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IRS AKTUELL
Newsletter for Research on Society and Space

Are Cities Climate Pioneers?

_Cities as Creators of Climate Policy

_Climate Governance: On the Interplay of Spatial Scales

_Traffic Transition in Inner Cities and Suburbia

_Interview: Planning Conflicts and Investment Projects

Content

Dear readers of IRS Aktuell,

from the end of October to mid-November 2021, governments and other organisations met at the "COP26" summit in Glasgow to finally translate the goals of the Paris Climate Agreement into concrete action, to combat climate change.

It became clear early on that the assembled heads of government would not jump over their shadows this time either. Are the nation states possibly overburdened with a global steering task of this magnitude? If so, who could fill the gap? Corporations? Civil society? Networks of regions?

In this issue, we turn our attention to cities and their – possible – role as pioneers of climate policy. The IRS has been researching the spatial dimensions of energy transition for quite some time. Three years ago, the question of climate policy approaches in cities, in Germany as well as in the European context, was added. In the title articles of this issue, we ask which cities are actually becoming active in climate policy, how they are doing it, which historical and structural factors influence the activities, and how current events affect them (p. 4). We "zoom in" and ask what the relationship is between the core city and the surrounding area, for example in the transport transition (p. 18), and how other levels - federal, state, EU - shape climate policy at the local level (p. 12). Finally, we delve into the often conflictual negotiations surrounding concrete planning projects that municipalities face in the context of ecological and economic transformations (interview on p. 22).

Now I wish you a stimulating read.

Yours, Oliver Ibert

Director of the IRS

Urban Climate Policy
Between Old Industries and New Alliances

Cities are considered pioneers in climate policy. But does this image correspond to reality, or does it in fact only apply to a few wealthy metropolises? Two research projects at the IRS have taken a closer look at the climate policy activities of cities. The result: there are many different positions, and old imbalances persist. But social pressure has made a difference almost everywhere, especially in recent years.

Cities account for around 70% of greenhouse gas emissions worldwide - from transport, industry, construction activity and the heating and cooling of buildings. At the same time, they are particularly affected by climate change: Heat waves, heavy rain and storms cause severe damage to property and endanger the health of the urban population, even leading to deaths. For almost 30 years, some cities have therefore been committed to climate protection. They are reducing greenhouse gas emissions by, for example, expanding electromobility, cycle paths and public transport, or promoting building modernisation. More recently, in the face of increasingly extreme weather events, climate change adaptation measures have been added, such as land unsealing, urban and building greening to promote natural cooling and infiltration. Currently, such approaches are being discussed under the buzzword of the "sponge city". Cities are therefore now predominantly perceived as drivers of progress in the climate debate. In his book "If Mayors Ruled the World", the American political scientist Benjamin R. Barber even attributed to cities the role of the central political shapers of a networked world - which, in his view, are thus replacing the "dysfunctional" nation states.

Which Cities are Taking Action – and Why?

So, are cities the pioneers of climate protection and adaptation? This is not such a sweeping statement. Initially, it was particularly wealthy Eur opean metropolises such as Amsterdam, Copenhagen and Paris that pursued ambitious and high-profile transformation policies. This gave them a lot of visibility on the world stage, for example as venues for climate summits and as namesakes for treaties such as the "Paris Agreement". But what about the big cities in the second tier, what about smaller, poorer or old industrial cities? Who is acting, for climate mitigation and/or adaptation, with what focus and ambition? What factors determine action, and can learning among cities be a stimulating factor?

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Two IRS research projects address these questions. In the project "Matching Forerunner Cities" (MaFoCi), Kristine Kern and Wolfgang Haupt from the research department "Institutional Change and Regional Public Goods", in cooperation with the Finnish Åbo Akademi University and on behalf of the Finnish city of Turku - a climate protection pioneer city that wants to become climate neutral by 2029 - investigated what the city can learn from comparably positioned cities in the Baltic Sea region in terms of climate policy. Malmö (Sweden), Groningen (The Netherlands) and Rostock (Germany) were selected as the cities for comparison. The three cities have many structural similarities with Turku: they are of similar size, are considered climate policy pioneers in their respective countries, are traditional Hanseatic cities, have a strong

research infrastructure as old university cities, and have had to cope with similar structural change processes in the course of their history.

In the transdisciplinary research project "Urban Resilience via-a-vis Extreme Weather Events - Typologies and Transfer" (ExTrass), which the IRS is promoting in cooperation with the University of Potsdam and the project partner cities of Potsdam, Würzburg and Remscheid, among others, the focus is on adaptation to extreme weather in German cities. The IRS team, consisting of Kristine Kern, Wolfgang Haupt, Peter Eckersley and Janne Irmisch, surveyed the climate policy activity, both in climate protection and in climate adaptation, in all German cities over 50,000 inhabitants and all cities over 100,000 inhabitants (104 cities in total). Using extensive desktop research, analysis of policy documents and interviews with experts, the researchers identified climate policy strategies and institutional structures, including human resources. The team also examined the evolution of concepts and strategies over time and their translation into concrete action. By counting and scoring the findings, they were able to quantify the climate policy activity of cities and assign them to different clusters (see box p. 8). At the beginning of the project, the team conducted in-depth case studies ("pathway analyses") in the three partner cities, the aim of which was to understand how cities come to have their own climate policies in the first place over time - what drives them, what inhibits them, what makes them special. Later, once more was known about the structural differences among the 104 study cities, such path analyses were conducted for 17 other cities with very different setups. In total, the project team conducted over 70 interviews with representatives from city administrations, local politics and civil society in 20 cities.

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Podcast Episode 8:
Städte im Klimawandel:
Resilienz oder Anpassung?

Between Climate Protection and Climate Adaptation

It became clear that urban climate policy is first and foremost a question of resources. Large cities with a larger budget for climate policy are more likely to be able to afford specialist departments and permanent positions for climate protection and/or climate adaptation, while smaller municipalities often operate at best on a grant basis and can only employ climate managers on a temporary basis. The long-standing leading metropolises continue to occupy the top positions in climate protection and climate adaptation (see box p. 8), with climate protection having been established for much longer and supplemented over time by climate adaptation activities. Nevertheless, some smaller large cities and also medium-sized cities have also worked their way into strong positions. A certain role specialisation is discernible, such as the distinction between "leader" and "pioneer". Some cities are extremely active in international networks, receive awards for their climate and sustainability policies and present themselves as role models ("Leaders" such as Freiburg). Others have very progressive concepts and measures, but communicate this less to the outside world because they have less interest or simply no capacity to build an international profile ("Pioneers" such as Karlsruhe).

The distinction between climate protection and climate adaptation is also very significant for smaller cities. Some cities are strongly specialised in climate protection and have only late started to develop climate adaptation concepts (e.g. Bonn, Erlangen, Freiburg). Others put climate adaptation in the foreground from the very beginning (e.g. Oberhausen, Solingen, Wuppertal, Karlsruhe). Still others, such as Würzburg in Bavaria, started their own climate policy late, but are now addressing both fields of

action together. Even among the international leaders, differences are discernible here. Turku in Finland, for example, is one of the world's leading cities in climate protection, but has some catching up to do in the area of climate adaptation.

