

QUIET ACCEPTANCE VS. THE 'POLDER MODEL'



Stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility plans:
a comparative study between Sweden and the Netherlands



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“If it is about the level of involvement in urban mobility planning, then I see this as the amount of meetings with the aldermen, I would give this an 8 or 9, but if it is about the substantive effects, I merely come to a 5” (Jan Korff de Gidts, Kracht van Utrecht – citizen group).

Master thesis

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Foreword

Making the current mobility system more sustainable, in the broadest meaning of the word, is one of the most important challenges for societies nowadays. Current governments cannot do this on their own: they need input from stakeholders outside of the government as well. Furthermore, it is increasingly important to coordinate between different policy sectors within governments to achieve a more sustainable mobility system. This thesis gives insight in the aforementioned issues. It was interesting to explore this topic and focus on the more 'process-oriented' side of urban transport planning in the past few months. The possibility to do research on this topic in Sweden, where I studied for one semester, and Utrecht, The Netherlands was an extra stimulus because of my personal background and interests.

My internship at Goudappel Coffeng was an instructive, interesting and great experience. I am thankful for the opportunities Goudappel offered me in writing my thesis – particularly the possibility to do empirical research in Sweden. Furthermore, assisting and helping in projects made me learn a lot, and moreover, made me enthusiastic about consultancy concerning mobility and infrastructure.

I would like to thank Alex Mulders, my supervisor from Goudappel Coffeng, for his help and supervision during my internship. The freedom he gave me resulted in this thesis, in which I could fully explore my interests. At the same time, he was always available for advice when I needed that. His positivism and enthusiasm motivated me a lot, both in writing my thesis as well as in my supporting activities for Goudappel. The confidence he had in me encouraged me even more. Furthermore, I want to thank Alex for his help in thinking along about my future career.

I would also like to thank all of the other colleagues from Goudappel for the input they gave me, the interest they expressed in my research and the nice talks we had. I would like to give a special word of thanks to Richard ter Avest with whom I spent time in the same office for the past six months. While working on my thesis, we often spoke about the (international) activities of Goudappel Coffeng. This often provided a welcome change during the writing process and moreover, I could contribute to his projects. Additionally, I would like to thank Marco Aarsen who helped me with designing my front page.

I would like to thank Tejo Spit for his feedback and confidence in my scientific qualities. His useful and critical notes helped me to improve my thesis and motivated me to get the best out of myself. Without his help and feedback, I would probably not be able to finish my master thesis successfully. Furthermore, I would like to thank all respondents who participated in my research, both in Sweden and The Netherlands.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my partner, friends and family for supporting me in the past months. Special words of thanks go to Désirée, Elleke, Matthijs, Suzan and Tirza for the helpful 'thesis-feedback afternoons' which often ended up in nice dinners and evenings. In addition, I want to thank Ingrid, who checked my thesis for spelling and style.

With the completion of this thesis, I have almost graduated with my master's degree in Urban and Regional Planning at Utrecht University. Only one course remains after the summer. Finishing this thesis therefore brings me to a new stage in life. Since I started living and studying in Utrecht five years ago, I have learned a lot and developed myself on a personal level. Furthermore, I made friends for the rest of my life. I can therefore conclude that my student time truly was a great time, and I look back with satisfaction. Nevertheless, for now, it is time for the next challenge!

Lucas van der Linde
Deventer / Utrecht, August 2014

Executive summary

Urban mobility planning is an important policy issue for municipalities nowadays. On the one hand municipalities strive for the optimization of the mobility system in order to offer their citizens the best social and economical opportunities, whereas on the other hand the current transport system results in environmental problems in terms of pollution and CO²-emissions. Consequently, municipalities are situated in a field of tension in which they have to balance between optimizing the mobility system and at the same time, taking care of the environment in their municipalities. In order to achieve this, municipalities strive for a more sustainable mobility system. The new '**sustainable mobility paradigm**' is the embodiment of the proposed solution for this, both scientifically as well as socially. The paradigm places people instead of cars central and puts explicitly environmental and social interests into policy debates, next to economic interests.

The European Union recognizes the need to make current urban transport systems more sustainable and therefore published the SUMP-guidelines: the Sustainable Urban Mobility Planning guidelines. These guidelines provide advice on how to make a strategic urban mobility plan to achieve a better and more sustainable mobility system. Two elements of these guidelines are that a) municipalities have to work with a **participatory approach** during the policy process of a strategic urban mobility plan: external stakeholders need to be involved during the whole process and b) horizontal and vertical **integration of policies** is needed to achieve a more sustainable mobility system. These two elements implicitly mean that **governmental** and **non-governmental stakeholder involvement** in strategic urban mobility plans is important. This context therefore formed the motivation of the research. The research question of this thesis was:

To what extent do strategic urban mobility plans in two national contexts, the Swedish and Dutch, differ on the current theoretical insights in terms of governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement, from a new institutional perspective?

Sweden and The Netherlands are two countries which have to fulfill these SUMP-guidelines in terms of achieving a more sustainable mobility system but more specifically, have to involve both governmental as well as non-governmental stakeholders in order to achieve policy integration and get the support and use the knowledge of external stakeholders.

Theoretical perspective

This thesis used the **new institutional approach** in order to analyze and determine the differences between these two countries and answer this research question. It is worthwhile to start examining institutions instead of individual actors because of the influences that institutions have on individuals and outcomes of policy processes. Institutions are rules, laws, norms and cultural elements which influence how an administration system functions. This research distinguishes **regulative**, **normative** and **cultural-cognitive** institutions. In the context of urban mobility policy making, regulative institutions are rules and laws, such as whether or not municipalities have to make a strategic urban mobility plan by law. Normative institutions are norms and values in a society, such as how much value is attached to involve stakeholders in urban mobility making. Cultural-cognitive institutions are ideas, interpretations and common beliefs. In the context of strategic urban mobility planning this are good practices and crusted ways of policy making.

Both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban transport planning offer added value to urban transport policy making and serve two main goals. First of all, stakeholders can be involved because it is a way to develop trust in policy making or it empowers citizens and stakeholders. Using this perspective, the process of involving stakeholders *is a goal in itself* (**process as a goal**). Secondly, governmental and non-governmental stakeholders can be

involved because it enriches assessment: the stakeholders bring other contextual knowledge. This way, the involvement of stakeholders is *part of the policy process* (**process as a means**).

Empirical research

By means of semi-structured interviews, this study analyzed the governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in **Malmö (Sweden)** and **Utrecht (The Netherlands)**. This study therefore chose for a comparative cross-national case-study design. Both Malmö and Utrecht are forerunners in their country when it comes to urban mobility policy making. Therefore, it can be argued that both cases are exemplary for the rest of the country: other municipalities in the country will probably follow the stakeholder involvement practices in the coming years. Nevertheless, in order to improve the external validity of this research even more, experts were interviewed in both Sweden and The Netherlands to check whether or not the findings in both Malmö and Utrecht were representative for the rest of the country.

Main conclusions of this research are that **non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices** in strategic urban mobility planning between Sweden and The Netherlands **differ to a large extent**, whereas **governmental stakeholder involvement practices** in strategic urban mobility plans **are similar for a large part**. Furthermore, Dutch municipalities are compelled by law to make a strategic urban mobility plan whereas Swedish municipalities are not. Consequently, every Dutch municipality develops a strategic urban mobility plan whereas in Sweden only bigger municipalities develop one.

Dutch municipalities involve non-governmental stakeholders more and earlier on in the process than municipalities in Sweden. Additionally, Dutch municipalities are also more aware of the benefits and moreover, see more of a need to involve non-governmental stakeholders in strategic urban mobility planning because of the changing role of the government, and the fact that stakeholders ask for it. Swedish municipalities on the other hand are aware of the importance of involving non-governmental stakeholders, however there is less importance attached to their input. As a result, Swedish municipalities merely involve non-governmental stakeholders during the process of formal consultation and involve citizens in online surveys. Important reasons for this are mainly normative and cultural-cognitive: Swedish people have a relatively large amount of trust in their government. As a result, non-governmental stakeholders do not ask to be involved in strategic urban mobility planning as stakeholders in The Netherlands do. This can be typified as **'quiet acceptance'**. In The Netherlands external stakeholders ask to be involved in policy making. Furthermore, Dutch municipalities see a different role for themselves: facilitating instead of regulating. This Dutch way of consultation can be described as the **'Polder Model'**, applied to strategic urban mobility planning. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that both Dutch and Swedish municipalities struggle with the strategic level of policy making in strategic urban mobility planning. It is difficult to facilitate non-governmental stakeholder involvement in this type of policy making.

Governmental stakeholder involvement practices in Sweden and The Netherlands are to a large extent similar, although differences exist. First of all, both countries have a formal consultation period at the end of a policy process when stakeholders can give an answer to the policy proposals. Secondly, in both countries the traffic departments usually have meetings with other departments at the beginning of the policy process when developing a strategic urban mobility plan. In terms of differences, Dutch municipalities often work with a so called **'overturned organization'** in which municipalities work on a project basis with employees from different departments, whereas Swedish municipalities often use the traditional department approach. Secondly, the **regional level** in Sweden does not have a formal mandate in transport planning whereas the Dutch regional level (provinces and urban regions) has a formal mandate: they can intervene in policy measures when it comes to transport issues. In Sweden, this was perceived as a problem by the interviewees: the regional level should have a more coordinating role.

Recommendations

Based on the conclusions of this research, the following general recommendations are formulated which are applicable to managers of urban transport departments of both Swedish and Dutch municipalities.

Governmental stakeholder involvement

- Horizontal coordination: Rethink the municipal organization.
- Vertical coordination: Develop standardized ways of meeting and communicating between different governments.

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement

- Develop methods to use input of non-governmental stakeholders on the strategic level of urban transport planning in an early stage.
- Make employees of municipalities more aware of the added value of non-governmental stakeholder involvement and consciously change routines: teach them to have confidence in 'the uncertainty'.

Next to the above general recommendations, the following recommendations specifically for the Swedish and Dutch context were formulated:

Sweden

- Governmental stakeholder involvement: Evaluate the position of the regional governmental authority (län) in terms of the mandate on transport planning.
- Non-governmental stakeholder involvement: Develop a standardized participation framework.

The Netherlands

- Governmental stakeholder involvement: Evaluate the role of the WGR+-regions and analyze which governmental layer can take over this role in the most efficient way.
- Non-governmental stakeholder involvement: Develop a formalized (online) survey to get representative input.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation research

Before any technological advances, it took people twenty hours to travel one hundred kilometers. After the invention of the bicycle this decreased to six hours and since the emergence of the car, the rate of travel has decreased to approximately one hour. One can therefore conclude that the opportunities for humanity to move around the globe have increased exponentially in the last two centuries. Nevertheless, it is only since the 1950s that this resulted in the actual use of these increased opportunities in terms of for example increased car ownership in the Western world, due to the welfare growth. As a consequence, a mobility system (i.e. the existing connections and the shares of the different modes in the system that allow people to move) emerged which was mainly car-oriented. Nowadays, a well-functioning mobility system is necessary to offer the economy opportunities to grow (Thomsen et al., 2005), because from an individual perspective, people ask to travel as much as possible (i.e. the maximization of mobility) because of three different types of motivation, namely a recreational, social or business one (Schiefelbusch, 2010). Mobility therefore has a significant social and economic role in today's world (Thomsen et al., 2005). As a consequence, governments consider mobility as an important policy issue. This is explicitly used as the starting point in this thesis; mobility is considered to be socially and economically important to society and governments therefore have a role in optimizing mobility and have to develop policies on this subject.

Nevertheless, there is a downside to the increased mobility of the last 100 years. The mobility system in its current form causes congestion, air pollution and CO² emissions which results in unhealthy and less livable environments for people, especially in cities (Kemp & Rotmans, 2002). The main cause for this is the large share of the car in the modal split (approximately 49% of the total amount of trips in for example the Netherlands) (Ministerie van I&M, 2012a). Furthermore, scientists collectively agreed that increased levels of CO² are one of the most important causes of climate change. This agreement comes forward in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change which publishes research on recent scientific insights of climate change on a regular basis (IPCC, 2013).

The above mentioned tension between the maximization of mobility as what society asks for on the one hand, and the downside to this increased mobility on the other hand, is recognized by national governments and also by the European Union. Already in 1992, the Commission of the European Communities (CEC) published its first paper addressing a common transport policy in which it was recognized that the mobility system should become more *sustainable*. It attempted to integrate concerns about the environment into transport-policy making (Jensen, 2005). Since 1992 many policy documents from the European Union were published about the subject of sustainable mobility.

Sustainable mobility

The question however is how the concept of sustainable mobility can be defined. It is a 'container concept' and, as a result, it is often explained differently. This is recognized by Thomsen et al. (2005, p. 211): "In fact, 'sustainable mobility' means quite different things to different people, and this could weaken its role for both research and practice. In short it is imprecise, sensitive to strategic interpretation, and somewhat bound to a particular context in time, space and discourse." Therefore, it is important to be as precise as possible about how the link between mobility and sustainability exactly can be defined.

Banister (2008) made an attempt in how to achieve a more sustainable mobility system in his article 'the sustainability mobility paradigm'. He differentiated four different elements, namely:

- 1) The need to reduce travel (substitution)
- 2) Land-use policy measures (distance reduction)
- 3) Transport policy measures (changing the modal split)
- 4) Technological innovation (efficiency increase)

These four possible actions are often used when implementing sustainable mobility plans, for example by consulting firms, the Dutch 'Ministerie van Infrastructuur & Milieu' (Ministry of Infrastructure & Environment) and other organizations (Goudappel Coffeng, 2011). From an urban and regional planning perspective the second and third actions especially have a spatial planning character. Next to these four possible actions, Banister explicitly puts people central in this paradigm: in the end, people have to change their behavior in order to achieve a more sustainable mobility system.

Sustainable mobility policies of the European Commission

In 2007, the European Commission published a green paper called 'Towards a new culture for urban mobility' in which the commission states that "Europe has a capacity for reflection proposal-making and mobilization for the formulation of policies that are decided and implemented locally" (CEC DG TREN, 2007, p. 3). This is more explicitly done in 'the Action Plan on Urban Mobility' in 2009 and especially in the 'Guidelines: developing and implementing a Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan', published in January 2014 (CEC DG TREN, 2009; CEC DG TREN, 2014a). These guidelines provide methods to develop a strategic plan on mobility. The authors use the following definition of the SUMP: "A Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan is a strategic plan designed to satisfy the mobility needs of people and businesses in cities and their surroundings for a better quality of life. It builds on existing planning practices and takes due consideration of integration, participation, and evaluation principles" (CEC DG TREN, 2014a).

Especially the participatory approach and horizontal and vertical integration of European Commission guidelines on sustainable mobility fit in current spatial planning debates. These two aspects of the proposed method relate to the general theoretical debate of the 'communicative turn': the paradigm change from modernism to post-modernism, the government to governance movement and the emergence of collaborative planning (e.g. Boelens, 2010; Healey, 1997; Rydin, 2007). For a long time, the focus in transport planning was based on rational decision making. However, in recent years, it is recognized that one should take all kind of stakeholders into account and the fact that mobility is something which to a large extent also has a social aspect: it is important to acknowledge the perception of mobility of all the different stakeholders (Loukopoulos & Scholz, 2004; Schiefelbusch, 2010; Thomsen et al. 2005, Walter et al., 2006). However, as stated by Loukopoulos & Scholz (2004, p. 2204): "the means by which citizens (and other stakeholders) are to be engaged is critical. Participation cannot and should not occur in an unsystematic, nontransparent, ad hoc fashion." Related to this, is the integration of policies. For the integration of policies, good collaboration is needed between central and local government, departments and the private and voluntary sectors (Kokx & Van Kempen, 2010; Jacquier, 2005). Additionally, many authors recognize the need of coordination and integration of land-use and transport policies (e.g. Stead, 2003; Bertolini et al., 2005; Silva, 2013).

Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind the cultural embeddedness of planning. All EU-member states have different backgrounds in terms of institutional, cultural and social contexts. As recognized by Öthengrafen & Reimer (2013, p. 1270), "national policy responses to challenges such as balanced and sustainable development, economic competitiveness, or demographic change might differ across EU member states even if all countries agree on common objectives." Because of different backgrounds, policy packages developed by the EU, may have different effects locally (see for example Booth, 2011; Öthengrafen & Reimer, 2013).

1.2 Relevance and aim

The previous section illustrated the motivation and context of this study. This section discusses the comparative character of this research, the societal and scientific relevance and ends with formulating the general aim of this research.

Comparative character

According to Walter et al. (2006) and Gissendanner (2003) the focus in current governance related studies is too much on narrative studies instead of comparative (international) studies. Walter et al. (2006, p. 196) state: “Comparative approaches deliver different insights than narrative approaches, allowing inductive conclusions on general and specific aspects of planning processes.” Moreover, a comparative evaluative research design can offer the necessary critical distance of focusing on collaborative practices of one specific case. This study will therefore compare cases in two EU-member states with a different institutional, cultural and social context: Sweden and The Netherlands. In short, the choice for these countries is based on the similarity of both political systems in terms of the large influence of social-democratic parties since the Second World War, whereas this institutionally is performed in a different way: municipalities in Sweden have much more autonomy than in the Netherlands (Busck et al., 2008). More specifically on stakeholder involvement, the Netherlands is known for its integrative character of planning in which all interests from different governmental departments, both horizontally and vertically, come together. This is in contrast to Sweden: Sweden mainly uses sector plans for implementing spatial policies, for example in infrastructure or housing. This is especially the case on higher governmental levels (Busck et al., 2008). On the other hand, Sweden is known for its pioneering in urban sustainability, more specifically in the aspect of governance and participatory planning (Granberg & Elander, 2007; Smedby & Neij, 2013). Nevertheless, improvements are still needed when it comes to stakeholder involvement in both Sweden and the Netherlands (KpVV, 2012; CEC DG TREN, 2012). These similarities on the one hand, but institutional differences on the other hand offer insights in practices in urban transport planning in both countries in terms of stakeholder involvement. A more extensive explanation for the choice of these countries will be given in the chapter which discusses the policy context of Sweden and the Netherlands.

Societal Relevance

(Urban) transport planning has always been a governmental concern. However, due to changing circumstances in both society and science, this has changed: stakeholder involvement has become more important. Nowadays, countries of the European Union face difficulties in how to involve stakeholders in urban mobility planning (CEC DG TREN, 2012). The societal added value of this research is therefore first of all to assess current practices of developing strategic urban mobility plans in terms of involvement of stakeholders in two cases in both Sweden and the Netherlands in order to give recommendations on how Swedish and Dutch municipalities should deal with these two aspects specifically when developing an strategic urban mobility plan. The comparison between different national contexts provides possibly fruitful insights for all the European Union countries and for Sweden and the Netherlands more specifically for each others approach.

