

Danielewicz, Justyna

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The Sustainable Development Idea in the Management of European Metropolitan Areas

Justyna DANIELEWICZ

University of Lodz, Poland

Abstract: The rapid urbanisation of the world leads, i.a., to dynamic development of metropolitan areas. The functional relationships between territorial units which make up a metropolitan area mean that in order to prevent negative effects of metropolisation and to ensure sustainable development of such an area, the preparation of economically, spatially and environmentally coherent strategies needs to be co-ordinated on the metropolitan level. This in turn requires that the approach towards managing development shifts in favour of governance. Using London and Copenhagen as case studies, this paper explores whether the concept of governance is used in managing metropolitan areas and whether metropolitan authorities integrate sustainable development principles in their policy documents. Research is based on the analyses of form of governance and strategic programmes adopted in metropolitan areas..

Keywords: metropolitan areas, sustainable development, governance, urbanisation

JEL codes: Q01, R58

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1. Introduction

The process of globalisation brought about the phenomenon of metropolisation. The notion signifies the development of large cities and areas with sufficient potential in terms of economy, finance, science, government, media and culture to assume superior functions in economy management that reaches beyond the national level. The areas in question also excel in innovation and provide such services as to raise themselves to the international grid of connections, co-

Correspondence Address: Justyna Danielewicz, Department of City and Regional Management, Faculty of Management, University of Lodz, Matejki 22/26 90-237 Lodz, Poland. Tel.: +4842 635 62 89 Fax: +4842 665 56 31 E-mail: justynada@gmail.com

operation and interdependence within the network of metropolitan cities. The process of metropolisation changes the character and strength of connections between the central city and its region as functional connections develop in the surrounding areas and urban lifestyle spreads beyond the dominant centre. Thus urban space evolves. Metropolisation involves the development of the focal city, the metropolis, which is a prerequisite to the entire process (Markowski, Marszał, 2006).

Cities and metropolitan areas are engines of innovation and economic growth. They concentrate labour, business and education. 75% of Europeans live in cities and approximately 85% of GDP originates from urban areas. Urban life is conducive to increasing returns of scale and is inextricably linked with the beneficial effects of public services. However, there are also negative aspects of urban existence. Progressive urbanisation and metropolisation in particular, is perceived as detrimental to natural environment. Cities are considered to be unsustainable because they use the (natural) resources of other places and produce waste; in other words, they displace the environmental burdens over space (elsewhere) and time (delayed) (Elliott 2006; Low et al. 2000). Cities, which consume around 75% of global energy emit about 80% of global greenhouse gases (Dulal and Akbar, 2013; Dong et al., 2014), even though cities cover less than 2.7% of the world's surface (Grêt-Regamey et al., 2013). Land consumption, increasing traffic with its emissions and energy consumption are considered problematic because they contribute to global warming, the loss of biodiversity and open countryside and the further use of non-renewable fuels (Turner & Foran, 2008; McManus, 2005; Næss, 2001). Sustainable city growth is challenged by increased individual consumption, inefficient use of natural resources and new forms of development, leading to the formation of socially divided, underprivileged and segregated areas (Cook, Swyngedouw, 2012:1960). The threat to sustainable urban development is not only environmental but also social. Metropolitan areas are characterized by income inequality and progressive impoverishment of those already needy, which in turn leads to social and, consequently, spatial polarization and segregation as cities become divided into areas of wealth and destitution. These factors contribute to cultural and ethnic segregation and result in social exclusion of large numbers of metropolitan residents. Employment and cheap housing become a problem and an increase in crime and other pathologies follows as a result.

A particular problem metropolitan areas are faced with is their rapid suburbanization and urban sprawl. The continuing use of land for urban development and transport through the further

expansion of urbanised areas is regarded as unsustainable, as land is one of the most important non-renewable resources that cannot be substituted (Næss, 2001). Urban sprawl causes various problems such as dispersed development, shrinkage of open spaces due to immigration, mono-functional land use, and increased dependence on private cars. Furthermore, lack of local government autonomy and fiscal responsibility exacerbates transportation problems, especially in municipalities (Zhao, 2010). Meanwhile, ongoing improvements in transportation have also facilitated urban sprawl.