In the course of its research, the ExTrass team has developed a differentiated position on the integration of climate protection and adaptation. In the IRS podcast Society@Space, urban researcher Wolfgang Haupt advocates close coordination of the fields of action: "It is always about space. What do you do with a roof? You can green it - a classic climate adaptation measure. You can build solar cells on it - a classic climate protection measure. You can also combine both. To do this, however, the two areas must act in a coordinated manner." From the perspective of municipalities, adaptation to climate change is increasingly becoming the focus of attention. Although, as with climate protection, it is not a compulsory task of local government (see also p. 12), various compulsory tasks are affected by it: safeguarding the drinking water supply, for example, and protecting the population from disasters. Climate protection, on the other hand, must be reconciled with other objectives of urban building, transport and energy policy in an increasingly tense environment (see p. 22).

Drivers and Barriers to Climate Action

In general, the climate policy activity of cities is favoured by the presence of scientific institutions. If cities have universities and relevant research institutes or, moreover, cultivate the self-image of a science city, they are much more likely to actively address climate change and develop appropriate strategies. Trusting relationships and exchange formats between science and city administration are particularly productive in this regard. One example of such an established relationship is the "Climate Partnership City and Science" in Potsdam, which was established in 2018. In contrast, it is an obstacle to climate policy activity if a city society, especially its political networks, is dominated by representatives of traditional fossil fuel industries, and if the city's identity is strongly shaped by these industries. The research team has observed this relationship, for example, in individual traditional centres of automobile production as well as in centres of coal extraction and coal-fired power generation. Several cities from this group are among the most inactive in terms of climate policy of the entirety studied.

It can be beneficial, especially for climate protection, if cities have access to infrastructure companies for energy supply, public transport or housing, for example through municipal ownership. This can be seen again in the example of the city of Turku, which is shaping a climate-effective infrastruc-

ture policy through municipal companies. Similar examples can be found in Freiburg and Potsdam. However, the example of energy policy, especially in the current tense situation on the gas market, shows that the goal of energy security can be understood and addressed in different ways: in the sense of a decisive turn towards renewable energies and decentralised production, or in the sense of a more defensive hedging with fossil energy sources. Research has shown that fundamental decisions about the design of energy supply networks shape cities and their climate performance for decades.

Windows of opportunity in building policy have a similar effect. If a city has planning capacity, favourable ownership, investment capital, vacant land and/or a designable building stock, it can implement numerous measures that lead to better adaptation to climate change and significantly reduce per capita greenhouse gas emissions. However, if cities are constrained by natural features (e.g. basin location, river and seafront location) and building stock (e.g. listed buildings or little municipal ownership), they have fewer options for climate-oriented building policies. However, it should be noted here that areas with historic buildings are often already designed to be sustainable and climate-friendly - for example, through durable construction, short distances and infiltration-friendly floor coverings such as cobblestones (see box p. 9).

Climate Protection in the World Heritage

In historic city centres, there are frequent and increasing conflicts between heritage protection regulations and the goal of redesigning buildings in a climate-friendly way. A team of researchers from the IRS and the Bern University of Applied Sciences has now shed new light on the interplay between cultural heritage and climate policy. The authors ask: To what extent do climate policy and urban heritage management influence each other? What interfaces and synergies exist between the two? And what can cities with large listed building stock learn from each other?

The case study in the UNESCO World Heritage Cities and "Matching Cities" (see p. 4) Bern and Potsdam shows that the historical structures of the cities severely limit today's possibilities for action - but not only in a negative sense. On the contrary, the World Heritage sites offer excellent conditions for a sustainable, climate-neutral city: Bern's medieval city centre was not converted to be car-friendly and thus forms a city of short distances. Potsdam's extensive green spaces and water areas help to mitigate the effects of climate change. In both cities, historic buildings have been renovated to make them more energy-efficient - also in the interest of preserving historic monuments - and in Bern's city center, infrastructure for district heating and e-mobility has even been installed. In this way, Bern and Potsdam prove that cities with historic city centres can become climate policy pioneers not only in spite of their cultural heritage, but also because of it. The study also revealed numerous learning potentials between Potsdam and Bern, as well as for many other historic city centres - especially the 90 European World Heritage Cities.

Kern, Kristine; Irmisch, Janne; Odermatt, Colette; Haupt, Wolfgang; Kissling-Näf, Ingrid (2021): Cultural Heritage, Sustainable Development, and Climate Policy: Comparing the UNESCO World Heritage Cities of Potsdam and Bern. Sustainability, 13 (16), p. 9131.
► doi.org/10.3390/su13169131

Civil Society as a Source of Legitimacy and a Power Factor

In recent years in particular, the civil society dimension of urban climate policy has gained massively in importance. This is partly due to the growing desire for participation among the population and in politics itself (see p. 22). The IRS also investigated the possibilities for improved civil society participation in urban climate policy as part of the MaFoCi project on behalf of the City of Turku. Turku - like Finland as a whole - has an extremely capable and modern public sector, but social participation in policy formulation is hardly anchored there. Groningen and Rostock, two cities with a high level of participation, were available as comparative cases in the project. Groningen in the Netherlands in particular can look back on a decades-long tradition of active civic initiative, which has contributed significantly to Groningen's transformation into a bicycle city, among other things. However, the difference proved to be so great that findings from the comparative cities were hardly transferable. In contrast, the research team found what they were looking for in a project in the city of Zwickau, which, like ExTrass, is also funded by the BMBF's "City of the Future" funding line. The Saxon industrial city has only been one of the economic beneficiaries of a climate-friendly transformation since the VW electric car plant opened in 2019. However, the population remained predominantly sceptical, and participation structures were generally poorly developed. The Turku city administration was able to learn from Zwickau how participation structures can be gradually tested and established in an environment without a pronounced participatory culture. Although the level of civil society participation differs from city to city, an increasing interest in popular participation can be observed almost everywhere.

> Urban climate policy is a matter of resources. Large cities can afford dedicated departments and permanent staff for climate protection and/or adaptation, while smaller communities can, at best, draw on external funding and thus act temporarily.

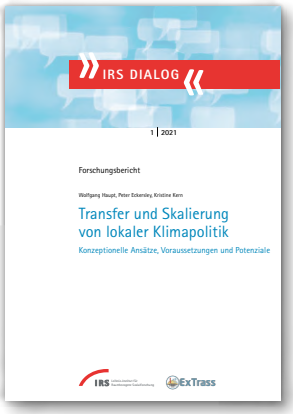
However, in recent years civil society itself has become a power factor that has significantly influenced climate

Cities in the Climate Ranking

A team from the IRS and the University of Potsdam sorted 104 large and medium-sized cities in Germany according to the scope and level of ambition of their climate policy activities (see p. 6). This resulted in a city ranking for climate protection and for climate adaptation, a combined overall ranking, and a grouping into six clusters of cities, each with a similar policy mix. Berlin is ranked first in both the overall ranking and the climate adaptation ranking. Large cities dominate both the top 20 of the overall ranking and the cities (group 1) that are very strong in climate mitigation and adaptation. Closest to this are large cities (Group 2) that are strong in both fields but have a focus on climate adaptation, such as Dresden, Cologne and Duisburg. The researchers conclude that the resources and lead of large cities in climate protection also often help in the formulation of climate adaptation strategies. Some smaller cities occupy top positions in climate protection, while they are less active in climate adaptation (Group 3), such as Emden, Kempten and Kaiserslautern. Cities that are equally active in climate protection and adaptation but less present in international networks (group 4) include Bochum, Moers and Osnabrück. The smaller medium-sized cities are predominantly found at the bottom of the three rankings. The study refers to activities up to the end of 2018. The authors plan to update and expand the ranking to around 190 cities.