Scientific relevance

Much research on collaborative planning practices in (transport) planning (Healey, 1997; 2003; Loukopoulos & Scholz, 2004) and on different planning cultures in Europe which compare planning systems, cultures and practices have been developed in the past years (e.g. Larsson, 2006; Booth, 2011; Busck et al., 2008; Öthengrafen & Reimer, 2013). Often the concept of ‘planning culture’ is used to analyze differences in comparative (international) studies. However, as recognized by Taylor (2013), this concept is diffuse. According to Taylor (2013, p. 690), planners should use the perspective of new institutionalism in comparative studies instead: “A focus on the legal and organizational dimensions of the planning system – such as statutes and regulations, professional

organizations and schools and bureaucratic organizations – reveals the mechanisms by which broader societal norms and power relations are produced and reproduced. It avoids the positioning of societal culture as a fixed and all-determining independent variable that is prior to all other social phenomena”. Apart from Taylor (2013), other scholars such as Alexander (2005) and Raito (2012) also claim that scholars should use new institutional analysis more often in comparative (international) studies. In comparing the stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans, this study therefore uses a new institutional approach to offer a framework for analysis of the planning processes going on during the realization of a mobility plan. The former illustrates the added value of a new institutional approach in examining planning practices in a comparative study: it offers an innovative way of analyzing stakeholder involvement practices in the specific context of a comparative study on stakeholder involvement in urban transport planning. It therefore contributes to the debate of different planning systems in Europe, but from a new perspective.

General aim

The above arguments make first of all clear that scholars recognize that stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility plans is important. However, it is recognized that European countries face difficulties with involving these stakeholders. Secondly, one can conclude that there is a clear need for comparative studies in governance processes in urban transport planning. It also made clear that Sweden and The Netherlands are both appropriate countries to use as the countries which this study will focus upon. Thirdly, it is argued that a new institutional approach in this comparative study offers new scientific insights from a theoretical perspective. Based on this, the following aim of this research is formulated:

To give insight in the governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices during the realization of strategic urban mobility plans with respect to current theoretical insights, in two countries, namely Sweden and The Netherlands, and give recommendations on how the countries can improve these stakeholder involvement practices.

1.3 Central question and sub questions

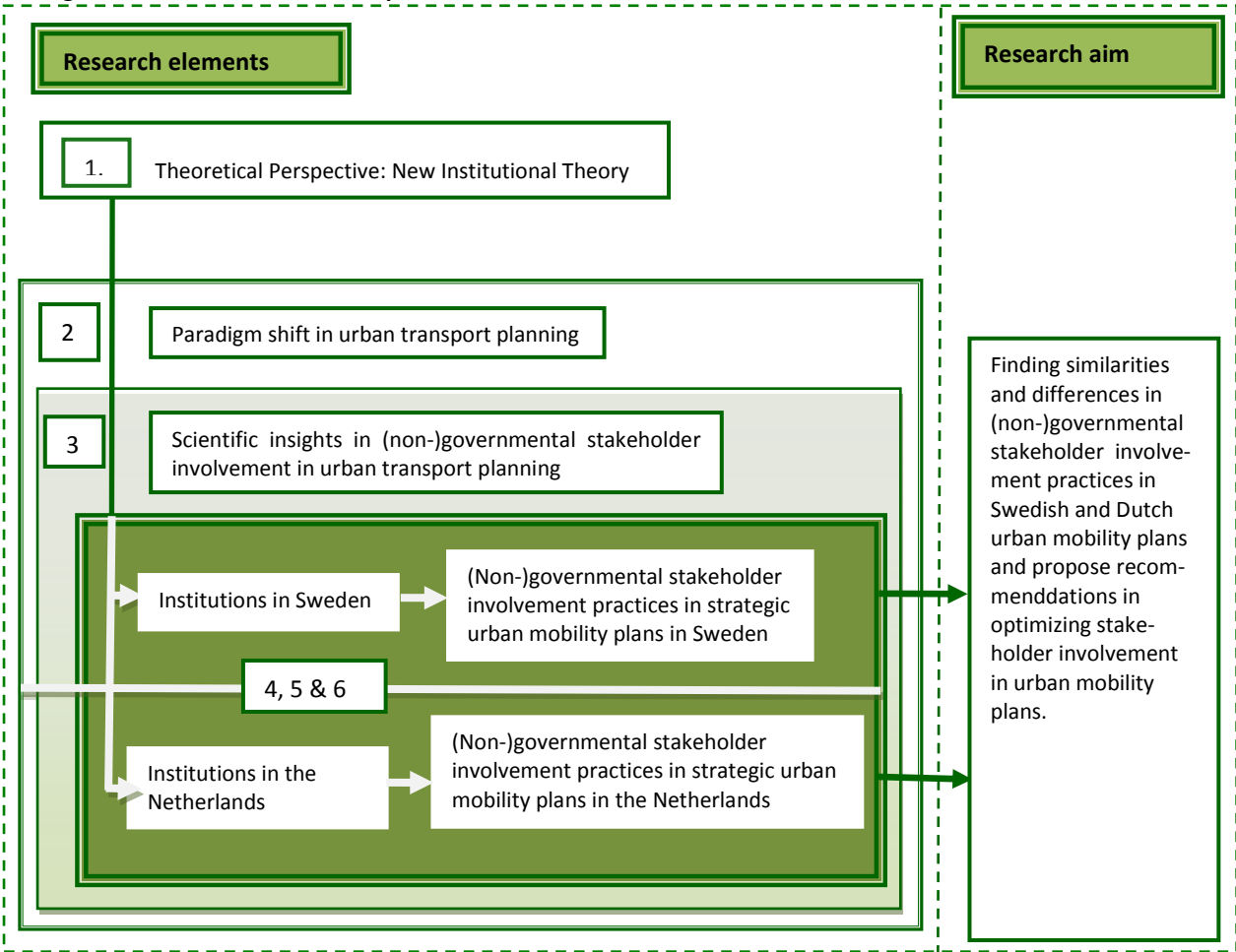
Based on the above formulated aim, the central question of this research is:

To what extent do strategic urban mobility plans in two national contexts, the Swedish and Dutch, differ on the current theoretical insights in terms of governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement, from a new institutional perspective?

In order to answer this research question, an outline of a conceptual model is developed (fig. 1.1). This outline shows the main structure and focus of this study. First of all, as stated earlier, this thesis uses ‘the new institutionalism’ as the theoretical approach in examining the stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans in both Sweden and the Netherlands (1). In this study, a strategic urban mobility plan is defined as a municipal policy document focused on transport or mobility related policy measures, published by the department of traffic and transport of a local authority. In the Netherlands this is often called a ‘Gemeentelijk verkeers- en vervoersplan’ (Municipal traffic- and transport plan), in Sweden this is often called ‘Trafik- och mobilitetsplan’ (Traffic- and transport plan). However, before focusing on stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans, it is important to realize that a paradigm shift took place in urban transport planning in the past decades as a contextual development. This shift influenced the thinking about stakeholder involvement in general and is therefore discussed in this thesis (2). More specifically, the thesis then focuses on the recent scientific insights of both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement (3). Governmental stakeholders in this thesis are defined as civil servants of departments or levels of government other than the local traffic department who are involved in developing an urban mobility plan. This results to a certain degree in horizontal and vertical coordination of policies. Non-governmental stakeholders are defined as private and civil actors, i.e. actors outside of the

government. More specifically these actors are for example business associations, companies, citizen groups or environmental groups. These recent insights will give theoretical points of reference for examining the cases and input for the recommendations in the conclusion. The cases in Sweden and the Netherlands then will be empirically examined by using the recent insights in the literature of stakeholder involvement, while using a new institutional perspective. Before specifically focusing on stakeholder involvement, this research first analyzes contextual similarities and differences (4). Subsequently, the thesis focuses specifically on governmental (5) and non-governmental (6) stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility plans in Sweden and The Netherlands. With these notions in mind, it is possible to analyze and present the differences between the Netherlands and Sweden on these issues in the conclusion and formulate recommendations on how stakeholder involvement can be improved in these countries.

Figure 1.1: Outline of the conceptual framework



Source: Own work

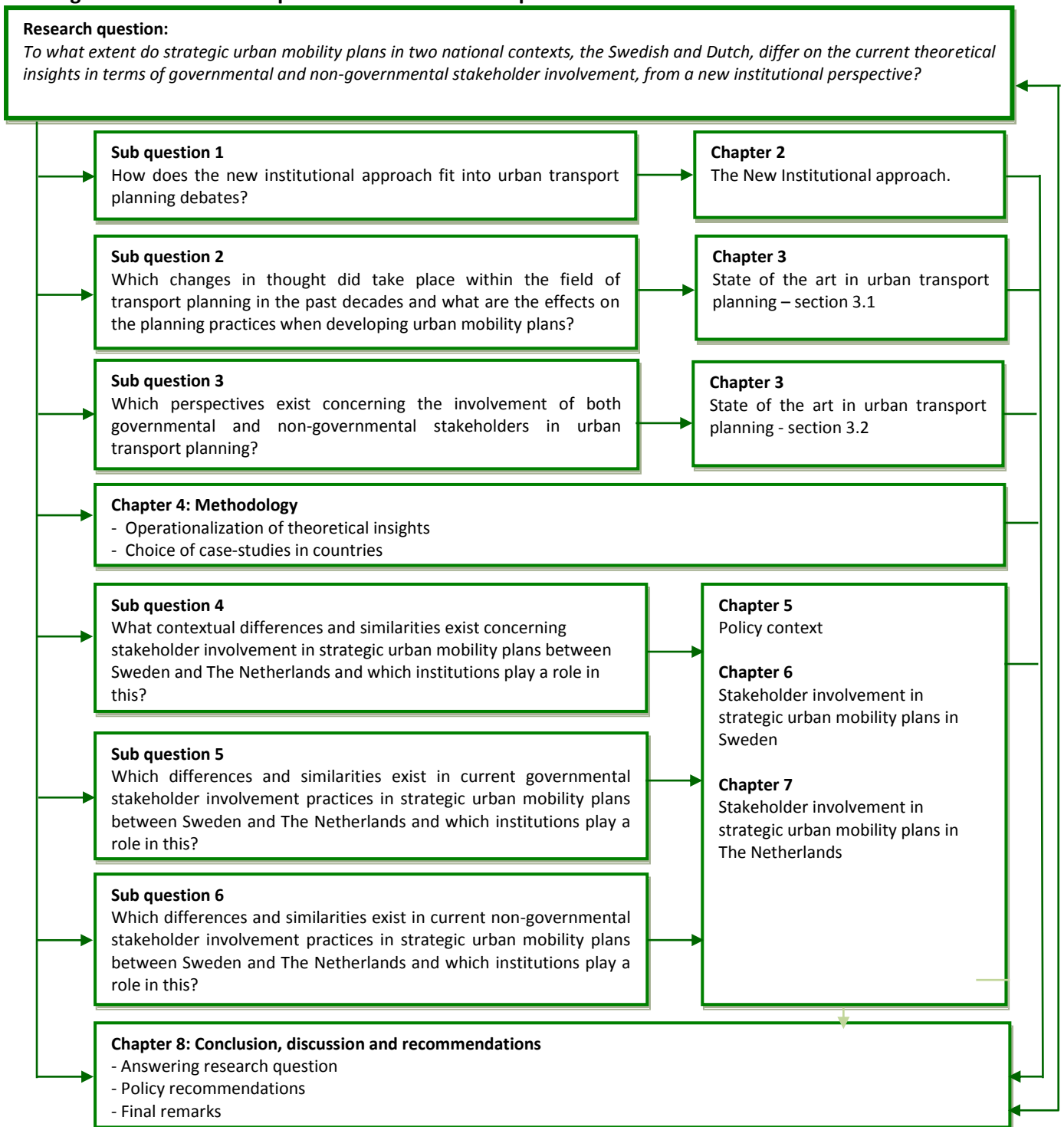
In order to structure this thesis, sub questions are formulated based on the above arguments. In this, a distinction is made between theoretical and empirical research questions. Questions 1-3 are answered based on the relevant literature. Questions 4-6 are answered on the basis of empirical results. The numbers depicted in the figure, relate to the following sub questions:

- 1) *How does the new institutional approach fit into urban transportation planning debates?*
- 2) *Which changes in thought did take place within the field of urban transport planning in the past decades and what are the effects on the planning practices when developing urban mobility plans?*
- 3) *Which perspectives exist concerning the involvement of both governmental and non-governmental stakeholders in urban transport planning?*
- 4) *What contextual differences and similarities exist concerning stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility plans between Sweden and The Netherlands and which institutions play a role in this?*
- 5) *Which differences and similarities exist in current governmental stakeholder involvement practices in strategic urban mobility plans between Sweden and The Netherlands and which institutions play a role in this?*
- 6) *Which differences and similarities exist in current non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in strategic urban mobility plans between Sweden and The Netherlands and which institutions play a role in this?*

1.4 Reading Guide

This thesis is structured in the following way. This chapter, the introduction, has set out the aim of the research and has formulated the main research question which will be answered with the help of the sub questions as made clear in figure 1.2. Chapter two discusses the theoretical perspective used in this thesis, namely the new institutional approach. Chapter three subsequently discusses scientific debates on urban transport planning in general and stakeholder involvement specifically. Chapter four discusses the methodological framework of the research. Chapter five analyzes the policy context of both Sweden and The Netherlands in the context of urban mobility planning. Chapter six and seven then presents respectively the results from the case studies in Sweden and The Netherlands. Chapter eight answers the empirical research questions and subsequently answers the central question. Furthermore, chapter eight gives policy recommendations for both Sweden and The Netherlands. Chapter eight ends with the final remarks.

Figure 1.2: Schematic representation of research questions



2. THE NEW INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

The aim of this chapter is to set a theoretical frame on the subject of analyzing public policy in order to get an understanding of how policies are realized in a broader context and to give theoretical points of reference for the specific subject this thesis is focusing on, namely governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans in The Netherlands and Sweden. The theoretical perspective presented in this section, the new institutional approach, will subsequently be used as the theoretical perspective when carrying out the empirical research. The relationship of this chapter to the rest of this thesis is also made clear in the outline of the conceptual framework (figure 1.1) and the schematic representation of the research questions (figure 1.2). In order to present this theoretical frame, the sub question answered in this chapter is:

How does the new institutional approach fit into urban transport planning debates?

The outline of this chapter is as follows. Firstly, a short description is given of the six main approaches or theories that explain how policy is developed and implemented. Secondly, it is argued that the new institutional approach is the most appropriate theory to analyze policy making in the specific context of this thesis: a comparative study between two countries. Thirdly, this chapter elaborates on the main arguments of the new institutional approach and describes three different approaches. Fourthly, the definition and typology of institutions of Scott (2001) is explained. This typology of institutions will also be used in the empirical part of this thesis. Fifthly, the relationship between the new institutional approach and planning is discussed. Lastly, in the conclusion, an answer on the above sub question is formulated.

2.1 Analyzing public policy

Peter John, author of the book, 'Analyzing Public Policy', defines the analysis of public policy as: "Research on policy seeks to understand how the machinery of the state and political actors interacts to produce public actions" (John, 1998, p. 1). This quote illustrates that in public policy analysis, research is done on the decision making process during the development of policy. It especially makes clear the role of the interactions of actors in policy making: in the end individual actors are making policy. It is recognized that the analysis of public policy is complex since it focuses on the mutual dependency and interference of both 'hard' institutions and 'informal' networks within policy-making (see for example John, 1998; Spit & Zoete, 2009; Peters, 2005). Moreover, one deals with human behavior which is per definition multi-causal. Policy research therefore often results in descriptive studies (John, 1998). Nevertheless, the sub-discipline of analyzing policy obtained a well-established place in science since the 1950s in which founding fathers such as Lindblom, Easton and Simon developed their first theories and perspective on analyzing public policy (Parsons, 1999).

In the last six decades, many approaches have been developed within the social sciences on policy making. According to John (1998), there are six main approaches or theories that explain how policies are made. The following is a brief summary of each approach:

Institutional approach

The institutional approach focuses on the political organizations, laws and rules that are central to every system and therefore shape possible policies. Although it first focused on mainly 'hard' institutions, such as laws and rules, the approach nowadays also focuses on 'soft' institutions, such as social relations (for example John, 1998; Healey, 1999).

Group and network approaches

Group and network approaches focus mostly on informal relationships, both within and outside organizations of the government. It is argued that processes as a result of these relationships determine policy outputs and outcomes (e.g. John, 1998; Albrechts & Mandelblau, 2005).

Socio-economic approaches

In the socio-economic approaches it is argued that “policy-maker decisions reflect wider forces, either through the function of governing for the economic and social systems or the close relationships between elites and the power blocs” (John, 1998, p. 114). Scholars who contributed to this approach are Sabatier (1991) and Castles (1985).

Rational choice theory

In rational choice theory, one assumes that individual choice is at the foundation of political action and interaction. Outcomes and decisions of processes are the result of preferences and bargaining of actors. Therefore the individual actor plays the central role in this approach (John, 1998). An example of the rational choice theory is the use of prisoner’s dilemma in policy issues (John, 1998; Davy, 1997).

Idea-based approaches

In this approach ideas are central to the debate. Ideas gain influence, and mutually influence other ideas. Interesting in this approach is not so much the existence of the ideas, but more the disputes about which idea is the best and which explanation best fits the facts. It therefore relates much to a post-positivistic epistemology (John, 1998, p. 145; Smith, 1997).

Evolutionary theory

A new development in recent years, next to the above five main approaches is the relatively new evolutionary/complexity approach. John (1998) proposes an evolutionary theory of policy change in which continuous change and adaptation are embedded. Teisman et al. (2009) gives a good recent account of the evolutionary approach. He puts the evolutionary character of policy making central and structures the argument around three pillars, namely non-linear dynamics, self-organization and co-evolution.

Nevertheless, the above typology of the six different approaches is in reality not so strict because the approaches overlap. The approaches offer self-contained ‘worlds’ on how to analyze policy processes. Usually researchers work from one approach, assuming that the mechanisms in their research have the dominant characteristics of that specific approach. At the same time, researchers usually do not forget the other theories but allocate them a less important role (John, 1998). This thesis agrees on this and uses the same perspective.

2.2 The choice for new institutionalism

In the past years, many authors wrote about the differences among traditions, modes or styles in planning systems across the (western) world (e.g. Larsson, 2006; Healey & Upton, 2010; Getimis, 2012). This resulted in the concept of ‘planning culture’. Differences in planning practices often took ‘culture’ as the basis for explanation, however according to Taylor (2013), these explanations often remain vague and unfocused. He states: “quite different social phenomena have been conflated under the rubric of ‘planning culture’ with the effect of undermining its analytic traction” (Taylor, 2013, p. 683). Institutions can function as “causal variables that structure the opportunities and constraints faced by individual and collective actors and therefore favour some outcomes or patterns of activity over others” (Taylor, 2013, p. 684). He therefore proposes a ‘new institutionalism’ approach in comparative planning studies. In addition to this, John (1998) also states that the institutional perspective is an appropriate approach when comparing policymaking and implementation between countries. The general theoretical perspective used in this study is

therefore the new institutional approach. The remainder of this chapter will elaborate on this approach.

2.3 The new institutionalism paradigm

This paragraph first describes the origins of the new institutional approach and then appoints the three main schools of thought in this paradigm.

The origins of new institutionalism

The first thinking about how political life is organized was already there in antiquity. Scholars such as Aristoteles already had primary questions on how governing institutions could structure the behavior of people. In more recent times, institutional analysis was carried out in the second part of the 1800s in a more systematic way by Wilson and Woolsey (Peters, 2005) and was characterized by what is now called the traditional institutional approach. In this traditional institutional approach, researchers focused on the laws and rules that are central to a country's political system. These laws and rules constrained the possibilities in which decision makers behave. Institutions distributed powers and responsibilities between the different sectors of a state; they give rights to certain groups in society and have the possibility to include and exclude certain actors. Next to that, institutions make policymaking structured by formalizing habits and agreed rules in society. It was therefore argued that institutions were one of the most important determinants in the realization of policies (Peters, 2005). Furthermore, scholars in old institutionalism often were comparativists since they needed another system in order to get hold of differences, due to their focus on legal systems (John, 1998).

