



# Local Environmental Stakeholder Collaborations in the Kyoto Local Agenda 21-forum

David Harnesk

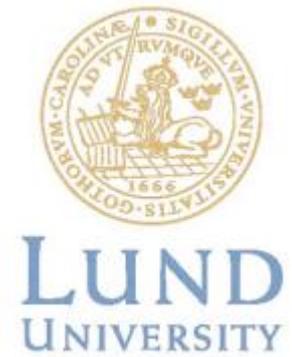
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# **Local Environmental Stakeholder Collaborations in the Kyoto Local Agenda 21-Forum**

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# ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to analyze the intermediate and ultimate outcomes of the collaborations that have been conducted between environmental non-profit organizations and the local government of Kyoto City within the city's Local Agenda 21-policy.

Through a literature review and an interview-based case study in Kyoto the local context was studied. The creation of the Kyoto Local Agenda 21 has its roots in stakeholder dialogues and the policy itself focuses on creating a platform where stakeholders can collaborate and independent of the municipality engage in different projects. The scope of projects is rooted in the heavily environmental-focused Local Agenda 21-plan for Kyoto City through an organization called the Kyoto Local Agenda 21 Forum.

The Forum seeks the participation of stakeholders within the local community to collaborate in sustainability-related projects within the theme-based working groups and it was found that it had resulted in several ultimate outcomes that have aided Kyoto City in developing its environmental agenda.

The study also showed the potential importance of international environmental initiatives on a local level. Finally, the collaborations conducted throughout the implementation process of the Kyoto City Local Agenda 21 served an important role in engaging stakeholders in decisions processes, which is of importance for a local environmental agenda. The Forum itself is in need of additional support from the central- and local government, and additional efforts to increase public participation in order to develop further.

This study was financed by The Scholarship Foundation for Studies of Japanese Society.

**Keywords:** local agenda 21, local government, stakeholder dialogue, public participation, sustainable development, environmental non-profit organizations, Kyoto, Japan.

# GLOSSARY

Sustainable Development – “...*development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.*” (WCED, 1987)

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Purpose

The relationship between a municipality and its stakeholders is an important field of study when one wants to understand successful implementation of local sustainability-related policies. The purpose of this bachelor thesis is to analyze the collaborations that existed between citizens and environmental non-profit organizations, and Kyoto City within the Kyoto Local Agenda 21 (from here on preferred to as the “Kyoto LA21”). By looking at the creation process of partnerships-, how the collaborations were conducted, what consequences it led to and by describing the local and national context of the Japanese community, I aim to explore the value for a municipality in having a relationship with its stakeholders when working with environmental- and sustainability-related policies.

The Kyoto LA21 has two main partnership-creation processes. The first one being when the LA21 plan was formed and the other one being conducted in different working groups within the organization called Kyoto’s LA21-Forum. My thesis focuses on the later, but I will also describe the background and basics behind the creation process of Kyoto’s LA21 plan since it is of importance to understand the context of how the policy was formed.

## 1.2 Research Questions

- How was the partnership-creation process between the municipality and its stakeholders conducted? Especially within the lifestyle-working group of the Kyoto LA21 Forum.
- What has the collaborations between the municipality and its stakeholders in the Forum contributed to in reaching the sustainable development-based focus areas defined in the Kyoto LA21-plan?
- What were the strengths and weaknesses of the collaborations created in the Kyoto LA21, which of the strengths and weaknesses were found in the patterns of interactions between the different parties? What lessons can be learned from the Kyoto City LA21 Forum and what recommendations can be given other municipalities?

## 1.3 Scope

Even though the core focus of LA21 lies in democracy and autonomy aspects, this study will focus if municipalities can achieve environmental gains by having a LA21. Thus, focus will mainly be on NPOs and citizens engaged in issues related to the topic of environmental- and sustainability-related issues.

Since this thesis focuses on Kyoto City’s environmental policies, it will only describe circumstances, rules and regulations that affect the role of the Kyoto City municipality and its stakeholders. Although it is important to describe rules, the community and the role of the municipalities in Japan, this thesis is not a thesis on municipalities in Japan and will not describe nor explore its complexity in depth.

Due to the multitude of working groups, members and actors within the LA21 and its Forum; the case study of how the cooperation between actors has been executed will be limited to the lifestyle-working group of the LA21. Thus focus will mainly be on the executive office of the Local Agenda 21 organization called Kyoto LA21 Forum, the Kyoto City municipality and the stakeholders active in working groups.

## 2. BACKGROUND

### 2.1 The Agenda 21

Central- and local governments, and all actors within them actively being engaged in the environmental agenda and working towards creating a more sustainable society is becoming increasingly important throughout the world. But the fundamental themes and the core components of these topics are nothing new. In the year 1992 the United Nations held the Earth Summit conference in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where representatives from central and local governments, corporations and non-governmental organizations from all over the world gathered to discuss strategies to halt and reverse the effects of environmental degradation that was occurring around the world (UN, 2009). One of the important outcomes of the conference was the Agenda 21; that highlighted the need to “think globally, act locally” and encouraged local governments to establish their own Local Agenda 21 (ibid.). The Agenda 21 document that was created at the Earth Summit is a wide-ranging and comprehensive plan of action that touched a variety of topics (ibid.). Not only areas such as protection of the atmosphere, rural development, conservation of biodiversity and waste management, but also topics such as women’s rights, strengthening the role of NGOs, -worker unions, businesses and their cooperation with local governments (UN, 1992). These topics were all considered to be key elements in creating a more sustainable society (ibid.) and a multitude of global and local organizations and governments around the world started to get involved with Agenda 21.

Because several of the environmental issues being addressed in Agenda 21 have its origin in local activities and thus an active participation of local governments and their stakeholders is considered a crucial and determining factor in fulfilling the goals and reaching the ambition of the Agenda 21 plan (UN, 1992). By engaging in stakeholder dialogues and inviting citizens and local-, civic-, community-, business- and industrial organizations, local governments could acquire information needed to formulate optimal strategies for their local community (ibid.). The consultation processes with and the engagement of citizens were also assumed to result in an increase of the household awareness of sustainable development issues (ibid.). Opening up local governments to citizen participation and promoting open decision-making processes (allowing for pluralistic inputs) is not only important from a democratization standpoint, but also of additional importance for the implementation of effective policies within the environmental field (Fischer, 2000). As a result of citizen participation and the empowerment of citizens in planning and decision making-processes becoming acknowledged as a valuable tool when working with sustainability elements, collaborative-environmental management has become an increasingly popular approach for governments and study topic for researchers around the world (Koontz et.al. 2006).

In late December of 1993 the Japanese Council of Ministers for Global Environmental Conservation decided on a national plan for Agenda 21 and submitted it to the UN shortly after (MOE, 1993). The plan contained policy measures that were consistent with areas and outline provided by the Agenda 21 plan from Rio (UN, 1997). Together with Japan’s national Environmental Basic Plan that was formulated and adopted in December 1994 the national Agenda 21 plan became the foundation for the implementation of Agenda 21 all over Japan (ibid.). Among the four long-term objectives stated in the plan, there is one that states the intent of increasing the participation of central and local governments, corporations, citizens and private organizations, participate voluntarily to aid in actively building a society in which actors cooperate in environmental conservation activities and share the burden fairly (MOE, 1994).

## 2.2 The Local Agenda 21 of Kyoto City

Kyoto is a city with a population close to 1.5 million located in the central part of the island Honshū in Japan (Kyoto City, 2011:b). The city was also the former capital of Japan and with its over 1600 Buddhist temples, 400 Shinto shrines, festivals, palaces, museums and gardens; it is a city with a lot culture and tourism (ibid.). The city and its surroundings is a part of the Kyoto City local municipality and is located in the prefectural municipality called Kyoto Prefecture (ibid.).

Kyoto City was not one of the municipalities in Japan that actively strived to establish a local Agenda 21 plan after the Earth Summit in 1992. Although being a city with several environmental non-governmental organizations and three well renowned universities with knowledgeable scholars within the field of environment and sustainability, the local environmental agenda during the time was mostly focused on waste management (Yamakawa, 2011; Katō, 2011; Fujimura, 2011). But when it was decided that Kyoto was going to host the international COP3 climate conference in July 1997 and the eyes of the world was to be focused on them, it was clear for the local government that Kyoto City needed to put additional effort into its environmental policies in all haste (Takahashi, 2000). In March 1996 the municipality established a environmental basic plan (EBP) for the municipality of Kyoto City, but due to fact that no concrete environmental regulations were presented in the plan it had to be revised, and a finalized version was presented and adopted in March 1997 (ibid.). It was during the revision of the 1996-version of Kyoto City's EBP that environmental NPOs, universities, citizens and some office members raised their voices and said that the city needed a proper and well-thought out Local Agenda 21 plan (ibid.).

In October 1996 the work of creating a local Agenda 21 policy for Kyoto City started (Takahashi, 2000). Concurrently the revision of the EBP continued and about half a year later in March 1997 Kyoto City implemented its revised EBP that had 32 environmental regulations (ibid.). At this time, a committee responsible for the creation of the Kyoto City's Local Agenda 21 policy was created by the municipality (ibid.). As a result of stakeholders being the ones demanding a proper Local Agenda 21 (ibid.) the committee ended up having a total of 28 members; 8 representatives from the local municipality, 8 from local universities, 5 from local businesses and 7 from either local organized citizens groups or environmental NPOs (Kyoto City, 1997). Having 7 representatives from non-profit organizations cooperating in the creation process of a municipal policy was a rare initiative from the Kyoto City municipality (Takahashi, 2000).