Metropolitan areas are functional units formed by a large, complex and functionally unified urban area. Its important characteristics are metropolitan functions and functional connections. Metropolitan areas include multiple autonomous territorial units headed by local governments. A huge barrier for the sustainable development of metropolitan areas is the lack of cooperation between neighbouring municipalities, in particular between city and surroundings (Kreibich, 1996: 140). Meanwhile, overcoming problems at a metropolitan level requires cooperation of local authorities and other stakeholders in the metropolitan area. “Infrastructure needs can be better solved through joint forces and coordination between administrations and different stakeholders. Effective metropolitan governance is crucial for transformative development, considering social, political, economic and environmental impacts. While the subsidiarity principle is still valid and valuable, some decisions are most effectively implemented at a metropolitan level that follows the functional area. Climate change, natural disasters or economic development do not stop at administrative boundaries, hence joint action needs to be taken” (Andersson, 2015: 3). Sustainable urban development therefore requires regional coordination of urban growth. Thus, governance on a regional level is of considerable importance (Berger, 2003).

Although both ‘governance’ and ‘sustainability’ are contested and accommodate multiple meanings, the thread of concern with integration that runs through both sets of discourses is particularly relevant to overcoming the fragmented approaches to managing urban growth evident in metropolitan areas today (Gleeson et al., 2004: 350).

The purpose of this paper is to assess whether the concept of ‘governance’ is implemented in the management of metropolitan areas and if development strategies of the selected metropolitan areas in Western Europe include the principles of sustainable development.

2. Sustainable development of metropolitan areas

The sustainable development model is intended to result in macroeconomic growth and social development in harmony with the requirements of natural environment through optimal management of its resources, its rational transformation and preservation (Drzazga, 2008:14). The development of metropolitan areas should not be perceived as a contradiction between economic growth and maintaining the quality of natural environment. Metropolitan economy requires appropriate environment, and environment requires appropriate economy to ensure its protection and improvement (Ines, Booher, 1999: 149).

Since the end of 20th century the idea of sustainable development has become increasingly dominant in European cities and metropolitan areas. It dates back to Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 and Bruntland Report in 1987, leading further to Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 in 1992 and finally the yearly United Nations Climate Change conferences organised since 1995.

The European Sustainable Cities Report stresses that local authorities have sufficiently strong position to achieve the objectives of sustainable development. The key factor however is good management on various levels of administration, and cooperation between organisations and stakeholders (European Commission, 1996).

United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT) released an Agenda, a global action plan for human settlements, based on the examination of opportunities and challenges connected with urbanization. It states that, correctly planned and governed, cities benefit humans and protect the world's natural resources through their ability to service large numbers of people, at the same time limiting their impact on the environment. The achievement of such sustainable development is facilitated by effective management and cooperation on town, city and metropolitan levels (UN-Habitat, 1996: 2).

