledge about organic production has a positive effect on the sales figures of organic products (SOU 2005:51, p 162).

In order to change people's consumer behaviour, chapter 4 in Agenda 21 stresses the importance of providing the public with information so they can make conscious purchasing choices. Further, chapter 28 in Agenda 21 emphasises that the local authorities play a central role in educating and promoting the public on

¹ In this thesis "organic provisions" are defined as provisions provided with type I eco-labels, which all guarantee that the provisions are free from antibiotics, hormones, pesticides and produced with resources that are renewable by farmers who conserve water and soil (Micheletti, 2003: 98).

sustainable development (www.un.org). In the Swedish government's National Strategy for Sustainable Development it is declared that since it is on local level global commitments usually are put into practice, the municipalities are vital for the achievement of sustainable development (gov.let. 2003/04:129, p 26). Thus, the initiatives and efforts from the local authorities are viewed as important at a national level. At length, they can also be seen to play a crucial role in implementing Agenda 21 goals, such as changing consumption patterns to become more sustainable.

Lund² has made extensive efforts to inform and promote sustainable transportation alternatives to their citizens, through the project of LundaMaTs³. This, in order to influence and change their transportation patterns, which also is part of the private consumption. According to Lund the project was a success and showed that citizens to some extent have changed their way of transportation so as to become more environmentally friendly (www.lund.se). Despite this, the efforts to promote and inform the citizens on the benefits of organic provisions have not been as far-reaching, limited to Miljöveckan⁴. It is of interest to investigate why Lund has not done more, in comparison with LundaMaTs, to encourage the purchasing of organic provisions to the public.

1.2 Aim

It is acknowledged that the purchasing of organic provisions contributes to sustainable consumption patterns and at length sustainable development. Information to the public about organic provisions is an important tool in order to change consumption patterns to become more sustainable.

Thus, the aim of this thesis is to explore why Lund has not to a higher extent, in relation to LundaMaTs⁵, promoted organic provisions and provided the public with information, in order to influence the citizens' purchases of organic provisions. This will be done through interviews with politicians and civil servants within the local authority, since they are considered playing an important role in implementing the Agenda 21 goals.

We assume that obstacles regarding the implementation of Agenda 21 in general also constitute hindrance for Lund to inform on and promote organic provisions to the public, so as to implement sustainable consumption patterns.

² With "Lund" the authors are referring to the municipality of Lund, the local authorities and administration.

³ The LundaMaTs project ("MaTs" stands for Miljöanpassat Transportssystem – Environmentally Adjusted Transport System) aims to among other things inform, guide and persuade the citizens to choose sustainable transportation alternatives through door-to-door contact and providing bicycles and bus passes to habitual drivers. The project lasted from 1998 to 2004 and is currently being updated (www.lund.se).

⁴ Miljöveckan stands for "the Green Week" and will be further explained in section 3.1.1

⁵ It is not the aim of this thesis to compare the promotion of sustainable consumption patterns and transportation patterns in Lund. The comparison with LundaMaTs is only a means to define the notion of "more" and "higher extent". From now on, this comparative measurement will be implicit.

1.3 The outline of the thesis

First, in chapter 2 in the thesis the theoretical background of sustainable development and consumption is presented and discussed as a way to clarify why this is of importance. Then, our theoretical framework and model, which is based on earlier studies, is outlined which is later used as a tool in the analysis. Chosen method and material is discussed in section 2.3 where also the interviewees are presented. The empirical result and analysis are presented in chapter 3 and begins with a brief overview of the actions taken by Lund in order to promote organic provisions. The chapter finishes with a concluding discussion. The bibliography can be viewed in chapter 4 and is followed by appendices in which each interview is summarised and the quotes used in the results are given in English as well as Swedish. The limitation of this study is presented below.

1.4 Delimitations

Due to the complexity of sustainable consumption, a thesis on this level and size cannot cover all the different aspects of the phenomenon that perhaps should be of interest in order to really understand the existing problems. This thesis will investigate the main obstacles that Lund is experiencing, concerning the promotion of the private consumption of organic provisions. However, actors from the civil society and the public administration such as the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation and the National Board for Consumer Policies are working for the achievement of sustainable consumption and the promotion of organic provisions in Sweden. Although the authors of this thesis are aware of these actors' prominent position in working for a sustainable development, their achievement will not be considered in this thesis because their work mainly takes place on a national level. Due to the fact that the local authorities' importance is stressed in Agenda 21, this will be the focal point of this study. In the end, it is at the local level where the global commitment of sustainable development is supposed to be implemented.

This thesis focuses on the private consumption of organic provisions and therefore only considers the ecological aspect of sustainable consumption. In a study with larger scope, it would have been of interest to investigate the social aspect of sustainable consumption regarding fair trade provisions. Further, other dimensions of the private consumption such as transportation, recycling and energy-use could have been of interest to include.

Lund adopted their first Agenda 21 document back in 1997, therefore the time period is limited from 1997 until today.

2 Theory

2.1 Sustainable development and sustainable consumption patterns

The political concept of sustainable development was popularised in 1987, in the Brundtland commission (the World Commission on Environmental and Development) report “Our Common Future” where it is defined as:

“...a development that meets the need of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs...” (WCED, 1987, 43.)

There are other definitions of sustainable development as well, which all have in common that the carrying capacity of the Earth is limited and that it is within those limits that human development can take place (SOU 1997:105, p 13).

In Sweden, environmental and development issues have had a prominent role in all areas and levels since the Stockholm Conference in 1972 (Miljödepartementet, 2002: 9). Since 2003, it is stated in the constitution that the public should promote a sustainable development; hence sustainable development is an overall objective for the Swedish government (gov.let. 2003/04:129, p 5).

It was in 1992, at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio that the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 were adopted by more than 150 countries and the EU (www.naturvardsverket.se), among them Sweden. Agenda 21 is the detailed plan of action for the realisation of the principles of the Rio Declaration in the 21st century, in other words the promotion, implementation and achievement of sustainable development (Elliot, 2004:19). In Agenda 21 three different dimensions of sustainable development that have to work together are identified, the social, economic and ecological dimension. These different aspects of sustainable development can be both in conflict and collaborate in the short-run but in the long-run the three dimensions are seen as presuppose each other in order for development to be sustainable (SOU 1997:105, p 13-15).

Neither the Rio Declaration nor the Agenda 21 are legally binding agreements. However, the Swedish government has expressed that the participating states are morally and politically obliged to follow the guidelines of Agenda 21 (Agenda 21 – en sammanfattning, p 5).

The term “sustainable consumption” got into the agenda of global environmental politics after UNCED (Cohen, 2005). Both principle 8 in the Rio

Declaration and chapter 4 in Agenda 21 are stressing the importance of a change in the unsustainable consumption and production patterns (www.un.org):

“...the major cause of the continued deterioration of the global environment is the unsustainable pattern of consumption and production, particularly in industrialized countries...” (Chapter 4.3 in Agenda 21, www.un.org).

“To achieve sustainable development and a higher quality of life for all people, States should reduce and eliminate unsustainable patterns of production and consumption...” (Principle 8 in the Rio Declaration, www.un.org)

After Rio, there has been an increased focus on the environmental impact of our individual consumption and consumers are more and more seen to be responsible for the environmental degradation (Pedersen, 2000). This has led to a change in focus from controlling industry pollution to promoting more sustainable consumption patterns in Europe (Micheletti. et al. 2004:161).

According to Cohen (2005) there are two reasons to why there has not been an earlier focus on consumption as a cause of environmental degradation. To begin with, it has been seen as illegitimate for politicians to pursue intervention in such a private domain as the individual's consumption. Secondly, one of the core activities of the state has been and still is to stimulate economic growth and the prospect of the country's economy (Cohen, 2005) which can be in conflict with sustainable development objectives.

In 2002, at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, all the participants, among them the Swedish government, reconfirmed the Rio Principles and agreed to strive for a change to reach sustainable production and consumption. In order to do this a political declaration and a plan of implementation was adopted (gov.let. 2002/03:29, p 6). The third chapter of the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation states that:

“...fundamental changes in the way societies produce and consume are indispensable for achieving global sustainable development. All countries should promote sustainable consumption and production patterns...” (Johannesburg Plan of Implementation III/14, www.un.org)

Although, the Swedish government has the final responsibility for implementing Agenda 21, the local authorities are vital. In Sweden the municipalities have a very important role and also the responsibility for many fundamental tasks in the achievement of a sustainable development (Gustafsson, 1999:30). It is also at the local level where international commitments such as the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 are supposed to be implemented and put into practice (gov.let. 2003/04:129, p 26). The importance of the local authorities is furthered in chapter 28 of Agenda 21:

“Because so many of the problems and solutions being addressed by Agenda 21 have their roots in local activities, the participation and cooperation of local authorities will be a determining factor in fulfilling its objectives... As the level of governance closest to the people, they play a vital role in educating, mobilizing and responding to the public to promote sustainable development.”(Chapter 28 in Agenda 21, www.un.org)

2.1.1 Sustainable private consumption patterns through the purchasing of organic provisions

It is acknowledged by the Swedish government that consumption has a direct connection to all the dimensions of sustainable development (gov.let. 2003/04:129, p 113). Likewise, our daily consumption of food has an impact on the environment. As mentioned in the introduction it can be traced in the use of energy, chemicals, use of infinite resources, the erosion of land and the amount of waste from both the production and consumption (Gregow, 2000: 10). According to estimations done by the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, the private households in Sweden are responsible for almost 50 percent of the total emissions. (ibid, 2000: 8). The average consumer in Sweden spends almost 20 percent on provisions, after housing costs it is the largest household expense (gov.let. 2003/04:129 p 65). Thus, the individuals’ and the households’ choices have a large impact on both the production and consumption patterns (ibid. p 28-29).

In the Swedish National Strategy for Sustainable Development, the consumers are identified as important in the achievement of an “environmentally driven economic growth”,⁶ since they, through their demand, can change the supply which can lead to more sustainable production of goods (gov.let. 2003/04:129 p 33). Important tools that can guide and help the consumers to make consciousness choices at the market place are environmental labelling schemes. Type I labelling schemes⁷, also called life-cycle labels, are the most advanced labelling schemes. (Appleton, 1997: 4-7). Those labelling schemes build upon transparency, quality control and accountability and are guaranteed by an independent third controlling the products and setting up the criteria. Organic food labels are of the sorts of type I labelling schemes mentioned. Those labels guarantee that renewable resources are being used, that the farmers conserve water and soil and that the food does not contain any antibiotics, commercial pesticides or growth hormones (Micheletti, 2003: 90-98).

Since the beginning of 1990 there have come into existence many different eco-labels in Sweden that make it easier for consumers to choose products that are environmentally sound. The most common type I Swedish organic labelling

⁶ The authors’ translation of the Swedish term “miljödriven tillväxt”

⁷ There are also Type II and Type III labelling schemes that will not be discussed here, for further information see “*Environmental Labelling Programmes: International Trade Law Implications*”, Arthur E Appleton, 1997 p.4.

scheme is KRAV⁸, but there are other, imported goods labelled with other countries' eco-labelling controlled by the EU and IFOAM⁹ that are available at the Swedish market. In Sweden the total market share of organic provisions only stands for 2-3 percent. (SOU 2004:119, p 126).

There is a clear connection between Agenda 21 and the Rio Declaration and Type I eco-labels. Agenda 21, chapter 4.21 and 4.22, contains an endorsement of life-cycle products and also demands an expansion of eco-labelling schemes (Appleton, 1997:64). Principle 10 in the Rio Declaration states that:

“...states should facilitate and encourage public awareness and participation by making information widely available...” (Principle 10 in the Rio Declaration, www.un.org)

Eco-labelling schemes are seen as a means of facilitate the public awareness and to provide this sort of environmental information (Appleton, 1997:66).

2.1.2 How to change unsustainable private consumption patterns?

In a report on sustainable production and consumption in Sweden done by the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, knowledge and access to information for consumers are essentially for the achievement of sustainable consumption patters. In this report it is stated that there is a lack of understanding of the origin of environmental problems and its consequences, both with regard to consumers and the decision makers (Naturvårdsverket, 2004:54-58). The Swedish government puts it thusly:

“...the consumers can through their choice of provisions affect the development to a sustainable society. A precondition for this is that the consumers have the possibility to make consciousness choices...” (gov.let. 2003/04:129 p 65)

In order to reach sustainable consumption patterns, consumers must possess the knowledge associating the connection between their actions and the society's development (gov.let. 2003/04:129 p 114). As it stands, it is likely that the knowledge concerning a sustainable development and the choice of provisions is relatively limited, due to the fact that very few people come in contact with both the farming and the food industry (ibid. p 65).