The former illustrates that institutions define how governments work and they therefore had a central role in analyzing public policy since the start of the discipline. It was recognized that institutions are not static; they are different in both time and place and embody culture and habits. Moreover, institutions develop path-dependent (John, 1998). However, many scholars have had a lot of critique on this traditional institutional approach. This criticism can be summarized as the absence of other influences in policy making besides the formal institutional framework: although there was some recognition of other influences, these were not included in empirical research (John, 1998). These critiques went together with the emergence of social sciences in general and the appearance of behavioral studies in political sciences (Peters, 2005). As a result, other theoretical approaches in analyzing public policy came up.

The emergence of New Institutionalism

However, scholars started to recognize the importance of institutions in policy making again during the 1970s and a new academic industry of 'new institutionalism' started to come forward, partly caused by disappointments around other theories or approaches (John, 1998). An important new characteristic of this renewed institutional approach is the analytical distinction of 'informal' institutions next to 'formal institutions'. Taylor (2013, p. 686) puts it as follows: "For new institutionalists, formal organizational structures, laws and decision rules are distinguished from informal norms and conventions, and both are distinguished from ideas and macro structural variables". Healey (1999, p. 112-113) defines these informal institutions as "[informal institutions] refer to the embedding of specific practices in a wider context of social relations that cut across the landscape of formal organizations, and to the active processes by which individuals in social contexts construct their ways of thinking". The former distinction, and the addition of 'informal' institutions particularly, is relevant because the main criticism on the old institutionalism was the biased focus on formal institutions, i.e. formal rules and laws. In this new institutional approach informal institutions are explicitly part of the theory.

Giddens with his well-known work 'the constitution of society' was one of the sources of inspiration for the new institutional approach and the including of 'informal' institutions next to formal institutions (Healey, 1998). In his book, Giddens developed an elaborated sociological theory (called 'the structuration theory') on the creation and reproduction of social systems. Central in Giddens' formulation are the active agents who interact with constraining structural dynamics. He analyzes the interaction between micro- and macro elements of society or in other words, he uses the terms structure (i.e. society, the macro element) and agents (i.e. the individual, the micro level) and analyzes their mutual interaction. He states that there is no distinction between structure and actors; there is always a duality in social relationships, i.e. both elements always work in operation. Subsequently he elaborately sets out a theory on how agents form so called 'structures', which he then defines as 'structuring properties allowing the 'binding' of time-space in social systems' (Giddens, 1984, p. 17). He continues with the hypothesis that the most deeply embedded structural properties can be named as 'structural principles' and concluded that when these principles have a big time-space extension, these principles can be called *institutions*. These institutions constrain, at the same time, the possibilities for moving of individual agents: there is mutual interaction (Giddens, 1984).

Although the former is a very concise summary of Giddens' theory, it illustrates the perspective of the author on institutions, which is much broader than the original concept of institutions which focused on formal laws and rules because of the addition of 'informal' institutions. Furthermore, he states explicitly that there is a reciprocal relationship between structures and agents. These conceptual thoughts of Giddens obtained a central place in the new institutional approach: scholars in new institutionalism do realize that there is a mutual relationship between agents and structure. However, they also argue that research can deliver greater benefits by beginning an analysis with the structures and from that point, analyzing the influences of independent actors (Peters, 2005, p. 57).

A calculus or cultural approach

The most important question within institutional analysis is the question in what ways institutions do influence the behavior of individuals and the resulting outcomes. According to Taylor & Hall (1996) there are two kinds of responses to institutionalism, namely the 'calculus approach' or the 'cultural approach'. Scholars who adopt a calculus approach focus on the more rational side of human behavior; the side in which people make strategic calculations to make decisions. Taylor & Hall (1996, p. 7) state that "they [scholars] assume that individuals seek to maximize the attainment of a set of goals given by a specific preference function, and, in doing so, behave strategically". According to the calculus approach, institutions provide information relevant to the behavior of actors; they provide mechanisms for agreement and penalties for breaking the law. The cultural approach on the other hand recognizes that behavior of agents is not fully strategic, but constrained by the worldview of the individual; it stresses that individuals use established routines and/or patterns of behavior to achieve their purposes. Furthermore, the choice for an action depends more on the personal interpretation of someone for a situation instead of a rational calculated choice (Taylor & Hall, 1996).

Taylor & Hall (1996) distinguish in their well-known paper three different schools of thought in the new institutional approach, namely 'historical institutionalism', 'rational choice institutionalism' and 'sociological institutionalism'. These approaches are also recognized by Peters (2005). Although these three approaches to institutionalism differ in some of their explanations of institutions, such as if they use the calculus or cultural approach, they share the same fundamental analytic points (Peters, 2005). The most important of these shared points is that researchers can achieve better results in research when they start examining institutions instead of individuals because of the influences that institutions have on the behavior of individuals and the resulting outcomes of policy-making; according to researchers in the new institutionalism institutions therefore *do* matter. This research therefore will not explicitly choose for one of the three different approaches, but borrow insights

from the different approaches. Nevertheless, it is important to keep the different schools of thought in mind in order to be aware of the different views on the new institutional theory.

2.4 The typology of institutions of Scott

As the above makes clear, scholars think in different ways about institutions. Therefore, different definitions of the concept of institutions do exist. Scott (2001) developed a conceptual framework on institutions for organizational analysis which will be used in the empirical part of this thesis. Scott (2001, p. 49) defines institutions as: "multifaceted, durable social structures, made up of symbolic elements, social activities, and material resources". He distinguishes three different forms of institutions, namely the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive types (table 2.1) (Scott, 2001; Slegtenhorst, 2013). Regulative institutions exist in laws, rules and protocols. These regulative institutions determine whether or not developments are allowed. This means that an actor can command other actors to undertake actions (Scott, 2001; Slegtenhorst, 2013). Examples of these regulative institutions in an urban transport planning context are for example the obligations to make regional and municipal mobility plans by higher governments or the EU.

The second form of institutions is the normative one. This form of an institution represents the norms and (social) values of the environment (Scott, 2001; Fabbricotti, 2007). Norms specify in what way things should be carried out; they justify means to pursue ends. Values represent what is considered as desirable, whereas norms specify how things should be carried out. This is expressed in the way how departments function, how hierarchy is organized and which approaches are used in policy making. It is important to stress the relationship between regulative and normative rules: implemented rules and laws are most effective when they are socially accepted by normative institutions, because these institutions determine the way things are carried out (Scott, 2001; Slegtenhorst, 2013). Normative institutions can be categorized as informal institutions; institutions that are not tangible. Examples in the context of mobility plans include the importance attached to environmental issues and the opinion of citizens.

The third form is the cultural-cognitive institution: this form of institutions consists of internalized symbolic images of the world. Cultural-cognitive institutions are ideas, meanings and interpretations that actors form about their world, or as Scott (2001, p. 57) states "symbols – words, signs, gestures – have their effect by shaping the meanings we attribute to objects and activities". All these interpretations are shared with others and determine the social identity of persons and groups. These cognitive images shape how information is received, interpreted and remembered by an actor whereas at the same time the perception of actors is influenced. Important elements of the cultural-cognitive element are the habits and social roles; these determine the general perceptions and patterns of thinking in an organization. The difference with the normative form of institutions is that the normative form emphasizes how things should be done, whereas the cultural-cognitive form deals with common beliefs and routines 'under the surface' of behavior (Scott, 2001). Furthermore it is important to realize that cultural beliefs can be different between different actors. The interaction between individuals and structures (or institutions) is therefore sometimes difficult to examine (Scott, 2001). The cultural-cognitive institution is the least tangible of the three distinguished forms. Moreover, the focus in this form of institutions is very much on the role of individuals in shaping these institutions. Examples in the context of this thesis include what the conventional way of thinking is about stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans, and what good practices are considered to be in ways how to carry that out.

Table 2.1: Typology of institutions

Form of institution	Content	Function
Regulative	Rules, laws and sanctioning systems	Indicate whether or not things are allowed, setting rules and rewards and punishments.
Normative	Norms, values and social attitudes	Indicate what is desirable, appropriate and correct.
Cultural-cognitive	Symbolic images, ideas, interpretations and common beliefs	Indicate who we are, what has utility and what the conventional way of doing things is.

Source: Scott (2001, p. 52), table based on Fabbriotti (2007)

Scott (2001, p. 51) describes this typology as a conceptual framework for institutional analysis on the basis of new institutionalism and states that “the three elements form a continuum moving from the conscious [side of behavior] to the unconscious, from the legally enforced to the taken for granted”. This thesis uses this framework for identifying the institutions in the empirical part of the research.

2.5 The use of institutional theory in planning

An important question is how the above theoretical account of the new institutionalism relates to planning. Spit & Zoete (2009, p. 16) give the following definition of spatial planning:

*“The **systemic preparation of policy-formative and implementing activities aiming on deliberately intervene in the spatial order and on the organizing of these interventions in order to improve the spatial quality**” [originally in Dutch, translated to English]*

The first bolded part of the sentence makes clear that spatial planning is about policy-making, whereas the last part in bold makes clear that especially the organizing of these interventions is explicitly part of planning. Institutions play a big role in policy making and organize this policy making, so in this case to carry out actions to develop an urban mobility plan, as the above makes clear. This is also stated by Alexander (2005, p. 210): “All planning, takes place within a specific institutional context, or often in sets of different and varying ‘nested’ institutional contexts as indeed do all societal activities”. Furthermore, Raito (2012) states that new institutionalism focuses on the interplay between the regulatory system, i.e. formal institutions, and the social system at large, i.e. informal institutions. This is in accordance with Taylor (2013) who states that statues and regulations tell how broader societal norms and power relations are developing. The former stresses the utility of the new institutional approach in planning research. This is especially useful, as said earlier, in comparative planning studies between different countries. This is recognized by authors such as Taylor (2013) and Servillo & Van den Broeck (2012). An often used method with the background of new institutionalism is the concept of ‘institutional analysis’ which can be defined as the subject of social sciences that examines how a system functions and behaves to both informal and formal institutions. In urban and regional planning institutional analysis from a new institutional approach is for example done by Healey (2003), Taylor (2013), Raito (2012), Innes (1995) and many others. These authors all used different methods based on one or more of the different above described approaches, but all have the same starting point: the new institutional approach.

More specifically, Healey (1998; 2003) and Polk (2011) use the concept of ‘institutional capacity building’ in relation to stakeholder involvement in planning. Polk (2011, p. 187) states that institutional capacity building is “the ability of administrative and government organizations and agencies to respond to and manage current social and environmental challenges through decision-making, planning and implementation processes”. Specifically on collaborative planning, institutional capacity building relates to the capability to make relational connections, across different cultural and organizational contexts, taking into account different distributions of power (Healey, 1997).

2.6 Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to set a theoretical frame on the subject of public policy in order to get an understanding of how policies are realized in a broader context and to give theoretical points of reference for the specific subjects this thesis is focusing on, namely governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans in Sweden and the Netherlands. The sub question to be answered was:

How does the new institutional approach fit into urban transport planning debates?

Institutions do matter in explaining the behavior of individuals and consequently, the outcome of policy processes. As a result, it is worth to start examining institutions instead of individuals because of the influences that institutions have on individuals and outcomes of policy processes. This is especially the case in comparative studies between two countries because institutions are causal variables that structure and constrain the activities of actors in policy making. As the definition of spatial planning according to Spit & Zoete (2009) makes clear, transport planning consists of (organizing of) policy-making. This chapter makes clear that new institutionalism is useful in analyzing urban planning processes or specifically on the subject of this thesis. Institutional analysis makes it possible to examine how systems function and behave.

This thesis will therefore use the new institutional approach in researching the governmental and non-stakeholder involvement in mobility plans in two cases in The Netherlands and Sweden, by using the conceptual framework of Scott (2001). He identifies three different forms of institutions in his typology, namely a **regulative**, **normative** and **cultural-cognitive** form. The regulative focuses on laws and rules, the normative on the norms and values and the cultural-cognitive form on symbolic images, ideas, interpretations and shared understandings.

These three forms of institutions make it possible to recognize and distinguish the influences of institutions on governmental and non-government stakeholder involvement practices in developing urban mobility plans. Furthermore, the stakeholder involvement practices can be classified into the three different forms. This makes it possible to analyze which institution play which role in current stakeholder involvement practices. An example of regulative institutions in the context of stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans are obligations, rules and laws on how to involve stakeholders in (transport) planning policies on a local level, imposed by higher government tiers (European Union or national governments). For normative institutions an example in this context is the importance attached to the opinion of stakeholders and environmental issues in developing an urban mobility plan. For cultural institutions an example can be what the conventional way of thinking is about stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans, and what good practices are considered to be in ways how to do that. Further elaborations on this are discussed in the methodological chapter. The following chapter will focus on the state of the art in urban transport planning.

3. STATE OF THE ART IN URBAN TRANSPORT PLANNING

This chapter focuses on recent insights in urban transport planning. It first focuses on urban transport planning in general. It discusses the changes in thought in the field of urban transport planning in the past decades. Subsequently the chapter focuses on recent insights in terms of governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans. The aim of this chapter is first to set out the state of the art in urban transport planning and second, to derive indicators related to governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in order to use them in evaluating the mobility plans in Sweden and the Netherlands. In order to achieve these aims, two sub questions are answered in this chapter:

Which changes in thought did take place within the field of urban transport planning in the past decades and what are the effects on the planning practices when developing urban mobility plans?

Which perspectives exist concerning the involvement of both governmental and non-governmental stakeholders in urban transport planning?

The connection of this chapter to the rest of the thesis is also made clear in the outline of the conceptual framework (figure 1.1) and the schematic representation of the research questions (figure 1.2). Section 3.1 focuses on recent developments in urban transport planning and describes the paradigm change from conventional transport planning into the sustainable mobility paradigm. Section 3.2 discusses the governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban transport planning. Lastly, an answer to the above two sub questions is given in the conclusion (section 3.3). It is important to mention that the theoretical insights in this chapter are based on general scientific debates. This has the implication that the specific contexts in Sweden or the Netherlands can be different. The specific policy contexts of these countries are discussed in chapter five.

3.1 From conventional transport planning to the new sustainable mobility paradigm

This section discusses the developments in thinking in urban transport planning of the past six decades. Firstly, it considers the conventional transport planning insights. Subsequently, it discusses the changes in thinking which influenced urban transport planning. Then this section discusses recent insights in transport planning, leading to the 'sustainable mobility paradigm' in transport planning.

Conventional transport planning

Transportation planning is considered to have started as a field of study in the 1950s. In these times new transportation studies were done in Chicago, Detroit and other cities in the United States (Kane & Del Mistro, 2003). In this period, there was a general belief in the possibilities of science to achieve improvements in society. Methods of the natural sciences, such as mathematics and physics, were used in the social sciences and planning. This resulted in a technical-rational way of urban transport planning: the approach used in this period assumed that when all possible information was gathered at the beginning of a transport planning process, a well-thought end view could be set up. Local governments could then carry out the processes related to that end-view and subsequently it was expected that the results would match with the formulated end view (Kane & Del Mistro, 2003; De Roo & Voogd, 2004).

In this conventional view of transport planning, the planner was the problem-solver. The planner was the expert and had to find the best solutions for a mobility problem, for a fixed and known set of ends. The focus was very much on quantitative data, modeling of traffic, more particularly the car, and economic evaluation (Linstone, 1984; Wilson, 2001). Furthermore, traveling was considered as derived demand: travelling in this definition is considered as a cost. Policymakers then should strive for travel times which should be as short as possible (Banister, 2008; Thomsen et al., 2005). Transportation planning was mainly a technical exercise, concerned with the optimization of the mobility system from an engineering focus (Kane & Del Mistro, 2003). Furthermore, transport planning policy-making was mainly a governmental task: transport planners usually developed their public policies without private and civic stakeholder involvement. Moreover, policy making was mainly done in the traffic department of a municipality (Stead, 2008).

Methods used in this technological-rational way of urban transport planning were developed with the above in mind. Examples in urban transportation planning include for example the gravity model and the Four Step Model. The gravity model is based on Newtown's theory of gravity and assumes that "the trips produced at an origin and attracted to a destination are directly proportional to the total trip productions at the origin and the total attractions at the destination." (Princeton, 2014). The Four Step Model, in which the above described gravity model is integrated, was for a long time used as input when making choices in policy making about transport developments. This model consists of four steps and computes 1) how many trips are generated, 2) how these trips are distributed over origins and destinations, 3) what mode is chosen for the trip and 4) what the route assignment is (McNally, 2008). The Four Step Model in urban transportation planning was then used as input for assessment of the possible opportunities coming out of these calculations in order to formulate urban transport or mobility policies. An often used evaluation criterion for this is the cost-benefit analysis. This analysis is used by governmental organizations to evaluate the desirability of a given policy measure, i.e. to what extent do the expected benefits outweigh the expected costs (Boardman, 2006). In the analysis of the balance of the costs-benefits, there is also an account of the forgone alternatives and the current status of the problems. The unambiguous outcome of these cost-benefit analyses (a specific number), offered the possibility to compare different policy options (Boardman, 2006).

In short, the above makes clear that scientifically educated transport planners considered themselves as all seeing and omnipotent. Transport planners were considered to propose solutions to a mobility problem in order to optimize urban transport systems, based on quantitative data and scientific knowledge. Methods such as the Four Step Model and the cost-benefit analysis played a big role as input for the conventional transport planning policy making. Furthermore, transportation planning policy making was perceived as a governmental task, sectoral organized in the traffic and mobility department. However, from the 1980s onwards this technical-rational approach of transport planning policy making and planning in general was increasingly criticized and a new approach emerged. The following section discusses this.

Changes in thinking about urban transportation planning

The previous makes clear that transport planning was based on a technical or instrumental rationality for almost forty years. However, in the last two decades different developments caused a shift in thinking about urban transport planning (Banister, 2008; Loukopoulos & Scholz, 2004; Wilson, 2001; Silva, 2013; Thomsen et al., 2005). Table 3.1 illustrates this change from a conventional approach into a new paradigm. Two main determinants for this shift can be pointed out. Firstly, there was a growing realization that the quality of life in urban areas is under increasing pressure due to the growth of (car-related) mobility. It resulted in congestion and less livable cities: cities were designed for cars and not for people. Furthermore the car-dependent society causes many CO²-emissions which have its consequences for the climate. The second determinant is the debate in theoretical planning on the importance of a participatory approach in planning, caused by new

scientific theoretical insights (Loukopoulos & Scholz; Walter et al., 2006). Banister (2008) summarizes these two determinants in a new approach to transport planning: the sustainable mobility paradigm. According to Banister (2008, p. 73) “sustainable mobility provides an alternative paradigm within which to investigate the complexity of cities, and to strengthen the links between land use and transport”. Key elements in the paradigm are amongst others ‘involvement and communication’ and ‘consistency between different measures and policy sectors’.