During the first committee meetings in late October 1996 there were several heated discussions between committee members and office members regarding the organization of the different sections of Kyoto's Local Agenda 21 and whether conferences should be public or closed (Takahashi, 2000). Initially the committee members were divided into three different sections: one consisting of citizens and NPO's, one consisting of representatives from the local industries and one consisting of office members from the municipality (ibid.). Hence, all three sections only contained members from one of the different sectors in addition to representatives from the universities (ibid.). These groups were to independently create plans within their own fields to later communicate to the other committee sections (ibid.).

As the discussions continued there were disagreements between office members and citizen groups and environmental non-profit organizations (NPOs) (Takahashi, 2000). Office members wanted committee meetings to be closed to the public and meetings held by the different sections to be public, while the others argued that all meetings should be public (ibid.). The stakeholders also argued that the section based structure of the Local Agenda 21 would end up hindering a successful implementation of a Local Agenda 21 due to it separating stakeholders of different sectors instead of uniting them (ibid.). These discussions continued on to the second committee meeting in December 1996 where it was decided that all meetings were to be open for the public (ibid.). Also, it was concluded that instead of a section based structure of the

organization a theme based structure with representatives from the municipality, citizens, NPOs and the industry in all of the theme based groups was to be preferred (ibid.). Four initial themes were created (Traffic & Logistics, Production & Lifestyle, Resources & Energy, Developing a better Environment) and the different working groups started to develop agendas of their own and initially all effort within the Kyoto LA21 was put into developing partnerships and local networks between actors within Kyoto City (ibid.).

Between June 1997 and November 1997 the Kyoto LA21 hosted several symposiums and workshops where they invited citizens to participate in order to promote and receive feed-back on the LA21 (Takahashi, 2000). The initial reaction from the 150 citizens that participated was very critical and thought that the LA21 did not present anything concrete (ibid.). After receiving a lot of feedback during this intense period of public trial and a total of 9 committee meetings since the project had started, the LA21-plan for Kyoto City was finally established in October of 1997 and a new partnership-based organization called the Kyoto LA21 Forum was created as a result (ibid). The organization was to be administered by the municipality while functioning as a unit that was independent of it (Takahashi, 2000; Inoue, 2011). Thus the role of the administration was to aid in organizing partnerships between stakeholders and support them as much as possible, all as a part of the Kyoto LA21 (ibid.).

# 3. METHOD

To study and analyze the LA21 and the Forum as a policy for developing a more environmental friendly and sustainable city the following methods were used (see figure 1):

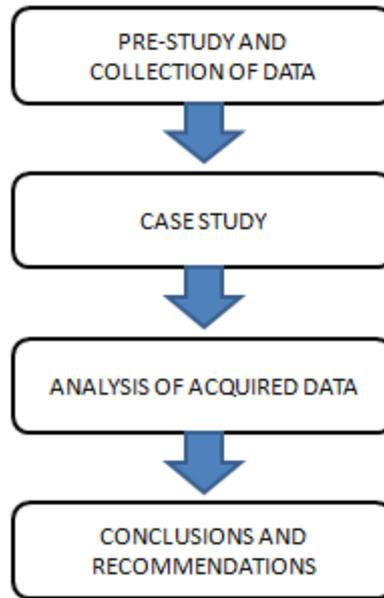


Figure 1 - Schematic of the method used in the study.

## 3.1 Pre-study: literature review and data collection

Before initiating the case study I performed a pre-study on local governments, NPOs and LA21 in order to obtain a theoretical background on the topic and to gain a better understanding of the issues on a conceptual level. This pre-study was based on a literature review. A literature review was used in the case study as well, and thus the method described applies to both studies.

In the literature review; literature written in English and Swedish that was available on LIBHUB and at libraries of Lund University was mainly reviewed. Literature written in Japanese was subsidiarily reviewed only if specifically recommended by interviewees or mentors. Internet-based data from relevant websites has been reviewed regardless of it being written in English, Swedish or Japanese. Websites used for the case study were deemed relevant if they had a connection to the Kyoto LA21, the Kyoto LA21 Forum and/or organizations or initiatives related to them.

Keywords used for the literature study search on LIBHUB were: *Local Government, Environment, Sustainability, Agenda 21, Japan, Kyoto, stakeholder, NPO, NGO, citizens*

## 3.2 Case study

As an essential part of this thesis, a qualitative case study of the LA21 was performed in Kyoto City where key actors and knowledgeable individuals within the LA21 Forum were interviewed in semi-structured interviews. The reasoning behind this interview method was that I wanted to enable the interview object to be able to answer freely and leave room for follow-up questions as the interview progressed. In addition to interviews, collection and review of relevant documentation, articles and additional text-based information was conducted on site. Interviews were conducted in Japanese. During the interviews I took notes that I later used to write a summary of the interview. The summary was always written immediately after the interviews

were conducted and will not be presented in the thesis as its main purpose was to ensure that important data was recorded and wouldn't be forgotten.

Also, as a part of the pre-study and the collection of background material for the thesis topic, interviews with experts on the field of municipalities in Japan and environmental NPOs were conducted in Tokyo. These interviews also followed the same method as the ones performed in Kyoto City.

**3.3 Analysis**

In my attempt to analyze the implementation and outcomes of the LA21, I used the Institutional Analysis and Development framework (IAD framework) as a policy analysis method. The IAD framework was developed by Ostrom, et al. 1994 and functioned as a theoretical foundation and outline for my research. Since the IAD framework is a policy evaluation tool that needs evaluative criteria I decided to avoid doing an actual evaluation and creating evaluative criteria, partially because of time limitations but mainly because it could hinder finding unique experiences and new insights due to the lack of flexibility. Instead I focused on performing an analysis and thus had to modify the framework (see figure 2).

The IAD framework focuses the research on the individuals that make decisions while describing four variables external to these individuals (described below), in an attempt to permit scholars to make comparisons and evaluations in order to understand policy processes and its outcomes (Ostrom, et.al. 1994).

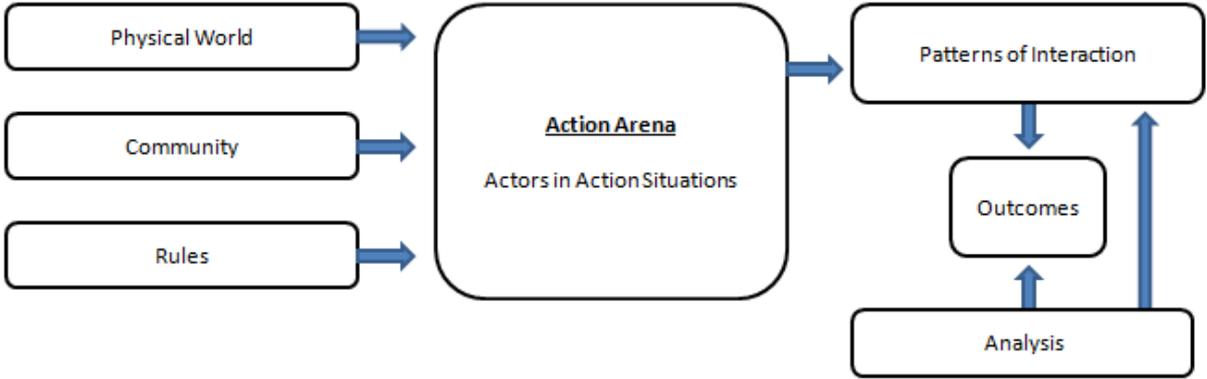


Figure 2 – Modified version of the IAD Framework outline.

The action arena is the start, base and the main focus of the policy analysis and study (Ostrom, et.al. 1994), in this thesis being the Kyoto LA21 and its Forum. Within the action arena there are several actors, being individuals or groups that interact with each other in action situations, which is a term used to describe the social space where the actors engage with each other in activities such as attempting to exchange services, provision activities, solving problems, or fighting (ibid.).

The four variables external to specific individuals that were previously mentioned are:

**Attributes of the physical world**

*“...varies from setting to setting for forest ecosystems. Might include elements such as rate of growth, diversity of species present, climate and weather terrain, and other physical factors that impact the state of the forest ecosystems and the human interaction with it.” - Ostrom, et.al. 1994*

### **Attributes of the community within which actors are embedded**

*“...an important context that affect individual actions, including things like “generally accepted norms of behavior, the level of common understanding about action arenas, the extent to which preferences are homogeneous, and distribution of resources among members” - Ostrom, et.al. 1994*

### **Rules that create incentives and constraints for certain actors**

*“...statements about what actions are required, prohibited, or permitted and the sanctions authorized if the rules are not followed” - Ostrom, et.al. 1994*

And the fourth and final variable is the how **interactions and patterns of interactions with other individuals** are being conducted within the action arena (Ostrom, et.al. 1994).

By analyzing these different steps of the LA21 policy I could gain a better understanding of the process as whole; reaching from problem identification, agenda setting, formulation, adoption, implementation, to a final analysis of the policy at hand.

The information and data acquired through the literature study and the in-depth case study was used as a basis for analyzing the partnership-creation process and the result of the Kyoto LA21 and its Forum. I then highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of the LA21 and discussed its possible role in the future and draw conclusions of what lessons that could be learned from it. In Chapter 5 I mainly analyzed the policy’s intermediate outcomes, but also touched upon and included its ultimate outcomes in the discussion. Intermediate outcomes supposed in this study were; external factors of the local arena, the local government of Kyoto City, the LA21 of Kyoto City, the committee of the Kyoto LA21 Forum, the executive office of the Kyoto LA21 Forum and the working groups of the Kyoto LA21 Forum.