In Agenda 21, the importance of information, education and promotion of sustainable products are being stressed in the following way:

“...action is needed to promote patterns of consumption and production that reduces environmental stress and to develop a better understanding of the role of consumption...” (Chapter 4.7 in Agenda 21, www.un.org)

⁸ KRAV stands for Kontrollföreningen för ekologisk odling, www.krav.se

⁹ IFOAM stands for International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements, www.ifoam.org

The governments, together with industry and other stakeholders are given an important role in this promotion. According to chapter 4.22 they should together work for:

“...encourage the emergence of an informed consumer public and assist individuals and households to make environmentally informed choices...” (Chapter 4.22 in Agenda 21, www.un.org)

This should be done through the providing of information about the different consequences of consumption so as to encourage the purchasing of environmentally friendly products (www.un.org).

Micheletti (2003) also stresses the importance of that consumers are aware of the fact that their consumption patterns have negative impacts on the environment and actually are part of the environmental degradation. Furthermore, it is crucial for eco-labelling schemes such as KRAV that consumers and the public are aware of their consumption's role for sustainability (Micheletti, 2003:90).

In order to change the present unsustainable consumption patterns, policies that create opportunities for consumers to choose environmental friendly alternatives have to go hand in hand with information about those alternatives. In the final report from the National Committee on Agenda 21, knowledge and information is identified as the most important factor when it comes to the encouragement of environmental choices. The committee put forth the following suggestions as strategies for sustainable food maintenance: conversion to organic food production, public purchasing of locally and/or organic food and improved information for the consumers. This should be done at a national, regional and local level (SOU 1997:105 p 35-37).

2.1.3 Criticism of the concept of sustainable development, sustainable consumption and ecological modernisation

As it is argued in this thesis that ecological sustainable consumption can be achieved through the purchasing of organic provisions, it is important to keep in mind that this by some is viewed as a problematic assumption. Therefore, it is of significance to present how this assumption is theoretically formulated and also acknowledge the critique against it.

In the Rio declaration, the aim to achieve sustainable development is characterised by the theoretical perspective of ecological modernisation. Through this perspective, it is implied that sustainable development is possible to achieve through collaboration with economic growth (Clapp and Dauvergne, 2005:65, Forsberg, 2002:3, 48). In fact, economic growth constitutes a part of the sustainable development concept (Clement and Hansen, 2001:12). In contrast to the centralised and control driven environmental politics of the 80's, ecological modernisation is reform oriented by character, stressing the importance of environmental concern and cooperation in every arena and sphere of society (Forsberg, 2002:49). Also, the ecological modernisation is viewed as a new phase

of the market based economy and the further development and modernisation of society (ibid: 50). Thus, from an ecological modernisation perspective, there is no contradiction in striving towards economic growth and modernisation, as well as ecological sustainability. It is merely a question of adjusting the economic activities so that they consider the ecological limitations. In addition, ecological modernisation views economic growth, together with technical innovations and efficiency, as operational tools and a precondition to ecological sustainable development (Forsberg 2002:48-50, Elliott, 2004:232). Supporters claim that the embracing of ecological modernisation has caused an institutionalisation of the environmental concerns, which has reformed the economic policies and processes. Therefore, ecological concerns are no longer viewed by the state or firms as obstacles to economic growth, but instead as business opportunities. In turn, this has resulted in companies taking actions of “greening” their production and business activities (Clapp and Dauvergne, 2005:177).

Fudge and Rowe (2000) points out that the Swedish government has to a considerable extent, embraced the theoretical perspective of ecological modernisation as the guideline to their environmental politics (Fudge and Rowe, 2000:178). This is explicitly expressed through the governments’ proclamation that the aim for sustainable ecological development should not in any way inflict upon economic growth, investments or competitiveness (ibid: 56-57). Forsberg (2002) also claims that the established policy of Swedish governance concerning sustainable development is characterised by a discourse of ecological modernisation, which developed during the 1990’s (Forsberg, 2002:19). Thus, the theoretical perspective of ecological modernisation is deeply rooted in the environmental politics in Sweden today.

However, critical scholars heavily question this institutionalist and market liberal perspective. For instance, critics argue that the alleged “greening” of business activities is in fact deceitful in the sense that it is only a way for companies to portray an image of themselves as environmentally friendly, in order to improve their sales to the ecologically concerned consumers. In addition, critics claim that the definition of sustainable development is highly problematic in the sense that corporations have been given the opportunity to define the concept so that it supports their own interests, e.g., their revenue and further economic growth. Thus, corporations are able to maintain unsustainable production under the protection of ecological modernisation and the hegemonic definition of sustainable development (ibid: 178). Also, critique has been aimed towards the view of economic growth and technology as tools to achieve ecological sustainable development. Critics claim that this is a paradox as environmental degradation is in fact caused by economic growth and modernisation (Bäckstrand, et al, 2004:230, Elliott, 2004:232). Economic growth is closely linked to high consumption and production, which leads to an unsustainable use of resources and energy and generates waste and pollution (Clapp and Dauvergne, 2005:110,113). The claim that rising consumption and production should work as a remedy for environmental degradation is argued to be too optimistic and too reliant on technological innovations. Thus, from this perspective, the argument for changing consumption and production patterns to become more sustainable falls flat.

Instead, a decrease in consumption is the only truly sustainable path on which to proceed (Clapp and Dauvergne, 2005:110, Aall, 2001:92-94).

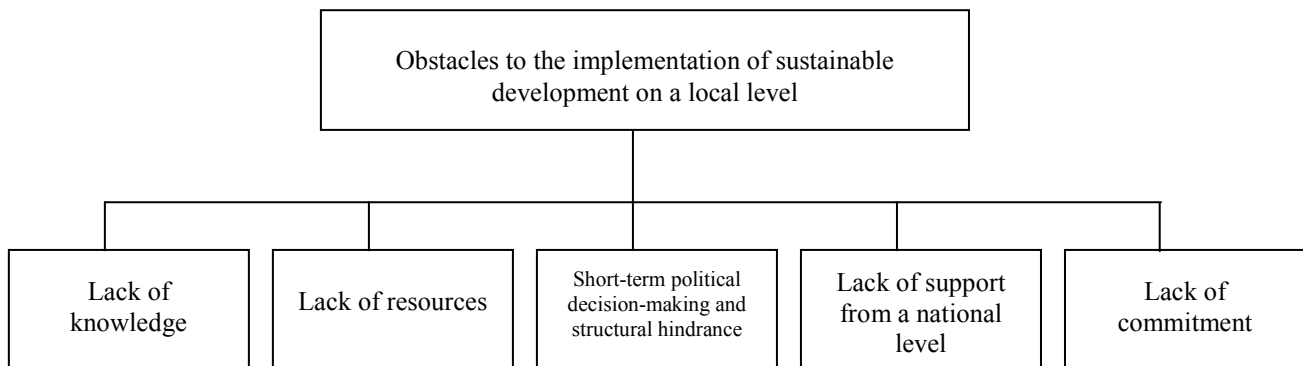
2.2 Obstacles to the implementation of sustainable development on a local level

Although the Swedish government has the final responsibility in implementing the principles of the Rio Declaration and the goals of Agenda 21, the Swedish municipalities have an important role in the process of putting global commitments into practice. This is, however, not unproblematic. The implementation of environmental policies in particular, regarding the sustainable development on a local level, faces challenges, which can constitute obstacles.

Although general policy implementation theory is wide-ranging and vast in scope, the scientific research concerning implementation of sustainable development is so far limited. Lafferty (2004) claims that the lack of consideration for sustainable development in implementation theory puts the general gap and limitations of the field into focus. This has created the possibility to develop and broaden the research and knowledge concerning general obstacles to implementation policies when investigating the implications of sustainable development implements (Lafferty, 2004:36-37). Thus, developing the theory of implementation concerning sustainable development is most relevant. In addition, theory regarding sustainable consumption is even more limited. In consequence, the theoretical starting point used in this study is derived from obstacles of sustainable development implementation as a whole. In 2000, the main obstacles to implement sustainable development on a local level in Swedish municipalities were outlined in an extensive survey by Eckerberg and Brundin, assigned by the Swedish Department of the Environment and the Municipality Association. The scholars asked the local Agenda 21-coordinators within 298 municipalities which obstacles they considered the greatest. The most cited obstacles compiled by the authors concerned (Eckerberg and Brundin, 2000:16):

- Lack of knowledge
- Lack of resources
- Short-term political decision-making and structural hindrance
- Lack of commitment
- Lack of support from a national level

The same answers were given during interviews with key persons within nine specific municipalities (ibid.). The Eckerberg and Brundin obstacles will constitute the operational framework since this survey is extensive in scope and concerns the Swedish context, relevant for this study. These five obstacles are structured in the model presented on the next page:



These obstacles are thusly assumed to constitute hindrances for Lund to promote organic provisions to their citizens. Since the different obstacles constitute the operational framework, each obstacle is more thoroughly addressed, discussed and further developed with the support from other scholar's research.

2.2.1 Lack of knowledge

An obstacle highlighted in Eckerberg and Brundin's study is the lack of understanding with regards to Agenda 21 and for what sustainable development stands for and involves. This lack of knowledge concerns citizens as well as administrators and politicians working within the municipalities. Also, there is insufficient knowledge of environmental issues in general. Unawareness among the public has, in one community for example, resulted in resistance towards changes concerning heating. Thus, this lack of knowledge failed to legitimise the motives for environmental goals, set by the administration (Eckerberg and Brundin, 2000:17). Lafferty (2004) also considers this problem. He determines that there is a lack comprehension and difference in understanding of sustainable development among key actors, both across and within state borders (Lafferty, 2004:323). The implementation and decision-making concerning sustainable development also requires taking new technological and socially based information, changing circumstances and a constant present uncertainty into account. Thus, implementing goals of sustainable development should, according to O'Toole, be viewed as a learning process, where consensus, decentralisation and flexibility are emphasised as relevant tools to achieve successful implementation (ibid: 45-46). Even though O'Toole's conclusion regards implementation on perhaps a higher level than that of the local one, it further indicates the importance of possessing sufficient knowledge as an essential precondition for reaching sustainable development.

2.2.2 Lack of resources

Due to economic limitation, which resulted in a lack of time and staff, a third of the questioned municipalities claimed that a lack of resources was the primary obstacle in implementing sustainable development goals. Related to this factor, the study showed that conflicting targets were hindrances. Coordinators expressed concerns regarding the difficulty of being forced to implement more short-term projects in order to avoid critique from citizens for not acting on more acute issues. Because of this, decisions on sustainable development become secondary priorities (Eckerberg and Brundin 2000: 16-17). Scholars on the subject support this argument. Forsberg (2002) points to a lack of resources as an important challenge. He argues that it is difficult for the municipal administration to motivate investment in sustainable development projects, instead of other issues that are more traditionally connected to the core-responsibilities of the municipal administration. In addition, the way in which the administration chooses to invest reflects the current values by which political subjects are viewed as important (Forsberg, 2002: 254).

Bäckstrand et al. (2004) claim that the traditional organisation of policy implementation is characterised by a problem-solving approach, in which the environmental issues are divided and dealt with within different sectors of the administration. This loss of a holistic approach, which is crucial when dealing with environmental problems, results in competition for resources and prestige between different sectors (Bäckstrand et al. 2004: 235). Establishing an environmental unit within the administration is one way to get around this problem. However, subjects tend to be separated within the specific unit as well, which may result in further division and conflicts of priority between the different issues. Bäckstrand et al. further stress the importance of a reorganisation of the implementation strategy so that environmental issues are no longer marginalised and put in conflict with other problems, traditionally viewed as more important, like unemployment (Bäckstrand et al. 2004: 236, 254).

O'Toole claims that there is a tendency to make decisions incrementally which is not in line with the holistic view point of sustainable development policies (O'Toole, 2004: 43). Also, Lafferty supports the notion that environmental issues tend to be administrated by, and in relation to other, weak ministries. He argues that there is a need for an integration of environmental issues into other sectors, especially the economic one (Lafferty, 2004: 192, 198-199).

2.2.3 Short-term political decision-making and structural hindrance

Sustainable development is, as the term implies, a long-term process. However, coordinators in Eckerberg and Brundin's study call attention to the problematic view among politicians and the administration of the implementation of Agenda 21 as a short-term project. This view affects the political decision-making. One of the major challenges is to persuade politicians and administration executives to look beyond the next mandate term of office. This dilemma can also derive from a

lack of resource where, as mentioned earlier, the long-term project of sustainable development is put aside for short-term, acuter problems.