Table 3.1: Conventional transport planning vs. the Sustainable Mobility paradigm

The conventional approach – transport planning and engineering	An alternative approach – sustainable mobility
Physical dimensions	Social dimensions
Mobility	Accessibility
Traffic focus, particularly on the car	People focus, either in (or on) a vehicle or on foot
Large in scale	Local in scale
Streets as a road	Street as a space
Motorized transport	All modes of transport often in a hierarchy with pedestrian and cyclist at the top and car users at the bottom
Forecasting traffic	Visioning on cities
Modelling approaches	Scenario development and modeling
Economic evaluation	Multicriteria analysis to take account of environmental and social concerns
Travel as a derived demand	Travel as a valued activity as well as a derived demand
Demand based	Management based
Speeding up traffic	Slowing movement down
Travel time minimization	Reasonable travel times and travel time reliability
Segregation of people and traffic	Integration of people and traffic

Source: Banister, 2008

The sustainable mobility paradigm

The sustainable mobility paradigm explicitly puts people in a central place, whereas the conventional approach puts cars central. It recognizes that the rationalistic and reductionist way of transport planning did not meet the needs of society. Instead, it argues that social dimensions of mobility, i.e. the way in which people perceive mobility and transport systems, should play an important role in transport planning (Thomsen et al., 2005). The most important insight in this is that traveling is both a derived demand as a valued activity instead of only a derived demand. However, due to new technology (ICT-developments), much greater travel time flexibility is possible. An example of this is working at home. Banister (2008, p. 74) states in regards to working at home: “travel can be replaced by more ‘at-home’ activities, whilst in other cases more spontaneous travel is generated, and in a third group there is a modification of existing activities, as shopping for example becomes a multitasking activity through a combination of the Internet (e.g. viewing, deciding and buying) and travel (e.g. collection or delivery)”. These new developments resulted in new mobility dynamics, which resulted in the finding that travelling is both a derived demand as a valued activity (Banister, 2008; Thomsen et al., 2005).

Furthermore, the sustainable mobility paradigm explicitly puts environmental and social interests into policy debates, next to economic interests. Due to concerns about increasing CO²-levels, the sustainable mobility paradigm pursues shifts in the modal split. According to the paradigm, especially the share of cyclists and pedestrians should grow (Banister, 2008). In order to achieve this, policy integration of urban mobility and urban planning policies play a big role; when distances between places are reduced, it is easier to achieve changes in the modal split. Additionally, to achieve a more balanced assessment of policy options, the multicriteria analysis is used, namely social, environmental and economical criteria. This analysis is used in order to evaluate different policy options of more than one distinguishing criterion in a rational way. The aim of a multicriteria analysis is the organizing of data, the transparency of decision making and supporting decision makers (Jansen et al., 2003). An example in a transport planning setting includes for example to evaluate

different trajectories of a new road with economic, environmental and social criteria. This offers the possibility to include (normative) concerns in urban mobility policy making.

Moreover, the paradigm proposes to develop visioning about cities: it argues that streets and roads are not only there to transport people, but also places to stay and live for inhabitants of cities. In order to achieve this, it is important for governments to determine what kind of city they would like to have, more specifically also from a mobility perspective. This relates to the recently emerged concept in both sciences as society, namely 'smart cities'. This is a 'container concept' but relates different kinds of domains, such as 'building', 'living', 'natural resources and energy', 'ICT', 'transport and mobility' together. Once again, a central element in this concept is to put people central (Neirotti et al., 2014).

It is important to realize that the above two paradigms are ideal types. In practice, the use of both paradigms is more diffuse. Since the appearance of the sustainability paradigm many methods of conventional transport planning are still used in many urban transport planning policies whereas at the same time parts of what is now presented as the sustainable mobility paradigm, was already used three decades ago. An example of this is the use of the multicriteria analysis (Jansen et al., 2003). Nevertheless, this section clarifies that a change took place in thinking about urban transport planning in the last two decades in science, which definitely has had its influence on urban transport planning in practice.

In conclusion, the sustainable mobility paradigm recognizes that transport planning processes do not take place in a vacuum, but that planning is affected by developments in society (Wilson, 2001). People are explicitly put central in this new paradigm. These acknowledgements refer to recent insights in transport planning which recognize the 'communicative rationality' and state that stakeholder involvement from private and civil actors is important. Furthermore, in order to achieve a more sustainable mobility system, integration of policies is needed. The following section explains why this is important.

3.2 (Non-)governmental stakeholder involvement in urban transport planning

As mentioned in section 3.1, people have a central place in contemporary urban transport planning, i.e. it is important to involve them in policy making. Furthermore, policy makers should make policies while involving different departments. This relates to the communicative rationality in (transport) planning debates and the coordination of policies. Section 3.2.1 therefore first explains this. Subsequently the added value of stakeholder involvement is discussed in section 3.2.2. Section 3.2.3 discusses different dimensions of governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement.

3.2.1 Communicative rationality and the coordination of policies

Shift from positivism to post-positivism

The paradigm shift from conventional transport planning towards the sustainable mobility paradigm relates to the general paradigm shift in the social sciences from the positivistic approach to the post-positivistic approach. The positivistic approach stresses the role and legitimacy of scientists in solving social issues and trying to find the truth objectively. The epistemology, or theory of knowledge, used in the instrumental rationality is scientific objectivism. According to Wilson (2001, p. 5) "this view assumes that objective facts can be known and that the analyst is able to observe a system without participating in it or effecting it". However, this view became increasingly criticized during the second half of the 20th century by scholars such as Kuhn & Popper (De Pater, 2010). In this period therefore a paradigm shift took place in social sciences and planning specifically: the paradigm shift from positivism to post-positivism. Whereas positivists stress that *the* truth does exist, do post-positivists argue that everyone *constructs* his own reality. These two groups therefore have opposing epistemological considerations: the positivistic approach states that the social world should be

studied from the same principles and procedures as the natural sciences, whereas post-positivists state that social scientists should adopt their own social research methods (Bryman, 2012).

In accordance with this, the perspective on knowledge did also change. In the modernist approach the only knowledge which was perceived as legitimate was scientific knowledge whereas in the post-modernistic approach it was recognized that knowledge embedded in local relationships, i.e. knowledge coming from local actors, needs to be drawn upon in order to complement scientific knowledge (Rydin, 2007). This way *multiple knowledge claims* arise since next to scientific knowledge, it was recognized that local and contextual knowledge is important too. This paradigm shift influenced the way in which scholars perceived the traditional transport planning practices.

From instrumental to communicative rationality: the power of stakeholder involvement

The communicative rationality in (transport) planning came up as the post-modernistic answer to the modernistic, technical rationalistic way of transport planning used before the 1990s. Important scholars such as Habermas, Forester and Healey have influenced the theory about transport planning theory fundamentally; especially in terms of stakeholder involvement (see e.g. Forester, 1989; Healey, 1997; Habermas, 1984). Habermas perceived a legitimation crisis of government, which was reflected in a growing public distrust in the 'expertise' of scholars and politicians and disentanglement from political issues. Habermas therefore argued that planners, characterized by a strong reliance on science and the 'expertise' of scholars, planners should use the communicative rationality instead of a technical rationality. Healey (1992, p. 150) summarizes this shift from technical rationalism to communicative rationalism as: "we should shift perspective from an individualized, subject-oriented conception of reason, to reasoning formed within inter-subjective communication". Important in this shift is the notion of 'inter-subjective communication'. It was recognized that individuals look differently to reality since they all have different glasses when looking at reality: perspectives on reality are personally, societally and culturally situated (Lane, 2005). The former development is called 'the Communicative Turn'. Central in this communicative turn is that the involvement of actors in planning processes is a necessity; planning cannot proceed without them. Legitimacy and support in planning processes is important to make it possible to justify the interventions in space. Furthermore, scholars thought that with collaborative practices of planning, planners could tackle the problems with complexity as well as possible. Therefore stakeholder involvement in (urban) transport planning is perceived as a necessity (Loukopoulos & Scholz, 2004).

Wilson (2001, p. 13) argues that transport planning should adopt this 'communicative turn': "transport planning is influenced by societal values, public opinion, stakeholders and institutions, but the process in turn may change societal values, public opinion, stakeholders and institutions". The transport planner has multiple roles in this communicative paradigm; the planner is both a process manager as a designer but is also, at the same time, mediator and educator. Furthermore, the planner should realize that there are always multiple problems definitions, bounded in a single frame. Other stakeholders than just the planner have localized knowledge which functions as added value in the planning process. This relates to the existence of multiple knowledge claims (Wilson, 2001).

However, not all scholars agree on the concept of collaborative planning. According to Flyvbjerg (1998) the concept of collaborative planning ignores actual power relations in society. Furthermore, Hillier (2000) stresses the naïve belief in a perfect dialogue. Next to that Woltjer (e.g. 1997) emphasizes the drawbacks of collaborative planning processes. He states for example that collaborative planning leads to selective participation, because only interested participants will participate. Furthermore, collaborative planning can result in time-consuming processes with ineffective outcomes, just to make participants satisfied. Another problem is the claimed legitimacy because of stakeholder involvement in planning: Spit & Zoete (2009) state that the outcomes of

planning processes not necessarily result in an added value for all involved stakeholders: when planners focus on one sector, it is likely that not all stakeholders are involved.

Nevertheless, the added value of a collaborative planning, i.e. stakeholder involvement in planning process, remains valid. In general it increases legitimacy of planning processes. This is especially the case when planners choose an integrative approach: the concept of integration offers an added value by the coordination and coupling of sectoral interests, problems and solutions, and consequently an as broad as possible supported solution to a planning problem (Spit & Zoete, 2009).

Coordination of policies

According to Spit & Zoete (2009), academics have always been searching for successful forms of coordination between different forms of sectoral policies. However, since the introduction of new, more complex planning processes and more challenging substantive issues such as the consequences of increasing CO²-emissions on climate change, the call for integration has become bigger and bigger (Spit & Zoete, 2009). The reason for this is that environmental problems often reach out on different policy fields. The call for more integration in environmental related issues is illustrated by many publications which stress the importance of and argue for more policy integration, especially when it comes to environmental issues (e.g. Hull, 2008; Stead, 2008; Bertolini et al., 2005; Stigt et al., 2013). As recognized by Bertolini et al. (2005), the recognition of urban developments in urban transport planning results in a more sustainable mobility system, due to a combination of higher densities, and a more finely-tuned functional mix and more walking, cyclic and public transport. This is also the case in reaching a more sustainable mobility system; the introduction already put out four different policy measures which all belong to different departments. In developing urban mobility plans, it is therefore important to involve stakeholders from different departments in order to achieve coordination of policies.

However, many scholars recognize that policy-making integration is not a panacea: policy integration should not develop in a goal *per se* but must offer an added value to governmental organizations. Spit & Zoete (2009) state that integrative policymaking can result in large delays of decision making: actors for example postpone planning processes in order to increase the legitimacy of a plan. A second risk is that actors are not able to distinguish important and less important issues in a planning problem when governmental organizations strive for a better integrative character of policies. Nevertheless, the advantages of policy integration offset the disadvantages of policy integration: it is an added value to achieve a more sustainable mobility system. It is therefore important to involve governmental stakeholders from different departments while developing urban mobility plans.

3.2.2 Added value of (non-)governmental involvement in urban transport planning policy making

The previous section argued the paradigm shift in transport planning from an instrumental rationality into a communicative rationality. The section argued why coordination of policies, i.e. the involvement of governmental stakeholders from other departments than the traffic department is important. Furthermore, the rationality argued for non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban transport planning. Although the former section advocates stakeholder involvement, it remained abstract on the specific added value. This section therefore explicitly discusses the added value of both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban transport planning.

Added value of governmental stakeholder involvement in urban transportation planning

As described in section 3.2.1, policy integration is important in urban mobility planning. When developing an urban mobility plan, it is important to involve governmental stakeholders from other departments than the local traffic department. According to Stead (2008), integrated policy-making in urban transportation planning offers an added value in comparison with sectoral policy making on the following elements in the context of urban mobility policy making:

Relationships and trust between governmental sectors (horizontally and vertically) lead to a better coordination of policies

Although coordination practices for a large part are influenced by how the institutional framework is organized, in the end it is the individual (or actor) who makes agreements and collaborates with other individuals in the government (Peters, 1998). It is therefore important that relationships and trust exist between the governments in order to achieve a better coordination of policies.

It promotes synergies (i.e. win-win situations) between policy sectors.

Policy integration with other sectors creates synergies between different sectors. It results in win-win situations. Achieving a more sustainable mobility system, i.e. modal shift, has positive effects on health since walking and cycling improve the amount of physical activity citizens undertake. Furthermore, as stated earlier, it has positive effects on environmental issues, such as lower CO² emissions and less air pollution (Hull, 2008; Stead, 2008). These synergies especially ensure a more sustainable mobility system in the context of urban mobility planning, since the challenges are scattered in different policy fields.

It promotes consistency and reduces duplication and repetitions in policy-making processes, both horizontally and vertically.

Coordination of policies prevent that different departments, horizontally and vertically, re-invent the wheel. It prevents counteractions of policies of different departments and improves governmental efficiency and innovative ways of policy-making and implementation of policies (Stead, 2008).

It gives focus to the achievement of government's overall goals: it creates opportunities for cross-sectoral issues.

Policy coordination offers opportunities for an overarching vision of a municipality on its city. It makes it possible to first formulate what kind of city policy makers would like to have, from a mobility perspective (Stead, 2008). Subsequently, it is possible to formulate corresponding measures. A concept like SMART city fits in this.

Added value non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning

Private and civic stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning has an added value because of the following seven main arguments:

Stakeholder involvement increases the visibility of societal needs

The first argument to involve stakeholders in urban transport planning policy making is straightforward, but still an important one: the input of private and civic stakeholders make societal needs in urban mobility context more visible to policy makers (Healey, 1997; Walter et al., 2001; Loukopoulos & Scholz, 2004). In this way, transport planners do not decide about transport policy measures from their ivory towers, i.e. their calculations and scientific knowledge, but they listen to what stakeholders actually need.

Stakeholder involvement increases legitimacy of policy measures

As recognized by Habermas, the legitimation crisis of the government resulted in a growing public distrust. By involving stakeholders in an urban transport planning process, legitimacy of policy measures can be improved by empowering private and civic actors: they have the opportunity to

have a 'vote', i.e. they give input, in urban transport planning processes (Habermas 1984, Healey, 2003, Loukopoulos & Scholz 2004). As a result, these participatory practices can partly compensate the apathy and distrust in the public sector.

Stakeholder involvement increase possibilities to reach consensus

Planning, per definition, is characterized by contrary interests of different actors. When involving different actors and putting them around the table, it is possible to define or choose one solution or one policy measure by examining the different options with the different involved stakeholders. Implicitly, this increases support of policy solutions and legitimacy (Loukopoulos & Scholz 2004; Asselt & Rijkens-Klomp, 2002). Or as Wilson (2001, p. 21) puts it "the acknowledgement of different problem frames can be an effective strategy for depersonalizing conflict" (Wilson, 2001, p. 21). This is especially the case when stakeholders are involved in the urban transport planning process quite early. This way, stakeholders feel that they are appreciated and effectively involved in the process (Chambers et al., 2003, p. 317).

Stakeholder involvement recognizes existing multiple knowledge claims and maps out diversity

As stated above, by adopting a post-positivistic view on the world, planners are aware of multiple knowledge claims. It has been recognized that different perspectives exist, including local, contextualized and tacit knowledge (Loukopoulos & Scholz, 2004). Participatory practices offer the opportunity to map out different views on a problem and take them into account in transport planning policy making (Asselt & Rijkens-Klomp, 2002).

Stakeholder involvement increases innovativeness

Non-governmental, particularly private actors such as companies and governmental stakeholder collaborations in developing urban mobility planning processes result in synergies; the different groups of actors have different frames of references. A combination of these different frames increases innovativeness since there reciprocal knowledge transfers take place. As a result, better solutions will come up (Teisman et al., 2009).

Stakeholder involvement increases public acceptability and promotes behavioral change

Stakeholder involvement makes it possible to increase public acceptability: governments should try to commit the stakeholders to the new sustainable mobility paradigm by involving them in transport and mobility policy issues and try to convince them of the importance of changes in the mobility system (Banister 2008). Banister (2008, p. 78) puts it as: "legitimacy must be based on a participatory and inclusive approach that involves 'selling' the message of sustainable mobility to individuals, groups and localities through explaining the need for changes in behavior and convincing them of the importance of their contributions". By involving stakeholders, it is argued that people change their behavior sooner. Nevertheless, one should not forget that stakeholders also have ideas on their own, which relates to sustainable mobility. Therefore there is a reciprocal relationship: stakeholders give input to transport planners as well.

Stakeholder involvement increases empowerment of citizens and other stakeholders

By means of non-governmental stakeholder involvement, citizens and other stakeholders get the opportunity to influence policy making next to the traditional democratic system (Healey, 1997). Citizens who do not really feel represented by current governments have the opportunity to influence policy making *themselves*. As a result, these participatory practices can partly compensate the apathy and distrust in the public sector as well.

3.2.3 Dimensions governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement

Section 3.2.2 makes clear why both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in transport planning processes are important. This section explains what dimensions of governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in transport planning processes are known.

Dimensions of stakeholder involvement in transport planning processes

Different classifications and typology of participation in transport planning processes exist. The first scholar who made a typology of participation in planning was Arnstein (1969). Arnstein developed a ladder of citizen participation with eight steps of which at least full partnership was real participation (but delegated power or citizen control were even better) whereas all other forms of involvement were considered as tokenism or consultation (Loukopoulos & Scholz, 2004; Lane, 2005). This was the first of many classifications. It should be mentioned that this form of stakeholder involvement specifically relates to non-governmental stakeholder involvement. In this study the approach of Asselt & Rijkens-Klomp (2002) is used. These authors used two dimensions on which different forms of stakeholder involvement methods can be classified and can be applied to both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement:

Process as a goal vs. process as a means

Participation in planning processes is sometimes used as a way to empower citizens and stakeholders, i.e. really give the participant power in the planning process. Particularly applied to governmental stakeholders, the aim is to build trust and relationships (Polk, 2011). Using this perspective, the process of involving stakeholders *is a goal in itself*. This is what scholars such as Healey perceive as collaborative planning. Other participatory practices are used as a way to enrich assessment by using governmental and non-governmental stakeholders since they also have knowledge claims (referring to the concept of multiple knowledge claims). So whereas the first perspective sees involving stakeholders as a goal, the latter perspective sees participation as part of the decision-process, i.e. as a means (Asselt & Rijkens-Klomp, 2002; Loukopoulos & Scholz, 2004).

Mapping out diversity vs. reaching consensus

The second dimension relates to the aim of the outcome. Some participatory methods aim to reveal the different options, contextualized knowledge or testing alternative strategies whereas other methods explicitly aim to define one perspective or strategy on which everyone agrees. These methods result in reaching an informed decision by all stakeholders on a certain problem. These two extremes of the dimension are opposite poles; one maps out a range of diverse views, i.e. divergence, whereas the other tries to reach consensus, i.e. convergence (Asselt & Rijkens-Klomp, 2002; Loukopoulos & Scholz, 2004).

3.3 Summary and conclusions

The aim of this chapter is first to set out the state of the art in urban transport planning and second, to derive indicators related to governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in order to use them in evaluating the mobility plans in Sweden and the Netherlands. In order to achieve these aims, two questions were formulated. These questions are answered below.

Which changes in thought did take place within the field of urban transport planning in the past decades and what are the effects on the planning practices when developing urban mobility plans?

Section 3.1 argued that there was a change in thought within the field of urban transport planning from a conventional approach of transport planning into the new, sustainable mobility paradigm of urban transport planning. In the original conventional approach of urban transport planning, the planner was the expert and had to find the best solutions for a mobility problem, for a fixed and known set of ends. The focus was very much on quantitative data, modeling of traffic, more particularly the car, and economic evaluation. Furthermore, traveling was considered as a derived demand: travelling in this definition is considered as a cost. Transportation planning in this approach was mainly a technical exercise, concerned with the optimization of the mobility system from an engineering focus.