# 4. CASE STUDY

## 4.1 The Japanese- and the Kyoto context

### 4.1.1 Rules - legal framework regarding governing and the role of municipalities

#### *The environmental responsibilities of local governments*

Japanese local governments are implementers of national government policy in areas of pollution control and –monitoring, waste regulation and recycling, financial measures on the private sectors environmental activities, providing administrative guidance to industry and environmental dispute arbitration (Shirai, 2011). It is compulsory for each and every local government to have an Environmental Basic Plan (EBP) that covers these topics (Barrett & Usui, 2002). The EBP is a nationally driven policy which focuses lies solely within the environmental field (ibid.). The EBP is also part of a centrally subsidized scheme that urges and encourages local governments to mainly engage in environmental management, but also in having dialogues with local stakeholders (ibid.).

In comparison to the EBP, the LA21 is an internationally driven initiative that is voluntary and is also not directly supported by any centralized form of funding (Barrett & Usui, 2002). In addition, the LA21 contains multiple topics focused on sustainability and promotes public engagement in policy formulation (ibid.) and while there is a slight difference between the EBP and the LA21, the similarity and the voluntary basis of the LA21 has led to a dilemma for many local governments in Japan where developing a EBP leads to government funding, while the development of an LA21-plan leaves more room for innovation and a broader variety of topics (ibid.). Finally, even if the national directives of the national EBP also touches the topic of participation its conventional practices focuses on advisory councils and public opinion surveys rather than public participation that the LA21 focuses on (ibid.).

Another relevant enactment is article 4 of the national Global Warming Law which was adopted 1998 and stipulates that local governments have a responsibility in developing climate change countermeasures (MOE, 1998). The law mandates regional- and local governments to formulate reduction plans for greenhouse gas emissions, resulting in a increasing number of local governments with local action plan for reductions of greenhouse gas emissions (Sugiyama & Takeuchi, 2008). The law however does not provide any form of subsidies, centralized funding or any additional legal competencies for prefectural and local governments; it does however allow governors to establish centers for climate change action and to appoint volunteers to promote climate change-related activities (ibid.). Appointed volunteers are to promote activities to mitigate global warming, such as cooperating with central and local governments in policies that aid in limiting greenhouse gas emissions (MOE, 2008).

The relationship between upper- (eg: prefectural authorities) and lower-tier (eg: city-based governments) local governments is also of concern for policy implementation. Depending on the size of the local authorities within the upper- and lower-tier local governments, their relationship and dependency of each other differ (Barrett & Usui, 2002). Lower-tier governments are often dependant on upper-tier prefectural authorities that tend to have more developed organizations and separate environmental divisions (ibid.). The relationship between the two is often very complex, and rivalries and disputes are not uncommon (Shirai, 2011; Baba, 2011; Katō, 2011).

#### *The governments of Kyoto*

The relationship between the local government of Kyoto City and the regional government of Kyoto Prefecture has traditionally followed the pattern of upper- and lower-tier governments

wanting to differentiate themselves from each other regarding their policies (Kondō, 2011). There has also been an expressed will within both parties to be able to distinguish which municipality's initiative certain results have been reached (ibid.). However after the COP3-meeting; both parties have started to see the value in having their environmental plans harmonized (ibid.). While still not being fully synchronized with each other, the 2010-editions of both the local and regional governments' environmental plans have formulated and set up mutual goals for many environmental areas (ibid.).

Local governments do however have the legal capacity to enforce local laws and taxes, e.g. implementing policies such as carbon credit systems within their own jurisdiction (Shirai, 2011; Kondō, 2011) However, studies made by Barrett and Usui argue that local governments in Japan tend to have a passive role in engaging in sustainability related policies without national co-ordination and guidance to actually ensure that measures are taken (Barrett & Usui, 2002). One example of this can be seen in the implementation of local carbon credit systems, a system that has been successfully implemented in Tokyo (Kondō, 2011). Although being implemented in Tokyo, Kyoto City have been hesitant to take that kind of approach since major industries might end up relocating their operation in order to avoid such a policy and thus a large chunk of its income if they were to implement a carbon credit policy (ibid.). Instead they opted for a softer approach, and enforced a local environmental law in 2004 that forced large enterprises with emission rates of 3000 ton GHG per year or an equivalent of 1500 kl oil of energy consumption per year to report and publically publish their GHG-emission rates (Kondō, 2011).

#### **4.1.2 Community – contexts and roles of actors within Japan and Kyoto**

##### ***Characteristics of environmental NPOs***

Excluding waste and pollution-based movements, the history of environmental NPOs in Japan is considered short as organizations founded in the early 1990s are considered the first generation (Fujimura, 2011). Japanese citizens have traditionally had a passive relationship toward their central- and local governments (Fujimura, 2011; Katō, 2011; Baba, 2011; Onada, 2011). Although efforts have been made by the central government to increase the participation of citizens and NPOs in decision processes, and facilitating NPO-based activities by establishing laws that made it easier to donate money to NPOs in 1998 & 2011, citizens in general have yet to be successfully engaged in decision processes (Fujimura, 2011; Katō, 2011).

A majority of the environmental NPOs in Japan focuses on organizing different kinds of local events, while only a minority focuses on policy propositions (Baba et.al. 2009). Only an estimate of twenty NPOs focuses on environmental policies in Japan (Fujimura, 2011; Katō, 2011). Most policy-based NPOs tend to be located in Tokyo since environmental policies in Japanese local governments are for the most part implemented as a response to the activity of the central government located in Tokyo, with one of the exception being the Kyoto-based environmental NPO called the Climate Network (ibid.). Also to be noted is that even though international NPOs such as World Wide Fund for Nature, Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace all have branch offices in Japan, they are still administered abroad and do not have the same connection to local activities as Japanese ones have (ibid.).

Survey-based studies of Japanese environmental NPOs has also shown that the NPOs engaged in advocacy and policy recommendations considered directly contacting with public officials in local governments and becoming a member of a committee as the most successful means of engagement (Baba et.al. 2009). Recently several examples of local environmental NPOs which have cooperating with local governments has arisen (Katō, 2011). For example; in both the municipalities of Kawasaki and Iida City, solar panels have been installed by NPOs on rooftops of public buildings such as libraries and schools free of charge as an attempt to push renewable energy solutions (ibid.).

The situation for NPOs in Japan has compared to 10 – 20 years ago changed for the better, as an increased interest for public cooperativeness from local governments can be seen (Fujimura 2011; Katō, 2011). Interviewees Baba and Onada discussed that collaborations between municipalities and NPOs in Japan can either occur on the municipalities initiative, with the local government needing partners due to lack of funding or knowledge, or on the NPOs initiative, when they have a certain topic or agenda that concerns municipal policies (Baba, 2011; Onada, 2011).

Kyoto has a multitude of NPOs, engaging in activities such as waste management and pollution, nature protection, policy propositioning, promotion of environmentally-friendly lifestyle etc. (Fujimura, 2011). Among the most notable ones are climate policy focused Climate Network, the Citizens Environmental Foundation that is active within a variety of environmental topics and the environmental design research center ecotone that focuses on the design of sustainable solutions (ibid.). Takahiro Hori from the Citizens Environmental Foundation argues that stakeholders in Kyoto tend to see a value in working with environmental issues and protecting natural resources because of the city's rich cultural heritage (Hori, 2011).

#### ***The Earth Summit and the COP3-meeting***

The sustainability agenda was first introduced to Japan on a broader scale as a result of the Earth Summit in 1992 (Baba, 2009; Fujimura, 2011; Katō, 2011) but in Kyoto the first true peak of the agenda happened as a result of the city being selected as host for the third Conference of the Parties-meeting, COP3 (Fujimura, 2011; Inoue, 2011; Katō, 2011; Kondō, 2011; Takashi, 2000). Not only did the local government feel a need to improve on its environmental policies but it also stimulated a lot of stakeholders to take action (ibid.).

#### ***Universities of Kyoto***

Kyoto City has three universities that all stand out within the field of environmental studies and that have been critical of the political status in Japan; the three being Kyoto University, Ritsumeikan University & Dōshisha University (Fujimura, 2011; Takashi, 2000; Yamakawa, 2011). Since these universities hosted several knowledgeable professors, lecturers and engaged students, the participation rate could grow more swiftly in Kyoto compared to other Japanese cities (Fujimura, 2011; Yamakawa, 2011). These scholars were well-informed of environmental policies around the world and could push the importance of formulating proper policies to the municipality of Kyoto City (Fujimura, 2011; Takashi, 2000; Yamakawa, 2011).

### **4.1.3 Physical World – surrounding factors and recent events**

#### ***Cultural heritage in Kyoto***

Another important aspect to consider when exploring environmental policies in Kyoto is the amount of cultural heritage available in Kyoto. The city that was founded in A.D. 794 and 17 different locations within the city has received world heritage classifications from UNESCO (UNESCO, 2011). This resulting in a total of 1056 ha, including an additional buffer zone of 3579 ha of property (ibid.) within the municipality's 82 800 ha (Kyoto City, 2011:b) being classified as world heritage (UNESCO, 2011). Kyoto also houses several national treasures and important cultural properties of Japan (Kyoto City, 2011:c). In 2003, 19,8 % of the Japan's 1063 national treasures and 14,3 % of important cultural properties such as structures and fine arts were located in Kyoto (ibid.).

#### ***Tōhoku earthquake***

The disastrous events that followed the Tōhoku earthquake that hit the pacific coast of Japan and resulted in a devastation tsunami the 11<sup>th</sup> of March 2011 has had a big impacts on the Japanese society (IAEA, 2011). The horrible events served as an eye-opener and highlighted several problems in the Japanese political system and society for many, since stakeholders of both central- and local governments felt a helplessness and inability in solving the problems at hand (Katō, 2011). Since the tsunami that followed the earthquake not only destroyed entire

cities and communities along the coast, but also struck down the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant in Fukushima, resulting in a nuclear meltdown with radioactive substances spreading out to a wide area (IAEA, 2011). Due to the fear of radiation and the power shortage that has followed, there has been seen an increased interest from stakeholders in renewable energy (Katō, 2011; Kondō, 2011). This has increased the pressure on municipalities in Japan in taking necessary countermeasures in order to promote sustainable energy solutions and lessening the dependency of nuclear power (ibid.). It has also resulted in an increased amount of solar panel initiatives deriving from stakeholder-based initiatives increasing and actors want to help the society in lessening the dependency of nuclear energy (Inoue, 2011).