There is also the issue of visible results. With the aim to maintain political legitimacy and mandate, politicians run the risk of implementing short-term projects with visible and quick results, instead of projects where the outcomes are diffuse and more difficult to quantify (Eckerberg and Brundin, 2000: 18). This last statement is also supported in Aall's study (2001) in which he calls attention to the dilemma of giving priority to projects with visible local gains, over others, with more diffuse results (Aall, 2001: 101). O'Toole also addresses the dilemma of short-term thinking. He emphasises the need for the government to organise their political practices and institutions in new ways, so that policies concerning sustainable development become established. This is especially problematic and important when politics are characterised by short-term thinking. He further underlines this conflict of disparate decision-making that keeps in line with sustainable development, and at the same time, maintains political accountability and legitimacy of the broad public, i.e. the voters (O'Toole, 2004: 44).

In addition, O'Toole argues that the implementation of policy-goals of sustainable development tend to be highly specified and characterised by a problem-solving approach. This can constitute a problem since this method is likely to be ineffective and quickly become obsolete when dealing with a long-term process such as sustainable development. O'Toole stresses that this specified policy approach is "tying the hands of the implementers". There is also a risk that implementation is reduced to concerning itself with symbolic policies, which, according to O'Toole, are "near-meaningless", and "generates little relevant action" (O'Toole, 2004: 45). At length, this shortage in power to act and relevant results causes a legitimacy problem for initiatives taken and for the administration as a whole (ibid).

Structural hindrance, in the case of attitudes and actions, also constitutes an obstacle when implementing sustainable development goals. In Eckerberg and Brundin's survey, Agenda 21-coordinators claim that there are insufficient operational tools in forms of legislation and economic support at the national level to be able to change the unsustainable attitudes and actions. Insufficient legislation and the difficulty of changing people's attitudes and actions are also highlighted as hindrances in Aall's study of Agenda 21 implementation in Norwegian municipalities (Aall, 2001: 99). This problem was also emphasised the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency's future study "Sweden year 2021", where one of the greatest obstacles identified to a sustainable development were the values and behaviour of people's consumption and production patterns (Gregow, 2000:8). However, there is also an emphasis on the importance to "act as you say". In order to maintain credibility it is crucial that the municipality administration and politicians make decisions and implement them in a way that does not contradict formulated aims. Otherwise, there is a risk that they become nothing more than empty words (Eckerberg and Brundin, 2004: 18-19). Aall addresses this issue as well when stating that municipalities in Norway have stepped away from its traditional role as controller and public-planner. He claims that municipalities have approached a "soft-policy model", where focus is aimed

at being a “green model” and where the municipalities are:

“...giving priority to setting one’s own house in order before interacting directly with local business and households.” (Aall, 2001: 102)

Aall argues that this softer approach may come to weaken the sustainable development policy if it replaces the traditional policy model. However, Aall concludes that if the soft policy becomes a supplement instead, this might be favourable and come to strengthen the environmental policy model as a whole (Aall, 2001: 102).

2.2.4 Lack of support from a national level

Another obstacle that surfaced during Eckerberg and Brundin’s study was the one of unclear signals and support at the national level. The nationally set aims are not specifically formulated and the directives are characterised by vagueness. Coordinators require more legible national aims as well as direct operational guidance of how to implement them on a local level. The government and the parliament are also desired to function more as role models to municipalities and citizens when acting to reach sustainable development (Eckerberg and Brundin, 2000: 19). This problem is also highlighted by Bäckstrand et al. (2004). In a study based on the municipality of Lund from 1994, politicians and administrative staff emphasised that there was a lack of communication between administrations at the national, regional and local levels. (Bäckstrand et al, 2004: 253).

However, the dilemma of insufficient support from a national level derives in part from the decentralisation in power that Sweden has experienced during the last ten years (starting with the Municipal Law, binding in 1991). Affected by this trend, and in an aim to strengthen local decision-making, no nationally set directives have been determined on how the municipalities should act and coordinate the implementation of Agenda 21 goals. Bäckstrand et al. argues that there is a structural strength in keeping the policies and directives unspecified. Sustainable development cannot be reached through general strategies and policy models, applicable in every sphere of environmental problems and at every level of society (Bäckstrand 2004: 249, 254). Thus, even if this is in line with the strategy concerning sustainable development, the decentralisation opens up for potential problems concerning insufficient communication between national, regional and local levels of implementing administrations (Bäckstrand et al, 2004: 249,252-253).

2.2.5 Lack of commitment

Insufficient commitment to the environmental issues within the public as well as the administration is seen as, in Eckerberg and Brundin’s study, a hindrance. Sustainable development is simply not viewed as a concern of interest and is

therefore not prioritized (Eckerberg and Brundin, 2004: 18). The importance of political commitment for successful implementation has been stressed in other studies and by different scholars over a long period of time. Lafferty calls attention to this dilemma when addressing the OECD programme for sustainable development. He determines that the programme can only be implemented successfully through committed political leadership (Lafferty, 2004: 326-327).

As mentioned above, a shortage in commitment can lead to a scarcity in resources and the implementation of Agenda 21 goals are thusly undermined (Eckerberg and Brundin, 2004: 18, Lafferty, 2004: 326). In addition, a lack of commitment can in some senses be a result of personal political engagement. Forsberg concludes in his survey, which concerns challenges to sustainable development in four Swedish municipalities, that active political leadership in the Agenda 21 processes is an exception. Initiatives are more likely to fall on the administrative staff of the municipality (Forsberg, 2004: 172-173) Forsberg also indicates that the political commitment by different parties is greatly affected by whether they are in a ruling position or not. He claims that ruling parties, who have been active and supportive in the Agenda 21 process, take fewer initiatives when removed from power and put into an oppositional position. In one case the survey shows that the political engagement has centred around the ruling party on the commissioner post, shifting between the Social democrats and the Moderate party. This is partly dependent on the fact that whoever possesses the commissioner role also has the principal responsibility of being active within all fields of the municipality (ibid: 176). This also indicates that commitment to the Agenda 21 process and sustainable development does not relate to political standpoints or ideology. Forsberg stresses this last implication and claims that there is a mutual agreement and understanding of the long-term Agenda 21 process over the party borders. There is a common view that the process is not to be affected by shifting political ruling (ibid: 174).

As earlier mentioned, a lack of commitment among the public can also constitute an obstacle. This is expressed through lack of political legitimacy for decisions concerning sustainable development, but also through the difficulties experienced by municipalities in the changing of people's attitudes and actions. Therefore, even if politicians are highly committed to the implementation of Agenda 21, they might lack the necessary legitimacy among the public for acting on it (Aall, 2001: 99, Forsberg, 2004: 176).

2.3 Method and material

When asking questions such as how and why concerning contemporary phenomena, the use of an explanatory case study is an appropriate choice of method to find some answers (Yin, 1989:13-19). Moreover, with an aim to investigate why Lund has not done more to inform on and promote sustainable consumption of organic provisions and so as to analyze the obstacles that exist for Lund to influence their citizens' consumption patterns, this method is considered best.

Since it is not our intention to compare the differences between all the Swedish municipalities but rather to make an in-depth analysis of the circumstances in Lund regarding sustainable consumption, we have chosen to perform a single case study. Lund is a good case to study since it is a prominent municipality in the field of environment and sustainable development in general. Therefore, it is of great interest to discover why not more has been done to promote sustainable consumption regarding organic provisions.

One of the major advantages when performing a case study is that it makes it possible to analyse a political phenomena in depth, using many different sources of evidences, for example documents, interviews and observation (Yin, 1989: 20). According to Yin (1989:86-91) the most important sources in a case study are interviews. Therefore, in order to collect data for this study semi-structured and open-ended interviews with politicians and civil servants within the municipality will be carried out.

When using interview results as facts it is important to confirm, strengthen or perhaps even dismiss this information from other sources as well. This is important since the evidence that you receive from the interviewee is only that particular person's knowledge and views (Yin 1989:86-91). On the other hand, when asking of people's opinions, as we also intend to do, there is no need to back up the answers in the same way. In order to support the information from the interviews other sources will be used and referred to when possible. Also, to complement the interviews, national and local public documents that consider sustainable consumption will be used as primary sources. Secondary sources consist of literature, books and articles which partly treats the theoretical framework used in this study.

Since this study is a qualitative one, based on in-depth interviews with a limited number of people in the municipal administration in Lund, it is not possible to draw any general conclusions. We are also aware of that our assumption stated in the aim and expressed through our theoretical framework, in some ways limits the possible outcomes and conclusions. We still find it interesting since it can be shown to illustrate what kinds of obstacles there are in prominent environmental municipalities such as Lund to influence the citizens' consumption patterns regarding organic provisions. Consequently, it is important

to keep in mind that with other interviewers and interviewees the results may have been different.

In order to carry out the interviews an introductory interview with an employee at the environmental strategic division was held. She recommended some people who could beneficially contribute to this study. An inquiry was sent by email to every person suggested, eight persons in total, all working either at the environmental committee or the municipal executive community. Four people reported that they were willing to participate. Those four consisted of two politicians from the leftwing block and two from the rightwing bloc. Since they were all members of the municipal executive committee, we refrained from contacting the other four. This method of selecting the interviewees is based on strategic sampling and snowball sampling (see Esaiasson, et al, 2003: 212).

However, at our first interview the interviewee recommended two more persons within the municipal administration that could perhaps benefit this study which also were contacted and willing to participate. All the interviews took place at the interviewees' offices, they lasted for about an hour and were recorded. In order to make the interviews as similar as possible an interview guide used. This guide was based on the theoretical framework which also constitutes the fundament of the thesis structure and analysis. Summaries from the interviews, along with quotes in Swedish and our English translation and the interview guide, can be found in the appendices. It is of relevance to keep in mind that the interviewees and especially the politicians among them are in such a position where they might be tempted to give a flattering description of their work and organisation.

The interviewees in this study are:

- Linda Birkedal, working at the environmental strategic division as an environmental strategist and as the project leader of the youth's forum for Agenda 21 (Appendix 1).
- Rolf Englesson, representing the Green Party as a municipal commissioner, member of the municipal executive committee and member of the municipal council (Appendix 2).
- Jörgen Jörgensen, representing the Liberal Party as a substitute in the municipal executive committee and second vice-chairman of the municipal council (Appendix 3).
- Matts Hansson, working within the municipal administration as head of the staff at the municipal office (Appendix 4).
- Mohsen Abtin, representing the Swedish Social Democratic Party as a substitute in the municipal executive committee, member of the municipal council and member of the environmental committee (Appendix 5).

- Matz Hagberg, working at the environmental strategic division as an environmental strategist (Appendix 6).
- Mats Helmfrid, representing the Moderate Party as vice-chairman of the municipal council and a member of the municipal executive committee (Appendix 7).

3 Results and analysis

The results and the analysis from the interviews will be presented and structured with help of the obstacles for a successful implementation of sustainable development, see the model presented in section 2.2.

During the interviews it became evident that although Miljöveckan is the only direct action taken to influence the citizens through information and promotion regarding the purchasing of organic provisions, both the politicians and civil servants viewed other more indirect efforts as important for influencing people's behaviour. First, it will therefore be presented in what manner Lund according to the interviewees has promoted and continues to promote the purchasing of organic provisions. Secondly the results from the interviews will be presented and analysed. Notice that it is only the interviewees experienced and explicitly mentioned obstacles that are being discussed in this first section. Implicitly expressed obstacles interpreted by the authors are discussed in section 3.3, "Concluding discussion".

3.1 What has Lund done to promote sustainable consumption of organic provisions to their citizens?

3.1.1 Miljöveckan

Since 1989 Miljöveckan has been arranged in Lund in cooperation with Lundabygdens Naturvårdsförening among others. The aim with Miljöveckan is to create a dialogue with the public from a consumer perspective regarding environmental issues (www.lundabygden.snf.se). When reviewing latest years' reports from Miljöveckan the activities that have been carried out are blind tests of conventional and organic carrots and available information about organic provisions and its advantages, outside a number of grocery's shops in Lund. There have also been chefs talking about why they are choosing organic provisions followed by a chance to taste the food. The theme of the last years' Miljöveckan has been "food and environment". The aim of having blind tests of carrots is that they want to show that the organically cultivated carrots do not have to be less tasteful than the conventionally grown. The municipality and Lundabygdens Naturvårdsförening have seen this project as successful since they have reached hundreds of people when performing those activities in Lund, which inhabits around 102 000 people. (Birkedal and Fontell, 2002, 2003, 2004, www.lund.se).

3.1.2 In-house training of environmental representatives¹⁰

Every year there is a “day of inspiration” for the municipality’s internal environmental representatives. In total there are 500 environmental representatives within in Lund and according to Birkedal about a 150 take part in this activity every year. The knowledge gained during this day is primarily thought to be used and to be useful at the environmental representative’s workplaces but also within their homes and private sphere (Birkedal, 2005). The content of these inspirational days vary but they all contain lectures about organic provisions and organic coffee and lunches are being served (Küller and Johansson, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005).