However, in the last two decades different developments caused a shift in thinking about urban transport planning. Two main determinants for this shift can be pointed out. Firstly, there was a growing realization that the quality of life in urban areas is under increasing pressure due to the growth of (car-related) mobility. The second determinant is the debate in theoretical planning on the importance of a participatory approach in planning, caused by new scientific theoretical insights. This resulted in the new sustainable mobility approach in urban transport planning, as presented by Banister (2008). The sustainable mobility paradigm explicitly puts people in a central place, whereas the conventional approach puts cars central. It recognizes that the rationalistic and reductionist way of transport planning did not meet the needs in society. Instead it argues that social dimensions of mobility, i.e. the way how people perceive mobility and transport systems, should play an important role in transport planning. Furthermore, the sustainable mobility paradigm explicitly puts environmental and social interests into policy debates, next to economic interests.

The above changes in thought influenced the way in which planning practices should be carried out when developing urban mobility plans. The central place that people have in the new paradigm makes it more important to involve non-governmental stakeholders in urban transportation policy-making. In addition, the environmental and social concerns make it necessary to coordinate transport policies with other policies, i.e. involve governmental stakeholders into urban mobility plans. These are important consequences of the changes in thinking about urban transportation plans.

Which perspectives exist concerning the involvement of both governmental and non-governmental stakeholders in urban transport planning?

Section 3.2 first argued that the shift from positivism to post-positivism in the social sciences influenced the thinking about governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban transport planning. The communicative rationality in (transport) planning came up as the post-modernistic answer to the modernistic, technical rationalistic way of transport planning used before the 1990s. This communicative rationality, or stated otherwise, the collaborative setting of planning, is inextricably linked with communicating, arguing, debating and engaging with all involved

stakeholders in a planning process in order to increase legitimacy and support for a process. The transport planner has multiple roles in this communicative paradigm; the planner is both a process manager as a designer and at the same time a mediator and educator. Furthermore, the planner should realize that there are always multiple problems definitions, bounded in different frames of references.

The section also recognized that governmental stakeholder involvement in developing urban mobility plans, i.e. the involvement of stakeholders from departments other than the transport department, is important in order to achieve coordination of policies.

Section 3.2 continued with explicitly putting forward the added value of stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning. Table 3.2 shows this list of arguments. For non-governmental stakeholder involvement this can be summarized as that it increases legitimacy of policy measures, that it can be used to make societal needs visible, that contextual knowledge of a specific area can be used, that it increases public acceptability and that it encourages behavioral change. For governmental stakeholders, involvement in making an urban mobility plan in general aims on achieving synergies and government’s overall goals, especially on environmental issues.

Table 3.2: Added value governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans

Added value non-governmental stakeholder involvement	Added value governmental stakeholder involvement
It increases legitimacy of policy measures.	It promotes synergies (i.e. win-win situations) between policy sectors.
It increases possibilities to reach consensus.	It promotes consistency and reduces duplication and repetitions in policy-making processes, both horizontally and vertically.
It recognizes existing multiple knowledge claims and maps out diversity.	It gives focus to the achievement of government’s overall goals: it creates opportunities for cross-sectoral issues.
It increases innovativeness.	
It increases public acceptability and promotes behavioral change.	
It increases the visibility of societal needs.	

Different classifications and typologies on participatory planning practices exist. This research uses the approach of Asselt & Rijkens-Klomp (2002) who distinguish two dimensions on which different forms of stakeholder involvement methods can be classified, namely ‘Process as a goal vs. process as a means’ and ‘Mapping out diversity vs. reaching consensus’. Particularly the classification between ‘**process as a goal**’ and ‘**process as a means**’ is useful: the above added values of both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement can be connected to both ‘process as a means’ and ‘process as a goal’. This will be done in the following section and subsequently be used to elaborate the conceptual framework as set out in the introduction.

4. METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses how the theoretical and scientific insights from chapter two and three are translated into measurable items in order to make the empirical research possible. The empirical part focuses on the governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in urban mobility plans in respectively Sweden and The Netherlands from a new institutional perspective. As stated in the introduction, the central question of this study is:

To what extent do strategic urban mobility plans in two national contexts, the Swedish and Dutch, differ on the current theoretical insights in terms of governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement, from a new institutional perspective?

The empirical part of this thesis deals with three of the in total six sub questions. The theoretical input given by the first three sub questions, already answered in chapter two and three, is used in order to make the empirical research possible, i.e. give points of reference to examine stakeholder involvement in both Sweden and The Netherlands. The three empirical sub questions, to be answered in the following chapters, are:

What contextual differences and similarities exist concerning stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility plans between Sweden and The Netherlands and which institutions play a role in this?

Which differences and similarities exist in current governmental stakeholder involvement practices in strategic urban mobility plans between Sweden and The Netherlands and which institutions play a role in this?

Which differences and similarities exist in current non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in strategic urban mobility plans between Sweden and The Netherlands and which institutions play a role in this?

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 4.1 discusses the translation of chapters two and three into a conceptual framework. Section 4.2 elaborates on the choice for Sweden and The Netherlands as the chosen countries for this research. Section 4.3 discusses the research strategy, the research design and the way in which the empirical data is collected and analyzed. Section 4.4 discusses the implications of choosing a case-study design for reliability and validity and how this study tackles this. Section 4.5 argues how the conceptual framework can be translated into topic lists for the interviews and subsequently how these can be analyzed. The conceptual framework is operationalized by means of schemes of analysis (*Appendix A-E*). Furthermore section 4.6 discusses the chosen interviewees and how these are approached.

4.1 Theoretical insights translated into the conceptual model

With the theoretical insights of chapter two and three in mind, it is possible to extend the outline of the conceptual framework (figure 1.1) into a more elaborated conceptual framework (figure 4.1). This conceptual framework offers points of references for the empirical part of this research, which aims to find the differences on stakeholder involvement practices in urban mobility plans between Sweden and The Netherlands. The section below discusses the theoretical insights from chapters two and three, and relates them to the conceptual framework (figure 4.1). The numbers mentioned correspond to the numbers in figure 4.1 and relate to the formulated sub questions in the introduction (section 1.2).

Institutions

As stated in chapter two, this thesis uses ‘the new institutionalism’ as the theoretical approach in examining the stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans in both Sweden and the Netherlands (1). Chapter two brought forward that there is an added value to start examining institutions and their influences on the outcomes of policy processes and urban transport planning specifically (section 2.3). More specifically, this study uses the classification of institutions of Scott (2001), as set out in chapter two (section 2.4). These institutions have a central place in the framework. This research assumes that institutions have a determining influence on the processes of governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement developing urban mobility plans in both countries. One should keep in mind that institutions always have reciprocity with individuals, as recognized by both Healey (1997) and Giddens (1984) in the theoretical framework (section 2.4) and illustrated in this conceptual model.

The classification of institutions of Scott (2001) makes it possible to analyze which institutions play which role in current stakeholder involvement practices. His distinction allows it to distinguish between a) **regulative institutions**, i.e. what role laws, guidelines and way of financing play, b) **normative institutions**, i.e. what role norms and values in society play and c) **cultural-cognitive**, i.e. culture and routine play in urban mobility policy making. As a result, it is possible to see what the role of institutions is in stakeholder involvement and consequently, determine which institutions are important for well-functioning practices. This gives points of references for the recommendations, formulated in the conclusion.

However, it should be mentioned that the choice for the new institutional theory results in having one particular perspective during the analysis of stakeholder involvement practices in both countries. This research analyzes institutions and ‘broader structures of behavior’ whereas sometimes differences on an actor level are important as recognized by Albrechts & Mandelblaum (2005). Because of the choice for new institutional theory, this study does not provide these outcomes.

Sustainable mobility and the added value of stakeholder involvement

Chapter three illustrated the context of urban transport planning and discussed the shift from conventional urban transport planning into sustainable urban mobility planning (2). As stated in chapter three (section 3.1), most important characteristics in this shift were that people got a central place in this new paradigm and that next to economic concerns, environmental and social concerns also became part of urban transport planning. This shift influenced the thinking about stakeholder involvement in general and is therefore discussed in this thesis (section 3.2). Chapter three (section 3.2) made clear why both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement is important: it offers an added value in urban mobility planning processes. Furthermore governmental stakeholder involvement increases coordination (3).

Stakeholder involvement practices in Sweden and The Netherlands

As discussed in section 3.2.3, the process of stakeholder involvement can be seen as either a goal or a means. The below argues why the mentioned added values of both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement as stated in section 3.2.2, belongs to either ‘process as a goal’ or ‘process as a means’.

Stakeholder involvement: Process as a goal

When using the perspective of process as a goal, stakeholder involvement is used as a way to empower stakeholders, i.e. give the participant power in the planning process. This relates to the relational aspect of urban mobility planning: relationships and mutual trust have the possibility to enable discussions between stakeholders with different interests and have a big potential to contribute positively in the current and later processes (Polk, 2011). Stakeholder involvement then explicitly is a goal in itself in order to increase trust, legitimacy and consensus. Therefore, the

following added values of both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement, as mentioned in section 3.2.2, belong to this perspective (table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Added values ‘process as a goal’

Governmental stakeholder involvement	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement
Relationships and trust between governmental sectors (horizontally and vertically) lead to a better coordination of policies.	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases empowerment of citizens and other stakeholders.
	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases possibilities to reach consensus.
	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases the legitimacy of policy measures.

Source: section 3.2.2

Stakeholder involvement: Process as a means

As discussed in section 3.2.3, when using the perspective of using the process as a means, stakeholder involvement is used as a way to enrich assessment by using the stakeholders since they may have other valid, scientific, contextual or tacit knowledge of the area. This refers to the concept of multiple knowledge claims. Furthermore, knowledge resources refer to the different frames of references on which stakeholders base their knowledge, i.e. there is a big subjective sense in planning practices (Polk, 2011). Involving stakeholders in this case is a means: it adds content to the process. Therefore the following added values of both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement, as mentioned in section 3.2.2, belong to this perspective (table 4.2).

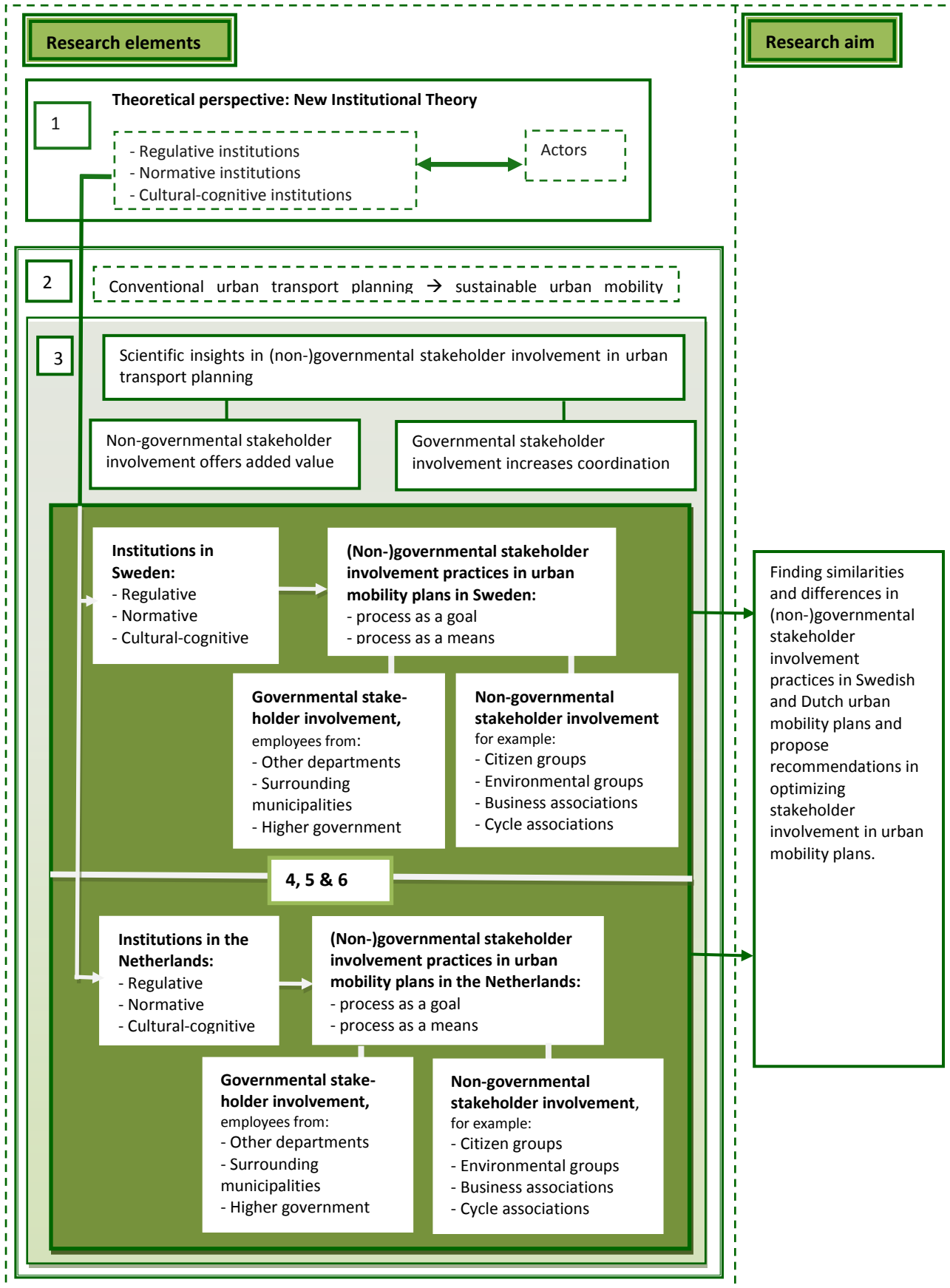
Table 4.2: Added values ‘process as a means’

Governmental stakeholder involvement	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement
Governmental stakeholder involvement promotes synergies (i.e. win-win situations) between policy sectors and between different levels of government.	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases innovativeness.
Governmental stakeholder involvement promotes consistency and reduce duplication and repetitions in policy-making processes, both horizontally and vertically.	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases public acceptability and promotes behavioral change.
Governmental stakeholder involvement gives focus to the achievement of government’s overall goals: it creates opportunities for cross-sectoral issues.	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases the visibility of societal needs.

Source: section 3.2.2

The above insights are used in the empirical part of this research, which focuses on the darkest green part of figure 4.1: the research examines which institutions are to be recognized in the governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in urban mobility plans in respectively The Netherlands and Sweden and what their influences actually are. Before specifically focusing on stakeholder involvement, this research first analyzes contextual differences. These contextual differences are defined as differences in the legal framework concerning transport planning in general and the attention for sustainability (4). Subsequently, the research focuses on governmental (5) and non-governmental (6) stakeholder involvement. Section 4.5 discusses more elaborately on how the above insights are operationalized into the schemes of analysis and topic lists for the interviews.

Figure 4.1: Conceptual framework



4.2 The choice for Sweden and The Netherlands

The introduction (section 1.2) already briefly argued why Sweden and the Netherlands were chosen as the countries on which this study focuses. This section discusses these arguments in more detail and gives some additional reasons:

Sweden and the Netherlands both have a social democratic history, but do have different institutional characteristics.

Both the Netherlands and Sweden have a political system characterized by a long hegemony of social-democratic parties (Larsson & Bäck, 2008). This influenced the way in which their governments and societies think about planning in general. Both countries use the principle of equivalency, i.e. every city must be able to develop or perform the same activities as other cities (Spit & Zoete, 2009; Larsson & Back, 2008). Furthermore, social issues are important in almost all parts of policy-making. Nevertheless, the countries are organized differently from a legal and formal institutional perspective: municipalities in Sweden earn their income for a large part by levying their own taxes, whereas municipalities in The Netherlands are dependent on the national government for 85% of their income (Breeman et al., 2008; Busck et al., 2008). Additionally, urban transport planning in Sweden is decentralized as much as possible, whereas in The Netherlands provinces and the national government officially have a three-tiered transport planning system which influences local transport planning. As a result, Swedish municipalities, formally have more autonomy in their policies.

The Netherlands do well in the involvement of governmental stakeholders (i.e. coordination of policies) whereas Sweden is known for good practices of non-governmental stakeholder involvement.

The Netherlands is known for its integrative character of planning in which all interests from different governmental levels come together (Spit & Zoete, 2009). This is in contrast to Sweden: Sweden mainly uses sector plans for implementing spatial policies, for example in infrastructure or housing. This is especially the case on higher governmental levels (Busck et al., 2008). On the other hand, Sweden is known for their pioneering in urban sustainability, more specifically in the aspect of governance and stakeholder involvement in planning (Granberg & Elander, 2007; Smedby & Neij, 2013).

Dutch and Swedish cities are located in a totally different geographical context: Swedish cities are usually more isolated than Dutch cities

As table 4.3 and 4.4 makes clear, The Netherlands and Sweden have different geographical contexts. Whereas the Dutch surface covers only 10 percent of the Swedish surface, it has almost a double the number of inhabitants. The former results in a different population density: for the Netherlands this is about 500 people per km², whereas for Sweden this is only approximately 25 per km² (only 5% of the Dutch number). Consequently, the land use of Sweden and the Netherlands is totally different: Sweden mainly consists of forest, water and nature (80% of the total land use), whereas for The Netherlands this is 31%. In terms of urban land use, the Netherlands uses 14% of its area for urban and infrastructural purposes, almost five times as much as the urban land use in Sweden (3%). Furthermore, one can recognize that The Netherlands uses most of its area for agriculture (table 4.4).

Table 4.3: Geography of Sweden and the Netherlands

	The Netherlands	Sweden
Inhabitants (millions)	16.8	9.6
Area (km²)	41,526	449,964
Population density (people/km²)	496.9	23.4
Number of cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants	29	14

Source: Eurostat, 2014

Table 4.4: Land use in the Netherlands and Sweden in percentages of total area

	The Netherlands	Sweden
Urban (including main infrastructure)	14	3
Farmland	55	8
Forest	12	52
Nature/other		28
Water	19	8

Source: Busck et al., 2008

Sweden is less densely populated than the Netherlands, as made clear by table 4.3 and 4.4. As a result, Swedish cities are more isolated than Dutch cities which create other circumstances for the coordination of policies with other municipalities.

Sweden and the Netherlands can both serve as an example for other European countries in developing urban mobility plans

Although improvements are always possible, Sweden and The Netherlands both perform quite well in the (non-)governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans, as recognized by the European Commission (CEC DG TREN, 2012). Sweden and The Netherlands, both with a different institutional and geographical context, can serve as examples for other European countries in developing urban mobility plans.

In addition, there are some practical reasons why Sweden and the Netherlands were selected. Firstly, the author has a personal interest in Sweden because the author studied for a semester at Uppsala University while pursuing his bachelors. Due to a language course, the author therefore speaks some basic Swedish. Furthermore, Goudappel Coffeng offered the possibility to do empirical research in Sweden because of the companies' own ambitions and activities. Lastly, the publication of this thesis corresponds nicely to the incidental circumstance of the celebration of 400 years of diplomatic relations between Sweden and the Netherlands which takes place this year (Embassy of Sweden and The Netherlands, 2014).

4.3 Research methodology

This section discusses respectively the research design, the research strategy, the way how the empirical data is collected and how this data is analyzed in this study.