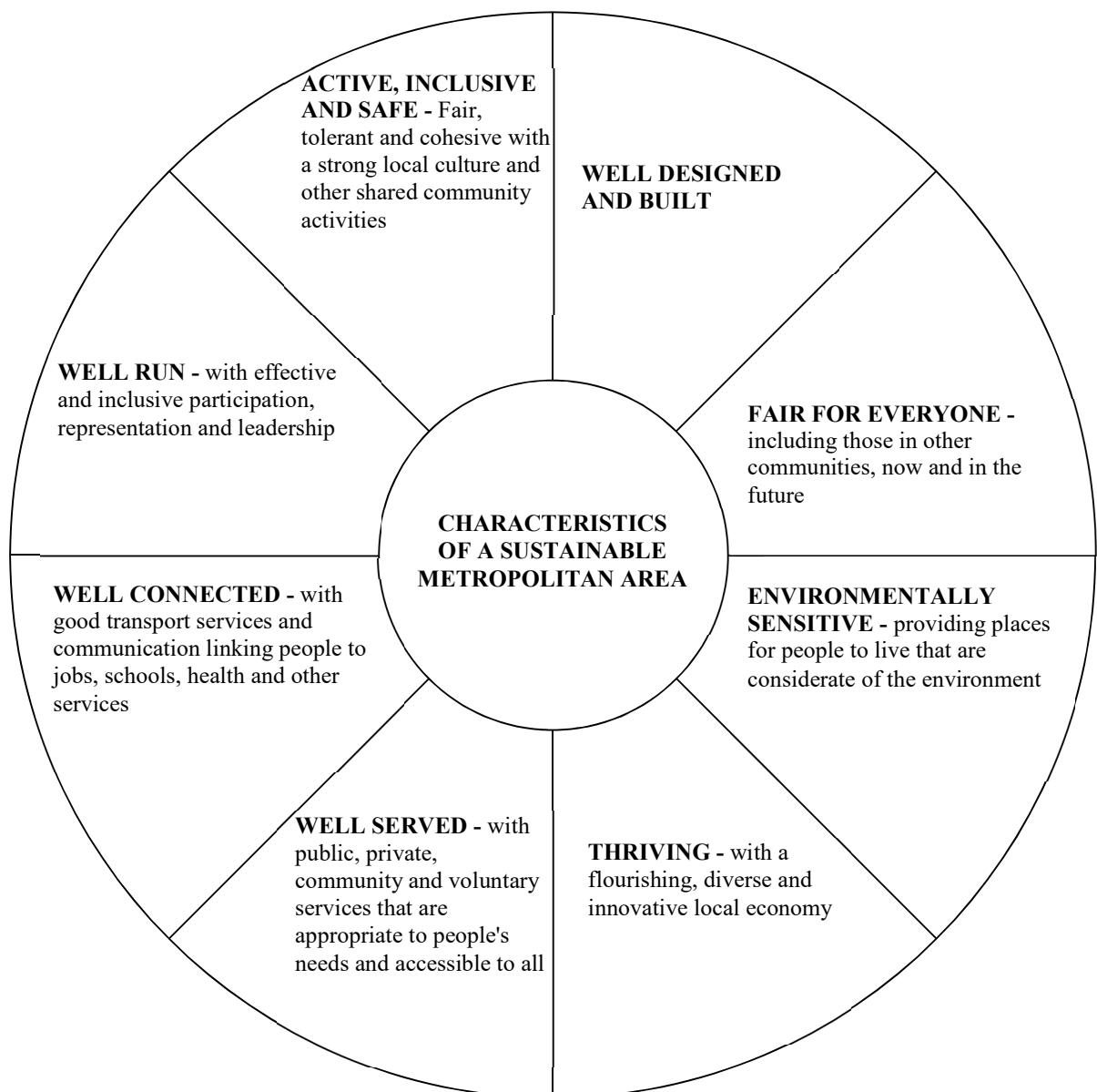
Since 1997 sustainable development is a fundamental objective under the Treaties of the Union that "requires dealing with economic, social and environmental policies in a mutually reinforcing way" (UK Presidency, 2005: 4).

Counteracting unsustainable trends and achieving the sustainable development objective requires diligent action, involved and far-sighted political leadership, a new approach to creating policies, common participation and international responsibility (European Parliament, 2001: 4).

THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IDEA IN THE MANAGEMENT OF EUROPEAN METROPOLITAN AREAS

The Ministerial Informal Meeting on Sustainable Communities in Europe, which took place in December 2005 in Bristol, UK, culminated in the so called Bristol Accord. It states that one of the vital characteristics of sustainable communities is adopting good governance practice, which links strategic leadership with actual participation of residents and organizations (Figure 1) (UK Presidency, 2005).

Figure 1. Characteristics of a sustainable metropolitan area



Source: Author's own elaboration based on: UK Presidency... 2005: 15

As Elliott (2006) underlines, cities are “central to attempts at meeting the goals of sustainable development in the sense that this is where the majority of world’s population will soon be located, with all the associated physical demands (...) and the political, social and cultural requirements associated with the adoption of urban values” (Elliott, 2006: 191).

In 2006 EU agreed a thematic strategy on urban environment. It stresses that it is indeed in urban areas that ecological, economic and social dimensions overlap the most.