3.1.3 UFO – the youth’s forum for Agenda 21

The aim of the youth’s forum for Agenda 21 is to engage young people in Lund concerning environmental issues (www.lund.se). Birkedal is working fifty percent as a project leader, hence being responsible for the project that the forum is running (Birkedal, 2005: Appendix 1). UFO is arranging courses regarding the environment and the project leader of UFO is working together with school classes, examples of arrangement are lectures on organic food with sampling (Vad är Ufo?, Lunds kommun).

3.1.4 The public procurement

Since 1998 there is an explicit environmental policy concerning the public procurement in Lund. The policy includes providing all public kitchens and facilities, such as schools and homes for the elderly, with organic provisions. The aim with the policy is that the municipality should through the procurement contribute to attaining sustainable development. It is also seen as a tool to reach the goals of the local Agenda 21-document. The vast quantity of the public procurement is further seen as a way to influence the supply on the market (Tillämpningsföreskrifter avseende miljökrav, 2002:18, Upphandling för hållbar utveckling, 2002:3, 6). At length, this could influence the private consumption as the supply in the stores increases (Hagberg, 2005: Appendix 6). In the new Agenda 21 –document that is coming into affect in 2006, it is determined that the public procurement of organic provisions shall constitute 40 percent of the total by 2012 (Strategy 1.8:40, Lundaeko, 2006).

Although not clearly stated in any of the reviewed official protocols, several of the interviewees claim that there is an explicit strategy that the public procurement of organic provisions should at length indirectly influence the private

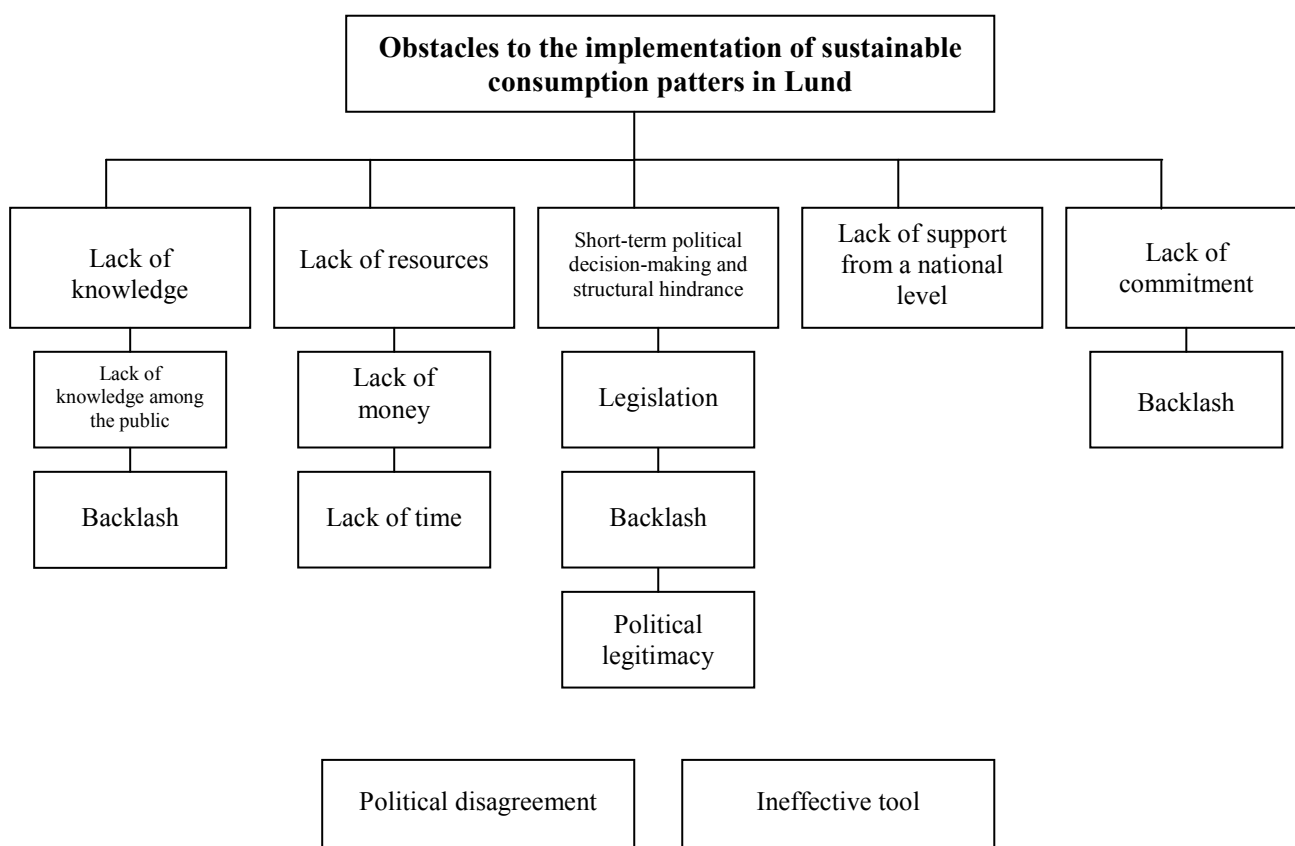
¹⁰ The Swedish translation of “environmental representative” is Miljöombud

consumption. Partly through mentioned increased supply on the market but also through the use of organic provisions in the public institutions, and thus signalling to the public the value of these specific supplies. In addition, the great quantity of people who inhabit the public institutions and who are in contact with the organic provisions might also be influenced (Helmfrid, 2005: Appendix 7, Hagberg, 2005: Appendix 6).

3.2 Why has Lund not done more to promote and inform on organic provisions to their citizens?

The theoretical model presented in section 2.2 will here be used to answer the question of why Lund has not done more to promote organic provisions, in order to change the consumption patterns of their citizens to become more sustainable.

During the interviews a number of obstacles constantly recurred as the reason to why Lund has not done more. Due to the significance given to these obstacles by the interviewees these are viewed by the authors as the main hindrances and hence, the obstacles that will be presented and analysed. These are structured within the model, as a way to illuminate how they are related to the obstacles of implementing sustainable development in general. Below, the authors have related the experienced obstacles to the obstacles of the implementation of general Agenda 21 goal which have been found in earlier studies. Notice that two obstacles stand individually outside the model.



3.2.1 Political disagreement

All interviewed mention that there is a political disagreement concerning projects that aims to influence people's behaviour and private consumption patterns. At the same time, it is expressed from both political (Jørgensen) and the administrative (Birkedal) sphere, that there is a joint understanding between the political blocs of the importance of environmental concern and Agenda 21 in general. However, the oppositional rightwing bloc expresses resistance towards behavioural-orientated initiatives taken by the majority. Engleson from the Green Party emphasises that this problem is of high significance:

“The political hindrance is very big. [...] When proposals are made [concerning direct campaigns towards the public; Authors note.] they try to stop them. They come up with different reasons. They say it is too far-reaching. They never say that they don't care about the environment. They say it is too far-reaching, that it is threatening the economy. [...] These things are big and important.” (Engleson, 2005: Appendix 2)

Jørgensen from the oppositional bloc confirms this. He states that his party is for example sceptical of the municipal-driven project with test-families¹¹ and argues that this kind of project is too much characterised by admonitions. He also stresses that the greatest resistance is to be found within the Moderate Party and that the greatest disagreement is between them and the Green Party (Jørgensen, 2005: Appendix 3). Helmfrid, representing the Moderate Party, clearly states that his party is highly doubtful of trying to influence the individual's behaviour and claims that the divergence in opinion is ideologically marked:

“We have to be very careful when the municipal authorities are telling the citizens what to do. [...] That's why we from the Moderate Party and the rightwing bloc are more critical of those things that concern addressing the public directly and telling them what to do. [...] In first hand this is a question of ideology...” (Helmfrid, 2005: Appendix 7)

Helmfrid also questions if this kind of action lies within the responsibility of the local authorities when stating:

“The municipal authorities are really elected politicians. I don't know if we are elected to tell the voters what to do or think.” (Helmfrid, 2005: Appendix 7)

Hansson from the administration also raises this question:

“How far does the public responsibility go? How far [into the private sphere; Authors note.] can we reach?” (Hansson, 2005: Appendix 4)

¹¹ The project with 80-100 test-families come into affect during 2006 and aims to raise environmental awareness and change the behaviour to become more sustainable among the public in Lund.

The rightwing bloc has also made a reservation against paragraph 3.3 in the new Agenda 21-document, concerning aims to change the behaviour of the citizens (Czernyson et. al)

The political disagreement is also acknowledged by the three interviewed civil servants of the municipal administration. Birkedal claims that the difference of opinion has come to influence the content of the new Agenda 21-document (called Lundaeko). In order to get a general support (which Birkedal expresses as highly desirable to create long-term continuity in the work with Agenda 21) for the new document from all parties, aims to influence individual behaviour are to some extent excluded (Birkedal, 2005: Appendix 1).

Hence, the political disagreement has blocked initiatives aiming to influence people's behaviour. The disagreement has undermined the possibilities for political unity on this issue. However, the divergence is not a question of whether the consumption of organic products is a good way to reach sustainable consumption patterns. Rather, it is a question of the method used to affect the citizens' consumption patterns. Thus, the disagreement is highly affected by political ideology. This is of interest since scholars like Forsberg claim that political ideology is not a hindrance to implement Agenda 21-goals in general. In line with this statement the interviewees also state that there is political consensus regarding Agenda 21 as a whole. In spite of this, when it comes to the implementation of trying to change people's behaviour through promotion of organic provisions, ideology is highly influential and of high relevance as it causes the political disagreement that undermines initiatives taken for actions aiming to influence people's behaviour. As political disagreement is not mentioned as an obstacle in earlier studies it can not be connected to any of the obstacles presented in the model. Therefore, it is positioned outside the model.

3.2.2 Lack of political legitimacy

The obstacle of political legitimacy is seen as a question of maintaining the trust and support of political actions from the public. Jørgensen touches upon this issue. He argues that people are now worried with other concerns, like unemployment, which makes the environmental issues to fall behind. This undermines the legitimacy for performing environmental projects that are not viewed as important. He also claims that there is a problem with visible results and that it is easier to get support of projects where the outcomes are clearer than they would be in working with changing people's consumption patterns (Jørgensen, 2005: Appendix 3). Further, Birkedal states that the public obligation to environmental problems has somewhat declined. She thinks that politicians do not experience the same pressure from the public as they did in the early 1990's. She also calls attention to the trend that the majority of the municipal council and the municipal

committee in Lund are being replaced for every new term, shifting between the rightwing and the leftwing bloc¹² (Birkedal, 2005: Appendix 1).

This last comment can be directly connected to the obstacle of short-term thinking, so highly emphasised in Eckerberg and Brundin's study as well as Aall's. If the politicians risk to lose mandate after the next election, winning the support and legitimacy from the public, that is, the voters, becomes highly important. This is also backed up by Jørgensen's claim that environmental issues tend to fall into the shadow of other, more acute problems, which undermines the legitimacy of performing environmental projects, especially those with limited visual results (Jørgensen, 2005: Appendix 3).

3.2.3 Lack of knowledge among the citizens

Connected to political legitimacy, lack of knowledge among the public is viewed by some as a hindrance. Abtin emphasises the importance of people knowing why they should buy organic provisions. He determines that lack of knowledge, together with high prices, constitute the major obstacles (Abtin, 2005: Appendix 5). Jørgensen stress that there is of worth to assist the public and especially children, with general information concerning the production process of provisions and environmental care. He further expresses this when comparing trying to promote organic provision and promoting environmentally friendly transportations:

"Maybe it is a little bit far between the way we produce today, in a way that is not so environmentally friendly, and the consumer. It is hard to see the connection. [...] Everybody understands that it is better to go by train than car. [...] It is easier to promote this." (Jørgensen, 2005: Appendix 3)

This problem can be tied to the general obstacle for implementing Agenda 21, regarding the lack of knowledge. As such, the obstacle of insufficient knowledge is only to be understood as one stemming from the public and not from within the municipal administration as the earlier studies showed.

