

July 2012



Welsh Government Proposals for a Sustainable Development Bill Friends of the Earth Cymru consultation response

1. Introduction

Friends of the Earth Cymru welcomes the opportunity to respond to this proposal for a Sustainable Development Bill and warmly welcomes the Welsh Government's commitment in its programme for government to legislate for a sustainable future for Wales. We agree with the need for a duty on public bodies in Wales and for a new independent body to be established.

These proposals are the beginning of the legislative process and offer some analysis of the situation. However we feel that greater clarity, ambition and sense of urgency is necessary if the proposals are to be turned into an effective and purposeful law that will be a safeguard for future generations and Wales' global impact.

1.1 International context

The Rio+20 Summit was not the ground breaking step that many of us hoped it would be, but it did bring together representatives from nations, NGOs and businesses from across the world who strive to set us on a course to sustainable development, and a declaration that set in place a process to establish global Sustainable Development Goals

And although there has been ever increasing recognition of sustainable development (SD) and sustainability since the original Rio Earth Summit, this has not led to a step change in our behaviour, legislation or institutional structures, and the global actions of the past 20 years have created a state of unprecedented planetary emergency:

“The human pressure on the Earth System has reached a scale where abrupt global environmental change can no longer be excluded. To continue to live and operate safely, humanity has to stay away from critical ‘hard-wired’ thresholds in the Earth’s environment, and respect the nature of the planet’s climatic, geophysical, atmospheric and ecological processes.”¹

¹ <http://www.stockholmresilience.org/research/researchnews/tippingtowardstheunknown.5.7cf9c5aa121e17bab42800021543.html>

We have already breached the safe operating space (or boundaries) for three of nine key planetary systems (climate change, biodiversity loss and excess nitrogen and phosphorus production), and risk.

“Research now demonstrates that the continued functioning of the Earth system as it has supported the well-being of human civilization in recent centuries is at risk.”²

“Energy-related CO₂ emissions are at historic highs; under current policies we estimate energy use and CO₂ emissions will increase by a third by 2020, and almost double by 2050. This would probably send global temperatures at least 6°C higher within this century.”³

As we confront these massive environmental problems, we face societal problems that need not exist in the 21st century: some 1 billion people lack access to nutritious food; 2.7 billion lack access to clean cooking facilities, and breathe in smoke which damages their lungs as they cook; 2.6 billion lack access to basic sanitation⁴; 793 million adults – two thirds of whom are women – are illiterate⁴; and 1.4 billion people live on less than US\$1.25 a day⁵.

Behind each of these statistics is a human family or community whose story could be so different if the political will existed to make it so. As the people with the least struggle to survive, the consumption habits of the richest are stripping the earth of its resources:

“The biggest source of planetary-boundary stress today is excessive resource consumption by roughly the wealthiest 10 per cent of the world’s population, and the production patterns of the companies producing the goods and services that they buy.”⁶

There is an urgent need for humanity to shift course, and put the needs of the Earth and future generations above short-term gain. This will mean charting a course away from current values and expectations, developing societies and economies that support life and the Earth beyond the end of this century.

Friends of the Earth suggests that returning SD to the heart of national and international politics is the only way to recover from the triple-headed crisis we face. The UK Government’s definition of SD is, “living within the planet’s environmental limits; ensuring a strong, healthy and just society; achieving a sustainable economy; promoting good governance; and using sound science responsibly.”⁷

Real sustainability would see our economy delivering social justice within environmental limits. The world has been gripped by a focus on short-term economic growth for too long. The current crisis demands a longer-term lens and an ambitious and urgent approach.

² http://www.planetunderpressure2012.net/pdf/State_of_the_Planet_Declaration.pdf

³ http://www.iea.org/press/pressdetail.asp?PRESS_REL_ID=436

⁴ http://www.un.org/gsp/sites/default/files/attachments/GSP_Report_web_final.pdf

⁵ <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/2008/09/16/new-data-show-14-billion-live-less-us125-day-progress-against-poverty-remains-strong>

⁶ <http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/dp-a-safe-and-just-space-for-humanity-130212-en.pdf>

⁷ From the NPPF, <http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/planningandbuilding/pdf/2116950.pdf>

We know that we can choose to fix the problems that confront us – and see nature better protected and people across the world enjoying a better standard of living. This Bill could provide the political momentum and institutional framework to take this forward in Wales, but only if it makes a difference to the decisions we make.