Environmental protection issues in metropolitan areas are particularly complex since their sources are connected. Local initiatives targeting one problem may lead to new problems in other areas and may be contradictory to policies adopted on the regional or national level. Therefore, in managing urban environment it is vital to employ integrated methods and medium- or long-term plans, where policies and duties on various administrative levels are analysed in detail. Such an integrated approach to managing natural environment on a local level, with particular emphasis on transport, must be based on effective consultations with all interested parties. Creation of high quality urban areas requires meticulous coordination of policies and initiatives, and cooperation on various administrative levels (Communication ..., 2006).

The Strategy encourages member states to support local authorities in achieving strategic goals by promoting close cooperation and coordination between administrative organs to produce efficient solutions for cities and regions. It is vital for metropolitan areas. The Strategy is to ultimately contribute to the improvement of urban environment. It helps transform cities into more attractive and healthier habitats, places of work and investment. It is also intended to diminish the negative impact of cities on natural environment (Communication ..., 2006).

Directions for EU institutions with respect to metropolitan governance are included also in the Territorial Agenda, which states that “to strengthen the global competitiveness and sustainability of all regions of Europe, infrastructure networks between urban areas and cities are required and new forms of partnership and territorial management of urban and rural areas are necessary” (Agenda..., 2007).

Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities points out that cities should consider drawing up integrated urban development programmes for the city as a whole. These implementation-oriented planning tools should i.a.:

- ”define consistent development objectives for the urban area and develop a vision for the city,

THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IDEA IN THE MANAGEMENT OF EUROPEAN METROPOLITAN AREAS

- coordinate the different neighbourhood, sectoral and technical plans and policies, and ensure that the planned investments will help to promote a well-balanced development of the urban area,
- be co-ordinated at local and city-regional level and involve citizens and other partners who can contribute substantially to shaping the future economic, social, cultural and environmental quality of each area (Leipzig..., 2007: 3).

European Commission report untitled *Cities of Tomorrow* claims that „cities are key to the sustainable development of the European Union” (European Union, 2011: VI) and point out that the administrative boundaries of cities no longer reflect the physical, social, economic, cultural or environmental reality of urban development and new forms of flexible governance are needed.

In 21st century Europe, the basis of metropolitan development consists of two co-dependent strategic goals:

- constant elevation in the status of metropolitan cities in Europe and the entire world
- balancing economic growth with social and spatial development as a condition necessary for long-term maintenance and strengthening of metropolitan cities.

Social, economic and environmental cohesion is achieved by combining pro-environmental technologies, good governance, institutionalised forms of participation of various stakeholders, changes in consumer culture and altering individual habits (Cook, Swyngedouw, 2012: 1963).

The analysis of the documents quoted above leads to the conclusion that sustainable development of metropolitan areas requires departure from traditional hierarchical management systems in favour of the concept of metropolitan governance.

The metropolitan area is an urban area comprised of more than one local government unit or division of territories, giving rise to multi-jurisdictional entities (Yaro, Ronderos, 2011). Jurisdictional boundaries tend to be stable, while the commuter and local economic areas are constantly changing. The jurisdictional boundaries of local governments tend to have a long history, but urban growth often changes an area's character, including the parameters for effective planning, efficient service delivery, and equity. Improved transport and communication technologies create larger commuter and economic areas. Therefore, today's metropolitan areas usually include a number of independent local government jurisdictions. Some institutions or arrangements to coordinate developments at metropolitan area-scale, or some joint functions for more efficient and equitable service provision and cost sharing, are required in addition to efforts

by each individual local government (Anderrson, 2015: 13). The coordination of cities and their hinterlands – metropolitan governance – is an essential element in making metropolitan areas more sustainable. Metropolitan governance requires political influence and leadership within institutions, recognition of regional geographical scope of metropolitan areas, and concerted efforts to encourage cooperation through established and recognized authorities (Yaro, Ronderos, 2011). In other words, metropolitan governance is the process by which a set of governmental and non-governmental actors (civil associations, public-private partnerships, unions, enterprises, etc.) collaborate in terms of public goods and policy formulation (<http://metropolitangovernanceforum.org>).

One of the fundamentals of metropolitan development is the sustainability principle, according to which “economic, social and environmental objectives must be fully integrated and reconciled in the development policies of urban areas, as reflected in the concepts of the healthy city and the ecological city; in the context of the wider bio-region, this implies greater co-operation between urban and rural areas” (OECD, 2001: 160).