3.2.4 Backlash

One repeatedly mentioned obstacle for the municipal administration to actively promote organic provisions to the public is the fear of a backlash. This is coming from both sides in the political sphere, as well as a high member of the administrating staff. He further claims that:

¹² This statement is supported by statistics available at www.lund.se

“...we cannot create anxiety and worry so that it gets difficult for the citizen who is already under pressure from all directions. We need to make people involved and create enthusiasm and explain and make them understand. And maybe we haven't done that to the extent we should. [...] If we go in and steer mechanically it could blow up in our faces.”(Hansson, 2005: Appendix 4)

Also, Engleson express similar doubts concerning direct actions towards the public:

“There are battles you can loose and still make a point. But some battles you have to win, otherwise, you have lost more. This is one of those battles. If we would do this [direct actions towards private consumption; authors note.] [...] then we surely would have lost. Then the value of the campaign would have been negative. [...] If I was to take such action, I would have to be sure I would win. [...] This would demand two things. First, it would demand that the campaign worked. The second demand is that the municipal authority behind it is highly unanimous.” (Engleson, 2005: Appendix 2)

Jørgensen, representing the opposition, is also highly sceptical of direct action towards the public and fears a backlash in the sense of lost legitimacy. He bases his claim on experience from evaluating the LundaMaTs-project through numerous interviews with the public:

” Every project needs a follow-up. I think it has gone a bit too far. [...] At the same time this gives a bit of a backlash [...] that we spend so much time at that instead of doing something concrete.” (Jørgensen, 2005: Appendix 3)

This fear of a backlash is thus tying the hand of the politicians and the civil servants and can be seen as problem of commitment and knowledge. Firstly, even though the local authorities in some cases would like to actively promote organic provisions, like Engleson expresses, the fear of a backlash makes them uncommitted to this approach of trying to influence people's consumption patterns in this way. It is simply viewed as a too risky project. There is hence no driving force among the politicians, irrespective of political colour, for this type of action. As such, the fear of a backlash is connected to a lack of commitment.

Secondly, the fear of a backlash can be related to a lack of knowledge among the public, which in turn is derived from political legitimacy. As Jørgensen states, there is a risk that people feel that information-oriented projects are irrelevant and diffuse. From the standpoint of the Eckerberg and Brundin study, this lack of knowledge may cause resistance from the public which at length may result in the fear of a backlash among the politicians.

Thus, the obstacle of the fear of backlash is a complex one. As can be seen, it is highly intertwined with the earlier discussed problem of political legitimacy and is as such related to short-term thinking of the politicians.

3.2.5 Legislation

All the interviewees with one exception (Abtin) bring up the current legislation as an obstacle for Lund to promote the purchasing of organic provisions to the citizens. Noteworthy is that they express different opinions and uncertainty of to what degree the legislations constitute obstacles. The two laws that they define as problematic concerning this issue are: The act on (SFS, 1992:1528) Public Procurement and the Swedish Local Government Act (SFS, 1991:900). When it comes to the public procurement they experience it as problematic that the municipality has no right to demand that the provisions should be locally produced. They can refer to environmental demands though, but the transports are also seen as very important with regard to sustainability. Jörgensen express his concern for this in the following way:

“...transports are the most important part [...] the food is also important but there are the transports also a part of the important part regarding food...” (Jörgensen, 2005: Appendix 3)

The sections of law regulating this is 12§ and 16§ in the Act on Public Procurement¹³.

The legal obstacles concerning the municipality's possibilities to direct influence the citizens to purchase more organic provisions are regulated in the Swedish Local Government Act in section 2 and 8¹⁴. According to the interviewees, these sections make it difficult for the municipality since the promotion of organic provisions may be seen as if they are favouring certain producers and kinds of products which the municipality is not allowed to do.

Helmfrid gives an example of when measurements taken by the municipality would go against the Swedish Local Government Act, to illuminate the difficulty:

“...if the municipality for example had subsidized organic provisions during a week this would not have been something that we could do since it only benefit certain companies...” (Helmfrid, 2005: Appendix 7)

Engleson describes a project where the municipality handed out environmentally friendly diapers to recently become parents. This project had to be terminated, due to the fact that it only benefited certain producers (Engleson, 2005: Appendix 2).

The interviewed politicians and civil servants hence view the current legislation as something that restrains them from implementing sustainable consumption patters. This since it limits their possibilities to promote and inform

¹³ For further reading the Act on Public Procurement is available as an electronic source at www.nou.se

¹⁴ For further reading the Swedish Local Government Act is available as an electronic source at www.sweden.gov.se

the purchasing of organic provisions to the public and also their ability to improve their own procurement.

Inadequate legislation is acknowledged in the Eckerberg and Brundin study as well as Aall's study as a structural hindrance that restrains the municipalities to implement sustainable development and to be able to change public unsustainable practices. Thus, the experienced obstacle of insufficient legislation is in accordance with earlier studies and can be seen as a structural hindrance for Lund to implement sustainable consumption patterns.

3.2.6 Lack of money

A municipality has a limited amount of money at its disposal. Birkedal, who is working within the administration, expresses that there often is a tough struggle within the municipality over the money available and about how much should be spent on environmental measures (Birkedal, 2005: Appendix 1). She further claims that there is a tendency that, in cases of conflict, implementation of environmental goals often gets the shorter end of the stick. For example, when an employee on an executive position at the environmental strategic division went on maternal leave, she was not replaced during the months she stayed at home (ibid.).

In the "annual plan for the environmental committee"¹⁵ it is explicitly stated that a limited budget affect the possibilities to pursue outgoing activities due to the reduction in man-hours (Hagberg, 2005: 2). Example of such activities that were limited during 2005 because of a reduced budget is among other things educational visits and given lectures about environmental issues (ibid: 3).

That the lack of money is connected to the lack of resources is quite obvious. In the Eckerberg and Brundin study the lack of resources due to an economic limitation, leading to a shortage in staff and time was viewed of the majority of coordinators as the largest obstacle to the implementation of sustainable development objectives. A lack of money and hence a lack of staff and time are also being stressed as obstacles in this study. In the next section the lack of time will be reviewed.

3.2.7 Lack of time

At length, as mentioned above, a lack of money also results in lack of time. The lack of time is being viewed upon as an obstacle in two different ways among the interviewees. That it demands a lot of time to perform activities to change the citizens' behaviour is one aspect of the time limitation. The other aspect is based on that since the municipality does not have infinite resources and hence time, they have to prioritise what to do with their time. This is being stressed in a very telling way by Birkedal:

¹⁵ The authors' own translation of "Verksamhetsplan för Kommunstyrelsens miljöutskott"

“...a obstacle that exists within the municipality is a lack of time and what you choose to do [...] it is for us a question of priority between for example how much we shall go out and talking with the citizens and perhaps discuss consumption patterns and how much we should use the limited time we got to make our own work as good as possible [...] it is the most important that we have a functioning environmental system and then if we got the time, then we’re going out talking to the public. [...] it is very time-consuming talking with people and informing so that it really gives results [...] and that’s probably what people have thought about when choosing to not prioritise this, well but is it really cost-effective to get out and talk to people?” (Birkedal, 2005: Appendix 1)

Accordingly, the lack of resources in the sense of a lack of time is having an effect on how much and to what degree the municipality is performing outgoing activities, regarding organic provisions. This need to make priorities is also brought up in the Eckerberg and Brundin study, and in Lund it is evident that they prioritise to spend their time on working with sustainable consumption within their own organisation.

3.2.8 An ineffective tool

All the interviewees bring up that they are not sure of how effective it really is to try to change the private consumers’ consumption patterns regarding organic provisions. This uncertainty is based on different factors and is addressed by the majority although the scepticism is to a higher degree coming from the rightwing bloc. Helmfrid says that he thinks that it is more effective to work within the own organisation than to try to influence the private consumption of provisions. He adds that he is not sure whether the municipalities are the most effective body that can change this and mentions the mass media as much more effective. Helmfrid also questions the effect of Miljöveckan:

“What I ask myself many times regarding Miljöveckan is if it really reaches those already aware, convinced. Or if it reaches someone who hasn’t reflected on these issues. If you reach people who have not reflected on it, then it is good. But I am not so sure it does. I think that you reach mostly the aware but if you reach somebody else, we don’t know.” (Helmfrid, 2005: Appendix 7)

This uncertainty is also expressed by Abtin:

“Usually when we have seminars concerning the environment, people who already has an established environmental consciousness, it is those who already know, who tend to come even more and those are the ones who talk.” (Abtin, 2005: Appendix 5)

The view of trying to change the private consumption patterns through promoting organic provisions is also present within the administration. Hagberg states:

“Concerning organic food in particular, we only work with our own organisation. And why we have done that [...] is a good question. There is probably no good answer. We probably see that we have quite few possibilities to exert an effect.” (Hagberg, 2005: Appendix 6)

As the claim that promotion of organic provisions is ineffective is coming from both political blocs as well as the administration, this obstacle can not be strictly determined as an ideological one. However, in accordance with political disagreement it is not a question of lacking commitment to the issue of sustainable consumption. Rather it is a skepticism to whether promoting and informing the public on the benefits of organic provisions is an effective method to influence people’s consumption patterns. The obstacle of ineffective tool can not be connected to obstacles of earlier studies discussed and is therefore placed outside the model.

3.3 Concluding discussion

The aim of this study was to investigate why Lund has not to a higher extent promoted organic provisions and provided the public with information as measures to influence the consumption patterns to become more sustainable. The assumption was that obstacles for implementing Agenda 21 objectives at a local level in general also constitute hindrance for Lund on this matter. This study shows that Lund faces several obstacles which can be connected to the obstacles of our assumption. Before we discuss these, it is of importance to clarify that the findings of this thesis also show that the general obstacles are not always valid for Lund, when dealing with this specific problem. In our assumption we assumed that one obstacle for Lund was insufficient support from a national level. Although the question concerning this was posed to the interviewees, this was not experienced as a problem or as a hindrance for Lund's ability to promote organic provisions.

In the earlier studies discussed in this thesis, a lack of knowledge within the municipal administration has been identified as an obstacle. This were not emphasised or experienced as a hindrance by the interviewed. However, when the interviewees discussed legislation as a possible obstacle for Lund, there was a difference of opinion and uncertainty concerning in what way the legislation limited their ability to promote organic provisions. Therefore we suspect that there is a lack of knowledge within the municipality regarding how the current legislation works, which at length in fact constitutes an obstacle to the promotion of organic provisions.

During the interviews, two obstacles surfaced that could not be related to any of the obstacles of the model. These were political disagreement and the view of promotion of organic provisions to the public as an ineffective tool.

From the result in this study, we consider the main obstacles for Lund to promote organic provisions to the citizens to be the fear among the politicians of a backlash, the ideologically influenced political disagreement and that it is seen as an ineffective tool. The fear of a backlash undermines the political commitment for taking action to influence people's behaviour regarding the purchasing of organic provisions. We believe that this fear is highly related to political legitimacy and the political situation in Lund. The fact that the majority of the municipal council and the municipal executive committee tend to shift at each term of office, makes it important for the politicians to get support for their decisions and actions from the public in order to maintain or claim the political leadership. At length, the fear of a backlash can be seen as a fear of losing power and influence.

The second main obstacle concerns the political disagreement regarding projects aiming to influence people's behaviour. It is clear that the rightwing bloc does not support these kinds of actions and this divergence in opinion has an affect on the municipality's ability to act. As can be seen through the reservation

earlier mentioned and expressed during the interviews, the resistance towards actions aiming to influence the citizens' behaviour is highly evident and is a question of ideological standpoint.

As Birkedal claimed, a political unity behind the decisions and initiatives are of great importance in order to have continuity in the work for a sustainable development. This is of particular relevance in a municipality like Lund, where the political leadership tends to shift every term of office. This tends to result in cautiously developed objectives regarding issues that are affected by the political disagreement, especially so when the disagreement is of great ideological character as in the case of the promotion of organic provisions.

The political disagreement depending on ideology is an interesting finding since it is not an obstacle to implement Agenda 21 objectives in general. As such, it could be an obstacle specific for Lund and its local context, but also specifically for actions aiming to change people's behaviour.

The third main obstacle for promoting organic provisions to the citizens is that the interviewed politicians from both political blocs and the civil servants experience this method as an ineffective tool to change consumption patterns. It is explicitly expressed by the interviewees that informing the public on the benefits of organic provisions is difficult and time-consuming. Further, it is difficult to know the real effect of such actions. This obstacle is related to the lack of resources within Lund which forces the local authorities to give priority to actions they consider to be more cost-effective.

The focus of this study lies on outgoing actions towards the public. During the interviews, it became clear that other, more indirect actions than Miljöveckan, were viewed as important tools to influence people's consumption patterns. In-house training of environmental representatives, the youth's forum for Agenda 21 and especially the public procurement were mentioned as conscious strategies to at length influence the private consumption of organic provisions. We believe that the strategy of indirect actions, in particular through public procurement, might be effectual due to the extensive quantity of provisions being procured and the large number of people coming into contact with the organic provisions. This can probably through high demand increase the production and at length the supply on the market. However, the faith in this strategy can be seen as undermining initiatives of outgoing actions aiming at influencing the citizens' consumption patterns. In the same way there is a political disagreement regarding if and how actions aimed at influencing the public's consumption is a good tool to reach sustainable consumption patterns; there is a strong political consensus that the public procurement is an effective and legitimate way to influence the consumption of organic provisions. This shows that in order for actions to take place, political unity is a determining factor. Thus, although the fear of a backlash and the promotion viewed as an ineffective tool are of relevance to answer the question of why Lund has not to a higher extent promoted and informed the public on organic provisions, the obstacle of political disagreement can be seen as the most prominent.