1.2 Welsh context

Wales has a long track record of international solidarity, progressive politics and valuing equality and fairness.

From the first Act establishing the Assembly, Wales has had a duty to promote SD enshrined in law. One of the few countries across the world to have such a duty, this has been a source of great pride and sustainable development is, as Jonathan Porritt wrote recently, “in the Welsh Assembly’s DNA”⁸.

And in operating its devolved powers successive governments have taken bold decisions in relation to people’s rights and planning for a sustainable future, for example establishing a Children’s Commissioner and Older People’s commissioner, banning smoking in public places, charging for single-use carrier bags and choosing to appoint a Commissioner for Sustainable Futures when the UK Government abolished the SDC.

These are excellent examples of devolution delivering for Wales; protecting the vulnerable in society, thinking innovatively, breaking new ground and acting in the long term interests of people and the planet.

The Sustainable Development Bill should be viewed in this context and should aim to be equally ambitious and radically. As Environment Minister John Griffiths said on returning from Rio+20;

“It is clear that smaller countries, like Wales, can show a lead and set examples in how to create sustainable places and practises. In Wales, we now have the opportunity to further demonstrate this by creating our own ground breaking legislation on Sustainable Development.”⁹

And the Rio+20 text recognised that much of the work would be led by regions and sub-national governments such as the Welsh Government.

The 2009 “One Wales: One Planet” SD scheme was pioneering, recognising that we use resources as if there were three planets, rather than our fair share of one planet, and setting a strong vision, outcomes and indicators on SD in a policy context.

And now that we have legislative powers in Wales we can move beyond a scheme or plan and set the building blocks of a long term sustainable future. The very nature of SD requires long term thinking and is particularly suitable for legislation; to give stability and certainty

⁸ http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/blog/2012/jul/11/wales-sustainable-development?CMP=twf_fd

⁹ Written Statement by the Welsh Government, ‘Visit to Rio+20’, 29 June 2012

for bodies to adapt and create a different culture, and to avoid the political whim of governments without full scrutiny - as was seen when the UK coalition government abolished the UK Sustainable Development Commission.

1.3 Role of civil society and key points

There is already a high level of civil society interest in this Bill, and an eagerness to make it as strong as possible and worth the time and effort involved. We are still at a pre-legislative stage and this is of course a first-stage consultation, but there is broad consensus on the shape of the Bill and key elements within it from third sector organisations including; Stop Climate Chaos Cymru, the Welsh Council for Voluntary Action, the international development sector and environmental charities. We have shown a willingness to work with the Welsh Government and the public sector in shaping this Bill and an appetite for a strong and ambitious Bill that will be the foundation for a step-change in decision-making and implementation of policies and services in Wales.

Some of the key points that have been agreed by civil society organisations are:

- Scope and duty

The new duty must be substantially stronger than the present duty¹⁰ and needs to go beyond producing a scheme, “having regard to” something, or making sustainable development merely a “central organising principle”.

The Bill should require Welsh Government Ministers and the devolved public sector to exercise their (other) duties and powers in order to achieve sustainable development, both within Wales, and with regard to the impacts internationally.

The duty should be supplemented by a statutory strategy which would become the main mechanism for achieving sustainable development. We would expect the duty to lead, within a specified timetable, to clear actions which would, amongst other things:

- clearly drive down carbon and other greenhouse gas emissions
- create and sustain ‘green jobs’
- promote ethical, fair trade and sustainable procurement by the public sector
- drive sustainable and ethical action by businesses that are supported by the Welsh Government in relation to their activities domestically and internationally
- deliver public services which meet the needs of the citizens of Wales

The duty should explicitly recognise and give regard to the international impacts of Wales, e.g.: the supply chains of the Welsh public and private sectors – both in terms of i.e. carbon intensity, food security etc.; the activities of Welsh businesses abroad; and the carbon emissions produced in Wales.

- Definition

The Bill must clearly define sustainable development, rather than leaving interpretation to further

¹⁰Section 79, Government of Wales Act 2006

guidance, officials or the courts, and must be meaningful and accessible enough to drive/guide effective action.

The definition must make it clear that the implications of Welsh sustainable development policy do not end in Wales, but rather extend globally, and that the wellbeing of people in Wales is *an* aim but *not the sole aim* of the legislation.