Otto, Antje; Kern, Kristine; Haupt, Wolfgang; Eckersley, Peter; Thieken, Annegret (2021): Ranking Local Climate Policy: Assessing the Mitigation and Adaptation Activities of 104 German Cities. Climatic Change, 167 (5)
► link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10584-021-03142-9

policy activity, especially in the form of the Fridays4Future movement. In many cities, the political level has recognised the necessity of climate policy measures for years and has developed comprehensive strategy concepts. However, a lack of budgets, positions and routines in the administration, as well as a lack of a culture of debate, created effective institutional barriers to translating commitments or concepts into action. Across the cities studied, it was now apparent that the movement was able to resolve even deep-seated resistance thanks to its persistence. "The local Fridays4Future groups always kept going, were never satisfied and continuously pushed," explains ExTrass project worker Janne Irmisch. "Fridays4Future protests have also been more effective as key events than, for example, the declaration of a climate



Haupt, Wolfgang; Eckersley, Peter; Kern, Kristine (2021): Transfer und Skalierung von lokaler Klimapolitik. Konzeptionelle Ansätze, Voraussetzungen und Potenziale. Forschungsbericht. IRS Dialog, 1/2021

emergency in many municipalities," Irmisch continues. Not only through strikes and demonstrations, but also through regular talks with politicians and administrators, the young activists achieved immediate measures and funding increases. As a result, local groups of other environmental organisations such as BUND and Greenpeace have backed Fridays4Future - also for tactical reasons - so that civil society has been mobilised on a broad front.

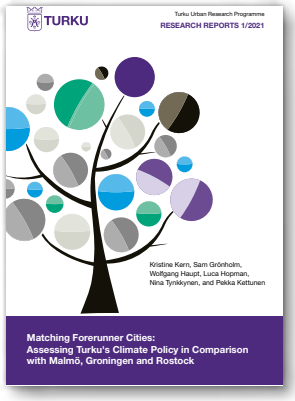
Can Cities Learn from Each Other?

Especially in the currently less active municipalities, local politicians and administrations are now faced with the challenge of translating the increasing political and social pressure into suitable strategies and implementing the

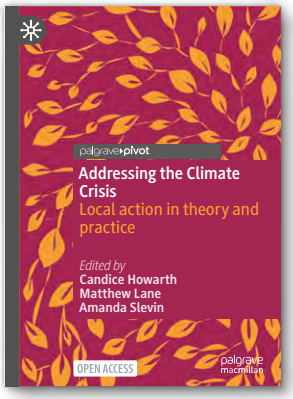
proposed measures. Smaller and less resource-efficient cities in particular are finding this difficult. Where to orientate oneself? In the public eye, the successful and well-networked Leader cities are particularly visible. Their lead seems unassailable, and copying their development paths is not an option for most "laggard" cities.

As Wolfgang Haupt, Peter Eckersley and Kristine Kern show in their research report "Transfer and Scaling of Local Climate Policy" (IRS Dialog 1/2021), climate policy learning among cities is still hardly developed. Inappropriate role models are one possible explanation for this. As shown above, even for a pioneering climate change city like Turku, it can be difficult to find suitable role models for its own development. The "Matching Cities" approach developed in the MaFoCi project may be able to help. According to this approach, those responsible for climate policy in cities should try to find other cities that are in a similar situation, but already have a certain head start in terms of experience, in relation to a specific problem. These specific experiences will have a high practical relevance for their own situation. A medieval city that is highly dependent on tourism, such as Speyer or Bamberg, should accordingly look for other role models than, for example, an old industrial city such as Cottbus or Gelsenkirchen. The ExTrass team is currently working on a handout for municipalities to help them reflect on their own position, find suitable reference cases and establish contacts.

However, this will not completely solve the resource problem of smaller municipalities in particular. Establishing climate protection and climate adaptation as a compulsory municipal task could help here, as the cities would then – unlike in the past – also be allocated resources for these tasks (see p. 12).



Kern, Kristine; Grönholm, Sam; Haupt, Wolfgang; Hopman, Luca; Tynkkynen, Nina; Kettunen, Pekka (2021): Matching Forerunner Cities: Assessing Turku's Climate Policy in Comparison with Malmö, Groningen and Rostock. Turku Urban Research Programme. Research Report, 1/2021



Haupt, Wolfgang: Eckersley, Peter; Kern, Kristine (2021): How Can 'Ordinary' Cities Become Climate Pioneers? In C. Howarth, M. Lane, & S. Amanda (Eds.), Addressing the Climate Crisis: Local action in theory and practice (pp. 83-92). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
▸ doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-79739-3_8

This would help those municipalities in particular that have not yet become active in climate policy due to a lack of funds. In general, the specific problems of small urban municipalities have received too little attention in research to date. The ExTrass project has also so far only included independent cities with a population of 50,000 or more, thus leaving out many smaller municipalities. However, the project will enter a two-year transfer phase starting in 2022, in which the insights gained so far will be put to even broader use and further data will be collected. In this second phase, the project team will include all German cities with a population of 50,000 or more. ■

The project "Urban resilience to extreme weather events - typologies and transfer of adaptation strategies in small cities and medium-sized towns" (ExTrass) is funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) and coordinated at the University of Potsdam. Further collaborative partners are Adelphi Research gGmbH, the state capital Potsdam, Johanniter-Unfall-Hilfe e.V., the city of Remscheid and the city of Würzburg. ExTrass runs from 2018 to 2023.

▸ www.extrass.de

Climate Policy Governance: (Not only) the Federal States Matter

At what level does climate policy take place? Are cities the drivers or do they just implement targets decided at a higher level? In fact, a combination of both mechanisms - and many others that lie between these extremes - is at work. In addition to the EU and federal levels, the federal states in Germany are particularly influential actors that are finding diverse - and differently ambitious - responses to climate change. Cities, in turn, are in contact with all levels of climate policy, from regional to European.

Like many other political issues, climate policy is negotiated at different territorial and administrative levels: the international (UN), transnational (EU), national, subnational (in Germany: federal states), regional and local or municipal levels. In research, the term "multilevel governance" is used to describe governance processes that are organised across different levels, i.e. in a "multilevel system". How does this governance function in the field of climate policy, and what results does it produce?

Governance in a Multi-Level System: Cooperation Wins

In the research report "The Multi-level Context for Local Climate Governance in Germany", Peter Eckersley, Kristine Kern, Wolfgang Haupt and Hannah Müller identify three basic types of multilevel governance. In the case of "hierarchical governance", goals and commitments to action are passed down from the top to the bottom. Each level has to follow the next higher one and can give guidelines to the one below. Governance research has shown that this form of governance, which is typical above all for centralised states, may appear efficient, but it promises little success when it comes to complex problems such as climate policy. The exchange relationships necessary for joint learning are lacking, as is sensitivity to different needs, conditions and capabilities. In the case of "horizontal governance", actors at one level, for example regions or cities, network to learn from and cooperate with each other. This form of governance is demanding. Particularly well-equipped and networked actors make use of it. For the broad mass of regional authorities, however, both the binding nature and the necessary funding are lacking. The third option is "vertical governance", in which higher levels set guidelines, but in which there are (formal as well as informal) exchange and negotiation relationships in every direction, in which levels can be skipped and non- or semi-governmental actors (associations, NGOs) can also be involved. Research on climate governance finds this form of governance, which appears complicated at first glance, to be the most effective of the three.