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5 Appendices

5.1 Appendix 1: Linda Birkedal

Summary from the interview with Linda Birkedal 13/12 – 2005

What is your role within the municipality of Lund?

Birkedal work 50 per cent as a project leader for Youth forum for Agenda 21 and as an environmental strategic. She works with developing Lund's program for ecological sustainable development. She coordinates applications to SEPA (Naturvårdsverket) regarding KLIMP funding. She says that there is no local Agenda 21 coordinator. The Agenda 21 responsibility is divided between the Municipal Office and the Environmental Strategic Division. They are also responsible for the long-term environmental plans and working against the citizens. Two people are working with the municipals environmental steering system and the own organisation.

How do you look upon the term sustainable consumption and of consumption of organic provisions as a way to achieve sustainable consumption and at hence sustainable development?

Birkedal says that it is controversial to include ecological agriculture in the new Agenda 21-document. The leading majority thinks it is a good idea. The municipal should and can influence the citizen's consumptions patterns but the rightwing bloc is opposing it saying they should leave the citizens alone. The earlier Agenda 21-document was accepted by all parties, regardless political colour. She considers this a great strength. They want that the new document will be accepted by all parties. Therefore, the new document is not so explicit in character. It is a strength that the old document has lasted for such a long time, although political majority has shifted. Otherwise, there is a tendency that when the majority shifts, the accepted principles also shift as a matter of principal. This has given the work with the Agenda 21 a long-term approach as it was accepted by all parties. That is why they want the new one to be deeply anchored among all parties. The rightwing bloc is also against behaviour-oriented projects concerning transportation.

The "Miljösamverkansgruppen" in the municipal with representatives from different departments has discussed going out and talk to the public, to have test-

families that gets information and support, and afterwards review the results of this project. This has been questioned if this is really within the reach of the municipal concern. You can do it, but it is a difference in opinion if you should.

Do you experience that there any obstacles for the municipality to promote more green sustainable consumption patterns through information to the public?

Birkedal says that the Swedish competition act could be an obstacle if it seems that a certain brand or a producer is being promoted. It makes it complicated. But you can get around it, you have just have to think twice. In the act of public procurement you are allowed to put up criteria concerning quality regarding environmental concerns but not promote a local producer. You can not say "choose the Mossagården carrot!" You can inform about and encourage buying KRAV-labelled or fair trade.

She says that Miljöveckan is done every year together with SNF (The Swedish Society for Nature Conservation). This is a way to reach around high costs. A volunteer organisation going around spreading information costs less than eight civil servants doing the same thing. Birkedal doesn't think it is really that hard to influence people's purchasing habits.

The municipal administration can provide information and act accordingly to law. Could also give financial support to people who buy an environmental car, etc. It would be a kind of a subvention. It could work according to legislation but it is hard to do it when it comes to provisions.

One obstacle is lack of time. They have to prioritise what they want to do, between how much they should talk to the public and how much they should work with the own organisation. The opinion regarding what to prioritise is differing. There are conflicting goals but also the other way around. An environmental investment might pay off economically or socially. Birkedal says that often there is a hard struggle for resources within the administration and how much they should put into the environmental work.

How much money they get differs over the years depending of the financial state of the municipal as a whole. During 2004 it was tough. The boss of the division went on maternal leave and no one was hired as replace her position. Birkedal says that it feels like the environmental debate has changed since the 80's. In the beginning of the 90's people were very committed, now it has declined. The pressure on the politics now comes from within the administration.

Birkedal says that driving forces is important. If they are not there, nothing within the environmental administrative sphere would happen. She puts this in contrast to the financial department where everything would work even if someone be away from work.

The outgoing project has lost financial support over the last years and the projects concerning the own organisation has been emphasised as important. If there is time left, then they will go out to the public. This is an obstacle. It is time-consuming to talk to people without really knowing anything about the results. Is it cost-effective? Does it give good results? The outgoing project of talking to

people usually falls behind due to lack of time and money. The rightwing bloc has put in a reservation to these kinds of project.

How do you define the concept of sustainable development? What does it mean to you?

First, the ecological aspect was emphasised, then it was the other two. It is always a discussion on a political and administrative level, on what it really is, depending on what happens in Lund. The different aspects are viewed differently.

Do you understand Agenda21 and the directives, do you know what is supposed to be done?

The national environmental quality goals are experienced as unclear. It is a problem that they are not legally binding but it is quite clear that they should act on a local level. It is a good thing they can be adapted to the local context.

Other

Without restrictions, Birkedal says that the environmental strategic division should do more outgoing project, talking to the public to a higher extent. Lack of time and money is viewed as big obstacles for this. It is hard to know it gives good results though. If you get time to learn, lots can be achieved.

Since the difficulties with doing a literal translation when turning a quote in Swedish into English, the original wording in Swedish is presented below followed by the authors' English translation used in the thesis:

”...ett hinder som finns i kommunerna är ju, ja brist på tid, vad man väljer och prioritera att göra [...] det är ju för oss också prioritering här till exempel mellan jaha, hur mycket ska vi gå ut och prata med medborgarna och kanske diskutera konsumtionsmönster och hur mycket ska vi satsa den begränsade tid vi har på att göra vårt eget arbete så bra som möjligt, hålla rent framför egen dörr?” [...] det är det viktigaste att vi själva har ett fungerande miljöarbete. Och sen har vi tid, då går vi ut och pratar med allmänheten. [...] för det tar, det kan man ju säga att det är väldigt tidskrävande att prata med människor och informera så att det verkligen ger resultat. [...] det är nog det som, ja folk har tänkt när man väljer att prioritera bort det här, jaha men är det egentligen kostnadseffektivt att gå runt och prata med folk, ger det resultat egentligen?”

“...a obstacle that exists within the municipality is a lack of time and what you choose to do [...] it is for us a question of priority between for example how much we shall go out and talking with the citizens and perhaps discuss consumption patterns and how much we should use the limited time we got to make our own work as good as possible [...] it is the most important that we have a functioning environmental system and then if we got the time, then we're going out talking to the public. [...] it is very time-consuming talking with people and informing so that it really gives results [...] and that's probably what people have thought about when choosing to not prioritise this, well but is it really cost-effective to get out and talk to people?”

5.2 Appendix 2: Rolf Engleson

Summary from the interview with Rolf Engleson 14/12 - 2005

What is your role within the municipality of Lund?

Engleson is a municipal commissioner in Lund. He is a member of the municipal executive committee and the municipal council. He represents the municipality and tries to keep the majority. He is elected by the municipal council.

How do you define the concept of sustainable development? What does it mean to you?

Engleson's definition of sustainable development is that it is the good life, also for future generations. He sees it as a sort of goal, where the three aspects of it are in balance with each other. He thinks that much concern is not necessary for the economic and social aspect. It is already taken care of, but the ecological is not taken care of in the same way.

How do you look upon the term sustainable consumption and of consumption of organic provisions as a way to achieve sustainable consumption and at hence sustainable development?

Engleson views sustainable consumptions as an important part of the work for sustainable development as it precedes legislation. The consumer can show that there are alternatives and it is a good way to help the producer. But he does not think that the consumer always decides, there must be alternatives available. It is not always so.

What can the municipality do in order to change the citizens' consumption patterns? What does the Green Party want to do to influence the consumption patterns?

Engleson says that it takes economical tools through taxation to change consumption patterns. He also emphasises legislation as an important tool. On a local level, you should at first hand make sure that the public organisation is environmentally friendly. He believes in public procurement is important and can have an effect. Environmental strategic work is also important, and "to do as you say" in the daily life, regarding food and transportation.

You can influence individuals through different projects, through contacting families and teach some form of sustainable development. But this is also delicate due to the Municipal act. A project with diapers to newly become parents had to stop because of legislation, due to the promotion of one specific producers. Engleson says that there are more problems concerning legislation where you can't promote a special producer. When it comes to influencing the individual

citizen it is the Municipal act that is an obstacle, otherwise the act of competition is an obstacle. He says that the laws otherwise are good and should be kept. The act of public procurement is also problematic as it says that you can't buy KRAV-labelled from a specific farmer, you need a procurement that is valid for all producers. There is also a conventional view within the public administration. Environmental issues are viewed as problems, not possibilities.

Englesson believes in the schools as a good way to educate and reach the public. The Green Party has been active in Miljöveckan and in the schools. To stimulate ecological production through information to the public of the benefits with organic products is unproblematic from his point of view, but he states it is controversial. There is resistance from the rightwing bloc. They say that you can't promote one specific producer, you have to promote a group of producers in that case.

Englesson thinks it is a good thing working for ecological production is in the new Agenda 21-document. He thinks more could have been written on this point and more clearly been exemplified what should be done and what kind of initiatives should be taken. A campaign towards the public regarding pesticides could be a good idea, but it is hard due to the fact that it is legal to use. The opposition is very strong, he claims, and he says that he would have liked to act more strongly and clearly, not against the public, but towards the own organisation. The land they own should also be organic.

He believes that is of more value to turn to the individuals and to have campaigns, but it is hard. He says that some battles you have to win, otherwise the outcome will be negative. Two things are required, first, that the campaign works and second, that the municipal administration is behind it and in consensus. Then it is better to try to influence in other ways. He believes that the battle would have been lost if they had tried a campaign towards the public. This type of campaign is usually difficult, when trying to tell people what to do. You have to go around it. It is easier to tell people to be careful out in nature than to try influence their purchasing habits. If the unity had been bigger within the municipal administration it would have been easier and Englesson means that the political hindrance is very big. The opposition doesn't want to, when something is suggested they try to stop it for different reasons, saying it is too far-reaching. Englesson says that the opposition never says that they don't care about the environment but that they ask how much it will cost, it is important.

Other

Englesson want Lund to become a fair trade city and he wants increase the public procurement of organic provisions. The public should be influenced indirectly, otherwise, there will be a backlash. The administration should be at the forefront instead, stating an example.

Since the difficulties with doing a literal translation when turning a quote in Swedish into English, the original wording in Swedish is presented below followed by the authors' English translation used in the thesis:

”Det politiska hindret är mycket stort. [...] När man kommer fram med förslag så försöker man stoppa det. Då hittar man på olika skäl. Man säger att det är för långtgående. Man säger aldrig att man inte bryr sig om miljön. Utan man säger att det är för långtgående, att det hotar ekonomin.[...] Sådana saker är stora och viktiga.”

“The political hindrance is very big. [...] When proposals are made [concerning direct campaigns towards the public. Authors note.] they try to stop them. They come up with different reasons. They say it is too far-reaching. They never say that they don't care about the environment. They say it is too far-reaching, that it is threatening the economy. [...] These things are big and important.”

”Man måste vinna. Man får inte förlora. Det finns strider man kan förlora och göra en markering. Men vissa strider måste man vinna för annars har man förlorat mer. Det här är en sån strid. Om vi skulle gå ut väldigt stark med detta. [...] Då hade vi säkert förlorat. Då hade värdet av kampanjen blivit negativ. Det hade blivit mindre än noll. Om jag skulle gå ut med en sån sak så skulle jag veta att jag skulle vinna. Och då ska det var väldigt klart och mycket mycket skarpt. då krävs det två saker. Första som krävs är att kampanjen i sig fungerar och det andra som krävs är att kommunen bakom är mycket mycket enig.”

“There are battles you can loose and still make a point. But some battles you have to win, otherwise, you have lost more. This is one of those battles. If we would do this (direct actions towards private consumption, authors note.) [...] then we surely would have lost. Then the value of the campaign would have been negative.” If I was to take such action, I would have to be sure I would win. This would demand two things. First, it would demand that the campaign worked. The second demand is that the municipal authority behind it is highly unanimous.”

5.3 Appendix 3: Jörgen Jörgensen

Summary from the interview with Jörgen Jörgensen (fp) 14/12 - 2005

What is your role within the municipality of Lund?

Jörgensen is positioned on the municipal executive committee as a substitute from the Liberal Party and he is also a delegate on the environmental board and on the technical board. Together with Mats Helmfrid (m) he started the environmental delegation. Today, he is also vice president of the technical administration and member of the executive board of Skånetrafiken.

How do you define the concept of sustainable development? What does it mean to you?