The “One Wales One Planet” reference to “using only our fair share of the earth’s resources”¹¹ is an important element, as is the UK SD Strategy’s five guiding principles¹². Welsh civil society organisations will be working together to propose specific wording to make this clear.

- Independent Commissioner

We support the principle of having a Commissioner for Sustainable Development who should become a powerful champion for future generations, people in developing countries and those living in poverty in Wales – who are all impacted on by unsustainable development.

The Commissioner should be independent of the Welsh Government and able to hold the Government and public sector in Wales to account.

The Commissioner should be both empowered and required to investigate and take action on failures by government both to comply with the provisions of the Bill, and more widely.

The Commissioner must also be adequately resourced, with a staff able to support a significant programme of work including, research, policy development, support for the wider public sector in developing effective sustainable development schemes and investigative capacity to hold the devolved public sector to account.

In addition, Friends of the Earth Cymru believes that the Bill should empower the right to participate in environmental decision-making in Wales by recognising the UNECE Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters¹³ (Aarhus Convention), which is based on Principle 10 of the 1992 Rio Declaration¹⁴, and implementing it fully in Wales. This is crucial to enable people to engage with and shape decisions that will bring about a fair transition to sustainability. This Bill and other bills which are envisaged by the Welsh Government must all seek to empower the right to participate – for instance the Planning Bill is key to both participation and decision-making on sustainable development.

As the UN Global Sustainability Panel report “Resilient people, resilient planet – a future worth choosing” said earlier this year;

“The truth is that sustainable development is fundamentally a question of people’s opportunities to influence their future, claim their rights and voice their concerns. Democratic governance and full respect for human rights are key prerequisites for empowering people to make sustainable choices....[At the same time,] local communities

¹¹ <http://wales.gov.uk/docs/desh/publications/090521susdev1wales1planeten.pdf> p.8

¹² <http://www.defra.gov.uk/publications/files/pb10589-securing-the-future-050307.pdf> p.16

¹³ <http://www.unece.org/env/pp/introduction.html>

¹⁴ <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/conf151/aconf15126-1annex1.htm/>

must be encouraged to participate actively and consistently in conceptualising, planning and executing sustainability policies.”¹⁵

This Bill should also establish the right to live in a healthy environment and protect it for the benefit of future generations, and initiate a Charter of Environmental Rights. This right has been acknowledged by about 120 constitutions around the world including 8 European states¹⁶, and the Council of Europe’s Parliamentary Assembly has recommended its addition to the European Convention on Human Rights. We endorse the proposal laid out in the WWF Cymru discussion document “The National Assembly for Wales and Taking the Longer View”¹⁷.

If we had a right to a healthy environment in Welsh law, it would go much further than the Aarhus Convention’s other rights in enabling communities to improve the places where they live. The courts have considered human rights in relation to environmental issues, but the right to a healthy environment would give courts a clear mandate to get stuck in to environmental protection issues, rather than taking the view that they can only get involved in very limited circumstances. So the right could be used to challenge highly polluting or carbon intensive developments, giving courts the ability to consider whether the economic advantages outweigh the interference with environmental rights. A right to live in a healthy environment could also deliver justice for communities not covered by other Aarhus rights. Public bodies would take future generations into account when they make policy.

This Bill is a one-off opportunity to set us on a path towards achieving sustainable development, with clear legal duties and a powerful body to respond when things go wrong. We owe it to present and future generations, in Wales and throughout the world, to get this Bill right and create a sustainable Wales.

The Welsh Government’s commitment to the Rio+20 process going forward is a clear indication of the political will to set ourselves at the forefront of this international context and we fully support the Minister’s aim of achieving “ground breaking legislation on Sustainable Development” and to “make our legislation as strong and effective as possible”¹⁸. We share those aspirations and welcome the opportunity to play a part in shaping this legislation.

2. Consultation questions

We wish to respond to the following specific questions in the consultation document, which we have grouped together under sub-headings.