**4.1.4 Summary**

In conclusion there are several external variables to consider when analyzing the Kyoto City Local Agenda 21-plan and its Forum and a summary of the variables can be seen Table 1.

**Table 1 - External variables that effect the policy implementation of the Kyoto LA21 and its Forum**

<b>Summary of external variables</b>	
<b>General aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Environmental basic plans are mandatory, nationally driven, centrally subsidized (Barrett &amp; Usui, 2002).</li> <li>• Local Agenda 21 plans are voluntary, internationally driven and not directly supported by central funding (Barrett &amp; Usui, 2002).</li> <li>• The Global Warming Law stipulates that local governments have a responsibility in developing climate change countermeasures (MOE, 1998).</li> <li>• Without initiatives on a national level, municipalities tend to stay passive within environmental policies (Baba, 2011; Barrett &amp; Usui, 2002; Fujimura, 2011; Katō, 2011).</li> <li>• Local governments in Japan can implement local laws and taxes, but their options are limited due to the fear of losing important industries (Shirai, 2011; Kondō, 2011).</li> <li>• Japanese citizens have traditionally had a passive relationship toward their governments (Baba, 2011; Fujimura, 2011; Katō, 2011; Onada, 2011).</li> <li>• Excluding waste and pollution-based movements; the history and development of environmental NPOs in Japan is short and undeveloped (Fujimura, 2011).</li> <li>• NPO's tend to focus on hosting events to push their agenda to citizens and only a few organizations actively work toward policies (Baba, 2011).</li> </ul>
<b>Local aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The local government of Kyoto City has not been depending of Kyoto Prefecture when creating environmental policies (Kondō, 2011).</li> <li>• Kyoto is a city with a lot of cultural heritage, which might result in its citizens valuing the environment more than other municipalities (Hori, 2011).</li> <li>• Universities in Kyoto have traditionally been active within the field of sustainability (Fujimura, 2011; Yamakawa, 2011).</li> </ul>
<b>Timeline of the sustainability agenda</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1992 - Earth Summits opens the agenda on a broader scale in Japan (Baba et.al. 2009).</li> <li>• 1997 - COP3 results in the first peak of the environmental agenda in Kyoto (Kondō, 2011).</li> <li>• 1997 - 2011 - Steady but slow growth of interest regarding environmental issues within the municipality (Kondō, 2011).</li> <li>• 2011 - The environmental agenda peaks yet again as a result of Tōhoku earthquake (Kondō, 2011).</li> </ul>

## 4.2 The Kyoto City Local Agenda 21 and its Forum

### 4.2.1 Action Arena: The fundamentals of the Kyoto LA 21

The LA21 plan formulated by the LA21 committee has two main areas of focus:

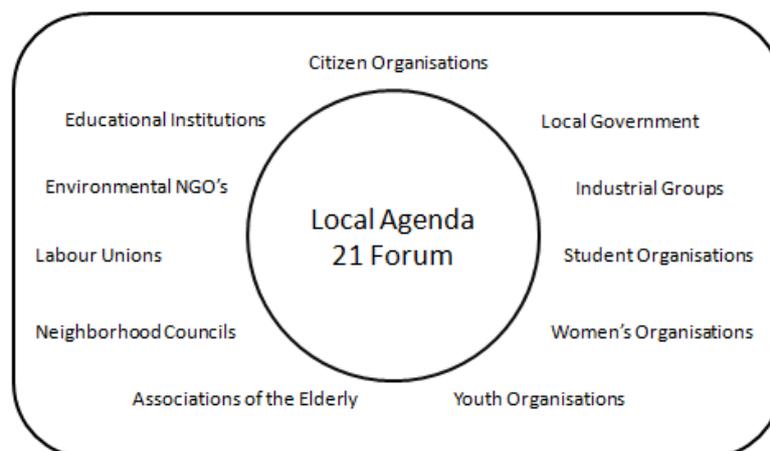
- ① Create action plans and focus areas to reach the goal of a 10% CO<sub>2</sub> reduction by the year 2010 compared with the levels of 1990 (Kyoto City, 1997).
- ② Establish partnerships and increase the degree of collaborations between the citizens – the industry – and the government of Kyoto (Kyoto City, 1997).

In order to reach the goals of the LA21, the committee members of 1997 defined three basic staples for the LA21 policy (Takahashi, 2000). The LA21 of Kyoto was to:

- ① Create lifestyles and enterprises that preserve the characteristics of Kyoto (Kyoto City, 1997).
- ② Create systems where energy and resource usage is in symbiosis with the environment (Kyoto City, 1997).
- ③ Create systems where traffic and logistics can be environmentally friendly (Kyoto City, 1997).

In order to reach these three staples the members of the committee in line with the feedback they received from citizens, environmental groups and business representatives also created five main wide-spanning focus areas with basic guidelines to work towards within the LA21 (see Table 2) (Kyoto City, 1997).

The plan declares that there is a need for all sectors within the Kyoto City community to cooperate in order to reach these goals and to implement these strategies (Kyoto City, 1997). It states that it is of importance to make sure that stakeholders are well informed of the objectives and contents of the LA21-plan, and that involving citizens in the creation process of different policies within LA21-based projects is of great importance (ibid.). One of the main reasons behind this is the fact that municipalities in Japan have been bad at both informing and engaging its citizens (Barrett & Usui, 2002). In order to do this; a organization called the Local Agenda 21 Forum, whose purpose is to engage and organize partnerships between actors of all sectors (see Figure 3) in different theme-based working groups and support them in activities was to be created (Kyoto City, 1997), and was established the year after the LA21-plan was implemented (Takahashi, 2000).



**Figure 3 - Actors to be engaged in partnerships within the Local Agenda 21 (Source: Kyoto City, 1997)**

Table 2 – Summary of the focus areas described in the Kyoto LA21-plan (Source: Kyoto City, 1997)

Summary of the focus areas described in the Kyoto LA21-plan	
<p><b>Focus area 1:</b>  <b>Promotion of Low-Energy and Resource Saving Systems.</b>  <i>- Renewable energy, reusing materials, reducing waste and an effective use of energy</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Guidance and practical implementation of low-energy lifestyles.</li> <li>• Eco-apparel design revolution (promotion of attire fitting of a low-energy lifestyle).</li> <li>• Prolonged usage and avoiding wasteful consumption of things.</li> <li>• Lessening waste volumes and an increasing the share of recycled goods purchased.</li> <li>• Rethinking packaging of goods from a waste-perspective.</li> <li>• Promote reusing.</li> <li>• Effective use of energy.</li> <li>• Eco-Manuals (on reducing the environmental impact of raw material usage).</li> <li>• Promote usage of renewable energy.</li> <li>• Promote insulation of housing.</li> <li>• Promote sustainable housing.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Focus area 2:</b>  <b>Creating a Green Economic Network.</b>  <i>- Creating a system of informational exchange between consumers, retailers and producers to promote environmental friendly goods.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promoting Green Consumers.</li> <li>• Increase share of Green Purchasing.</li> <li>• Increase share of Green Shops.</li> <li>• Promotion and cultivation of Eco-Industries.</li> <li>• Promotion of Ecologic Agriculture.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Focus area 3:</b>  <b>Creating a Ecological Industry</b>  <i>- Creating a network that promotes the effective usage of resources, for both the sake of the environment and the economy.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creating a zero-emission network for local industries.</li> <li>• Concept: Inverse manufacturing town</li> <li>• Promoting Environmental awareness and management (<i>Implementation and promotion of Eco-products, Long-life products, Eco-Offices</i>).</li> <li>• Promoting ecological industries.</li> <li>• Nature protection.</li> <li>• Promoting activities and projects that supply eco-services.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Focus area 4:</b>  <b>Creating a City of Eco-Tourism</b>  <i>- Protecting Kyoto's culture and scenery, improving its value and making a city that is appealing for tourists.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creating Eco-Museums</li> <li>• Creating a new ecological appeal for Kyoto City.</li> <li>• Creating a Kyoto that is fun to walk around.</li> <li>• Transforming sightseeing-based services to be more ecological.</li> <li>• Transforming sightseeing-based institutions to be more ecological.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Focus area 5:</b>  <b>Environmental Friendly Transport Systems</b>  <i>- Stepping away from a society that is dependent on automobiles and creating a city that promotes public transport, bicycles and pedestrianism.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promote usage of public transportation.</li> <li>• Promote usage of bicycles.</li> <li>• Control the traffic volume of bicycles</li> <li>• Developing the transportation system</li> <li>• Promote a dispersion of bicycles (that have less of a negative environmental impact).</li> </ul>

## 4.2.2 Action Arena & Actors: The Local Agenda 21 Forum

### **Basic outline of the Forum**

The role of the Local Agenda 21 Forum is to inform and engage inhabitants of Kyoto City in different projects that are to aid in reaching the goals and focus areas defined by the Local Agenda 21 Plan (Kyoto City, 1997). The Forum is funded by the municipality of Kyoto City and managed by LA21-based committees with members from different sectors (municipality – industry – citizens) represented (ibid.). Albeit being funded by the municipality, it functions as an independent institution and is thus not limited by environmental plans set by the municipality in its activities (Kondō, 2011). Continuing with that which was described in Chapter 2.2 regarding the background of the LA21 in Kyoto, what differentiated the creation of the LA21-policy of Kyoto City from other similar policies in Japan was that the Forum was not created under the direct leadership of the municipality, but instead was a result of the continuous collaboration and discussions between the municipality and its stakeholders throughout the EBP and LA21 from 1996 (Takahashi, 2000). This is the reason why the Kyoto LA21 Forum took the shape of an independent organization while still keeping some form of connection to the municipality through the Forums executive office that administrates the Forum’s activities (Inoue, 2011), described further on page 15.