Jörgensen thinks that the three legs of sustainable development are equally important. He views sustainable development as a way for let us and the world develop. It is not only an ecological concern but also an economical and social one. It is important to acknowledge them all. For example, if we are to achieve sustainable development in the developing world, more efforts should be aimed at social matters. In the industrialised world other concerns are of high relevance.

Do you experience that there any obstacles for the municipality to promote more green sustainable consumption patterns through information to the public?

He says that one works with environmental issues it is clear that if some other issues surfaces, the environmental concerns fall into the background. In those cases, it is hard to get support from the citizens. The environment is not viewed as important today, unemployment is the big thing. Thus, it is difficult to achieve political legitimacy for environmental issues. Jörgensen says that it can be problematic that much project follow-up is required from a national level. This generates bureaucracy to a much too high extent. After the LundaMaTs-project an extensive follow-up was done through interviews with people, asking if they have been influenced by the project. This might generate a backlash from time to time. The individual citizen doesn't see that the municipal administration does anything concrete, even if it does. It is not visible.

How do you look upon the term sustainable consumption and of consumption of organic provisions as a way to achieve sustainable consumption and at hence sustainable development?

Jörgensen thinks that when it comes to provisions, labelling is important, to make to simplify it. Today it is too difficult with many different labellings, it would be

good to have only one. Jörgensen thinks that sustainable consumption has some effect and believes that is a way to work for sustainable development. He thinks not only that it is about labelling, it is also a question of giving the preconditions and to raise opinion.

He thinks that Lund as a public organisation can work with this through public procurement. But it demands an active driving force like the one at the schools in. It is also important to achieve legitimacy for the actions taken by the municipality, otherwise, you get no support from the citizens. Otherwise, you risk a backlash.

What can the municipality do in order to change the citizens' consumption patterns?

Jörgensen says that you can work with information-projects and procurement. He and his party are critical of the project with test-families, coming into affect in 2006, to live more ecologically and sustainable. He thinks it is characterised too much by admonitions and telling people how to live, and he is afraid of a backlash. He thinks that you have to be careful and take it easy. He claims that the project with test-families is politically steered and is a way to show that they are doing something, not only directed towards transportation. There is a political obstacle, he claims, that is to some extent ideologically marked. Above all, Jörgensen thinks it is important to get the public support for this type of projects. They can easily be seen as not effective. People can for example question that interviews are being made instead of taking care of the city parks. He says there is a political tension in which the green party and the moderate party pull in opposite directions. In general, there is no traditional party bloc divergence for environmental issues as a whole.

Jörgensen says that if they had more resources they should invest more in campaigns. He says that Lund can afford it if they didn't put so much resources into the school system. Jörgensen believes in encouragement but sometimes there is a need to be more forceful in actions. He does not want more regulations, he thinks they are of more bad than good.

Further hindrance and possibilities

When it comes to sustainable development, concerning food, Jörgensen is sceptical of the extensive transportation across the world and claims that the transport is an important part.

Jörgensen says that consumers have extensive power if they use it in the right way. He believes in creating opinion but says it is not easy to do. Politicians tend to change focus so a lot of the work is up to environmental organisations and their driving forces. They have an important task in raising awareness and keeping up the work. He says that the environmental work that is done in Lund concerns counting carbon dioxide instead of concrete projects. Food and transportation could constitute issues for more concrete projects. There is also a risk that the work of Lund, who used to be a pioneer concerning environmental issues, gets

established. But then the work also is questioned which he thinks might be a good thing.

Difference to LundaMaTs

Jørgensen claims that it is hard since the production are far away from the consumers. Not everybody understands that it is better to take the train than to drive. Thus, this is easier to promote. It is easier to see the results in a way you don't when looking at changing purchasing habits. The only thing you notice is that it is more expensive when the label says KRAV. It is harder to reach the consumers. Jørgensen don't think you can force people to motivate them to buy organic provisions. It is also very energy consuming so it is better to work in another way.

Do you understand Agenda21 and the directives, do you know what is supposed to be done?

There is a dispute between the environmental board and the environmental strategic division. Jørgensen says that they only want to look at the ecological aspect and not the others. He says that there will not be Agenda 21 if you don't look at all the aspects of sustainable development. They choose not to look at the economical or social aspect since it is more difficult and this is his greatest critique to Agenda 21.

If you got free hands and could decide, what would you want to do then?

Jørgensen says that they should give general information so people understand how provisions are produced. He is not certain that everyone knows this. He believes in teaching the children care of the environment. He thinks that the greatest problem with provisions is transportation and scale, here more could be done at a local political level, demanding locally produced in public procurement through different criteria. He says that food is important but the transportation is more important. The organic food loose relevance if they are transported from far away. This demands sustainable structures.

Since the difficulties with doing a literal translation when turning a quote in Swedish into English, the original wording in Swedish is presented below followed by the authors' English translation used in the thesis:

”Det kanske är lite långt ifrån det här sättet att vi odlar idag som vi inte tycker är särskilt miljövänligt till konsumenten. Det är svårt att se det sambandet. [...] Alla förstår att det är bättre att åka tåg än bil [...] det är lätt att marknadsföra detta”

”Maybe it is a little bit far between the way we produce today, in a way that is not so environmentally friendly, and the consumer. It is hard to see the connection. [...] Everybody understands that it is better to go by train than car. [...] It is easier to promote this.”

”Har man projekt måste man alltid ha en uppföljning. Jag tycket att det gått lite till överdrift. [...] Samtidigt får det en liten backlash emellanåt [...] att vi ägnar oss så mycket istället för att göra nåt konkret.”

” Every project needs a follow-up. I think it has gone a bit too far. [...] At the same time this gives a bit of a backlash [...] that we spend so much time at that instead of doing something concrete:”

“...transporter är ju de viktigaste delarna egentligen [...] sen är ju maten , den är ju viktig [...] men där är ju också transporterna en av de otroligt viktiga delarna när det gäller mat...”

“...transports are the most important part [...] the food is also important [...] but there are the transports also a part of the important part regarding food...”

5.4 Appendix 4: Matts Hansson

Summary from the interview with Matts Hansson 15/12 - 2005

What is your role within the municipality of Lund?

Matts is the director of planning for the staff at the Municipal Office. He has no direct roll in the work with Agenda 21 other than an employee within the municipality of Lund.

How do you define the concept of sustainable development? What does it mean to you?

Sustainable development, it is a concept that makes so that the coming generations have the opportunity to live during environmental and socially tolerable circumstances, I guess.

How do you look upon the term sustainable consumption and of consumption of organic provisions as a way to achieve sustainable consumption and at hence sustainable development?

When it comes to the private consumers' consumption habits the municipality can influence through acting more environmentally friendly. We can not go and tell people that you should do this and that. Lund is a prominent municipality regarding recycling, we have put a lot of efforts into that matter. That is also a way to influence values and attitudes concerning the.

We have worked with a project within the municipality concerning the public procurement concerning organic provisions to our kitchens. This affects the consumption patterns and is signal this to the public, which can influence the choice of the consumer. That the municipality is acting environmentally consciousness has hopefully a spill over effect to the citizens that we, the municipality is here to serve, the municipality does not do anything else than the citizens want us to do in that aspect.

One private food is transportation and there we have worked tremendously with, for example through LundaMaTs.

Do you experience that there any obstacles for the municipality to promote more green sustainable consumption patterns through information to the public?

We can not go out to the public and tell them what to do, we have to look at our own performance first, are we setting up a good example, can we influence the ones that we meet? Spontaneously I can say that I can see that what I as a private person is buying is something that I control, this has not been done to a decision

of the common. This is up to you as an individual. It is a difference when it comes to transportation where it is defined as a common service and then the citizens have said that we can make this better together. This is not the case when it comes to what vegetable I should buy. The municipality also has the tool that is needed to change the transportation patterns, it is within our jurisdiction. Also, it has been experienced that within an environmentally perspective there have been some easy victories to gain concerning transportation. It is more effective to turn a street into a one-way street than telling people to buy more organic cucumber instead of cucumbers from Holland. Also have to look at what is better in the short run and what gives a payoff regarding the environment.

It is difficult, how far reaches the public role, how far can we go in the private sphere? We can't create a lot of anxiety and fear for the citizen that already has a lot of pressure on him or her. What we can do is to engage and motivate. To steer mechanically can come right back at you. To engage take very long time, but perhaps that is the way to reach a sustainable development, the politicians are important in this.

What can the municipality do in order to change the citizens' consumption patterns?

Lund has worked much in the schools and the preschools, which does change attitudes. If you work with the schools and the homes for the elderly we create a larger market. The municipality of Lund is working on these fronts, but perhaps this is not noticed that much but the perseverance does it!

Sometimes you can hear discussions about public procurement, since we are so big in this area perhaps we can have an impact and transfer the values we have on how things should be produced. Perhaps this is well-considered. It is an important principle that we are setting a good example. We have to sweep on our own vestibule first, in order to show a good example. It can be done, now have we done it and now it is up to you. This is powerful and becomes legitimate then – we can't stand there when it is blowing and we know that it is useless within our own organisation.

It is possible to make environmental demands in the procedure of public procurement but there are also other rules for us to follow, for example the directives from the European Union. We can't keep out different producers or suppliers. You can say that there are different expressed norms that in an initial phase prevent things, before we have learnt how to get through it. Ideologies are important in order to influence, in them you can present the "good society" in the future, that the politicians are delivering those pictures are important in order to change people's values and attitudes.

Are there any clear goal conflicts?

He experiences that the environmental issues have a prominent role within the municipality, and this does not come from the municipality but from the citizens.

The environmental issues have taken much space but they can come in conflict with development and growth. The municipality of Lund also has a big responsibility regarding welfare, development and growth, this is an important conflict within Lund. He has been here since 1996 and he can see that there have been a focus on the concept of growth lately due to that it is connected to our future welfare, so in that way it may be a conflict between welfare and environmental issues.

Since the difficulties with doing a literal translation when turning a quote in Swedish into English, the original wording in Swedish is presented below followed by the authors' English translation used in the thesis:

”Hur långt sträcker sig det offentliga roll? Hur långt in kan vi ta oss?”

“How far does the public responsibility go? How far [into the private sphere, Authors note.] can we reach?”

”...vi får ju inte föda en massa ångest och oro att det blir tungt och jobbigt för medborgaren som ändå är pressad från alla håll utan det gäller ju att engagera, entusiasmera och förklara och få de att förstå. Och det kanske vi inte alls har gjort i tillräckligt hög utsträckning. [...] För att gå in och styra så där mekaniskt kan nog ge en jävla smäll tillbaks.”

“...we cannot create anxiety and worry so that it gets difficult for the citizen who is already under pressure from all directions. We need to make people involved and create enthusiasm and explain and make them understand. And maybe we haven't done that to the extent we should. [...] If we go in and steer mechanically it could blow up in our faces.”

5.5 Appendix 5: Mohsen Abtin

Summary from the interview with Mohsen Abtin 15/12 - 2005

What is your role within the municipality of Lund?

Abtin represents The Social Democratic Party and is a member of the environmental board. He is a substitute member of the municipal executive committee and member of the municipal council and the environmental standing committee.

How do you define the concept of sustainable development? What does it mean to you?

When it comes to sustainable development, we must think globally, says Abtin. It is important to spread this line of thought in Skåne, Lund, Sweden but also on a global level. It should be a global line of thought that sets the agenda the environmental problems should be fought in the same way as for example terrorism. Environmental degradation is the greatest threat to humanity today.

Sustainable development is the end station. He emphasises the social aspect. When this is not in balance, then you do not care to think about the environment. The individual needs safety and hope of the future, on this foundation you can build an ecologically sustainable system. It is important to act locally but aim globally and keep the whole world and humanity in mind. As long it is war and poverty the results of the environmental work can not be seen. Poverty needs to be extinguished and peace reached in order to achieve successful environmental implementation. Social and economical aspects need to be reached first.

How do you look upon the term sustainable consumption and of consumption of organic provisions as a way to achieve sustainable consumption and at hence sustainable development?

Abtin is critical to the higher prices of organic provisions, it should be the same. He views the production of organic provisions as highly important but also that it needs to be locally produced. If it is imported from Spain it is no longer organic. The municipality can put up criteria for this, during procurement.

Do you experience that there any obstacles for the municipality to promote more green sustainable consumption patterns through information to the public?

High prices and lack of knowledge are the main obstacles. You cannot only talk about money when it comes to this, but it is hard to promote to families with a bad

economy if it is more expensive and are not available everywhere. Ekologisk mat är dyrare än den vanligare pga. att efterfrågan inte så stor. If more people would buy it then it would pay off for the producers to grow it. It is a catch 22. The attitudes among people are important.