3. Metropolitan areas in Denmark

Metropolitan cooperation in Denmark concentrates in the Copenhagen Region. Due to its geographical location Denmark has had a long-standing co-operation with Sweden, mainly focused on Øresund cities and towns. To co-ordinate the development of the region, Øresund Committee was established in 1993. The Øresund Region is composed of 79 local authorities (44 in Eastern Denmark, 33 in Sweden) and 3 regions in Eastern Denmark and Skåne in Southern Sweden. The Committee acts as a meeting place for the elaboration of public strategies on both sides of the border (Schmidt et al., 2011: 20). The Committee consists of 36 members (18 politicians from each country) who represent 12 member organisations (Table 1).

THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IDEA IN THE MANAGEMENT
OF EUROPEAN METROPOLITAN AREAS

Table 1. Members of Øresund Committee

Denmark	Sweden
Capital Region of Denmark	Region Skåne
Region Zealand	The City of Malmö
Copenhagen City	Helsingborg City
City of Frederiksberg	The Municipality of Lund
Bornholm Regional Municipality	The Municipality of Landskrona
Greater Copenhagen Forum for local Municipalities	
Local Government Regional Council of Zealand	

Source: own elaboration

Regional and community-based organisations represented in the Committee form Øresund Commission (the executive body) which consists of civil servants, and four Øresund officials nominated by the governments of Denmark and Sweden, two from each country. Both the Committee and the Commission are headed by president and vice-president (same for both bodies) elected once a year.

In 2010 a common strategy of development by 2020 was adopted. According to its vision, by maximising the benefits of integration and cross-border dynamics, the Øresund Region will stand out as the most attractive and climate-smart region in Europe. The strategy was focused on four main areas:

- Knowledge and innovation
- Culture and events
- A diverse, yet cohesive labour market
- Accessibility and mobility.

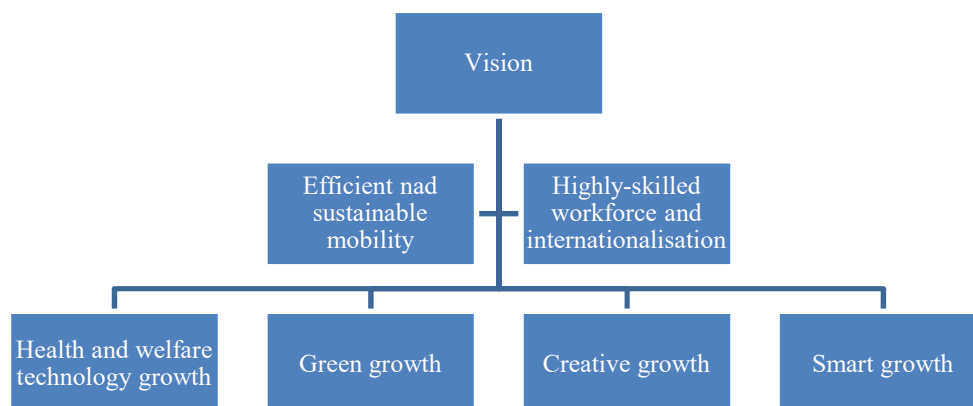
Challenges such as the appeal of the region, its climate and the importance of openness, sustainability, health and lifestyle permeate the thinking in all four of these focus areas (<http://www.oresundskomiteen.org/en/about-us/vision-goals/>).

The majority of the twelve objectives of the strategy embrace the principles of sustainable development, e.g.:

- “A front-runner in environmentally friendly transport and a laboratory for green technology.
- A centre for cleantech solutions and sustainable urban development, so that we can host an Øresund Region EXPO in 2022.
- A single, attractive, obstacle-free labour market where people with different educational backgrounds, professional skills and practical experience have unrestricted access to all of the region’s workplaces,
- A model region in terms of digital integration through the use of high-quality broadband.
- A region with a diverse cultural offering that meets high criteria in terms of quality.
- A cohesive, competitive educational market that produces the best-trained graduates and attracts students and researchers from other countries.
- A hub of innovation, with entrepreneurs and synergies between educational institutions and trade and industry.
- A region whose residents are able to make use of all that the region offers and to explore its potential” (Öresundskomiteen, 2010: 7).