The basic concept constantly underlining the organization is to work with informing, enabling, supporting and engaging stakeholders in activities and create a more sustainable Kyoto City in line with the focus areas described in Table 2 (Kyoto City, 1997). The Forum does this by inviting stakeholders in different theme-, sector- or region-based working groups where they can meet other stakeholders and get involved in- and create different projects (ibid.). The stakeholders are to work independently in forming working groups, working with projects focused on reaching the goals and focus areas set by the Kyoto LA21-plan and are also expected to act independently within the working groups (ibid.). If a stakeholder has an idea of a project related to the LA21, they can suggest it within the working group, find support and actualize the concept of the project together (Inoue, 2011). The organization has through the years had 8 working groups (see Table 3) that are or have been active (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:a). The activities of a working group will be described in detail as a case in Chapter 4.2.3.

**Table 3 – Description of working groups that are or have been active within the Kyoto LA21 Forum (Source: Kyoto City Local Agenda Forum Web B, 2011).**

<b>Working Groups of Kyoto LA21 Forum</b>	
<b>Business Activities WG</b> - <i>Still Active (2011)</i>	Works with activities that support businesses with environmental management.
<b>Eco-Tourism WG</b> - <i>Still Active (2011)</i>	Works with activities that aim to implement Eco-Tourism in Kyoto.
<b>Traffic WG</b> - <i>Still Active (2011)</i>	Works with activities that promote the usage of public transportation and bicycles.
<b>Eco-Festival WG</b> - <i>Still Active (2011)</i>	Works with implementing renewable energy and waste reduction in traditional Japanese festivals in Kyoto.
<b>Renewable Energy WG</b> - <i>Still Active (2011)</i>	Works with the promotion of renewable energy sources, such as solar- and wind power.
<b>Lifestyle WG</b> - <i>Disbanded (2008)</i>	Works with the promotion and spreading of low-energy lifestyles.
<b>Eco-Museum WG</b> - <i>Disbanded (2008)</i>	Works with the protecting and studying the nature of fields, forests and mountains.
<b>Food Cycle WG</b> - <i>Disbanded (2008)</i>	Works with activities to spread the amount of households that compost their waste.

### ***The Committee and other members of the Forum***

The LA21 committee that was created as a part of the LA21, described in Chapter 2.2, has overall consisted of the same members ever since its foundation in early 1997 (Inoue, 2011). Only 3 members differ when comparing the original list of committee members from 1997 (Kyoto City, 1997) with the list from the committee meeting of 2011 (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b). The members of committee have different backgrounds from within different sectors (the industry, environmental NPOs, universities etc.), and their main role is to follow the progress of each the Forum and suggest suitable members to working groups (Inoue, 2011).

As described in the section above, the activities of the Forum is focused on working groups (Kyoto City, 1997) and it is common that committee members are engaged in different working groups (Inoue, 2011). The progress of each working group is discussed within the committee at committee meetings, which are held 4 times a year and during these, committee members can recommend suitable members for different working groups or ask fellow committee members for support and if they have any recommendations regarding suitable members for different projects (ibid.). Thus, new members of the Forum tend to often have been introduced by committee members (ibid.). Initially it was difficult for the forum to get stakeholders within the industry to participate in the Forum and thus the origin of members was mostly centered in citizen groups and environmental NPOs (ibid.). But stakeholders from the industry sector got more interested as industry sector-based projects and working groups produced successful results in the shape of an Environmental Management System called the KES (described in Chapter 4) (ibid.). In April 2010 the Forum had 134 individual members and 116 organizations within the organization (Takahashi, 2000). In March 2011 the Forum had grown to a total of 212 individual members, 291 organizations (Inoue, 2011).

### ***The administrative work – the executive office and the municipality***

In order to administrate all partnerships within the Forum, the municipality established an executive office with a handful of employees (see Table 4) (Inoue, 2011). It has a very passive role regarding the work and projects conducted within the working groups (ibid.). Instead its role and purpose is to support them by arranging meetings, spreading information and to functioning as an intermediary between different sectors within and outside of the forum (ibid.).

If a working group needs support in the form of funding to actualize one of their projects it is the role of the executive office to support this as much as possible (Inoue, 2011). But since the Forum and its executive office itself receives a limited budget from the municipality, focused on personnel expenses (see Table 4) and renting venues, the employees of the executive office are dependent on networking in order to find funding (ibid.). Since the LA21 Forum is an organization administrated by the municipality, the executive office can by using the name and credibility associated with the Kyoto City municipality within the local community to find funding and support by functioning as a cosigner, assuring the quality of the project (Inoue, 2011; Kondō, 2011). The name and brand of the municipality is not only used to find funding, it is also used to support projects by gaining credibility and trust for actors within the community for certain projects (ibid.). If NPOs or industrial actors independently approach actors of certain sectors, such as businesses for NPOs or schools for industrial actors, it can be difficult to gain mutual trust (ibid.). In these cases, the executive office and the Forum can support projects by serving as a mediator and co-signer (Inoue, 2011).

Table 4 – Kyoto LA21 Forum: Data of 2011 (Source: Inoue, 2011)

Kyoto LA21 Forum – 2011.03.31 (Source: Inoue, 2011)	
<b>Members</b>	212 individual members, 291 organizations
<b>Membership Fee</b>	1000 yen / person per year - Members are counted as organizations if they two or more individuals joining under the same organization.
<b>Officials</b>	29 members in the executive board / committee
<b>Employees</b> - Executive office	5 fulltime employees; Head of the Secretariat (1), Coordinators (2), Assistant (1), General affairs (1, part-time)
<b>Budget</b> - For 2011	24 525 792 yen; 84 % of the income comes from Kyoto City (trust money), 64 % of the expenses go to personnel expenses

Since Kyoto City is financing the Forum they may also have a certain control over what areas the organization should be focusing on, but this is not necessarily the case (Kondō, 2011). Since the whole LA21-based organization in Kyoto is rooted in decisions made by the municipality together with its stakeholders, the conceptual idea of the Forum is to let it be independent from the control of the municipality and allow the stakeholders within the organization to decide the agenda (ibid.). However, because of the dependent relationship to the name and brand of the municipality regarding supporting projects, the organization can sometimes struggle when the Forum does not have the full support of the municipality (Hori, 2011). Examples of this could be seen between the years 2002 and 2008 Kyoto City backed out of several Forum-based projects despite of the executive office working valiantly to gain its support and the organization thus had a difficult time in successfully supporting the working groups (ibid.).

#### 4.2.3 Case: The Lifestyle working group – Actors, action situations and patterns of interaction

##### *Basics, actors and action situations*

One of the Forum’s working groups was the lifestyle working group. The goal of the working group was to endorse environmentally friendly and low-energy lifestyles throughout Kyoto City by creating and implementing strategies (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b). It was active between the years 1999 and 2008 and had representatives from several environmental NPOs (see Table 5) engaged over the years (ibid.).

Table 5 – Members active within the lifestyle working group, 2004 (Source: Kyoto City LA21 Forum b, 2011)

Abstract of members active in the lifestyle working group, 2004	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Citizens Environmental Foundation (NPO)</li> <li>• Climate Network (NPO)</li> <li>• Kino Kankyō (Environment of Trees) (NPO)</li> <li>• Kyoto Center for Climate Actions (NPO)</li> <li>• Consumers Kyoto (NPO)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• GK Design Group Inc. Kyoto-division (Business)</li> <li>• Hinodeya Eco-Life (Research Center)</li> <li>• Miyako Ecology Center (Municipality)</li> <li>• Kyoto City (Municipality)</li> </ul>

Members of working groups of the Forum engaged in dialogue with each other on private initiatives, contacting each other outside of activities arranged by the Forums executive office (Inoue, 2011; Hori, 2011) or through seminars, workshops and symposiums that were arranged by the executive office of the Forum in according to the policy of the LA21 (Inoue, 2011). Executive office-based meetings strived to increase the amount of citizens involved as the meetings were scheduled and open for the public (Inoue, 2011).

### ***Case: Patterns of Interaction - The process of creating and promoting an energy label***

In the year 2001 the lifestyle working group discussed ways of differentiating energy efficient products from less efficient ones in a way that would aid in enabling a more environmental friendly consumption for citizens in according to the focus areas set by LA21 (see Table 2) (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b). In 2002 the group decided on creating a labeling system that allowed the consumer to see how much the yearly average cost of energy usage of different kinds of electronics (ibid.). The origin of this idea came from a similar energy label that was a part of Tokyo's low-energy campaign in 2002 (Hori, 2011). Although the energy label in Tokyo ended up not being implemented; the Kyoto-based environmental NPOs Climate Network and Kino Kankyou cooperated together with the municipality based organization *Miyako Ecology Center*<sup>1</sup> and started a group that wanted to create a new energy label (Hori, 2011).

In late 2002 the Lifestyle Working Group of the Forum started its "Low-Energy Products Green Consumer Campaign" and with that the three organizations that initiated the project received additional support from other organizations within the working group (see Table 5) (ibid.). Since the project needed funding to create a layout and perform surveys in order to be able to execute and implement something as demanding as an energy labeling system, the executive office of the Forum stepped in and worked as an intermediary and assisted in finding funding for the project (Hori, 2011; Inoue, 2011). The executive office contacted the Climate Center of the Kyoto City municipality, whom were keen on the idea and decided to support it (Hori, 2011). Using the connections of the Climate Center to receive the necessary funding for the project and the credibility of the Kyoto City municipality the label could be developed and tested throughout Kyoto (Hori, 2011). In one year, the label then went from being used in 18 electronic stores in Kyoto 2002, to being used 169 electronic stores in 2003 (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b).