¹⁵ http://www.un.org/gsp/sites/default/files/attachments/GSP_Report_web_final.pdf, p.10

¹⁶ Taking the longer view: UK governance options for a finite planet, a report by Peter Roderick for WWF-UK and the Foundation for Democracy and Sustainable Development, http://www.wwf.org.uk/wwf_articles.cfm?newsid=4545

¹⁷ http://assets.wwf.org.uk/downloads/discussion_document_by_peter_roderick_the_national_assembly_for_wales_and_taking_the_longer_view.pdf p.27-28

¹⁸ Written Statement by the Welsh Government, ‘Visit to Rio+20’, Minister for Environment and Sustainable Development, 29 June 2012

2.1 The duty

2.1.1 A duty on what level of decisions

Questions 4-8

The sustainable development duty is relevant to all decisions that impact on the sustainability of Wales.

Whether this would be achieved by the Welsh Government's preferred option of a high level duty on strategic decisions only is doubtful, unless there is a strong mechanism to explicitly explain how the duty would run from the strategic level to everyday decision making.

The process of decision-making needs to change, so that everything from procurement and funding to evaluating and monitoring are carried out with due regard to SD principles. This should apply to the public functions and internal strategies of the relevant bodies.

The Government should provide clarity on how it can be assured that placing a duty on high level decisions only will avoid unsustainable decisions from being made in other cases. Unless this can be assured and unsustainable decision making is made illegal then the duty should apply to all decisions.

We believe that it is particularly important for budget proposals to be subject to a duty so that financial decisions are not taken on the grounds of cheapness or a simple cost-benefit analysis that does not have sustainability at its heart. Financial departments should take into account not just the financial costs but externalities such as social and environmental costs.

As the Environment Minister said on departing to Rio+20;

"It means that when we are faced with difficult choices, we choose the option that is best for the long term future of Wales, rather than the option that is quickest, easiest or cheapest."¹⁹

2.1.2 Sustainable development factors

Questions 9-17

The wording, or even nature, of the duty is not made clear in the current proposals. There is discussion over which bodies and which decisions, but a lack of consideration to what the duty would be asking them to do. The proposal mentions promoting SD, making it a central organising principle or even decision-making "informed" by sustainable development thinking, all of which are weak and unclear formulations.

It is difficult to see what would be illegal under such duties and lends itself to a tick-box attitude of having to show that sustainable development has been considered, rather than

¹⁹ Western Mail, 'Environment minister John Griffiths flies to Rio for sustainable development summit', 15 June 2012

focusing on the outcome and effect.

Of the four options given as sustainable development factors, a combination of the behaviours and objectives approaches would seem the most appropriate. However this is insufficient ground to base the duty on. There has to be a clear definition of SD and **a focus on actions and outcomes in decision-making**.

The Welsh Government should set out in the White Paper a clear and strong duty requiring the organisations subject to it to exercise their duties and powers **in order to achieve SD**. The formulation of this wording should be developed with support from legal experts, and Friends of the Earth is happy to assist with this process.

Cultural change within institutions and bodies is important to long term sustainability but is not in itself enough to be a legal duty that will be effective.

We would like to see a process diagram in the White Paper showing how the duty would work in practice for different organisations, including reference to public participation.

2.1.3 Organisations that might be subject to the duty

Questions 24-25

There is some confusion as to the government's preference of which bodies might be subject to a duty, with a very limited list of public bodies on page 39 of the consultation document, but a much longer list referred to at a consultation event, but not seen by consultees²⁰.

Schedule 6-8 of the Welsh Language Measure 2011 provides an idea of the categories and bodies which could be subject to a duty under this Bill, including public bodies and those receiving over £400,000 in public money²¹.

Friends of the Earth Cymru believes that in order to achieve sustainable development in Wales the Welsh Government should apply the duty to as wide a range of bodies as is possible under its powers. We recommend that the Welsh Government investigate options for doing so under existing legislation such as the UK Equalities Act 2010 and Welsh Language Measure 2011.

2.2 Definition

Questions 26-27

It is crucial to the working of the Bill that there should be a legal definition of sustainable development on the face of the legislation.

A legal definition is necessary for the sake of legal certainty, as a basis both for the operations of bodies subject to the duty and as a basis of legal recourse if it is contravened.

²⁰ Jennifer Pride, SD Bill consultation event, Park Inn Hotel, Cardiff, 25 June 2012

²¹http://www.legislation.gov.uk/mwa/2011/1/pdfs/mwa_20110001_en.pdf

It would also ensure consistency and coherence within the developing Welsh body of legislation, and could be referred to in forthcoming legislation such as the Planning Bill.

It must be clear and meaningful enough to guide action and to be implemented, and specify that the global implications of actions must be taken into account, including the use of resources overseas, not only within Wales.