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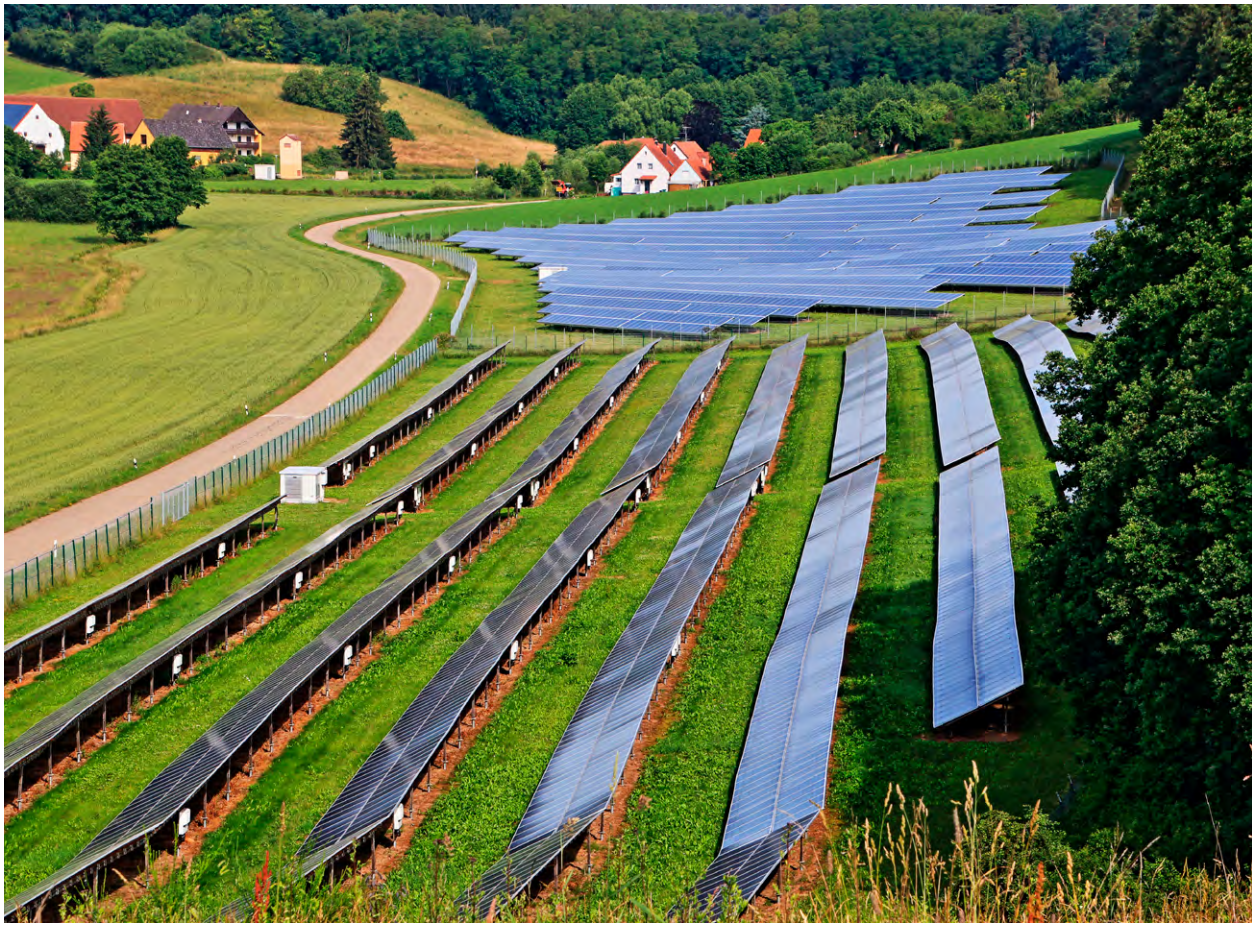
In practice, there are numerous examples of vertical governance. At the EU level in particular, a combination of hierarchical and cooperative elements prevails. Binding targets, such as the EU's revised 2020 greenhouse gas emissions reduction target of 55% by 2030 (compared to 1990 levels), are the result of negotiation processes among and with member states. Various initiatives serve to implement the targets, such as the trading system for emission rights in energy production and large-scale industry, which was introduced in 2005. For other sectors, such as transport, construction and agriculture, the EU has also formulated targets and backed them up with directives, such as the Energy Efficiency Regulation or the Directive



on the Energy Performance of Buildings, which are to be implemented by the member states.

In its climate policy, the EU also works directly with cities and regions in network-like structures, as Kristine Kern describes in her article "Cities as Leaders in EU Multilevel Climate Governance". As an example, she mentions the "Covenant of Mayors", an initiative of the EU Commission, which provides numerous material and immaterial supports to urban, but also rural municipalities, if they commit themselves to binding climate policy goals, develop corresponding strategies and accept reporting obligations. At the same time, the participating municipalities and regions help each other and push forward a common agenda. The EU also supports local authorities by providing research data through the Joint Research Centre of the EU Commission and the European Environment Agency. Local authorities can also obtain certification, such as the European Energy Award or the European Climate Adaptation Award - certifications that are financially supported by several German federal states.

Researchers have also identified a great importance of cooperative approaches in the relationship between the federal government and the German states, which they explain with the relatively strong influence of the states in federal politics (for example, via the Bundesrat). Federalism, often criticized as ponderous, allows for cooperative policy formulation as well as competition and experimentation with different approaches at the state and municipal levels. Within the framework of the "Municipal Directive", the federal government provides substantial funding for climate protection in municipalities, and the "100 % Climate Protection Master Plan" promotes particularly ambitious municipalities. This also serves to promote networking and learning among municipalities. At the same time, the federal level also sets binding targets, most recently with the Climate Protection Act of 2019, which stipulates a 65 % reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 (compared to 1990), and the "Climate Protection Plan 2050", which formulates sector-specific targets. The Renewable Energy Sources Act (EEG) of 2000, which initially triggered a boom in renewable energies through a guaranteed feed-in tariff, provided a major impetus, but over time it was amended and supplemented by other regulations in such a way that the expansion of wind energy in particular came to a virtual standstill in the end. The "transport turnaround", named after the "energy turnaround", has so far had its strongest effect in the area of individual electric mobility - through purchase premiums and the expansion of the charging infrastructure.

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Strong Differences at State Level

The researchers have identified the level of the federal states as a source of strong differentiation. The climate policy approaches of the Länder differ significantly, for several reasons. Due to the shift towards renewable energies such as wind and solar, natural features, settlement structure and land availability become more important. The economic structure in conjunction with the traditional energy mix also have an impact. At the same time, the Länder have a special relationship with cities and municipalities: although the Basic Law and Länder constitutions guarantee municipal self-administration, the Länder are responsible for supervising the municipalities. However, the Länder supervise the municipalities and can assign them new compulsory tasks, whereby they are obliged under the principle of connexity to allocate them corresponding financial resources in this case. At the same time, all 16 Länder have established energy agencies to support learning and networking among municipalities on energy policy issues. In this way, countries are influencing local climate strategies. In their research report, Eckersley, Kern, Haupt and Müller identify five

The Under2 Coalition is a global alliance of 260 subnational territorial entities who jointly seek to drastically reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Founded in 2015, it represents 1.75 billion people and 50 % of the world economy. The Coalition emerged from a partnership between California and the German state of Baden-Württemberg.

basic climate policy types into which the Länder can be divided.