In 2004 the energy label was deemed mature and established enough to be made into an independent organization by the working group (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b). Thus the label was transformed into an independent organization called the "National Energy Label Convention" (ibid.) with key members from the life-style working group still active in the new organization (Hori, 2011). The new organization continued to develop the label and 2006 it became used nationwide as a result its quality and of a new legislation that promoted the usage of energy efficient appliances being passed (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b).

Although not all projects conducted within the Forum reach this kind of success, it serves as a good example of how the cooperation and interactions in the working groups of the Forum are conducted (Inoue, 2011). If someone within the network has an idea, they can use the forum as a platform to get in contact with others and engage projects as long as they it is within the scope of the Local Agenda 21 plan of Kyoto and they can convince other members of the value in the proposed project itself (ibid.). The executive office then tries to support these projects as much as they can with their limited resources and if the project is successful enough it is often converted into an independent organization (ibid.).

### ***Patterns of Interaction within the working group – Feedback from key actors***

As a part of my study, I interviewed Ryota Kondō (KO), responsible for communication with the Local Agenda 21 Forum at Climate Center of Kyoto City; Kazuhiko Inoue (IN), head of the secretariat of the Kyoto LA21 Forum executive office; and Takahiro Hori (HO), head of the secretariat of the environmental NPO Citizens Environmental Foundation regarding what they think are the strengths of the Forum and the LA21-policy, and in what aspects it has been lacking. The result of these interviews can be seen in Table 6 and 7.

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<sup>1</sup> Miyako Ecology Center is also known as the COP3-memorial center and created as part of the LA21 and environmental agenda of 1997 (Yaniguchi, 2011). It is an organization run by the municipality that focuses on educating the citizens of Kyoto on environmental issues and supporting environmental NPOs (ibid.). The executive office of the LA21 Forum is located at the Miyako Ecology Center (ibid.)

**Table 6 – Feedback on Kyoto’s LA21-based policies from representatives of the municipality.**

Pros for the municipality	Pros for NPOs
<p>Simplicity – Stakeholders are already knowledgeable in several areas and thus can offer services that are of value to the municipality (IN). This is advantageous for the municipality since it does not want to put an increased burden on its budget, nor do they want to increase taxes, so having a relationship with its stakeholders is good since it leads to a shared knowledge base (IN).</p> <p>The Kyoto City municipality and its workers are in a way limited by the existing environmental plan when it comes to what actions they can take and engage in (KO). Since the LA21 and the Forum is designed to operate independently, it can operate outside of the environmental plan (KO). As the latest edition of the Kyoto City EBP was created in 2010, which is before the Tōhoku earthquake, the municipality’s opportunities to work with renewable energy sources are limited. In this case, it is good to have an organization like the Forum that can work outside of the EBP, but is still partially controlled by the municipality (KO).</p> <p>In 1997 it was of great importance to work together with the environmental stakeholders (KO). There was not much drive within the municipality and the industry regarding any form of environmental agenda, and the environmental stakeholders came with a vision (KO). Especially due to the Rio- and COP3-meetings, Kyoto City was in a way forced into a situation where they had to improve its environmental policies and collaborating with its stakeholder helped out in creating proper LA21-based environmental policies (KO).</p>	<p>Environmental stakeholders gain by getting one more platform where they can promote their agenda (KO). Also, before the LA21 there was not any arena where they had direct communication with the municipality in this kind of way regarding such a broad spectrum of topics that the Agenda 21 offers, and thus the LA21-platform serves the NPOs well (KO).</p> <p>Stakeholders gain on being able to use resources, such as venues for meetings or the network that the Forum itself supplies and manages (IN).</p> <p>The independent movement-based system is good for the stakeholders since they can take any agenda they want and push it towards and get support if the project gets a following within the organization (IN).</p> <p>By cooperating with the municipality through the Forum and projects get supported, their products and services gain an increased value since the municipality of Kyoto City stands by it as a quality ensuring brand (IN).</p>
Cons with the Forum	
<p>A lot of the strong NPOs and citizen groups in Kyoto push for too grand of ideals and projects, while the municipality has to think about money and be realistic. This leads to collaborations being difficult and sometimes leads to workloads that in the end produce no result at all (KO).</p> <p>Since the LA21 and the Forum is designed to operate independent of the municipality, members of forum might want to push projects that the municipality already is working on (or in areas that the municipality do not want them to interfere in) with ideas and visions that are clearly different from the municipality’s and at times even unrealistic (KO).</p> <p>Even if representatives from different sectors within the municipality are members of the Forum, not all members are eager enough to work with certain issue. Since the collaboration between all parties is of importance, this fact leads to variations in what projects can be successful or not (KO).</p>	

**Table 7 – Feedback on Kyoto’s LA21-based policies from representatives of NPOs.**

<b>Pros for the municipality</b>	<b>Pros for NPOs</b>
<p>The municipality gains on collaborating with stakeholders, and especially environmental NPOs, due to the fact that they have a large knowledge base within the field of sustainability (HO).</p>	<p>There are limits to how much NPOs can accomplish on their own and thus having a platform where they can find support is good (HO).</p> <p>By collaborating with the municipality one can implement certain strategies that one could not do without their support, such as infrastructure-based areas like traffic (HO).</p> <p>Sometimes the LA21 takes part in other parts of Kyoto City’s environmental plans as a supporting entity, allowing NPOs to influence important environmental policy based projects (HO).</p>
<b>Cons with the Forum</b>	
<p>Depending too much on the support of the municipality when it comes to funding or the municipality co-signing projects has previously led to several projects being cancelled in the last second due to the municipality backing out (HO).</p> <p>Even if the concept of the Forum is good, there is a problem with the LA21 covering such a large area of topics since there already are some partnership-based organizations within the environmental field in Kyoto (HO). As an example: waste and resource-usage based ideas are covered by an organization called the Gomigen Network with over 400 members from different sectors (HO). Also, there is the Miyako Ecology Center that also focuses on spreading information and increasing the collaboration between different stakeholders in Kyoto (HO). Having several organizations that the already limited number of NPOs in Japan are supposed to engage and invest their scarce resources in often lead to the Forum not being prioritized; unless it is a topic like sustainable tourism or traffic that is not covered in any organization at all (HO).</p> <p>The LA21 is not well known within the Kyoto community. While the brand of Kyoto City might be useful, the LA21 brand is not (HO).</p> <p>The organization of the LA21 lacks a clear long-term vision and its focus has instead become based on finding solutions for specific problems (HO).</p> <p>Local Agenda 21 is supposed to cover several areas other than the environmental field, while in the Kyoto-version it is the sole focus (HO). It would be better if it also covered more issues regarding local development (HO). It also makes it clear that the LA21 wasn’t created as a result of all the actors having a distinct and complete vision of what the LA21 was supposed to be and what they wanted to accomplish; but more so that all actors simply felt that they had to create a good environmental policy as quick as possible in order to have it established in time for the COP3-meeting that focused on environmental issues (HO).</p>	

### 4.3 The outcomes of the Kyoto LA21 Forum

As a part of the survey I researched what outcomes LA21 Forum-based collaborations had delivered. My study based on the interviews I conducted shows that the four main outcomes of the LA21 up until the year 2011 were:

- **KES Environmental Management System Standard**
  - Project started in 2001 as a part of the Business Activities WG (Inoue, 2011).
  - The KES is a simplified Environmental Management System Standard that focuses on small-middle-scale businesses with two different certification levels and is easier and less expensive to implement than the ISO14001-standard (KES Kyoto, 2011).
  - Became an independent organization in 2007 (Inoue, 2011).
  - In 2010, 850 companies were certified (Kyoto City, 2010).
  
- **KESC. Kyoto Environmental Community**
  - Project started in 2007 as a part of the Business Activities WG (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b).
  - The KESC holds educations for schools and children where certain KES-certified businesses can introduce their environmental initiatives to students and work with their corporate social responsibility on a local community level (Hori, 2011; Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b). Businesses' coming to schools to advocate their activities is of questionable nature due to risk of propaganda (Hori, 2011). However, with the help of the Kyoto City brand and the LA21 Forum ensuring that the content of the lectures is appropriate, some small and medium-sized enterprises could through the KESC go out to schools and tell them about their environmental work and how they are trying to be more sustainable and thus aiding in increasing the awareness of the environmental agenda (ibid.).
  - Has four teams (renewable energy environmental education-team, traffic environmental education-team, citizens collective solar energy creation-team & water and forest ecosystem creation-team) that has arranged several meetings on different topics for schools around in Kyoto since its foundation (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b).
  - Has helped in spreading awareness and at the same time increased the value of the KES (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b).
  
- **Energy Label**
  - Project started in 2002 as a part of the Lifestyle WG (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b)
  - The Energy Label enables customers to see the average cost of using a product for one year and then grades them on a scale between one to five stars in order to promote a low-energy lifestyle (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b).
  - Became an independent organization in 2004 (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b).
  - The energy label has become used nationwide to promote consumption and production of energy efficiency products (Inoue, 2011; Kondō, 2011).

- **Kyoto Green Power**

- Project started in 2007 as a part of the Renewable Energy WG (Kyoto City LA21 Forum, 2011:b)
- Kyoto Green Power is a renewable energy certificate system that promotes sustainable energy production through trade of energy certificates, combined with an organization that arranges events and uses part of its income to finance new renewable energy production through a NPO-based fund called the Kyoto Green Fund (Kyoto Green Energy, 2011:a).
- Became an independent organization in 2009 (Inoue, 2011).
- Between January and August 2011, the organization had certified 28 600 kWh of renewable energy source-based energy production in Kyoto (Kyoto Green Energy, 2011:b).