The ambition is for the Region to be characterized by green growth, a region where sustainable urban development and clean technology provide a favourable climate for growth enterprises on both sides of Øresund (Øresundskomiteen, 2010: 8). The declared objective of pursuing sustainable development is one of the distinctive trademarks of the Øresund Region. One of the main goals for the Øresund Region, stated by the Swedish and Danish prime ministers, is environmental. Øresund should be one of the cleanest metropolitan regions in Europe (OECD, 2003: 80).

At the beginning of 2016 the Øresund Region changed the name into Greater Copenhagen and Skåne. In 2015 the new Regional growth and development strategy built on dialogue with politicians, local authorities, companies, organizations, knowledge institutions and citizens have been adopted. The new vision states: “creating a green and innovative metropolis with high growth and quality of life, to be achieved through targeted investment within two frameworks and four strategic growth areas” (The Capital, 2015: 2). Based on the capital region’s greatest strengths, two frameworks and four strategic growth areas have been selected to serve as the foundation for future growth and development in the region (Figure 2).



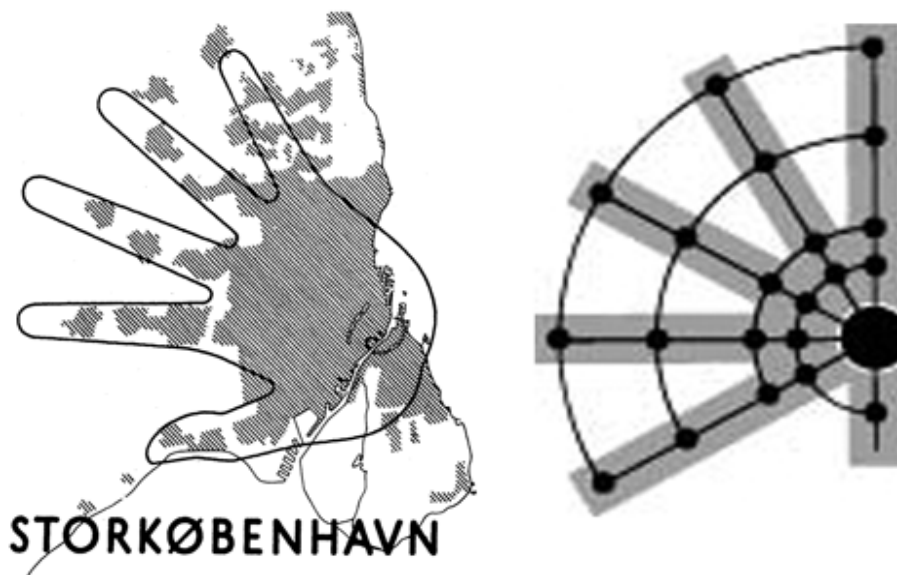
Apart from the Øresund Region, which functions on the basis of voluntary cooperation of various stakeholders, there is also the Capital Region of Denmark which is the regional level of Danish administration. It was created in 2007 and is responsible for health care, mental healthcare and regional development. It consists of 29 municipalities. The Capital Region is managed by Regional Council composed of 41 directly elected members. It cooperates with the Capital Growth Forum Initiative. Forum represents the region, the municipalities, the business world, universities, educational institutions, labour organisations and employers (Growth ..., 2011: 4). The Regional Council chairman also serves as the chairman of the Capital Growth Forum Initiative. In 2010 the Forum adopted business development strategy „The Capital Region of Denmark Northern Europe’s green, innovative growth engine”. According to the strategic vision the Capital Region is “the most global and competitive metropolis of Northern Europe where people and enterprises in innovative partnerships convert knowledge, welfare and sustainability into growth” (Growth ..., 2011: 5).

Northern Europe's model of sustainable growth, knowledge and quality of life" (The Capital..., 2013: 21).

Cooperation on metropolitan level is also realized in the field of public communication with two companies: MOVIA responsible for bus transport and Copenhagen Metro. Their services cover the whole Capital Region.