The **coal states** include North Rhine-Westphalia, Saarland, Saxony-Anhalt, Brandenburg and Saxony, whose economic structure and energy production are or were traditionally shaped by the mining and use of hard coal and lignite. Although all five states are pushing ahead with climate protection initiatives, their overall level of ambition lags behind that of other states as well as the federal level. It is true that NRW was the first federal state ever (and the only coal state) to pass a climate protection law with binding reduction targets for greenhouse gas emissions and the first state to set up an energy agency in the 1990s. It is also the only coal state to participate in the Under2Coalition, a global network of regions committed to climate protection. However, with the change from a red-green to a black-yellow coalition government in 2017, a partial dismantling of climate policy structures and a change in focus from climate adaptation to climate protection could be observed, for example in the promotion of municipal activities such as certifications. Brandenburg and Saxony-Anhalt focus their climate policies on the expansion of renewable energy generation and initiatives to develop climate-friendly industries. In its 2012 energy strategy, for example, Brandenburg formulated the goal of increasing the renewable share of energy production to 32% by 2030, in particular by dedicating 2% of the state's land to wind energy production. All five states were and are net energy exporters.

> The Länder have a special relationship with cities, towns, and local communities: They have the power to assign them new statutory duties, such as climate protection and climate adaptation. They are also required to allocate appropriate funds. The states of Baden-Württemberg and Schleswig-Holstein have chosen this path.

As **nuclear and solar energy states**, Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg traditionally covered a large part of their energy needs from nuclear energy and were forced to reorient themselves as a result of the decision to phase out nuclear power in 2011. This was done primarily through a massive expansion of solar energy, although much of this was financed privately or through the EEG levy. Both states institutionalized environmental policy (1970s) and climate policy (1990s) early on. After North Rhine-Westphalia, Baden-Württemberg passed the second state climate law with binding reduction targets, while Bavaria passed a corresponding law in 2020. Both states belong to the Under2Coalition, in which Baden-Württemberg plays a leading role. In Baden-Württ-

temberg, the support (for example, through regional energy agencies), financial support and commitment of the municipalities (through a binding agreement with municipal associations) in the sense of increased local climate protection is particularly pronounced. In the expansion of wind energy, on the other hand, both states are more restrained than other Flächenländer.

The **wind energy states** of Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania have favourable natural conditions for wind turbines and, in the course of the energy transition, transformed themselves from energy importing countries with a high share of nuclear energy in the energy mix to leading producers of wind energy, both onshore and offshore. Renewable energies became important economic factors. Two states, Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern are now net energy exporters. All three states have committed to reductions in their greenhouse gas emissions, although the targets in the two western states are more ambitious and binding (through climate protection laws) than in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania. Schleswig-Holstein obliges its municipalities to protect the climate. Lower Saxony has the largest renewable energy industry in Germany, but continues to subsidise fossil fuels on a large scale.

As pioneers, cities can explore new solutions for traffic and construction and advance climate adaptation in this manner. Rural communities need support from higher spatial scales. For them, regional networking provides additional opportunities.

The **energy importing states** of Hesse, Rhineland-Palatinate and Thuringia did not have large fossil or nuclear energy sectors in the past and will remain dependent on energy imports for the foreseeable future, as they lack the spatial prerequisites for regenerative energy generation to meet demand. Nevertheless, the states are active in climate policy: all three belong to the Under2Coalition. Hesse has had an integrated sustainability strategy and reduction targets for greenhouse gas emissions since 2008, but does not have a climate protection law. The state strongly promotes municipal activities under the National Climate Protection Initiative ("Kommunalrichtlinie"). Rhineland-Palatinate has legally committed itself to reduction targets. In implementing the targets, the focus is on supporting the state's unusually large number of very small municipalities in cooperating on climate policy. Thuringia reduced its greenhouse gas emissions by 61% from 1990 to 2020 (the largest reduction of any state) and now meets a large part of its energy needs from renewable sources. In 2018, it was the only eastern German state outside Berlin to pass a climate protection law with binding reduction targets.

The **city states of Berlin**, Hamburg and Bremen do not have the prerequisites for large-scale renewable energy production. They are dependent on energy imports as well as fossil energy production in their own territory and still cover the majority of their energy needs from fossil sources. Although all three countries have legally committed themselves to ambitious targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, they only have favourable conditions for meeting these targets on the demand side (e.g. in transport and in construction and building refurbishment). Accordingly, they are driving forward climate protection measures mainly within the framework of their respective urban development and planning policies. Unlike the Flächenländer, the city states also pursue a pronounced climate adaptation policy, which reflects the high risk to the metropolitan population from heat waves and heavy rainfall events.

This differentiated reappraisal of climate policy governance in the multi-level system shows that while there are different speeds and levels of ambition in climate policy, it is the interactions of the different levels and the relationships between territorial units that matter for substantial progress. Cities and urban societies can visibly push for climate policy progress, pioneer sustainable building, transport and (in some cases) energy supply solutions, and drive adaptation to climate change. In the context of the energy transition, however, they are more likely to become even more dependent on their regional environment and large-scale supply networks. Landlocked countries face enormous challenges in the development of renewable energies and green industries, but they also have enormous potential. Small towns and rural communities, on the other hand, need support from higher levels. For them, regional networking offers an opportunity to become more effective. As Andreas Röhring and Ludger Gailing write in their policy paper "Energiewende dezentral!", regions should avoid merely providing the space for land-intensive solar and wind power plants ("installation landscapes"). Instead, they should see themselves as spaces for action that benefit from the transformation in a variety of ways. Climate policy at state, federal and EU level faces the balancing act of setting ambitious targets and incentives, responding to needs for support, developing networked solutions and not thwarting the most ambitious. ■

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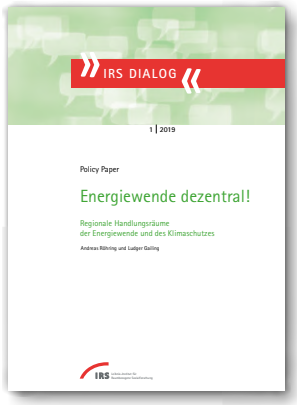

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Traffic Turnaround in Suburbia?

The transport and logistics sector is a problem child of climate protection. For a noticeable reduction of its greenhouse gas emissions, new, sustainable concepts are needed that go beyond individual e-mobility and effectively reduce traffic flows. However, such concepts have so far been discussed mainly in the context of urban centres; suburban and rural areas have received too little attention. A project network with the participation of the IRS has therefore comparatively investigated in an urban and a suburban neighbourhood under which conditions people accept and use novel solutions in urban logistics and transport.

For years, the transport sector has lagged behind in climate protection. While other sectors have noticeably reduced their greenhouse gas emissions, transport emissions are at the 1990 level and only fell slightly as a result of the Corona pandemic, as the Federal Environment Agency announced in October 2021. People in "car country Germany" are finding it difficult to come up with alternatives to private motorised transport. The rise of online shopping and parcel deliveries with emission-intensive vans also contributes to the persistently high emissions. What are the reasons for the low willingness to change behavior in mobility and logistics? When investigating the causes, specific local conditions come into focus: Distances that have to be overcome and the different endowments of different spatial types - inner-city, suburban, rural - with transport infrastructures influence the chances for a shift towards ecological alternatives. However, research has so far taken too little account of these spatial differences. The mobility and logistics shift towards sustainable forms of transport and delivery has so far been studied mainly with a view to metropolises and large cities.