One of the main obstacles is lack of education, not information. The cities with a high share highly educated people are at the forefront in environmental thinking. If the environmental thinking is integrated in the education on all levels, then this can influence to a very high extent. Thus, high prices and lack of knowledge are the main obstacles in this matter. Often when environmental seminars are being held, people who already are aware come and talk. Abtin concludes that it is of relevance to work the most with those that are the furthest away from environmental thinking.

What can the municipality do in order to change the citizens' consumption patterns? What is your party's view upon it?

There are two ways. The individual can freely buy organic provisions, choosing a green lifestyle. The other way is through steering, as a tool to steer people into making "green" choices. Abtin says that the tools they have started to use are a combination of these two ways.

An obstacle with organic food is that there are not so many farmers willing to produce it. There is an aim to increase this share until 2012. The municipality can through economic incitements influence the farmers, through giving the farmers a discount if they organic production. Abtin says that you have to talk to people. Consumption is something private, the consumer decides in the end what to buy, in that way, you can't steer it. But you can influence through information and talk about products, if they are good or bad for the environment. Through legislation you can go far, for example, through raising taxes on products that are bad for the environment.

Other

There is a proposal of starting test-families at the municipal council's table which has been discussed several times. It will come into affect during 2006. Through this they will work with changing attitudes. This has been criticised several times by the opposition who thinks it's a joke and opposes it. Abtin believes in this project.

Since the difficulties with doing a literal translation when turning a quote in Swedish into English, the original wording in Swedish is presented below followed by the authors' English translation used in the thesis:

"Oftast när vi har miljöseminarier så kommer folk som är redan etablerade i miljötänkandet, det är de som redan kan som kommer ännu mer och det är de som pratar."

“Usually when we have seminars concerning the environment, people who already has an established environmental consciousness, it is those who already know, who tend to come even more and those are the ones who talk.”

5.6 Appendix 6: Matz Hagberg

Summary from the interview with Matz Hagberg 20/12-2005

What is your role within the municipality of Lund?

Mats is working as an environmental strategist at the environmental strategic division and has worked with the wording of the new Agenda 21 document, Lundaeko since 2000.

How do you look upon the term sustainable consumption and organic provisions?

Regarding organic provisions we only work with our own organisation. Why we have done this is a good questions, I do not think that there is a good answer but we probably have fairly small possibilities to influence.

What can the municipality do in order to change the citizens' consumption patterns?

When it comes to influencing the behaviour of the public there is a political dividing line, when we have applied for money to outgoing activities, especially in LIP and KLIMP we have received reservations from the Moderate Party. This is also the case with the Lundaeko that has been referred for consideration. From the rightwing block a reservation to all actions that aimed to influence individuals was being enclosed. They think that you should be able to make your own choices without getting admonitions from the municipality. None the less, the LundaMaTs have been in action also during the last term of office when the rightwing parties were in majority. So, when it comes to influencing the citizens' behaviour it is a matter of ideology.

The last years we have been working much more towards the municipality as an organisation. One example is EMIL that is directed inwards. In Lundaeko there are many measures that the different committees are responsible for that will affect the public, for example an objective regarding organically cultivated land, this is affecting the citizens indirect. We have nevertheless not worked actively towards the citizens concerning this issue, there are no proposals to do it either. We hope that the public procurement should have a spill-over effect so that the citizens also will buy organic provisions. There are thoughts that if we within the public administration are buying organic provisions, this will affect the supply in the grocery shops. This can be found in the strategy for public procurement that the public procurement is affecting the supply on the market.

Do you experience that there any obstacles for the municipality to promote more green sustainable consumption patterns through information to the public?

In the annual plan for the environmental committees that should be approved by the different standing committees there are proposals that has not been approved that has concerned activities directed to the public. The legislation can also be an obstacle, our legal experts are very careful, they are afraid that they will get a conviction against the municipality.

Since the difficulties with doing a literal translation when turning a quote in Swedish into English, the original wording in Swedish is presented below followed by the authors' English translation used in the thesis:

“Just på ekologisk mat så jobbar vi nog bara med den egna organisationen. Och varför man har gjort så, ja, en bra fråga. Det finns nog inget bra svar. Vi ser nog att vi har ganska små möjligheter att påverka.”

“Concerning organic food in particular, we only work with our own organisation. And why we have done that [...] is a good question. There is probably no good answer. We probably see that we have quite few possibilities to exert an effect.

5.7 Appendix 7: Mats Helmfrid

Summary from the interview with Mats Helmfrid 29/12-2005

What is your role within the municipality of Lund?

In this connection he is second vice-chairman in the environmental standing committee of the municipal executive committee, he is also a member of the municipal executive committee and in the municipal council as a representative for the Moderate Party.

How do you define the concept of sustainable development? What does it mean to you?

The processes that we have shall be sustainable, they are supposed to be going on forever as they do in the present, they shall not consume finite resources. One should be able to live in the same way within hundred years without using up all the resources. We have chosen to concentrate on the ecological dimension, concerning the economic and social dimension there is not a political agreement.

We have been staking on the ecological part and not the economic nor the socially, many people within the municipality are talking about the social dimension in terms of if the ecological sustainable development is socially accepted. But this is not what is said in Agenda 21. This view has among others been put forth by the housing committee, they think that one should ask whether it is socially accepted or not to perform those ecological measurements.

How do you look upon the term sustainable consumption and of consumption of organic provisions as a way to achieve sustainable consumption and at hence sustainable development?

If you can make people to choose differently it can actually be a powerful weapon. If everybody all of a sudden buys it, this is what will be produced. We work within the own organisation as well. He does not think that the municipality should go out telling people how to behave. They are working with EMIL. The municipality is putting efforts on trying to influence all the schools within the municipality. They do not force the individual schools to do this but they have tried to work on this through showing them that it is possible to make good menus and so on, this he sees as a much more effective way to influence than trying to influence the private consumption of provisions.

What can the municipality do in order to change the citizens' consumption patterns?

One has to be careful when the municipality tells the citizens what they should do and not. The municipality consists of politicians elected by the citizens, I don't know if we have been elected to do this, therefore you need to be careful. They are more critical to this within the Moderate Party, i.e. to tell the citizens directly what to do and not to do. Firstly, it is a question of ideology but he is also not sure that it is an effective way.

He does not know whether the municipality has the possibility to influence the citizens in an effective way, mass media is much more effective. He does not believe that the municipality should go out and tell people that it would be better if people ate organically cultivated potatoes, he does not believe in it. The Moderate Party has also been negative to the part in LundaMaTs that concern actions to change the citizens' behaviour, is also negative to the new project where the municipality shall work with 80 households. He thinks that it is the ones already environmentally concerned that will apply to take part, the cost for the project is one million and that is a waste of money.

He regards provisions as something more private than transports. It is also a difference to create conditions for people to use the public transportation system and to visit people in their homes. He doesn't think that that is what you have been elected as a politician to do, to go out and tell people what to do. That the municipality buys organic provisions is another thing, one can inform about that the municipality is doing it. One can show the parents, this measure I do believe in. He thinks that that form of influence is ok, it is the influence filled with admonitions that he does not like.

It is also so that the municipality can influence through our public procurement. Sure it is a deliberative strategy that the public procurement is influencing the public indirect. If the municipality that purchases a lot of provisions demands organic provisions, we create a demand and then the producers can start to produce more and then there are hopefully more products even in the private sphere of consumption also. That is a thought that we support.

It is also of importance that there are products available in the grocery stores and that they are visible, we are all influenced by commercial, whether we want or not. This could be relatively easy to affect since it above all would be to ICA and Konsum that it would be directed to. He believes that this is a way much more effective way to influence than that the municipality is trying to influence.

We view Miljöveckan as something positive, but it is very limited. What I can question is if it reaches those already conscious or if you reach someone that has not been thinking about those issues, if it reaches someone who has not been thinking about it is good, but I am not so sure that it does, we don't know that but it is something that we would like to find out.

Something that I believe that one can do in order to influence is to talk to the grocery stores in the municipality and engage them in Miljöveckan so that they would expose those products during this week, to have them with us. Perhaps

make them put attention to "this week's organic provision". I think that it is the most effective way.

Do you understand Agenda21 and the directives, do you know what is supposed to be done?

All municipalities choose what one wants to implement, Agenda 21 is completely comprehensible, and they are not any legally binding directives. It is desirable that the municipality work through and take a position on what is of greatest importance for us. Then one also has to make priorities, what gives most environmental benefit for the money that you have, immediately but also in the long-run. The municipality has been concentrating greatly on transportation measures and the leakage of nitrogen, more concrete actions, except LundaMaTs. He does not believe that the municipality can manage to keep focus on everything at the same time, the municipality has so many other tasks.

Is it clear what the municipality's role in this matter is from a national point of view and do you get enough support?

The municipality has received economic support, but has paid almost half of the expenses with our own money. This support has led to that certain measures have been put into action earlier than what would have been done otherwise. He does not experience that the municipality receives any direct support and advice, but he can't yet say what kind of support the municipality would need. It is actually good that it is up to the municipality to take initiatives, perhaps it would have been good if the government could have created some kind of forum for the exchange of experiences between the municipalities.

Do you experience that there any obstacles for the municipality to promote more green sustainable consumption patterns through information to the public?

This is bordering to what the task and jurisdiction of the municipality is, it is a balance. The Swedish Local Government Act is experienced as a hindrance. If the municipality for example would have subsidized organic provisions during a week this would not have been possible since this only would benefit certain companies. There is also a discussion about how we should do with the tenants to the land that the municipality owns. It is not always easy to make environmental demands within the Act on Public Procurement, this is not to blame on the European Union, it is because Sweden has lower values than European Union.

Since the difficulties with doing a literal translation when turning a quote in Swedish into English, the original wording in Swedish is presented below followed by the authors' English translation used in the thesis:

”Man måste vara väldigt försiktig när kommunen talar om för medborgarna vad de ska göra [...] därför så är ju vi mer kritiska från moderat håll och de borgerliga till de grejer som går ut direkt och talar om för folk vad de ska göra [...] i första hand så är det en ideologisk fråga...”

“We have to be very careful when the municipal authorities are telling the citizens what to do. [...] That’s why we from the Moderate Party and the rightwing bloc are more critical of those things that concern addressing the public directly and telling them what to do. [...] In first hand this is a question of ideology...”

“Kommunen är ju egentligen valda politiker. Jag vet inte om vi är valda för att tala om för väljarna ska göra och tycka.”

“The municipal authorities are really elected politicians. I don’t know if we are elected to tell the voters what to do or think.”

“...om man skulle till exempel gå ut och subventionera ekologiska livsmedel i en vecka, det hade inte man fått göra till exempel. [...] det är så att säga när det gäller vissa företag [...] som man liksom ger subventioner till

“...if the municipality for example had subsidized organic provisions during a week this would not have been something that we could do [...] since it only benefit certain companies...”

”Det som jag kan fråga mig många gånger med miljöveckan om man når de som redan är medvetna, frälsta för det här egentligen. Eller om man når några som inte har funderat på det. När man folk som inte har funderat på det, då är det bra. Men jag är osäker på det. Tror att man når säkert flest medvetna men om når någon annan, det vet vi ju inte. Det skulle man vilja ha reda på”

“What I can ask myself many time regarding Miljöveckan is if it really reaches those already aware, convinced. Or if it reaches someone who hasn’t reflected on these issues. If you reach people who have not reflected on it, then it is good. But I am not so sure it does. I think that you reach mostly the aware but if you reach somebody else, we don’t know.”

5.8 Appendix 8: Interview guide

The following questions are the ones that we started out from during the interviews but also the ones that we wanted to make sure were being asked. Since the questions are rather open in character and we wanted the interviewees to talk as freely as possible there were of course other questions being posed and things being told. Still, those are the questions that are of interest for this study in order to be able to answering the question of our aim. All the interviews started with a short presentation of our thesis subject and the question of if it was ok to record the interviews.

- What is your role within the municipality of Lund?
- What is being done at the moment to promote and inform the citizens about green consumption patterns?
- How do you define the concept of sustainable development? What does it mean to you?
- How do you look upon the term sustainable consumption and of consumption of organic provisions as a way to achieve sustainable consumption and at hence sustainable development?
- Do you understand Agenda21 and the directives, do you know what is supposed to be done?
- Is it clear what the municipality's role in this matter is from a national point of view?
- Do you experience/are there any obstacles for the municipality to promote more green sustainable consumption patterns?
- Are there any clear goal conflicts?
- What are your attitudes towards to influence the citizens to be more green sustainable consumers?
- What does your party want to do to achieve sustainable consumption patterns? Why and how?
- If you got free hands and could decide, what would you want to do then?