The footprint of our resource use in the four key indicators of land, materials, water and carbon should be measured and taken into account, as a study commissioned by the European Commission recently recommended²².

The public sector's purchasing of services, goods and works contracts is a significant amount of public expenditure, thought to total around £4.3bn a year. We propose that the Welsh Government's established work on Community Benefits is developed into a legal requirement, through the Sustainable Development Bill, to ensure that all public bodies in Wales consider how their procurement activities contribute to sustainable development.

This Bill should be the cornerstone of tackling inequalities within Wales and a vehicle for engendering social justice. Some communities in Wales are disproportionately affected by environmental problems and suffer very poor health and educational attainment, all issues relating to SD. An Equalities Impact Assessment should be carried out of the Bill itself and the engagement and participation process.

The UK SD Strategy's five guiding principles;

- operating within environmental limits,
- ensuring a strong healthy and just society,
- achieving a sustainable economy,
- promoting good governance and
- using sound science responsibly²³

should be taken into account, and the "One Wales One Planet" reference to "using only our fair share of the earth's resources" and "social justice" are important elements to be reflected, although the wording needs to be strengthened and measurable.

The Welsh Government should take this opportunity to ensure that the Aarhus Convention provisions are met in this Bill, so that people are enabled to use their right to participate in environmental decision-making in Wales, and have access to information and access to justice.

Further discussion is needed on the exact wording of the definition, and civil society organisations are working together to propose suitable wording.

Some benchmarks are that it should be a recognised definition, has to be practically implementable and it should be worked out how it would apply in practice. The end aim should be wording that is meaningful and practical in decision-making rather than well-

²² http://ec.europa.eu/environment/resource_efficiency/news/up-to-date_news/5072012_en.htm

²³ <http://www.defra.gov.uk/publications/files/pb10589-securing-the-future-050307.pdf> p.16

meaning but woolly words.

In terms of process, the definition should be tested in relation to decision making, the wording of the duty and consideration of the relevant bodies. For example if we take the five principles of the UK SD Strategy and apply them to a flood defence strategy the questions to be asked in relation to the duty would be:

- sound science - what is the evidence to support the actions you are taking?
- social justice - does this strategy protect the most vulnerable? Are there any people disadvantaged by this strategy?
- environmental limits - does it deal with the fact of climate change adaptation
- sustainable economy - how will it help the local economy? Does this create barriers to any local economic activities? Are there unsustainable economic activities that need to be addressed by this flooding strategy?
- good governance - have people been able to have their say on the strategy? Have elected representatives scrutinized? Has there been proper information provided? Has everyone affected been able to raise issues? Is there a proper complaints and oversight mechanism for the creation and implementation of the strategy?

A similar process should be undertaken to arrive at an appropriate definition for Wales.

2.3 A new body

Questions 28-34

Friends of the Earth Cymru believes that a new and independent sustainable development body should be established on a statutory basis, charged with being a champion for sustainable development in Wales and ensuring that the relevant bodies meet their duties under this Bill.

We agree with the analysis of having a statutory body, in particular paragraph 164 that establishing it through the democratic process enhances its mandate and legitimacy. It also gives it an element of certainty and durability, avoiding the possibility of being abolished in the same way as the UK SDC, as was previously mentioned.

We believe however that it needs to have a stronger role than the preferred option outlined in this proposal. There is a role for a “critical friend” and advisor, particularly at early stages of implementation, but this has to be backed up by a ‘stick’, an ability to challenge and review decisions and be a champion for future generations as well as those in poverty in Wales and around the world who lack a voice.

There is no explanation of why the new body should not have a role in compliance with the duty, and no justification for rejecting the ombudsman model, or an element of this role.

We support a combination of an ombudsman model that can act as an advocate and scrutiny function with powers to investigate and take action on failures by bodies subject to the provisions of the Bill. Such a model has been considered in a Welsh context by environmental barrister Peter Roderick and we endorse the analysis he presents in relation

to considering the Hungarian Commissioner example and elements of the Children's Commissioner role in Wales.²⁴

The Compliance Committee of the Aarhus convention is an option that is not mentioned in the proposal, and could be worth investigation. Any person can make a complaint to the compliance committee if they believe public authorities have not complied with the convention and its regulations, which the committee then investigates and reports upon²⁵.