I also studied the results that had been accomplished by different working groups and if and what environmental groups had been involved. The results can be seen in Table 8.

**Table 8 - Outcomes of the LA21 Forum from different Working Groups (Source: Inoue, 2011)**

<b>Working Group (WG)</b>	<b>Results</b>	<b>Environmental Groups</b>
<b>Lifestyle WG</b>	Energy Label	Hideno Eco-Life Research Center, Kino Kankyou, Citizens Environmental Foundation, Climate Network, Consumers Kyoto, etc.
<b>Business Activities WG</b>	KES, KESC	KES Environmental Organization, Kyoto Industrial Organization, etc.
<b>Eco-Tourism WG</b>	Eco-Hotel/-Ryokan	Kino Kankyou, Kyoto Youth Hostel Association, Kyoto GPN, etc.
<b>Traffic WG</b>	Daigo-community bus. City Center Eco-Traffic-plan.	Aruite Kuraseru Machi Dukuri Suishin Kaigi, Kyoto University, Citizens Environmental Foundation, etc.
<b>Food Cycle WG</b>	Organic Waste Composting System	Green Eco-Club, Kyoto Environmental Action Network, Eco-Life Kyoto, Kyoto University, Kyoto Prefectural University, KIESS, etc
<b>Eco-Festivals WG</b>	Reuse-System for Utensils	Ecotone, etc.
<b>Renewable Energy WG</b>	Kyoto Green Power	Climate Network, Kyoto Green Fund, Eco-Tech, etc.

## 5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This study shows that the Kyoto LA21-plan provides the basic agenda and foundation for the partnership-based organization called the Kyoto LA21 Forum. The Kyoto LA21 Forum has two main functions:

- ① To create a network of different members and organizations consisting of stakeholders that both supports and promotes collaborations between different actors from different sectors within the local community.
- ② In supporting its members, the Forum is to serve as an intermediary between members of the Forum and the municipality in order to receive funding or other forms of support for projects created by the working groups.

First, I will analyze the efficacy of this policy by looking at how these two functions have been executed through the different intermediate outcomes of the policy. Then, I will discuss its usefulness for both parties and what factors have influenced the success or failure of that specific step.

### 5.1 External factors of the local arena

The efficacy of LA21-based initiatives in Japan was affected negatively because of them not receiving any direct form of financial support from the central government. Within the field of environmental policies the local government simply has a bigger financial margin when focusing on EBP-based activities than when focusing on LA21-based activities. This creates a problem for the potential efficacy of the LA21-plan when it isn't covered in the EBP. Looking at the case of Kyoto City LA21 Forum, there can be seen a potentially problematic focus areas regarding its future development. Even if the municipality state that they want the Forum and its NPOs to work with areas outside the ones that the municipality already is engaged in through its EBP, they might not be able to financially support them because of projects being outside of the scope that is covered by the centralized funding scheme. This is a problem because of the ability to receive financial support for projects has turned into a main driver for the participation of environmental groups in the Forum, and if the Forum ceases to provide this kind of support the credibility of the policy will deteriorate within the stakeholders groups.

When the participation rate of stakeholders within decision processes is low there is a problem in the democratic system. The study showed that there tendencies of this problem could be seen in the context of Japan. Thus, it has been of additionally importance to engage stakeholders. Naturally, if stakeholders can feel that their efforts are meaningful and make a difference, there is an increased chance in an increased participation rate; allowing a more effective use of local knowledge. Making the stakeholders involved in decision-processes within the municipality is thus important, due to it allowing a broader knowledge base and from a democratization perspective. Of course, depending too much on feedback from citizens would slow down the efficacy of the decision processes. But since it seems that there have been problems with raising the value of stakeholder participation, the engagement of- and collaborating with knowledgeable stakeholders in the LA21 of Kyoto City and the Forum has served a great purpose.

## **5.2 The local government and –community of Kyoto City**

In Japan, like in many other countries, local governments tend to be dependent on national initiatives regarding policy creation; especially within the field of the global environment- and sustainability-related agenda. But on the other hand, another trend has been that local actors have gone beyond compliance on their own initiative. The LA21 in Kyoto City might not be a top running case from an international perspective, but the vitalization of the city's environmental agenda and the municipality environmental policies has been of importance because of it raising the value of the topics within the local government and -community. The municipality collaborating with local environmental groups, -businesses and -universities, and taking advantage of their knowledge base in the creation process was one of the key components in the successful implementation of the sustainability-focused LA21-policy. It should however be said that development would have beyond any doubt occurred later, if at all, if the COP3-meeting in 1997 would have taken place at any other location than Kyoto. It functioned as a trigger for active stakeholders to raise the issue, for passive stakeholders to take action, and forced the municipality into having more ambitious and thought-out environmental policies.

Without a strong local government it would have been increasingly difficult to participate in local development-based initiatives such as the Local Agenda 21. If the Kyoto City municipality would have been more dependent on the Kyoto Prefecture municipality, their options would have been even more limited. Thinking globally and acting locally is becoming increasingly important in having a sustainable local development and in order to prevent climate change; and the importance of having a strong local government with financial opportunities to support local environmental initiatives could be one of the lessons that are to be learned from this thesis.

## **5.3 The Local Agenda 21 of Kyoto City**

The goals and focus areas of the LA21 are a good foundation for a sustainable development plan, although few clearly defined goals and methods were set in order to reach the CO<sub>2</sub>-emission goal. The CO<sub>2</sub>-emission goal itself could also have been set higher but was most likely a result of the goal already being set by the municipality in its EBP. The fact that the policy with its broad spectrum of loosely defined strategies and its only clear goal (CO<sub>2</sub>-emissions) already being determined by the municipality before the policy was created serves as an example of the flaws in the creation of this partnership-based policy. It is natural for the municipality to clash with environmental groups when it comes to the ambitions of environmental policies. This can be seen when looking at the feedback from both sides. The municipality thinks that the NPOs have too high- and sometimes even unrealistic ambitions that ignore financial restrictions, while the NPOs think that the municipality should have to low ambitions and that their efforts in promoting a environmentally friendly society aren't sufficient enough. The problems of the LA21 Forum of Kyoto having loosely defined and modest goals were partially because of the creation processes of the EBP and the LA21 weren't synchronized. If they would have been, it might have resulted in a more ambitious EBP, which would have given the Forum more opportunities to support the working groups during the rough years, which could have led to more successful projects being executed, which in the end would have resulted in more sustainability efforts being made in Kyoto. However this kind of statement is dependent on stakeholders having higher ambitions than the municipality, and thus the development could have been the other way around if stakeholders from other sectors or of other interests than promoting an environmental agenda would have been more active. This elementary political issue highlights how dependent any local partnership-based organization is of the political state of its local community.

Focusing on topics that have a bigger value for the stakeholders and connecting them to the environmental and sustainability issue seems to have been a good idea. Stakeholders could probably easily see the worth of the Forum because of the fact that they were using the value of

the city's rich cultural heritage also was an important factor to reach results in the creation of the policy and in the actual activities within the Forum. However, only having the same members throughout the period of the work with the Local Agenda 21 might have resulted in the organization being hesitant to change.

#### **5.4 The Committee of the Kyoto City Local Agenda 21 Forum**

Engaging all three key sectors (municipality – citizens – industry) and using the knowledge of academia available at the already environmentally educated universities of Kyoto was a key factor when creating the LA21 Forum. Part of this importance is already described in the sections above, but another key issue is that most of the members in the committee that created the LA21 still are members in the committee of the LA21 Forum. With the committee playing a key role in decision making and strengthening projects through members by recommending new key members it has been important to have a multitude of backgrounds within committee members. The broad spectrum of members that could contribute with expertise and knowledge in different areas of the local community, environmental issues and academia; aided in ensuring productive projects being pursued within the field of sustainability within the organization. This shows the value of the phase of listening to and learning from local citizens and business groups when engaging in stakeholder based initiatives.

#### **5.5 The Executive Office of the Kyoto City Local Agenda 21 Forum**

The work that the executive office does by networking, spreading information, arranging meetings at the same time as they function as an intermediary is as necessary as it is impressive considering its scarce resources. With only a handful of employees doing all the office work at the same time that they communicate with other organizations and try to find funding for a lot of the projects within the forum seems to be a stressful environment to work in. However it also seems to be functioning adequately when looking at its results, with steadily growing membership numbers and with a handful of successful projects.

Despite of the any good intentions within the executive office, projects that are in need of some form of support from the local government are basically forced in a situation where the municipality decides on what projects are deemed useful or not. Part of the executive office's role is being the pipeline between the working groups and the municipality. Thus, there are instances where potentially good projects won't get supported by Kyoto City due to budget cuts, lack of interest or key members of the municipality not being willing to cooperate despite of the employees of the executive office's efforts. This puts a lot of pressure on the networking skills of the executive office and with their already limited resources and seemingly weak brand and existence it is difficult to continuously produce good results. Consequently, with the LA21 having a seemingly unnoticed reputation, the strength and future reputation of the Forum will in the end be damaged if too many projects don't receive support from the municipality. So in a way the fact is that even if the Forum is designed to work independent of the municipality it is still partially controlled by and dependant on the support of the Kyoto City municipality.

#### **5.6 Working Groups of the Kyoto LA21 Forum**

The working group dynamic seems to have served the Forum well and has on the initiatives of stakeholders produced several outcomes, as can be seen in Chapter 4.3, that correspond with the focus areas in the LA21-plan and has aided Kyoto in promoting a sustainability agenda.

There are restrictions to what NPOs and stakeholders can accomplish on their own and thus the high degree of independency within the working groups allows them to push their ideas to a network where they might find the support that they need is good. This is one of the strengths of the working groups of the Forum. Although this thesis has not explored how much

communication is being conducted between members outside of the Forum through private initiatives, the Forum has still done its job in supplying stakeholders with one additional platform of action that has room for a lot of different environmental- and sustainability related issues to be promoted.