4.3.1 Research strategy

This research will explain differences and similarities between stakeholder involvement practices in Sweden and The Netherlands by using the new institutional theory. The main reasoning in new institutional theory is that institutions, in interaction with individual actors, influence policy making: in this case specifically on stakeholder involvement practices in making urban mobility plans in Sweden and The Netherlands. Consequently, this research needs to adopt the interpretivistic orientation as an epistemology: it is important to understand the perspective of actors on the social world in order to understand the behavior of these actors. Furthermore, to analyze what influences institutions have on stakeholder involvement practices it is important to analyze the reasons behind current stakeholder involvement practices. The reasons behind stakeholder involvement practices are explicitly part of this research. This study therefore uses a qualitative research strategy.

4.3.2 Research design

This study chooses a comparative cross-national case-study design. In a comparative case-study design, cases are studied by using identical methods: the cases are examined by detailed and intensive analysis while using a scheme of analysis. It is worth stressing that this study chooses two cases from two different countries which make it possible to determine and seek explanations for

similarities and differences in the stakeholder involvement in the two different countries. As stated in the introduction (section 1.2), Walter et al. (2006) and Gissendanner (2003) stress the need for comparative (cross-national) studies in current governance related studies. This way, it is possible to allow for inductive conclusions on general and specific aspects of stakeholder involvement practices in both Sweden and The Netherlands and examine what the influences of institutions are.

In this study, Malmö in Sweden and Utrecht in the Netherlands are chosen as the two main cases to be investigated. It is chosen to focus on two cases, one in each country, because this makes it possible to do an in-depth research in order to understand what the dynamics and precise processes are, going on in the cases. The two cases Malmö and Utrecht are chosen because of a couple of reasons. First of all, both municipalities are currently occupied with (the implementation of) strategic urban mobility plans. This ensures that respondents are aware of the stakeholder involvement in the current process. Secondly, both cities serve as an exemplifying case (Bryman, 2012): the cases serve as examples of municipalities with more than 100,000 inhabitants in both countries which face the same transport and mobility challenges (CEC DG TREN (2014a)). Thirdly, both cities have a corresponding context. Malmö and Utrecht have approximately the same amount of inhabitants (both around 300,000) and both cities fulfill a central position in their countries' transport system. Malmö is positioned in the very south of Sweden and is located next to the Öresund bridge (a connection between Denmark and Sweden). Malmö therefore serves as the entry point of the country by land and therefore has a central place in Sweden's transport system, especially in terms of railways and roads. Utrecht is located in the geographical center of The Netherlands and serves as the central hub in terms of railways and roads. It therefore has a central place in the Dutch transport system. The context of the case-studies and further details are discussed more in detail in section 6.1 and 7.1. The choice for this comparative qualitative cross-national case-study design has consequences for the generalization of the research on three levels:

The consequences of the choice for respondents for the level of generalization into the whole municipal level of Malmö and Utrecht

Approximately six respondents, both governmental and non-governmental, are interviewed about the stakeholder involvement practices of urban mobility plans in both Malmö and Utrecht. Although interviews with six respondents of each case is enough to form an image of practices within a municipality, it is still important to keep in mind which respondents are chosen for an interview and what their role in the municipality is. Section 4.4 discusses how this study deals with this.

The consequences for the choice for Malmö and Utrecht as case-studies for the generalization into the entire countries of Sweden and The Netherlands.

The comparative cross-national case-study design of this study results in an in-depth analysis of both Malmö and Utrecht. As a consequence, it is important to think about the consequences for the generalization of the outcomes to the rest of Sweden and The Netherlands. This study uses expert interviews and additional interviews with municipalities to tackle this. Section 4.4 discusses this more in detail.

The consequences of the choice for Sweden and The Netherlands for the generalization into the whole of Europe.

Section 4.2 argued why Sweden and The Netherlands are chosen as countries in this study. In the context of the guidelines of the European Commission, in which every country needs to include all different kind of stakeholders into the policy process, it is important to consider to what extent the choice for Sweden and The Netherlands is generalizable to other countries. As stated in section 4.2, both countries can serve as examples for other countries which still have to improve a lot. However, when developing recommendations for other countries, it is important to keep in mind different institutional, cultural and geographical differences between the European countries.

4.3.3 Data collection

The chosen methods depend on the research question, the research strategy and the research design. Since this study uses a qualitative research strategy with a multiple-case research design, three different ways of data collection are used: Semi-structured interviews, policy analysis and exploratory sessions. These ways of data collection are discussed below.

Semi-structured interviews

In this research, the semi-structured interview is used as the main method in order to get the data for answering the research question. During the interviews with respondents, topic lists are used. This list contains the subjects and questions which the researcher would like to discuss during the interview. These topic lists are based on the insights from chapters two and three and the above conceptual framework. The topic lists are discussed more in detail in section 4.5. It is possible to discuss subjects and elements which are not part of the topic list by using semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews therefore, are a flexible method and also offer the opportunity to discuss subjects which the researcher did not take into account, but which are important to the subject.

In order to achieve an as complete as possible picture of the stakeholder involvement practices, different actors are approached for an interview. Next to civil servants in the transport or mobility department of a municipality, actors from other departments within the municipality, actors from other municipalities or higher layers of governments and non-governmental stakeholders are approached for an interview. Furthermore, experts are interviewed to make some generalizations possible.

Policy documents analysis

Next to semi-structured interviews, this study uses policy analysis in order to complement and check the data of the semi-structured interviews. Policy analysis is mainly used to analyze the legal framework and guidelines in terms of (non-)governmental stakeholder involvement in both Malmö as well as Utrecht.

Exploratory sessions and interviews

This study used exploratory sessions and interviews in order to become familiar with the context of both countries in terms of stakeholder involvement. Examples of these exploratory sessions include attending 'atelier' sessions in the municipality of Utrecht, in which governmental stakeholders discuss the implications of policy measures and the design of parts of the transport system and the co-organizing of a workshop and seminar on 'building a cycling region' of the regional of Gothenburg in which different governmental and non-governmental stakeholders participate.

Although the 'exploratory sessions and interviews' play a small role in the data collection, it is useful because of three different reasons. First of all, these exploratory sessions and interviews give insight in the context of stakeholder involvement practices in urban mobility planning. Secondly, it gives some first points of references in the practices. Thirdly, these exploratory interviews and sessions give the opportunity to 'get the feeling' in the field of research. It takes the researcher 'out of the ivory tower' during the writing of the theoretical framework. These exploratory sessions and interview therefore function as becoming familiar with the context and is therefore done before the actual conducting of the semi-structured interviews.

4.3.4 Methods of analysis

During the interviews, the researcher takes notes so that the analysis directly begins: the main and side issues are directly separated. Furthermore, the interviews are recorded in order to listen back to the interviews when needed. When quotes are used in the empirical results, interviewees are asked

whether or not the researcher understood them right during the interview: the quotes are only used with permission.

During the process of analysis of the data, encoding is used. Encoding is the process in which categories of some words or sentences are allocated into a code (keyword), based on the central concepts in the literature and categories appearing from the data. Two types of codes are distinguished, namely deductive and inductive codes (Bryman, 2012). Deductive codes originate from the researcher and are derived from the central concepts in the theoretical chapters. These central concepts in the literature are called 'sensitizing concepts' and are a start for the scheme of analysis and the topic list which will be used for analyzing the interviews. Inductive codes come up during the interviews because respondents raise new issues. These issues are added to the scheme of analysis. Based on deductive and inductive coding, the schedule of analysis eventually provides a comprehensive framework to analyze the interviews. As explained in more detail in section 4.5, a Likert-scale is also used in order to determine stakeholder involvement practices in both cases. It is important to note that all codes and variables are equally measured and weighed.

4.4 Implications for the reliability and validity

Both Boeije (2009) and Bryman (2012) distinguish the concepts of reliability and validity to assess the quality of quantitative research. However, since this study has a qualitative research strategy, an alternative way of measuring reliability and validity of the study is used. Many scholars use the concept of 'trustworthiness' in assessing the quality of a research (Boeije, 2009; Bryman, 2012). Trustworthiness consists of four criteria, of which each has a similar criterion in quantitative research:

Credibility (internal validity)

In order to establish the credibility of the findings of the study, it is important that research is carried out in a credible way by using two important techniques: respondent validation and triangulation. While using respondent validation, the researcher checks whether or not he has correctly understood what the respondents said by providing them with the research findings. This is carried out in this study. Triangulation means that more than one method or source of data is used in empirical research. This study combines both semi-structured interviews and policy analysis to arrive at outcomes. Furthermore, more sources of data are used: next to actors working in the municipality itself, actors from other governmental and non-governmental stakeholders are interviewed to achieve an as objective as possible image of the stakeholder involvement practices in both cases. This also increases the generalization of the chosen respondents for the stakeholder involvement practices as a whole.

Transferability (external validity)

Transferability relates to the external validity or generalization of the research. As stated in section 4.3, this research focuses on an in-depth analysis of two cases: one city in each country. Advantages of choosing for the in-depth analysis of two cases are that the dynamics of stakeholder involvement processes within the cases are included as much as possible in the research. Disadvantages are that the generalization of the outcomes of the research, based on these two cases, cannot be translated one on one into the stakeholder involvement practices of a whole country, as stated above.

To tackle the above and make generalization to the whole of Sweden and The Netherlands to some extent possible, two additional ways of data collection are used. Firstly, one or two interviews in another municipality in both Sweden and The Netherlands are conducted in order to examine and assess whether or not the same stakeholder involvement practices are to be recognized in a different municipality in the country. The aim of these interviews in the other municipality is therefore to assess and check the outcomes of the stakeholder involvement practices in one of the case-studies

(Malmö or Utrecht). Furthermore, interviews are conducted with experts within the field of urban mobility planning in both Sweden and The Netherlands who have more generalizable knowledge of stakeholder involvement within urban mobility planning. One can think of experts from consultancy firms and experts from associations of municipalities in both countries.

Dependability (reliability)

In order to achieve dependability, researchers should ensure that complete records are kept of all the phases of the research process. This study achieves this by recording all the interviews and by developing a scheme of analysis in which the important codes are depicted. The recorded interviews are included in the appendix.

Confirmability (objectivity)

To ensure objectivity and to prevent bias, this research interviews different actors inside the municipalities of the cases, outside the municipalities (non-governmental stakeholders) and governmental stakeholders from higher-tier governments to hear 'different sides of the story' in order to determine stakeholder involvement practices. Furthermore, the researcher is open to new items and topics the interviewees come up with, part of the analysis is also inductive coding.

4.5 Operationalization

The elaboration of the theoretical insights in chapters two and three, as well as section 4.1, resulted in a conceptual framework (figure 4.1). Section 4.2 sets out the research design, the research strategy and how the data is collected and is analyzed. Based on this, a preliminary scheme of analysis is designed on what the topic lists for the semi-structured interviews with the involved stakeholders in the municipalities of both Malmö and Utrecht. This section sets out how the scheme of analysis is designed. The specific scheme of analysis and topic lists can be found in appendix I.

This study uses a two-step method in the empirical part in order to achieve the aim of this research. In the first step, governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans is examined by determining governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in developing an urban mobility plan practices in the cases. The chosen urban mobility plans to be examined are strategic policy documents with a focus on transport and mobility planning for the coming decades. Schematically this means that these mobility plans are related to other policy fields and spatial planning more specifically. Although there are some differences between the analyzed urban mobility plans in Sweden and The Netherlands respectively, both urban mobility plans had the above sketched out starting point. Section 6.1 and 7.1 discusses the urban mobility plans of each case more in detail.

Step two then uses the framework of Scott (2001), as discussed in section 2.5, in order to recognize the different forms of institutions and what influences they have on governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in developing urban mobility plans. This way the differences in (non-)governmental stakeholder involvement in Swedish and Dutch urban mobility plans can be found and moreover, recommendations for improvement can be formulated for the Dutch and Swedish cases, but also to other European cities dealing with these questions. The below discusses respectively step one and two. This leads eventually to a scheme of analysis for the analysis of the data.

As stated in section 4.3, data is collected by a) semi-structured interviews, b) policy analysis and c) exploratory sessions and interviews. It must be noted that most of the data is gathered by semi-structured interviews. Therefore, the scheme of analysis is mostly aimed at giving points of references for the data which resulted from the semi-structured interviews. Nevertheless do the

policy analysis and to a smaller extent the exploratory sessions, also make use of this scheme of analysis.

Step 1: Determine (non-)governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans

The (non-) governmental stakeholder involvement in both cases are determined using four categories. First of all, the context of the urban mobility plans need to be analyzed. Secondly, it needs to be analyzed who is involved in urban mobility policy making. Thirdly, both the moment of involvement and how stakeholders are involved is analyzed. Fourthly, it is examined why the different stakeholders are involved.

Context of strategic urban mobility plans

First of all, it is important to understand the context in which the strategic urban mobility plans are developed. The empirical part examines to what extent the cases do have the same assumptions as scholars as illustrated in the 'new sustainability paradigm'. Important topics in this are the political and geographical context of both cases, what the motives of developing these plans are and what role sustainability and the car plays (*Appendix I: Scheme of analysis part A*).

Which stakeholders are involved?

As chapter three and the conceptual framework make clear, both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement is important in urban mobility planning because it adds value (non-governmental involvement) and it increases coordination (governmental stakeholder involvement). The empirical research therefore addresses which actors (governmental and non-governmental) are involved in developing the urban mobility plans. Furthermore, it is asked why these actors are involved. At this point, this is an open question. Later on during the semi-structured interviews, questions which are more structured are used to analyze the stakeholder involvement practices (*Appendix I: Scheme of analysis part B*)

When in the process, and in what way, are stakeholders involved, and what is their level of involvement?

Next to the question which stakeholders are involved in urban mobility planning policy-making, it is important to analyze a) at which point of the process these stakeholders are involved b) in what way they are involved and c) what the level of involvement of these stakeholders is (i.e. what is the influence of stakeholders in the policy process, perceived by both the municipality itself, and as non-governmental stakeholders). At the start of a policy process, stakeholders can influence the process more than later on in the process, when the outcome of a policy process for a large part is already determined. Furthermore, stakeholders feel more engaged when they are involved early in the process (Chambers et al, 2003). Moreover, the way of involvement (i.e. focus groups, consensus conferences etc.) also determines how stakeholders feel about their involvement, as described in section 3.2.3.

This part will therefore address when the stakeholders are involved in the process, why this is the case at this point, and in what way they are involved. To examine the level of involvement, the respondents are asked what the level of involvement of the different stakeholders is in the urban mobility planning process by means of a 10-points scale (1 = totally no involvement, 10 = extremely influential). This way, it is possible to determine in a quantitative way how the municipality think they involve stakeholders and at the same time, check the stakeholders: do they feel the same about this? (*Appendix I: Scheme of analysis part C*).

Why are these stakeholders involved?

As chapter two, section 4.1 and the conceptual framework sets out, stakeholder involvement serves two main aims: it is either a means or a goal. Furthermore, section 4.1 combines these main aims with the added values mentioned. These added values are used as statements which the

interviewees have to assess by a Likert scale. The interviewees rate the different statements on a scale from 1-10 (1 = totally disagree – 10 = totally agree). In order to trigger the respondents, so called 'contra' arguments are also included which ask interviewees about their opinion concerning stakeholder involvement practices. By using a Likert scale, it is possible to analyze what the respondents' perspective is on what the most important reasons are to involve stakeholders in the planning process. This way, it is possible to determine and effectively *measure* the differences in stakeholder involvement in both cases in a quantifiable way. After interviewees assessed these statements, they are asked if they would like to explain their choice. The distinction between stakeholder involvement as a goal or as a means makes it possible to determine differences at a higher scale than on the item-level too (*Appendix I: Scheme of analysis part D&E*).

Step 2: Determining influences of three institutions in developing urban mobility plans

Scott's conceptual framework of three different institutions (regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive) is used as a way to recognize and analyze the influences of the three different institutions in developing urban mobility plans. By determining the stakeholder involvement practices, the interviewer keeps in mind the operationalization of the three different institutions. When an interviewee gives an explanation of their choice, the researcher asks through why the interviewee chose for that. This makes it possible to recognize and determine the influences of the three different institutions and therefore gives input for the recommendations formulated in the conclusion of this thesis; which institutions are important in stakeholder involvement. The scheme of analysis makes clear how these three different institutions are operationalized in the different categories of questions (*Appendix I: Scheme of analysis A-E*).

4.6 Choice of participants

The most important target group in this research are people who work in the traffic department of either Malmö or Utrecht, since they have an overview of what is going on in terms of stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning. However, as stated earlier, different actors involved in urban mobility planning are interviewed in order to determine as complete and objective as possible the stakeholder involvement in Swedish and Dutch municipalities, i.e. to hear the other side of the story. This means that next to people inside the department of transport in the municipality of Malmö and Utrecht, people from other governments (higher tiered-governments, other than traffic-department or civil servants of surrounded municipalities) are also approached for an interview. Furthermore, non-governmental stakeholders are interviewed about their role in urban mobility planning. Next to participants connected to the cases, experts on urban mobility planning are also interviewed in order to make some generalization possible.

Based on the above, one can conclude that this study makes a distinction between four different groups of people and consequently, this resulted in four different topic lists for the interviews:

- Employee traffic department municipality (main target group – Appendix II: topic list A)
- Governmental stakeholder (either from higher government, other department or other municipality, Appendix II: topic list B)
- Non-governmental stakeholder (Appendix II: topic list C)
- Experts in urban mobility planning (Appendix II: topic list D)

The specific list of the 21 respondents for Sweden and The Netherlands can be found in appendix III.

5. POLICY CONTEXT

Before the in-depth analysis of the two cases, it is first important to understand the policy context of urban mobility plans at different governmental levels in both countries. This chapter first focuses on which policies the European Union has about urban mobility plans (section 5.1), and then zooms in on the specific policy and institutional context in both the Netherlands and Sweden (5.2). The conclusion (5.3) compares the policy contexts of both countries and particularly relates them to the schemes of analysis, formulated in chapter 4 (appendix A-E).

5.1 Policy context European Union

(Urban) transport policies have been a subject for the European Commission for a long time already. There is a special Directorate-General for Mobility and Transport. Their aim is “to promote a mobility that is efficient, safe, secure and environmentally friendly and to create the conditions for a competitive industry generating growth and jobs” (CEC DG TREN, 2014b). The commission recognizes that changes to move around is a fundamental freedom to the individual, and is even appointed as the ‘lifblood’ of the inhabitants of European countries (Jensen, 2005, p. 127).

According to Jensen (2005), it was the report ‘Transport in a Fast Changing Europe’ in 1990 that first made the relationship between sustainability and mobility. Over time many publications and policy guidelines were published on this subject. The commission recognizes that there is a contradiction in the concept of sustainable mobility, or as Jensen (2005, p. 139) states “sustainable mobility embodied a perception of transport, where transport is a necessity for late modern societies, but which simultaneously upholds ambiguous relationships wit society” such as environmental and social issues. The commission is active in different policy fields, on different levels. It for example develops policies on freight transport (by sea, air and railway), it tries to connect transport corridors by international links and tries to make long-distance transport systems more sustainable. The commission also makes guidelines for urban transport planning (Stevens, 2004).