Further information is required about the role the Auditor General for Wales could play as a scrutiniser. We are surprised that there are no relevant consultation questions regarding this crucial element and would like assurance that there will be opportunity to consider this option in the discussions on the Sustainable Development Bill and that it is not a fait accompli.

The Auditor General and Audit Office are strong and well respected, but we would question whether it has the expertise to carry out such detailed scrutiny in relation to SD and how regular this scrutiny would take place. Its current purpose is to ensure the best possible value for money for the public pound, with a specialisation in financial auditing. There could be a risk that scrutiny by such a body would focus on finance rather than SD concerns. We seek assurances that appropriate specialisation was in place to carry out this work.

Even if this was achieved, it is a wide ranging body and would not be focused on SD. Adding the duties under this Bill to a list of auditing issues in a tick box manner is certainly not sufficient, and scrutiny in relation to sustainable development must be explicitly set as its overarching and central purpose.

Independent scrutiny is essential to hold the government and public bodies to account. The UK Government no longer has any body that can hold it to account on SD and its decisions suffer as a result, allowing it to slip off the agenda. We mustn't repeat that mistake here in Wales when we have the opportunity to get it right from the word go.

It is implicit in the language around SD in Wales that building a sustainable future involves everyone, and impacts the wellbeing of all, not just a matter for government. The new body has to have a public facing role as a champion of SD for the people of Wales and future generations, not just a bureaucratic friend of public bodies carrying out internal conversations behind closed doors.

The Welsh Government should present a more reasoned argument and evidence for their preferred approach, and reconsider all the available options.

3. Conclusion

The Government of Wales has the boldness and political will to set ground-breaking

²⁴http://assets.wwf.org.uk/downloads/discussion_document_by_peter_roderick_the_national_assembly_for_wales_and_taking_th.pdf p.23-26

²⁵<http://www.unece.org/env/pp/ccBackground.html>

sustainable development legislation that can set us on a course to a sustainable future. This Bill could be a global example of how to take forward the Rio+20 declaration and set a precedent for how to move towards achieving SD.

There are numerous reasons to make here and now the time for action - new powers, cross-party commitment to sustainable development and strong natural resources and affinity to the environment. It's also a limited time for action. As the Environment Minister noted during Rio+20;

“The world is set on an unsustainable course and the window for action is closing. It is clear that progress can happen quickest at regional level with regional governments being the true leaders in sustainability.”²⁶

Responding effectively to the societal, economic and environmental crisis demands rapid and radical changes in the way that we live and work. A global transition needs to take place as swiftly as possible and the next ten years will be crucial to avoid environmental catastrophe. It will require a transformation of our energy system and a radical overhaul in the design of our buildings and towns. It will entail huge changes in how we manage our land, freshwater and seas, in what and how we produce and consume, and in how we manage markets and deliver an economy within environmental limits. As Gordon Brown's former Advisor, Professor Michael Jacobs, said recently;

“Capitalism is in a deeper hole than has generally been recognised. It faces not just the economic and financial crisis with which we are all familiar, but deeper crises of environment and quality of life as well...To address all three crises a synthesis of social democratic and green thought is required. But this will need a new political economy which recognises the interdependence of the three economies of market, environment and society; and seeks to restrain the forces of the market economy to prevent their creation of net disvalue to human wellbeing and society. In turn this will require a political theory which recognises the limits of individualism and finds new sources of collective identity and new forms of collective agency. It is quite a challenge. But it is the challenge that the gravity of our condition, and the interests of our children, demand that we meet.”²⁷

The Bill at this pre-legislative stage already has the engagement of civil society and could inspire the wider public as to the value of the legislative powers. Public bodies and many others are at cross-roads due to financial austerity and restructuring in many sectors, and are looking for a different way of working, which sustainable development can help achieve. Clear direction and leadership is needed from the Welsh Government to take this forward and the Bill is a perfect opportunity to lead the world and show what can be done.

We hope that Welsh Ministers can go to the Rio+20 summit as an exemplar not just of individual positive actions and policies within central government, but of embedded and structural implementation of SD across a nation.

²⁶ Welsh Government press release, 'Wales' commitment to sustainability is on the map after Rio conference', 22 June 2012

²⁷ 'The Green Moment?: The crises of capitalism and the response of progressive politics', public lecture by Professor Michael Jacobs, 24 January 2012