Key to sustainable development of a metropolitan area is its spatial planning. It is based on a Fingerplan according to which development would be channelled into five finger zones extending outwards from the city centre, with recreational space in between (Figure 4). (Hansen et al., 2001: 857). The first Fingerplan was adopted in 1947.

Figure 3. Fingerplan (1947)



Source: http://brandavenue.typepad.com/brand_avenue/2010/11/a-strong-green-brand.html.

In 2007 a new Fingerplan was adopted, which holds the principal of accessibility as one to ensure compact social structure. The principal asserts that vast office spaces with their considerable impact on traffic must be placed within a distance of maximum 600 meters from the nearest underground/railway station (OECD, 2012: 124). This plan is extended by the sixth "finger" that includes Øresund bridge.

Copenhagen has long been a green city with respect to sustainable urban planning. In the thirties of the 20th century green planning started on a regional level and continued to the Fingerplan adopted in 1947, and beyond to the objectives included in subsequent development strategies (Brüel, 2012).

Copenhagen's efforts have been appreciated by OECD whose report on Measuring the Potential of Green Growth (October 2012) names Greater Copenhagen as an example to follow for other cities aspiring to green growth (OECD, 2012).

Metropolitan issues are coordinated on different spatial scopes. This coordination is mainly based on voluntary cooperation between various stakeholders from the public, private and social sectors. The principle of sustainable development is the overarching principle of development in all the documents adopted at every level of management.

The spatial development plan for the entire metropolitan area, which – since 1947 – consistently promotes the development of the compact city and concentrates it along the existing transport infrastructure, limits the pressure on the use of individual transport.

4. Greater London

The metropolitan area of London is called Greater London and is constituted by 32 London boroughs and the City of London. It is managed by the Greater London Authority (GLA) which was set up in 2000. The GLA is a higher-level strategic authority to promote sustainable development and define strategy. Its main responsibilities are transport, police, economic development planning, fire and emergency planning, land use planning, culture, environment and health. It also coordinates London wide events. The GLA's body is the London Assembly composed of 25 directly elected members and a directly elected Mayor of London –the executive head. Full-time employees, independent of politicians constitute an important pillar of the GLA. The GLA cooperate with three functional agencies:

- Transport for London
- The Metropolitan Police Authority
- The London Fire and Emergency Planning Authority.

They are accountable to the GLA through the Lord Mayor of London (<https://www.london.gov.uk/>).

According to the GLA Act the Mayor is obliged to prepare seven ‘statutory’ London strategies. These are: the Environment, Spatial Development, Transport, Economic Development, Housing, Culture and Health Inequalities strategies. The most important of them is the Spatial Development Strategy called the London Plan. It is an overall strategic plan for London which sets out a fully integrated economic, environmental, transport and social framework for the development of the capital. The currently implemented plan is outlined till 2036. The Plan brings together the geographic and locational aspects of the Mayor’s other strategies. It creates the framework for the development and use of land in London, linking in improvements to infrastructure. It is therefore an integrated strategy that combines socio-economic development with spatial development. All the economic and social issues are immediately reflected in spatial planning regulations.

According to the plan’s vision London should excel among global cities – expanding opportunities for all its people and enterprises, achieving the highest environmental standards and quality of life and leading the world in its approach to tackling the urban challenges of the 21st century, particularly that of climate change.

Six objectives presented in the plan express the concept of sustainable development. London is to be:

1. “A city that meets the challenges of economic and population growth in ways that ensure a sustainable, good and improving quality of life and sufficient high quality homes and neighbourhoods (...) and help tackle the huge issue of deprivation and inequality among Londoners.
2. An internationally competitive and successful city with a strong and diverse economy and an entrepreneurial spirit that benefit all Londoners and all parts of London.
3. A city of diverse, strong, secure and accessible neighbourhoods (...), which provide all of its residents, workers, visitors and students with opportunities to realise and express their potential and a high quality environment for individuals to enjoy, live together and thrive.
4. A city that delights the senses and takes care of its buildings and streets, having the best of modern architecture while also making the most of London’s built heritage, and which makes the most of and extends its wealth of open and green spaces, natural environments and waterways, realising their potential for improving Londoners’ health, welfare and development.