In the context of urban transport planning, the commission published a green paper called ‘Towards a new Culture for Urban Mobility’ in which the commission states that “Europe has a capacity for reflection proposal-making and mobilization for the formulation of policies that are decided and implemented locally” (CEC DG TREN, 2007, p. 3). This is more explicitly done in ‘the Action Plan on Urban Mobility’ in 2009. This action plan recognizes that the EU is able to stimulate cities in developing policies to reduce CO²-emissions, achieving a more efficient transport system and strengthening social cohesion (CEC DG TREN, 2009). However, in 2012 the commission published a ‘State of the Art on Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans’ which gives first strategies on how to implement and achieve a more sustainable urban mobility system. These guidelines are formalized in the ‘Guidelines: Developing and Implementing a Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan’, published in January 2014 (CEC DG TREN, 2014). These guidelines provide methods to develop a strategic plan on mobility and the planning cycle is depicted in figure 5.1. What the commission wants to achieve with this prescribed method can be characterized as (CEC DG TREN, 2014):

- Long-term vision and clear implementation plan;
- Participatory approach;
- Balanced and integrated development of all transport modes;
- Horizontal and vertical integration of policies;
- Assessment of current and future performance;
- Regular monitoring, review and reporting;
- Consideration of external costs for all transport modes

It should be noted that the SUMP-method functions as a guideline, it is not compulsory for municipalities to strictly follow this rule. It is especially the participatory approach and the horizontal and vertical integration of policies where this thesis is focusing on. These two elements are also specifically appointed in this SUMP guideline of the European Commission. According to the guidelines, stakeholder involvement and participatory practices are required “to take ownership of a sustainable urban mobility plan and the associated measures. It makes public acceptance and support more likely and thus minimizes risks for decision-makers and facilitates the plan implementation” (CEC DG TREN, 2014a, p. 9). Likewise, the commission states that cooperation and consultation between different departments and different levels of government are needed to increase consistency. Furthermore, departments should make a commitment to sustainability together (CEC DG TREN, 2014).

Figure 5.1: Planning cycle for a ‘Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan’



Source: CEC DG TREN, 2014

Implementation of European guidelines by the different member states

Member states in the European Union all have their own way of developing urban mobility plans. In some countries it is compulsory by law, whereas for others it is not. Furthermore, countries have their own habits of how to cope with urban transportation issues. Therefore many differences exist between the EU-member countries on how they develop their urban mobility plans and how they organize both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement. Countries such as France and the United Kingdom are, according to the commission, already quite close to the requirements of a SUMP, as dictated by the commission. On the other hand, countries such as Romania and Greece often see transport planning as the technical planning of infrastructure, i.e. they use the conventional transport planning approach (CEC DG TREN, 2012). Sweden and the Netherlands fulfill many of the requirements of the SUMP-methodology, however improvements still can be made. This will be discussed more in detail in the next section.

Furthermore, for all countries urban transportation planning policy processes are still a governmental task, without much public involvement, as made is clear by the following quote of the European Commission (2012, p. 19): “Sustainability and public involvement seem to be elements which are lacking in many existing movement-related ‘transport’ plans”. This is supported by Priemus et al.

(1998), who states that current urban transport planning practices have failed, despite all the technical possibilities. The involvement of private parties in policymaking processes will give an added value. According to Priemus et al. (1998, p. 221) “this is in clear contrast with the current practices of leaving it to the authorities alone to take remedial action when the development of land use patterns and the demand for mobility exceed the capacity of the system”. Private stakeholders are defined as both civic actors such as environmentalists, local citizens and real estate developers or engineering firms.

All in all, one can conclude that the European Commission recognizes the need for a more sustainable mobility system. This goes hand in hand with regulative institutions such as all different kind of guidelines and ‘green papers’ on sustainable mobility. Specifically on the subject of sustainable urban mobility, the European Commission published in the beginning of 2014 guidelines on sustainable urban mobility which gives strategies on how to implement and achieve a more sustainable urban mobility system (regulative institution). Horizontal and vertical integration of policies, i.e. governmental stakeholder involvement and ‘a participatory approach’, i.e. non-governmental stakeholder involvement, are particularly part of these guidelines (regulative institutions).

5.2 Legal regulations urban mobility planning Sweden and The Netherlands

This section respectively describes the legal regulations of both Sweden and The Netherlands in terms of planning in general and specifically on urban mobility planning.

5.2.1 Legal regulations of planning in general of Sweden and The Netherlands

Sweden

The Swedish governmental system consists of three layers: the state, the 25 regions (länder) and the 290 municipalities (kommuner). On a national level, there is no formal spatial planning. Planning mainly takes place through the use of sectoral policies, for example by Trafikverket, the government body which takes care of both railways and highways (Busck et al., 2008). The regional level does not have any influence on planning. In between the municipalities and regions, there is a possibility to develop a regional spatial plan, however this is only done in the Stockholm area. Municipalities do have to publish an ‘översiktsplan’, a municipal comprehensive spatial plan which is compulsory and has a strategic character. As recognized by Larsson (2006) national and regional plans do not have a legal status, however they can serve as guidelines for municipalities.

As has been recognized in section 4.2, Swedish municipalities levy to a large part their own taxes to provide services for their citizens. As a result, public administration is for a large part decentralized in Sweden. This also applies to spatial developments: Sweden is characterized by the location on one end of the spectrum with a strong local land use planning whereas in The Netherlands the national level also has a lot of power (Busch et al., 2008; Larsson, 2006). General characteristics of the Swedish planning system can be found in table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Characteristics of the planning system in The Netherlands and Sweden

	Sweden	The Netherlands
National spatial plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compulsory strategic, compulsory spatial vision
Regional spatial plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Voluntary, rarely done. Exception: Stockholm region 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compulsory, strategic, spatial vision
Municipal spatial plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compulsory, strategic, not binding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compulsory, strategic, spatial vision
Local land use plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compulsory for built up areas, and in case of major impacts. Binding for citizens. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compulsory for built up and non-built areas. Binding for citizens

Based on: Busck, 2009; Larsson, 2008

Netherlands

The Netherlands is, just like Sweden, organized by a three-tiered governmental system with the state (Rijk), 12 provinces (provincies) and 403 municipalities (gemeenten). According to the Spatial Planning Act (2008), it is compulsory for the national government, provinces and the municipalities to develop 'structuurvisies' (vision documents) on how the country, region or city should develop spatially. These are all indicative documents, i.e. municipalities can decide for themselves whether or not to implement mentioned policy measures in these documents (Busck et al., 2008). The only binding plan is the local land use plan (bestemmingsplan).

Although officially the relationships between the different governmental layers are determined by the principle of 'subsidiarity', i.e. only if issues are trans boundary decisions should be taken at higher tiers, this is in practice performed differently. In reality, higher governments in the Netherlands still enforce policy measures in some cases. As a result, it is not possible to conclude unambiguously whether or not there is a principle of subsidiarity in the Netherlands. This is a constantly changing field of tension in the Dutch Planning system (Spit & Zoete, 2009). General characteristics of the Dutch planning system can be found in table 5.1.

5.2.2 Legal institutions urban transport planning Sweden and The Netherlands

This section discusses the legal regulations of both Sweden and The Netherlands in terms of urban transport planning.

Sweden

National transport planning is part of the 'Näringsdepartementet' (Ministry of Industry), of which 'Transporter och infrastruktur' is a part. The Swedish executive agency of infrastructure (roads, railway and waterways) is Trafikverket, which develops policies on mobility and transport planning on a national level (Trafikverket, 2014a). In Sweden, there is no law concerning the obligation to make traffic and transport plans (European Commission, 2000). However, the national government recently published the 'Nationell transportplan 2014–2025' in which it recognized that the Swedish mobility system should become more sustainable (Ministry of Industry, 2014). Since this plan focuses on transport, it is different from the Dutch 'Structuurvisie', as the plans have a different starting point. The Dutch plan uses spatial planning as the starting point whereas the Swedish plan uses infrastructure as the starting point. Nevertheless, the Swedish plan stresses policy coordination.

Trafikverket, as the executive agency of transport planning, recognizes the need of sustainable mobility and specifically sustainable mobility in cities (Trafikverket 2014a; 2014b). Trafikverket published, together with the 'Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting' or SKL (Swedish municipalities and provinces) guidelines on urban mobility plans, called 'Trafik för en Attraktiv Stad' or TRAST (Transport for an Attractive City). This document provides guidelines on how Swedish municipalities can make a sustainable urban mobility plan. In terms of governmental stakeholder involvement, it states that: *"Planning Dialogues between central and local government should be implemented both in the context of comprehensive planning and subsequent detailed planning, both in planning for road and rail projects"* (Trafikverket, 2014b, p. 16) [translated from Swedish]. In terms of non-governmental stakeholder involvement it states:

"Participation aims at encouraging more people to be satisfied with both the outcome and the process. Dialogue provides the mutual understanding and provides knowledge transfer during the process." (Trafikverket, 2014b, p. 24) [translated from Swedish].

As stated above, the regional level in Sweden does not have a mandate on spatial planning issues. This is the same for transport planning with one exception: the regional level is responsible for public transport and therefore has a mandate for public transport (Region Skåne, 2014). Furthermore, new governmental organizations such as 'Hållbar Mobilitet Skåne' (sustainable mobility Skåne) in the region of Skåne are recently set up. These organizations try to coordinate regional policies and do not

not necessarily consist of the same area as the regional authority. However, these new governmental organizations and the regional level do not have the mandate to pursue their coordinating task, except for the public transport.

As on the national level, 'kommuner' (municipalities) do not have the obligation to develop an urban mobility plan. Nevertheless, many big Swedish municipalities do so by developing a 'Trafik- och mobilitetsplan'. The only formal regulation for Swedish municipalities is to develop an 'översiktsplan', a local land use plan, as described above in which spatial developments, including transport policy measures, should be mentioned (Larsson, 2006). Many Swedish municipalities explicitly use this 'Trafik- och mobilitetsplan' as a part of this comprehensive plan: these plans are usually related (Håkansson, 2014; Van der Meulen, 2014).

It should be noted that the above guidelines are quite abstract and as a result, municipalities perform them differently in practice. Nevertheless, the above policy context determines the framework in which Swedish municipalities can act when developing an urban mobility plan.

The Netherlands

On the national level, the Ministry of Infrastructure & Environment makes national policies on mobility and transport planning, assisted by 'Rijkswaterstaat', the Dutch executive agency of infrastructure (both roads and waterways). According to the Dutch law, the national government has to make a national traffic and transport plan that gives direction to the decisions concerning traffic and transport. Policies must be coordinated with other departments and the plan has to take into account societal developments (Planwet Verkeer en Vervoer, 2014). The 'Nota Mobiliteit' (Paper on mobility), published in 2004, was the last published document on mobility of the national government. It explicitly mentions sustainable mobility as an aim. The 'Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte', published in 2012, replaced the 'Nota Mobiliteit' and combines the spatial and mobility ambitions of the national government. Although these documents do not provide any guidelines specifically on stakeholder involvement in local policy making, the documents state that "the user is central" and "policy coordination" is important (Ministerie van I&M, 2012b). Furthermore, the national government in the Netherlands published guidelines in the context of urban mobility planning, for example the 'Handreiking klimaatbeleid en duurzame mobiliteit voor gemeenten en provincies' (translated: Guidelines climate policies and sustainable mobility for municipalities and provinces).

On a regional level, it is mandatory for Dutch provinces to make a regional traffic and transport plan which translates the policy measures from a national level into a regional level. This regional traffic and transport plan then offers a policy framework for the municipal traffic and transport plan (Planwet Verkeer en Vervoer, 2014). The province therefore has a coordinating task in transport policies and has legal power to use this: when a municipality wants to implement policy measures which are in conflict with superregional interests, the province can use the 'reactive indication'. Furthermore there is also a governmental level relevant for transport planning in between the province and the municipality: the so called 'WGR+-regions'. These regions can be described as city regions which have legal tasks in terms of spatial coordination. In the context of transport, the WGR+-regions are responsible for regional mobility policies in general and more specifically public transport (Bestuur Regio Utrecht, 2014). It should be noted that due to national political decision-making, the future of the 'WGR+-regions' is unclear. Current plans are to abolish the regions per 1 January 2015. Although the regions probably continue in a more informal way, it is unclear if this is also the case on mobility planning.

On a local level, municipalities in the Netherlands publish a policy document on traffic and transport which at least has the following characteristics (Planwet Verkeer en Vervoer, 2014):

- The elaboration of the essential elements of the national traffic and transport plan and the provincial traffic and transport plan
- Coordination with other policy areas (such as urban planning, economics and environmental issues)
- The phasing, prioritization, and an indication of the funding
- The period for which the plan is applicable

Except for the above four mentioned characteristics, the Dutch law does not have any formal regulations which determine how an urban mobility plan should look like. Nevertheless, the Dutch system of transport planning is quite complex due to the Dutch three tiered system of transport planning, i.e. the coordination of policies vertically, but also horizontally with other policy fields.

Based on the above, one can conclude that the Dutch law mentions the importance of the coordination of policies, but does not mention the importance of non-governmental stakeholders in urban transport policy making. Nevertheless, there are different organizations such as the 'Vereniging Nederlandse Gemeenten' or VNG (Association of Dutch Municipalities) and the 'Kennisplatform Verkeer en Vervoer' or KpVV (Knowledge Platform on Traffic and Transport) which provides guidelines on mobility policies for the local level with a focus on the policy process. These documents all stress the importance of the coordination of policies, i.e. governmental stakeholder involvement, and the importance of non-governmental stakeholder involvement, as the following statement makes clear: "By involving other actors (companies, citizens, groups etc.) in the policy process, it is possible to get support. They experience themselves the dilemmas occurring in the policy process and they also become responsible for the outcomes" (KpVV, 2014) [translated from Dutch].

As with the Swedish policy context, it should be noted that the above guidelines are quite abstract and as a result, municipalities perform them differently in practice, as also recognized by KpVV (2012). Nevertheless, the above policy context determines the framework in which Dutch municipalities can act when developing an urban mobility plan. This is also recognized by Larsson (2006, p. 1): "It is clear that behind the formal façade different kinds of applications may exist in practice".

5.3 Conclusions

This chapter discussed the policy context of urban mobility plans at different governmental levels in both Sweden and The Netherlands. Firstly the policy context of the European Union, which is relevant for both countries, was set out. Secondly, the policy context of (urban) transport planning of both cases was discussed. Conclusions, formulated with the help of the schemes of analysis (*Appendix I: A-E*), are given below. As a result of the focus on the legal framework of both countries, this conclusion is mainly focusing on regulative institutions.

The Swedish spatial planning system is to a large part decentralized: there is no integrative spatial planning on a national and regional level, i.e. on a national level there are only sectoral policies whereas the region does not have any influence on planning. This is in contrast with the Dutch spatial system: the Dutch planning system consists of a three-tiered system in which every layer needs to develop a spatial plan. In accordance with the Swedish spatial planning system, there are also no laws concerning the obligation to make traffic and transport plans at the three layers of government in Sweden. However, when it comes to transport planning, Trafikverket, the Swedish executive agency of infrastructure (roads, railways and waterways), develops policies on mobility and transport. This is again in contrast with The Netherlands, in which it is compulsory to make a traffic and transport plan on all three governmental levels (national, regional and local) by the Dutch law. Part of

this law is also to coordinate municipal transport policies with other policy areas (horizontally) and higher governments (vertically).

The Dutch regional level is much more influential in transport and mobility planning than the Swedish level: the Swedish regional level does not have any legal influence on transport planning (except for public transport), whereas in The Netherlands the national, but also the regional level, have the possibility to put a 'reactive indication' into practice and can therefore overrule a municipality. As a consequence, the Swedish regional authorities do not have a mandate to enforce policy measures for municipalities. Furthermore, the Netherlands also has the specific city regions (WGR+-regio's) which have legal tasks in terms of for example transport policies. When this region is put into place, they are often responsible for public transport.

On a municipal level, one can state that the regulative institutions of both the Swedish and Dutch regulative framework do not differ, except for one important element: Dutch municipalities have the obligation to develop a Traffic and Transport plan whereas Swedish municipalities can decide this on their own. This is summarized in table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Synopsis policy context strategic urban mobility planning Sweden and The Netherlands

Concepts	Swedish regulative institutions	Dutch regulative institutions
Spatial planning framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No national and regional spatial planning • Compulsory strategic planning document 'översiktsplan' • Compulsory local land use plan per area 'detaljplaner' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compulsory national and regional strategic spatial planning • Compulsory strategic planning document 'structuurvisie' • Compulsory local land use plan per area 'bestemmingsplan'
Transport planning framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ National level: Transport plan Trafikverket ▪ Regional level No regional transport planning, except public transport ▪ Local level: No obligation transport plans, but in practice many municipalities make Transport and Mobility Plans ('TROMP') 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compulsory national and regional strategic traffic and transport plans • Province or urban region is responsible for public transport • Local level: Obligation to make traffic and transport plans ('GVVP')
Attention to sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National and regional level: Recognition importance sustainable mobility in transport and traffic plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both national level and regional level: Recognition importance sustainable mobility in national transport and traffic plan
Guidelines on urban mobility plans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Guidelines from Trafikverket and SKL on 'Transport for an Attractive City' with attention for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - governmental stakeholder involvement - non-governmental stakeholder involvement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laws and guidelines Rijkswaterstaat and VNG urban mobility planning with attention for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - governmental stakeholder involvement - non-governmental stakeholder involvement

Source: Own work

6. STAKEHOLDER INVOLVEMENT IN URBAN MOBILITY PLANS SWEDEN

This chapter discusses the results of the empirical research in Sweden and specifically aims to find current governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in strategic urban mobility plans. Furthermore, this chapter gives attention to the context of strategic urban mobility planning in Sweden. The results are gathered by semi-structured interviews in the first place, and policy analysis to a smaller extent in the second place. As argued in section 4.3.2, Malmö is chosen for an in-depth analysis on stakeholder involvement in their strategic urban mobility plan. In addition, in order to analyze to what extent these outcomes are generalizable, semi-structured interviews are carried out with experts. This chapter is therefore structured as follows. Section 6.1 addresses the context of the strategic urban mobility plan in Malmö ('Trafik Och Mobilitetsplan'). Section 6.2 analyzes which stakeholders, both governmental and non-governmental, are involved in this municipal mobility plan. Section 6.3 presents reasons for current stakeholder involvement practices in the strategic urban mobility plan in Malmö. Section 6.4 argues to what extent the findings of this case-study are generalizable to the rest of Sweden. Lastly, section 6.5 presents the conclusion.

6.1 Context urban mobility plan ('Trafik och Mobilitetsplan') Malmö

Figure 6.1: The geographical location of Malmö in Sweden



Source: Britannica (2014)

Malmö, located in the very southwest of Sweden (figure 6.1), is 355 km² big and has around 310,000 inhabitants. The region of Malmö also includes rural landscapes, which results in a quite low population density in the municipality overall. Population density of the urban area is 3,651/km² (table 6.1). In the past three decades, the city has undergone a transition from an industrial city in decay into a flourishing city with a large service sector with an increasing population (Kommun Malmö, 2014a). The transport and mobility system of Malmö has a central place in the Swedish transport network (Kommun Malmö 2014b). The city functions as 'the entry point' of Sweden, especially since the opening of the Öresund-bridge in 2000. Due to the opening of the bridge both rail and road traffic between Copenhagen and Malmö increased by 103% in

ten years (Öresundsbro Konsortiet, 2010). In other words: it more than doubled. The bridge therefore connects Sweden in terms of rail and road traffic with Europe. Furthermore, the city has an extensive public transport system, especially since the opening of a new train tunnel below the city.