The research project "Stadtquartier 4.1" addresses this research gap by comparatively investigating the social acceptance and use of sustainable transport and logistics solutions for an urban and suburban area. In concrete terms, this involves sharing solutions for cargo bikes and alternative delivery systems

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such as open-supplier parcel stations, which are intended to reduce delivery traffic on the "last mile". The urban Mierendorff Island in Berlin-Charlottenburg (the name refers to the island location between the Spree River and the Westhafen Canal) and the small town of Erkner from the suburban belt around Berlin serve as case studies. In addition to belonging to the metropolitan region of Berlin, both areas have a comparable number of inhabitants (about 15,000 people live on Mierendorff Island, 12,000 in Erkner). However, the spatial, settlement structure and infrastructural conditions are different. High population density, Wilhelminian-style perimeter block development and excellent public transport access are characteristic of the urban quarter, while low density, a mixture of single-family and prefabricated housing and a car-centred infrastructure are characteristic of the suburban quarter. Since May 2020, the project team has extensively studied both areas, including walk-throughs, exploratory interviews, media analysis, and representative household surveys.

Above all, the results of the standardised household surveys allow a systematic comparison between the two areas. And it is striking that the two neighbourhoods differ even more from each other than we had already suspected. To put it bluntly, the urban district is already in the midst of the transport transition, while the municipality in the suburban area is still at the beginning of this change. The differences in


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the importance of the car are impressive. While 43.6% of all trips in Erkner are made by private car, this figure is only 18.0% on Mierendorff Island. In the suburban quarter, there is an average of 1.17 cars per household, in the urban quarter only 0.54. The importance of the private car for many people in Erkner is summed up by one respondent: "Nothing works without a car!"

Further findings suggest that the socio-ecological transformation meets with greater resistance in suburban areas. For example, the social acceptance of sustainable transport and logistics solutions such as open-supplier parcel stations or cargo bike sharing is noticeably lower in suburban areas than in urban quarters. The willingness to forego emission-intensive doorstep parcel deliveries in favour of non-motorised self-pickup at parcel stations or parcel shops is also significantly lower in Erkner than on Mierendorff Island. When parcels are picked up by oneself, it is by car in half of the cases (compared to 15% motorised parcel pickup in the Mierendorff neighborhood). While parcel stations in Berlin-Charlottenburg reduce traffic and emissions by replacing doorstep deliveries, significant rebound effects occur in Erkner. Parcel stations designed to reduce emissions have an opposite effect and generate more traffic. Our studies show that the recipes for sustainable mobility and logistics cannot be easily transferred from inner-city districts to suburban areas.

But how can the less sustainable transport and logistics behaviour of people in Erkner be explained? Roughly speaking, individual and structural explanations can be used. While the former focus on individual attitude patterns or cost-benefit considerations, from the latter perspective supply structures and societal orientation patterns are decisive. We find evidence for both sets of causes and argue that differences in transport and logistics behaviour result from an interplay of specifically urban and suburban attitudinal patterns and routines on the one hand and structural opportunities and constraints on the other. Of course, this does not relieve either institutions or individuals of the responsibility to strive for more environmentally sound transport and logistics behaviour.

At the individual level, the differences between the urban and suburban survey areas become apparent in the form of differences in attitudes: residents of Berlin-Charlottenburg are much more in favour of environmental protection in general and the need for a change in traffic patterns in particular than people in Erkner. In the Berlin study area, almost one in two people is unreservedly in favour of a reduction in car traffic, while in Erkner less than one in three is. It is not necessarily the case that lower environmental attitudes causally explain greater car use, but conversely that an automobile lifestyle can lead to weaker environmental attitudes. The sociologists Marco Sonnberger and Matthias Leger from the University of Stuttgart have coined the bon mot for this observation loosely based on Marx: "It is not car use that determines being a car, but rather being a car that determines car consciousness."

From Niche to New Normality

A workshop in Berlin explored opportunities for mainstreaming sustainable mobility and logistics practices. The problem: New concepts (see p. 18) work well in model projects, but implementation on the ground usually fails. 16 experts brought together their concepts, reflections and experiences. The keynote speeches were given by Sophia Becker, Professor of Sustainable Mobility at the Technical University of Berlin, and mobility researcher Lisa Ruhrort from the Social Science Research Center Berlin. Ruhrort made it clear that it is often only in the course of social upheavals that windows of opportunity help new solutions and practices to break through. The offers previously tested in research and practical projects played an important role in this, because only if these had previously proven themselves as niche solutions could they experience broader social acceptance and use at the decisive moment and become the new normal. The subsequent practical presentations by cargo bike experts from Hannover, Berlin and Vienna showed that the use of cargo bikes could be on the threshold of broader acceptance and use. On the basis of research results from the StadtQuartier project, however, Paul Witte and Ralph Richter (IRS) qualified that a broader social acceptance is currently more apparent in large cities than, for example, in suburban areas. The workshop was held as a hybrid event with online and face-to-face participants. It took place within the framework of the BMBF project StadtQuartier 4.1.

Expert workshop "Social-ecological transformation in the neighbourhood", 15 October 2021, insel-projekt.berlin, Berlin-Charlottenburg

As shown above, however, it would be too short-sighted to hold the residents of the suburbs alone responsible for a poor environmental balance in transport and logistics behaviour. Structural conditions make it difficult to cultivate equally sustainable transport behaviour in Erkner as in Berlin-Charlottenburg. Non-motorised parcel pick-up is easier to do at the parcel shop around the corner than at the parcel station three kilometers away. It is easier to avoid driving to work with a subway station within walking distance than with hourly buses. These examples point to a further insight, namely that for most people the use of transport is a means to an end rather than the end itself. If mobility occasions and places can be easily reached and connected by active transport - walking or cycling - or by public transport, people are more likely to avoid using their cars. Planning is faced with the task of linking important functional areas such as housing, work, leisure, shopping and public services in such a way that they can be easily reached by environmental transport. In most suburbs, however, the situation is more like that in Erkner. The workplace is in the nearby metropolis, the doctor and hairdresser in the local centre, the food markets are on the major arterial roads and the nearest DIY store is in the neighbouring town. For most people, a time-efficient lifestyle is only possible by car.

What can be done to promote the necessary mobility turnaround in suburban areas as well? In addition to the bundling of functional areas, there is a great need to catch up on the expansion of sustainable alternatives. Buses must run more frequently and also during off-peak hours. More safe spaces need to be created for active transport. For transport researchers such as Lisa Ruhrort from the Social Science Research Center Berlin, however, such incentives are not enough to achieve the switch to public transport and the ambitious reduction targets in the transport sector. In addition to "pull" measures, which increase the attractiveness of the eco-modes of transport, there must also be "push" elements to make car traffic more expensive. Or, as sustainability researcher Daniel Hausknost from the Vienna University of Economics and Business puts it: "We have to close doors so that others can open."

The project "StadtQuartier4.1 - Development and Practical Implementation of Flexible Neighborhood Hubs in the Berlin-Brandenburg Metropolitan Region" is funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). In addition to the IRS, LogisticNetwork Consultants GmbH (LNC), the Fraunhofer Institute for Production Systems and Design Technology and insel-projekt.berlin UG are involved in the network.

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An Interview with Eva Eichenauer and Manfred Kühn

"It's about Power Conflicts, not Urban-Rural Conflicts"

The post-fossil transformation requires massive investments in infrastructure and new production capacities. Such investment projects often meet with resistance. The conflicts that arise in this way must be dealt with within the framework of planning procedures. At the IRS, sociologist Eva Eichenauer and urban planner Manfred Kühn research - with different focuses - planning conflicts around transformative projects. In an interview with IRS aktuell, they discuss how conflicts can be dealt with productively and what spatial dimensions planning conflicts have.