5. A city that becomes a world leader in improving the environment locally and globally, taking the lead in tackling climate change, reducing pollution, developing a low carbon economy, consuming fewer resources and using them more effectively.
6. A city where it is easy, safe and convenient for everyone to access jobs, opportunities and facilities with an efficient and effective transport system which actively encourages more walking and cycling and makes better use of the Thames” (Mayor of London, 2015: 44).

The London Plan is an essential part of achieving sustainable development, a healthy economy and a more inclusive society in London.

The current system of governance in Greater London allows all relevant issues at the metropolitan level to be coordinated by one body whose members are directly elected and therefore have a strong mandate to represent the society. Creating an overarching development strategy that combines environmental and spatial development objectives with the goals of economic and social development by the metropolitan authorities is a very advantageous solution. Such an approach allows avoiding the contradictions/conflicts that arise when such strategic documents as: the socio-economic development strategy, spatial development plan, etc. are created independently of one another, by different teams, often at different times.

5. Conclusion

These examples of metropolitan development illustrate that public governance capacity able to balance sustainable development with economic competitiveness, social cohesion and liveability at the metropolitan level, is a crucial element in the future development of city regions.

In the case of the Capital Region of Denmark and Greater London, metropolitan governance assumes a more institutionalized form as management of the metropolitan area takes place at a corresponding administrative level. However, in the case of Capital Region, the competence of metropolitan authorities is narrower than in Greater London, which necessitates cooperation with other stakeholders in the region on a voluntary basis. This creates a situation in which broad participation of different stakeholders in the public, private and social sectors in the process of development of strategic documents is guaranteed. Also in Greater Copenhagen and Skåne Region, cooperation is conducted on an entirely voluntary basis. Achieving of compromise among various stakeholders is possible since Danish society is well known as a mature civil

society. The Danes are actively involved in public life, also contributing to the creation of documents whose implementation will directly affect their quality of life.

In London, the tradition of creating a formal metropolitan government is very long and dates back to the nineteenth century. It is precisely the example of London that inspired the Danish government to introduce reforms in the management of Copenhagen metropolitan area (Jansen, Andersen, Clark, 2001: 862]

In both cases public-public and public-private partnerships are fundamental to completion of tasks.

The case of London shows that a good solution that could be used to manage the sustainability of other metropolitan areas is to link spatial planning to socio-economic planning at the metropolitan level. This allows for the coordination of development processes throughout the functional area, thus limiting the negative externalities associated with uncontrolled urban sprawl, mainly of an environmental nature.

This study has found that sustainability is at the core of the policy agenda in analysed metropolitan areas and that policy makers in Copenhagen and London consider the implementation of sustainable development principles important.

The three pillars of sustainability cannot occur without collaboration between residents and their local authorities and without promoting general awareness of the link between the environment, society, and the economy.

This research may be a starting point for further analyses of efficiency of policies and implementation of the principles of sustainable development.

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Idea zrównoważonego rozwoju w zarządzaniu obszarami metropolitalnymi w Europie

Streszczenie

Gwałtowna urbanizacja prowadzi między innymi do dynamicznego rozwoju obszarów metropolitalnych. Związki funkcjonalne zachodzące między jednostkami terytorialnymi tworzącymi obszar metropolitalny oznaczają, iż aby zapobiegać negatywnym efektom metropolizacji i zapewnić zrównoważony rozwój takiego terytorium opracowanie gospodarczo, przestrzennie i środowiskowo spójnych strategii musi być koordynowane na szczeblu metropolitalnym. To z kolei wymaga zmiany w podejściu do zarządzania rozwojem w kierunku współrzędzenia (governance). Artykuł, bazując na studiach przypadków obszarów metropolitalnych Kopenhagi i Londynu, ma na celu pokazać czy koncepcja governance jest wykorzystywana w zarządzaniu obszarami metropolitalnymi oraz czy władze metropolitalne w dokumentach strategicznych uwzględniają zasadę zrównoważonego rozwoju. Badania polegały na analizie form współrzędzenia w poszczególnych obszarach oraz analizie planów strategicznych przyjętych przez podmioty zarządzające metropoliami.

Słowa kluczowe: rozwój zrównoważony, obszary metropolitalne, governance