Although the dependency of the municipality still plays a role in the ultimate outcomes of the working groups; certain projects do not need the financial support of the municipality. Working groups that only need the support from the municipality as form a quality certificate for their projects can still produce results through the LA21 Forum. As described in Chapter 4.2.2: actors within the Kyoto community might be skeptic to certain NPOs or businesses, but if the project goes under a name supported by the municipality it suddenly enables the projects to gain the necessary credibility. The clearest example of this is how the KESC enabled certain certified businesses to communicate their environmental initiatives with schools and other actors much thanks to the municipality ensuring that there would be no risk of lobbyism.

The working groups that have been active all concern topics that are within the scope of the heavily sustainable development focused LA21-focus areas, one of which focuses on the production of electricity through renewable energy sources. This specific working group could serve as one of the strengths in having a flexible organization that can be active outside of the EBP. With the latest edition of the Kyoto city EBP being created before the Tōhoku Earthquake that raised the interest in renewable energy-based electricity production there could be an opportunity for the municipality to put extra effort into energy-based issues by increasing its support to the LA21 Forum.

# 6. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the contextual data derived in Chapters 2 & 4, the case study-based findings in Chapter 4 and the analysis of Chapter 5 I summarized opportunities and threats in the policy itself and its surroundings. I then drew conclusions based on this regarding what lessons that can be learned and what recommendations can be given to further develop the Kyoto City Local Agenda 21 and other local environmental stakeholder based collaborations in Japan.

## 6.1 Opportunities

- First and foremost the Kyoto LA21 played an important role in the democratization of the local community due to it opening up the local government to the concept of public participation. It also showed that the municipality can gain from collaborating with its stakeholders within the environmental field. As seen in the success of Kyoto LA21 Forum-based projects such as the Energy Label and the KES, stakeholders could by using their combined knowledge base and determination and with the assistance of the Forum and the municipality produce strong Kyoto-based brands and sustainability-based initiatives. Through the Kyoto City LA21 Forum the municipality can maintain its work in finding local solutions in reaching a more sustainable development and hopefully increase the awareness of the public regarding the issues of the environmental agenda at the same time.
- Another lesson to be learned from the case of the Kyoto LA21 is the importance of global initiatives and best practice examples of local governments. This study showed that it was the COP3-meeting that directly triggered the municipality and its stakeholders into taking action. The development process of Kyoto's LA21 could proceed smoothly much due to an already existing framework in the Agenda 21 and LA21-based initiatives already having been conducted throughout the world functioning as best practices that could be promoted by local academics. This highlights both the importance of global initiatives and the role of local actors having high ambitions and creating good examples.
- It is important to find issues that are important to stakeholders when one is to engage in stakeholder dialogues and communication with local stakeholders in order to increase the rate of public participation. The study showed that this was ensured in the LA21 due to stakeholders participating at a high degree in the decision process from the very start of the policy creation process, enabling them to communicate issues and topics that were important. This aided in creating a public platform where all parties (the local government and its stakeholders) could collaborate in topics relevant to the local community. The organization being driven by a broad spectrum of different stakeholders and the agenda being focused on issues important to the local community also aided in increasing the participation rate. These are all important tools to further development in order to increase the strength of the policy.
- Theme-based working groups with members from different sectors helped the policy in two ways. Actors that have a special interest or a specialized knowledge base can enter a working group that is suitable for them and it is thus easier for stakeholders to find topics that they can relate to and projects they can contribute to. It also helps by allowing members from different sectors to collaborate within a mutual agenda. It is however dependent on the amount of members and the spectrum of members to ensure a positive development of the working groups. The organization thus needs to continue its work in increasing its membership numbers and their capacity to support them in order to support further development of the working group strategy.

## 6.2 Threats

- A policy based on stakeholders independently taking action and increasing the rate of participation is susceptible of the local public political climate. If the numbers of NPOs, citizens groups or businesses interested in engaging in policies is insufficient the strength of the actual outcome producing component of the policy falls due to the simple fact of their not being enough resources or a network of sufficient size to support it. There is a risk that the Forum cannot grow any more due to it not being many potential members left in the local community. The strength of the policy simply rises and falls with the state of the public opinion. Thus in order for the policy to grow, the environmental agenda needs to become of more importance within the local community. Ensuring this kind of development has shown to demand a lot of time and effort to be put in by both government and stakeholders such as environmental NPOs and is as difficult as it is important.
- Even if the platform that the Kyoto LA21 Forum is a solid foundation, the weak existence of the Forum itself in the public eye and its low priority within the local government hurts the policy's credibility and thus hurts its efficacy. Thus it can in the end lead to the downfall of the organization. The organization might have to be reborn in a new shape in order to raise the public's awareness of it and the municipality might have to change its relationship to the Forum itself in order to create a better platform.
- The lack of support from the central government is problematic for policies similar to the Kyoto LA21. Local governments in Japan are struggling with restricted budgets and forced into neglecting LA21-based initiatives. Also, the Agenda 21 itself might not be as strong of a brand in Japan anymore. But the LA21 remains as one of very few policies that focus on public participation, not necessarily only public participation within the field of sustainable development. This fact results in fewer collaborations between local governments and stakeholders being conducted throughout the nation because of local governments the dependency on the central government regarding environmental policies. An effect of this can be seen in the LA21 not resulting in central funding for local governments, resulting in fewer projects that can be supported financially within the Kyoto LA21 Forum. There seems to be a need to further the democratization process and work with engaging citizens. By using the knowledge available at local stakeholders, engaging citizens and working with stakeholder dialogue could enable further local sustainable solutions throughout Japan and Kyoto. Since local contexts such as the local community and -financial situation seem to have a big effect on the local government, support coming to the local governments from the central government might aid efforts in stakeholder dialogue throughout Japan. This can be of importance since certain municipalities are more susceptible to the loss of industries and businesses that could be caused by e.g. raising taxes.
- While the independent and loose nature of the Forum is one of its strengths, the lack of a proper vision and ambitious goals might have led to it focus on solving specific problems or specific projects instead of focusing on reaching an aspiring vision that all stakeholders can stride towards. This is especially a problem post-Kyoto protocol and after the timeframe of the previous CO2-goal of Kyoto, since there now is no clear goal to work towards at all. The policy needs to set a grander vision, but most importantly clearer goals in order to push the limits of the ultimate outcomes of the policy.

### 6.3 Recommendations

- In order to secure a positive development of the Kyoto LA21 Forum it would be good for the local government to review its relationship with it and how the municipality itself values the organization. The foundation that is available already has its strengths with several actors within the local community already participating, but the organization itself needs to become a stronger brand and receive more support from the municipality in order to improve. The Forum has two main weaknesses. One is its sensitivity to losing its credibility due to its low priority within the municipality that it is dependent on despite being an organization based on stakeholders independently engaging in projects. The second is its weak existence within the local community. Since sustainable development promoted in the LA21 touches policies of several different areas of the local government there is a valid merit in increasing the collaborations within the municipality's different departments and further engaging them with the Kyoto City LA21 Forum. In order to do this the structure and shape of the Kyoto LA21 Forum has to be changed; making it a part of the municipality's policy creation-processes within all of its departments they could increase the participation rate of stakeholders and gain more knowledge from the local community. For stakeholders in the Forum this could possibly lead to more projects gaining support from the municipality. The municipality would also at the same time continue its work in engaging its citizens in democratic processes. During this it might be an idea for the municipality to change the name of- and restart the communicative strategy of the Forum within the local community.
- There is a window of opportunity for the Forum to grow due to Kyoto's EBP of 2010 not being sufficient in meeting the increased demand of renewable energy-based initiatives, especially after the Tōhoku earthquake and the East Japan disaster. Kyoto City has the opportunity to take even further initiatives in strengthening its brand by investing in renewable energy-initiatives and Eco-Tourism. For this, the Forum is an excellent tool to get support from stakeholders and invest time and energy in projects outside of the EBP. Representatives of the municipality should thus increase their effort in collaborating with stakeholders and see if there is even more potential values in doing so.
- In the context of a community with a dormant environmental agenda but with several knowledgeable stakeholders it would be of value if the Forum would become a more apparent part of the City's upcoming EBP and the members of the Forum were invited to its creation process.
- Because of limited resources the local governments have to allocate to partnership-based policies it would be of great value if the central government created a policy that allowed local governments to further increase its efforts in engaging its stakeholders in sustainability-related issues. Centralized funding for local sustainable development-based initiatives would not only aid the Kyoto City's already existing LA21 organization, but also allow other municipalities to engage in similar activities and thus allowing an increase in local solutions to a global problem.

## 6.4 Further Studies

- The relationship between the municipality and the executive office seemed to be more complex than initially imagined and a deepened study would be of value in order to further analyze the structure of the Kyoto LA21 Forum.
- More stakeholders, environmental NPOs and members of certain projects should be interviewed in order to understand how the Forum functions in reality. Further studies are needed to ensure what projects came to as a result of the policy and what projects were results of environmental NPOs engaging in private initiatives. Due to time constraints this could not be executed within the time frame of the thesis and is a highly recommended area of study when engaging in further studies of the policy.
- The true strengths, weaknesses and prospects of the stakeholder collaboration-based environmental policies cannot be judged by this thesis alone, and thus weakens the validity of the conclusions drawn. This study was heavily focused on a qualitative approach but the small amount of interviewees' weakness the strength of the analysis due to data being highly susceptible to personal bias. Together with a more pluralistic input approach, having implemented well determined evaluative criteria and evaluated the policy as a collaborative environmental management system could lead to stronger conclusions to be drawn.

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