You two are researching planning conflicts. What are you interested in? And why?

Eva Eichenauer: I investigate conflicts in the context of the energy transition, i.e. primarily in the expansion of infrastructures for renewable energies, such as wind turbines and area photovoltaics. We investigate conflicts that are fought out at the level of regional planning, up to and including conflicts in approval and participation procedures. Such conflicts can hinder the expansion of renewable energies. They lead to delays, increased costs and even the abandonment of projects. But if climate protection is taken seriously, renewables must be expanded. It is therefore important to take a close look at conflicts, to understand why they arise, what exactly is happening and how to find a democratic way of dealing with them. On the one hand, without belittling or wiping away resistance, but on the other hand, without letting certain minorities dictate things.

Manfred Kühn: My background is more in urban research, and so far, we have looked at conflicts in urban planning and urban policy, and in recent years mainly on the topics of immigration, dealing with refugees, and the right-wing populist mobilisation against immigration. More recently, we are now focusing on conflicts around large construction projects. Such conflicts have a certain tradition, if you think of "Stuttgart 21", the Elbphilharmonie or the Berlin Brandenburg airport (BER), for example. We pick out the new Tesla Gigafactory in Grünheide as a case for investigation. It exemplifies a basic dilemma that exists in all large construction projects: At a higher level, preliminary decisions are made that are typically justified by public welfare goals and also by constraints. At the local level, where a project is implemented, there is then little room for democratic participation and hardly any real alternatives. And this can generate great frustration. So-called angry citizens, the escalation of protests to the point of violent confrontations - this is especially the case in the vicinity of large construction projects. In the recent federal election campaign, all parties wrote into their programmes that planning procedures for the energy transition should be accelerated. The question is whether this can be done without dismantling democratic rights and opportunities for participation.

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Eva Eichenauer: In fact, the energy transition shows that more participation can also accelerate projects. Energy transition projects are developed on a very small scale and distributed over many locations - unlike a singular large-scale project like Tesla. Thatis why there are always locally specific conflict constellations that are


TESLA
ODER
TRINKWASSER
Gift-Cocktail
durch die Explosion

hardly predictable for the project sponsors. They are therefore often afraid of waking "sleeping dogs" and avoid early involvement. But if you actually look into a community early on, if you look for contact persons and possibilities for cooperation, if you create opportunities for participation and respond to local wishes and needs, then this helps. Trenches that seem unbridgeable can disappear in this way. This shows that there can be no question of restricting co-determination and civil society control. That is not at all desirable in a democratic society.

Manfred Kühn: This is also being discussed in urban planning. The new tenor here, however, is that more participation does not automatically lead to the resolution of conflicts. For a long time, it was assumed that participation procedures had to be expanded in order to prevent conflicts. But we should reflect critically on whether we are talking about more participation or new forms of participation. Simply increasing participation can also exacerbate conflicts.

Eva Eichenauer: Yes, it depends on the quality. A lot of what is called participation does not mean that you can actually achieve something. You get information, you can ask a question, you get an answer and that is it. Participation without real decision-making space raises false expectations. Another problem that arises in conflicts about energy transition projects is that people talk about participation, but the political direction is not at all clear. In fact, those with political responsibility at federal and state level should say: "This is the aim, this is the way to get there, and in participation we can talk about how to go about it. But not whether we might take a completely different way." In terms of energy policy, there is a lurch at the federal and state level. It is similar, I suspect, with conflicts over refugee housing. The municipalities then have to deal, without backing, with conflicts that do not really belong at that level. There is a lack of clarity about which path is binding and where the local scope for action is.

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Manfred Kühn: Whereby this is now a contradictory statement. On the one hand, there should be real opportunities for decision-making. That is right, because if participation is suspected of being just an alibi, it causes anger and destroys trust. On the other hand, there are overriding goals and there should be a clear course. This is a clash of two rationalities that are difficult to reconcile.

Eva Eichenauer: I do not think that is a contradiction. It is about the levels at which something is discussed. One is political directional decisions that are made at the federal or state level and are not discussed in every local council. The other is how local councils deal with it: how they interpret policy decisions according to their needs and interests, and how they implement planning. This is by design in the multi-level system. If the policy direction is inherently contradictory, that encourages conflict. One argument I often hear in conversations with wind power critics is, "We should accept more wind turbines being put in front of us for climate protection, but the coal phase-out isn't getting off the ground. We don't want that."

Manfred Kühn: Yes, the multi-level issue is an important point. Tesla is a prestige project of supra-regional importance. The state of Brandenburg is the main political supporter of the project. It is also at this level that the goal of an economic and technological transformation towards electromobility is being pursued, which ultimately legitimises the billions in funding. Added to this is Tesla as a global player, which built the last factory in Shanghai and is now floating into Grünheide. The role of the region, the municipality and the citizens is very limited in comparison.

Is there evidence that planning conflicts are on the increase?

Eva Eichenauer: When it comes to renewable energies, the main thing is that resistance has become much more professional over the last ten years. Whereas in the beginning there were individual initiatives, there are now nationwide initiatives. Brandenburg is at the forefront with the initiative "Rettet Brandenburg", which has a bundling function: it provides networks, also expert networks and argumentation aids. In Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, there is even a separate party against wind turbines. There is network expertise and people who can speak eloquently. With the help of such channels, you can get involved and work against new turbines, even in neighbouring communities where you are not affected yourself.

Manfred Kühn: Yes, the professionalisation of protest can also be seen in citizens' petitions and referendums, for example in Berlin. Smaller movements are united in this way and more radical goals also find their way into political decision-making processes. As for the number of conflicts, this has been studied for urban development, for example. And for large cities it can be clearly shown that there has been an increase in protests and citizens' initiatives in recent years. The crisis in the housing market alone has led to an increase in protests because conflicts of interest are arising everywhere between the pressure for growth and development on the one hand and the preservation of open spaces and quality of life on the other.

What are these conflicts actually about – money, political goals, fears, identity, quality of life?

Manfred Kühn: On the surface, I think there are classic conflicts of interest here - in the case of Tesla, for example, between the economy and the environment, between jobs and investments on the one hand and water problems and traffic pollution on the other. But behind this there are usually also procedural and ultimately power issues that cause conflicts to escalate: the

feeling of not being taken seriously, of being ignored, of only being involved for the sake of appearances. The escalation around Stuttgart 21 cannot only be explained by the fact that the main station is being rebuilt there. A deeper loss of trust in the political elite has been articulated. This is the background to many more serious conflicts.

Eva Eichenauer: I see it similarly. However, the setting is again special when it comes to wind energy. Anyone who comes from the village knows this: interpersonal conflicts often play a role, and the dispute about a project can also become a proxy conflict for something that was already in trouble; for example, if someone felt ignored during the land consolidation. But then it is also about identity. People feel connected to their homeland and are not necessarily enthusiastic when it is "transformed". In many cases it is also a question of distribution, but always in connection with questions of procedure: "The developers put the things there and we are not only not asked, we also get nothing", it is often said. Word spreads quickly about how much money can be made from wind turbines, and it really is a lot of money.

The question of who bears the burden and who gets the benefit is very prominent in this field. However, there are increasing attempts in legislation to address this issue and also to distribute the benefits more widely, for example through the Citizen and Community Participation Act in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania.

Manfred Kühn: These distribution conflicts have a strong spatial component. You could also call them location conflicts, because many questions of the distribution of burdens and benefits depend on the choice of location. And it is actually the task of planning to ensure that all too massive conflicts of use are avoided by means of suitability areas, priority areas, distance rules and the like.

Does the "urban versus rural" formula help to understand the spatial distribution of costs and benefits?

Eva Eichenauer: With regard to the energy transition, the urban-rural question often comes up. When the minimum distance of one kilometer for new wind turbines was set nationwide at the end of 2019, Angela Merkel spoke in this direction in an FAZ interview: Because the countryside produced the renewable energy that was consumed in the city, she said, something good had to be done for the countryside now to prevent urban-rural conflicts. This is what the distance regulation is for. In our research project "ReGerecht" we also initially started from the premise that wind power is about an urban-rural conflict. However, this was not confirmed in our interviews, on the contrary. I also spoke with mayors who are very critical of wind power, and they all found this argument to be absolutely nonsensical. From the point of view of the communities involved, this is not an urban-rural conflict. The fact that wind turbines cannot be built in the big city is completely undisputed.

Manfred Kühn: We observe conflicts about construction projects both in the city and in the countryside. I doubt that it is helpful to play city and countryside off against each other. Everywhere there is more citizen involvement and more critical approaches to new projects, so it will be harder to push them through if you do not find new ways to get people involved. That is why I would not talk so sweepingly about urban and rural. You really have to look at the political fields. When it comes to the controversial issue of migration, we have an accumulation of right-wing extremism in structurally weak areas where people feel left out, and these are often rural areas, but also small and medium-sized towns. There is already an accumulation of conflicts here, because newcomers are sometimes seen as social competitors. Voting behaviour in rural Brandenburg is also different from that in Berlin and Potsdam. But as a general contrast, the urban-rural difference is greatly exaggerated. The much more important spatial dimension for planning conflicts is that of levels: At a higher level, goals are formulated and preliminary decisions are made, and locally, at the selected location, people have to live with the consequences and have little possibility to influence them.

The word "NIMBY", short for "Not In My Back Yard", often comes up in the discussion. It describes an attitude in which people support new construction projects in principle, but not if they take place on their own doorstep. Is the resistance you are seeing about this kind of obstructionism?

Manfred Kühn: One should be very careful with the word "Nimby". It can easily be used to denigrate protesters and initiatives. The assumption here is that protest is only motivated by particular interests that are directed against the common good. But it is perfectly legitimate for those affected by a project to protest. Who else would do so? The crucial point is that this protest out of concern alone is usually not enough to overturn a project. But the protesters will only succeed if they mobilise others. They have to come up with more far-reaching arguments. In the case of Tesla, for example, this is the issue of groundwater and drinking water protection, which goes far beyond mere resistance. It is also a public welfare issue and an important aspect of the argument. But the Nimby argument can be used to discredit such legitimate objections.

„When we think about speeding-up planning processes, there can be no question of restricting participation and civil society control. That is not at all desirable in a democratic society."

Eva Eichenauer

Eva Eichenauer: I also think that the Nimby argument is often used to delegitimise protest. Simple statements are made such as "Just because you don't want your view to be blocked, the energy transition won't work". In the final analysis, this leads to the short-circuit "You are to blame for climate change". This is completely misguided. It is legitimate to form an opinion and to take a counter-position to developments in the local area that do not suit you. And there are really weighty reasons for doing so. It is all right for those affected not to want to accept a burden that they feel is dis-

proportionate, especially if the impression is that overriding public interest objectives are not taken equally seriously everywhere. And it is right that someone should check whether, for example, all the bird protection directives are really being complied with. The Nimby argument can be used to deprive protests of their legitimacy. It is certainly a strategy to say: "They just don't want to, they are irrational and therefore we don't have to deal with their arguments."

Is there something productive about conflict?

Eva Eichenauer: In principle, it is good that more people are getting involved again. The conflicts show that people are getting involved, that they are thinking about what is happening around them. And this testing of effectiveness is first of all very desirable. However, one must first learn political participation and democratic conflict resolution: how do I deal with such a conflict, how do I deal with negotiation processes, how do I deal with the fact that I sometimes get the short end of the stick? The experience, the politicisation through conflicts is first of all desirable. But it is important to create structures that make people so "democracy-proof" that they do not drift in an anti-democratic direction.

> "With the word 'Nimby' one should be very careful. It can easily be used to denigrate protesters and initiatives. By using this word, it is assumed that protest is only motivated by particular interests that are against the common good."
>
> Manfred Kühn

Manfred Kühn: I deal a lot with new "agonistic", i.e. conflict-oriented planning and political theories. This approach says that conflicts are necessary to keep democracy alive. The opposite of democracy is autocracy, as in China, where development programmes and projects are imposed from above and citizens have little say. In this respect, democracy is the main argument for taking protests and resistance seriously. Not so long ago, the diagnoses of "post-politics" and "post-democracy" were widespread. They said that democracy still existed formally, but that in principle citizens no longer had anything to say. Here the wind has changed, and the liveliness of debate and the importance of elections have increased again. However, the new ways of thinking in planning

research also express criticism of older, "communicative" approaches, which for more than 20 years basically said: There just needs to be enough communication and participation so that all planning problems can be solved by consensus and cooperatively. That has turned out to be wrong. There are antagonisms that have to be fought out in conflict, and at best they can be tamed somewhat. I see that as a positive thing. But the question is always where the limits of democratic debate lie, and where violence begins.

How can conflicts be dealt with in planning? How do you deal with them properly?

Eva Eichenauer: That is the crucial question to which everyone would like an answer. One point I have already mentioned is that it helps if the overarching goals are clear and thus the framework is in place within which planning conflicts, which are implementation conflicts, can be negotiated. As soon as fundamental political questions enter into planning procedures, you can no longer make any concrete progress on the ground. You also need people who can channel this accordingly and make it clear, for example, that the negotiations are not about whether the borders should be closed again, or about whether climate change exists, but rather specifically about where wind power

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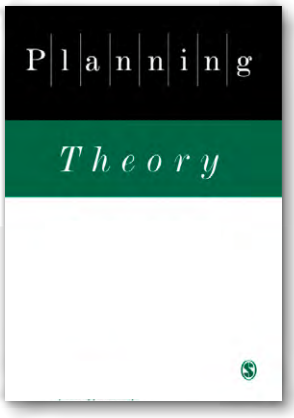

Kühn, Manfred (2020): Agonistic Planning Theory Revisited: The Planner's Role in Dealing with Conflict. Planning Theory, online first, 143-156

development areas or accommodation should be located, and how local interests should be incorporated into this. I have been to a lot of participation events, and even if it sounds platitudinous: you need someone to bang on the table and say "people, it doesn't work like that". You can have different opinions, but you still have to be respectful to each other, with decency, in good, benevolent cooperation. As important as it is to encourage participation, it is also important to ensure that the debate does not descend into defamation and violence. Accordingly, boundaries must be clear and enforced. It cannot be that regional meetings have to take place under police protection. Actually, these are basic upbringing principles, but they are essential.

Manfred Kühn: It is important to disclose the rules according to which decisions are made and, of course, what can be decided at all, what leeway and alternatives there are. Or else, the case has already been decided in advance, in which case that must also be communicated. Such questions must be clarified before the start of the procedure so as not to raise false expectations and produce disappointment. But there is no one right answer to the question. There is no silver bullet. ■

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