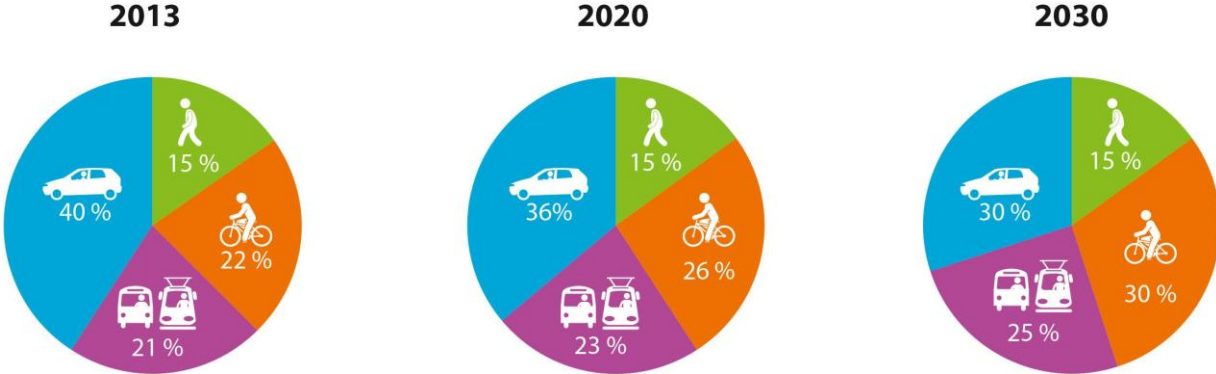
Table 6.1: Geographical characteristics Malmö

Subjects	Numbers
Inhabitants	312,400
Area (km ²)	355 km ²
Population density municipality (people/km ²)	897 inhabitants /km ²
Population density urban area	3,651 inhabitants /km ²

Source: EU Advance (2014); Kommun Malmö (2014a)

It is expected that the city will continue to grow in the coming years, which puts increasing pressure on the city’s transport system (Kommun Malmö, 2014b). Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the city has one of the highest percentages of cyclists of the country (Håkansson, 2014), especially in comparison with the other two big cities in Sweden, Stockholm and Gothenburg (Göteborgs Stad, 2013). This results in a modal split with a relatively high public transport and bike share (figure 6.2). Nevertheless, the city still aims to change the modal split into more public transport users and cyclists (Håkansson, 2014). This is a result of the problems with air pollution in parts of the city and the stable green-left political majority of the city council which gives a lot of attention to sustainability (Kommun Malmö, 2011).

Figure 6.2: Modal Split Malmö



Source: Håkansson, 2014

As a consequence of the important position of Malmö in Sweden as a transport hub and the challenges of air pollution and increasing pressure on the transport system, it is clear that transport and mobility planning is important for the city. The municipality is therefore currently developing a new plan: the traffic and mobility plan (‘Trafik- och Mobilitetsplan’).

Figure 6.3: Turning Torso: iconic image of the city of Malmö



Source: Junge, 2011

Structure and content of the urban mobility plan ('Trafik- och Mobilitetsplan') Malmö

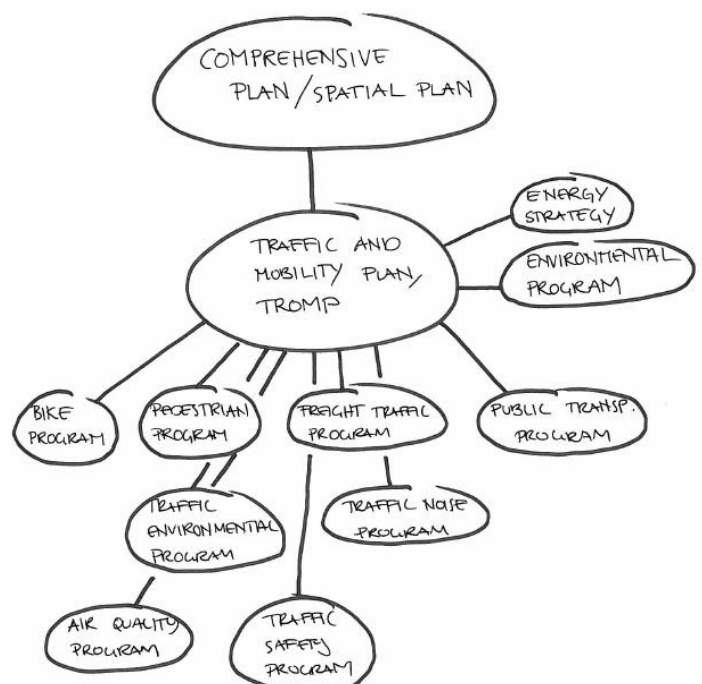
The municipality of Malmö started working on their strategic urban mobility plan 'Trafik- och Mobilitetsplan' (TROMP) in the autumn of 2012 and is scheduled to send out as a proposal in the autumn of 2014 (Kommun Malmö, 2014c). The plan does not have a legal basis like the comprehensive plan (Section 5.3), but it offers the framework and guidelines for other mobility related plans. However, the plan is connected to the comprehensive plan. Whereas the strategic comprehensive plan combines all spatial aspects, the urban mobility plan focuses on transport related issues. Nevertheless, because of the connection with the comprehensive plan, the urban mobility plan particularly focuses on public space too. The project leader of the urban mobility plan in Malmö states: "We wanted to combine all these programs into one program which makes transport planning in Malmö even better. It is an effort to combine all our programs, for all the modal splits, for the traffic and public transport, the traffic noise and congestion etc." (Peter Håkansson). Therefore, it particularly functions as a strategic mobility plan; as a guideline for implementation plans. This urban mobility plan is not imposed by law, but is an initiative coming from the civil servants themselves. Causes for this are political discussions and the general societal value assigned to mobility, as many respondents state. One can therefore conclude that the start of making this plan comes from a normative institution.

New way of traffic planning: sustainable mobility

This strategic urban mobility plan addresses current traffic problems in terms of congestion, traffic noise and pollution specifically in a broader context. Environmental sustainability is important in terms of CO² emission reductions and targeting on less pollution. This is also a result of the red-green political majority of the current city council: "There is a lot of political attention to environmental sustainability, however mainly by left-wing parties. Right wing parties think that the TROMP is too much focused on public transport, cycling and walking. They think cars are also important" (Malena Möller). However, according to the respondents, environmental sustainability has always been an important topic in Swedish society. Due to their close relationship with their environment and proximity of nature in history, there is a strong connection. One can name this as a cultural-cognitive institution, because of the historical and cultural awareness of this in Swedish society. As a result of this, sustainability is rather important in the context of Malmö.

Next to the environmental side of sustainability, the social and economic perspective is also important in the urban mobility plan. Civil servants working on the urban mobility plan mention especially the social perspective. "The social perspective is one of the biggest challenges we have in Malmö. We can see that Malmö is quite segregated. We as traffic planners can make it easier to access your city. So there shouldn't be differences if you are male or female, other ethnicity or young or elderly. The TROMP can make mobility more easy, results in better access, it removes contradictions and results in less segregation by changing the modal split" (Peter Håkansson). The focus on gender equality is especially part of the TROMP and other traffic planning projects, as referred by different respondents. This issue is important in Malmö, because of many societal debates about this which makes this a normative institution.

Figure 6.4: Structure of the plan



Source: Håkansson, 2014

Structure of the plan

As a consequence of what respondents state about this strategic urban mobility plan, the program functions as an umbrella document that puts mobility in a bigger picture of how traffic planning contributes to a more economical, ecological and social city. It therefore explicitly relates transport planning with other fields. Different sub programs, such as the 'public transport program', 'pedestrian program', 'bike program' and 'air quality program' are part of the general vision which is described in the urban mobility plan (figure 6.4). These sub programs usually have a more operational character and are therefore less strategic. It is important to mention that most of these programs were already in place when the municipality of Malmö started with the policy process of the TROMP. One can therefore state that the municipality 'works the other way around'; According to Peter Håkansson, project leader of the TROMP and Malena Möller, employee of the transport department, there was a need to develop a more strategic urban mobility plan which could offer the sub programs a framework in which developments could take place and furthermore offer a spot on the horizon. This was the reason why they developed the TROMP in this way.

6.2 Stakeholder involvement practices in Malmö

This section first addresses governmental stakeholder involvement in terms of who is involved, at what time of the process they are involved, in what way this took place and what their level of involvement is. The section then continues with what non-governmental stakeholders are involved and follows the same structure as with the governmental stakeholder involvement.

Governmental stakeholder involvement in the TROMP

According to employees from the municipality of Malmö, the TROMP is currently developed mainly by the involvement of internal stakeholders: *"We first internally agreed on what we are going to do"* (Malena Möller). In this case, internal stakeholders are stakeholders from governmental bodies. Logically, the Traffic department took the lead in developing the TROMP. In terms of horizontal coordination, other experts from departments such as urban design, environmental and social services department were involved by developing the TROMP. Furthermore, in terms of vertical coordination, the national government body working on traffic and transport (Trafikverket), regional governmental bodies (such as the Region Skåne, Lansstyrelsen Skåne and Hållbar Mobilitet Skåne) and surrounding municipalities were involved in some parts of developing the TROMP (table 6.2). This was all done by means of 'idea-generalization workshops' in which specific themes (for example 'commuting' and 'public transport') were discussed. The stakeholders then were invited to these workshops where they, according to the projects leader of the TROMP, had a say in the policy process.

At the end of the process, it is compulsory for Swedish municipalities to consult the governmental stakeholders of the plan. This is called: 'samrådshandling' or 'remiss' (translated: consultation). In this process it is compulsory for municipalities to send their plan to the relevant governmental stakeholders who then can write a comprehensive answer. The municipality has to respond to this and if needed, make changes to the policy document. This principle is also used in developing this TROMP and can be appointed as a regulative institution.

Table 6.2: Governmental stakeholders involved in the TROMP and their level of involvement ¹

Governmental stakeholder	Level of involvement (1-5)*
Internal departments: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traffic department • Urban design department • Environmental department • Social services department • Etc. 	
National governmental bodies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trafikverket 	
Region governmental bodies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Region Skåne ▪ Hållbar Mobilitet Skåne (Sustainable Mobility Skåne) ▪ Lansstyrelsen Skåne 	
Surrounding municipalities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lund ▪ Smaller surrounding municipalities such as Burlövs and Staffanstorps kommun 	

Source: Interviews.

Level of involvement of the different governmental stakeholders

The above and table 6.2 make clear that different governmental stakeholders are involved in the TROMP. However, it is interesting to examine what the level of involvement of the different stakeholders is, and which institutions have influences on this. The level of involvement of the different stakeholders first of all states something about what their stake is in the TROMP, but also, more implicitly, what their power is in regards to mobility planning in general. Two moments of involvement can be appointed: the beginning of the process in the idea-generalization workshops and the formal consultation period at the end of the process.

Logically, the level of involvement is the highest for the Transport department of Malmö since they are developing the TROMP. Next to that, the urban design department is also involved quite a lot due to the close relationship of the TROMP with the comprehensive spatial plans and the effects of traffic decisions on how the city looks like spatially. Next to that, other experts from departments within the municipality were involved too according to the interviewees, however, they were involved to a smaller extent than the traffic and urban design department. In terms of vertical coordination, Trafikverket, regional bodies and surrounding municipalities were only involved in the workshops when issues had border-crossing aspects. In terms of different levels of involvement, do the higher governmental bodies have a lower level of involvement simply because not all issues are border-crossing. The interviewee of Trafikverket stated that they were not involved to a large extent in the TROMP particularly: *“We were involved in the idea-generalization workshop in the beginning”* (Juliana Pyron). However, because Trafikverket is responsible for both the regional roads as the national highways and the railway network they have quite some power in urban mobility planning in general. Moreover, recently Trafikverket made an agreement with the municipality of Malmö to have meetings on a regular basis.

In terms of regional coordination one can conclude on the basis of the interviews that Lund, as one of the bigger cities in the surroundings area, is more involved than other surrounding municipalities. Furthermore, all respondents working for the government mentioned the weak position of the regional level in Skåne. As stated in chapter (5.2), the regional level does not have a formal mandate

¹ The respondents were asked to indicate on a scale from 1-10 what their level of involvement in TROMP was (section 4.5). Some respondents gave a grade whereas others only indicated their involvement in comparison with other stakeholders. Based on this, the author made an estimation of the level of involvement of the different stakeholders on a scale from 1-5 in which 1 is merely any involvement and 5 much involvement.

* When possible, level of involvement is aggregated for the group. When differences appear, the level of involvement is split.

in (transport) planning. Many respondents argued that this is a problem in the region. One respondent stated: *“When it comes to planning, we have a deficit in planning on the regional level. The national level is strong, the local level is strong, but the regional level is grasping for a mandate. That is really how the system works in Sweden now. [...] It is a weakness in a way, municipalities have too much of a local perspective. In Skåne the region is increasingly important, with commuting and the polycentric characteristic of the region”* (Max Hanander).

Most of the other respondents do have the same opinion as Max Hanander. It is specifically a problem when cross-border issues come up and municipalities have different opinions. Although there are some regional bodies and informal collaborations, they do not have a formal mandate to coordinate and make decisions when there is a dispute. There is increasing awareness that the different municipalities in the region have to work together. An exception on the former is the position of public transport in the region. The region of Skåne is responsible for public transport and therefore has a coordinating role which works well. Skånetrafiken, the operator of public transport in the region, is more than the company who performs the public transport in the region. They are integrated in the region and are actually government owned. As a result, Skånetrafiken is considered as a non-governmental stakeholder (as the private operator of public transport in the region), however Skånetrafiken is connected to the region to a large extent. The following paragraph discusses the involvement of non-governmental stakeholders in the TROMP.

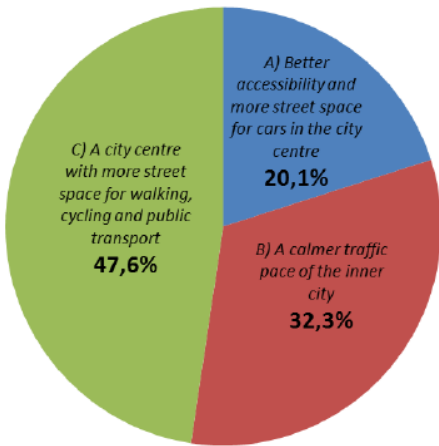
Non-governmental stakeholder involvement in the TROMP

According to employees from the municipality of Malmö, there was no plenary involvement of the different stakeholders during the developing of the TROMP. As stated above, the civil servants within the municipality wanted to agree first internally (i.e. agree with the relevant governmental stakeholders) before they go out in public. However, when the policy proposal is ready, the document will be sent to the different stakeholders during the formal consultation period. Non-governmental stakeholders include different experts group, such as universities, environmental groups, business associations and Skånetrafiken, the public transport company (table 6.3). Most organizations and stakeholders then write a comprehensive answer to the plan and the municipality, if possible, makes changes to the policy document. This is scheduled for the fall of 2014. However, different employees from the municipality state that, although there was formally no involvement of external stakeholders during the policy process of the TROMP, there were informal meetings between for example the real estate owners within the city and the managers of the municipality. Furthermore, during the sub programs, other ways of external stakeholder involvement (more specifically citizen participation) were used in order to involve stakeholders within the city (box 6.1 and 6.2).

Box 6.1: Rosengårdsstråket

Rosengårdsstråket is part of Rosengård, a deprived neighborhood in the city of Malmö, and forms the connection between the center of Malmö and Rosengård. The municipality of Malmö explicitly wanted to work with citizen participation when they were improving this connection. Therefore they placed tents and asked people passing by to think along on how the street should look like. Especially important in this was the position of women: the municipality particularly asked young women to think along to realize a *“changing atmosphere in an environment which usually is dominated and determined by man”* [translated from Swedish] (Kommun Malmö, 2013). Young women were given the opportunity to give input, and they did. As a result, more women are visiting the area nowadays and furthermore, they value the area better.





Box 6.2: Opinion inhabitants about traffic in the inner city of Malmö

In order to get input on their general urban mobility policies, the municipality of Malmö asked their citizens in a big survey, both on internet as well as on paper: “We have asked the citizens to choose between 3 scenarios of what kind of streets they are interested to have in Malmö city center in the future” (Peter Håkansson). Outcomes of this research were that more than 80% of the inhabitants of Malmö are for more restrictive traffic policies with regards to car traffic and car parking than is currently the case. The municipality therefore had a representative input for part of their traffic policies in which the inhabitants made clear that they were in favor of a less car-friendly city center. The response rate was about 40% of the inhabitants of Malmö and was part of a larger survey (Henriksson & Svensson, 2014).

Level of involvement of the different non-governmental stakeholders in the TROMP

As stated above, there is no non-governmental stakeholder involvement in developing the TROMP, except for the formal consultation at the end of the policy process. In this way every stakeholder has at least the possibility to react on the policy proposal of the TROMP. In addition to that, it is also possible to state which stakeholders are implicitly, i.e. under the surface, are involved in urban mobility planning in Malmö. Table 6.3 shows the different non-governmental stakeholders involved in the TROMP, however it should be mentioned that this table does not give a complete overview nonetheless it shows the general image. As stated above, the level of involvement of the different stakeholders first of all states something about what their stake is in the TROMP, but also, more implicitly, what their power is in urban mobility planning in general.

Table 6.3: Non-governmental stakeholders involved and their level of involvement in the TROMP¹

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement in the TROMP	Level of involvement*
Citizen(s) (groups)	■ ■
Environmental groups	
• Cykelfrämjandet (cycle union)	■ ■
• Environmental group	■
Public Transport companies	■ ■ ■ ■
• Skånetrafiken	
Experts (universities/knowledge institutions)	■
• Universities	
Business associations, multinationals and big companies	■ ■
• Citysamverkan (business association)	
• Sveriges åkeriföretag syd (logistics)	
• Svenskt Näringsliv (employers’ organization)	
• Real estate owners	
• etc.	

Source: Interviews.

As stated earlier, Skånetrafiken as the operator of public transport in the region and the municipality have a very good collaboration. Both actors are satisfied with this relationship. Malena Möller states: “We are working together very much. It is very efficient. They also have a desk here, so that they can sit here [in the office of the municipality] and work well”. According to Mattias Schiöth, traffic planner for Skånetrafiken, this way of working arose according to Mattias Schiöth ten years ago. Since then it is working well.

¹ The respondents were asked to indicate on a scale from 1-10 what their level of involvement in TROMP was (section 4.5). Some respondents gave a grade whereas others only indicated their involvement in comparison with other stakeholders. Based on this, the author made an estimation of the level of involvement of the different stakeholders on a scale from 1-5 in which 1 is merely any involvement and 5 much involvement.

* When possible, level of involvement is aggregated for the group. When differences appear, the level of involvement is split.

Cykelfrämjandet (the cycle union) of Malmö is more involved in urban mobility planning in Malmö, than other departments of the cycle union in the rest of Sweden: *“Historically Cykelfrämjandet hasn’t been very involved in urban mobility planning [in Sweden]. Malmö has been an exception, because the local cykelfrämjandet had two members working at the municipality (Cykelfrämjandet, 2014).* During preliminary interviews in Gothenburg, the before also became clear: in other cities the cycle unions are not involved in urban mobility planning. The reason for this is that in Malmö there were, connections between the municipality and the cycle union (normative institution), as stated in the quote above. In the city of Lund (also a city with a high percentage of cyclists) on the other hand, the environmental group is much more influential than the cycle union, also because of relationships between civil servants within the municipality and people from the organization. The situation in the city of Lund therefore seems to confirm the hypothesis that connections and nepotism play important roles in urban mobility policy making.

When it comes to the sub plans of the TROMP, there are regularly meetings between stakeholders and the city council. An example of this includes the city’s logistics plan. In this plan, different stakeholders related to logistics are involved (business associations, logistic companies etc.). One respondent from Citysamverkan, the local business association states about this cooperation with the municipality: *“I am a bit surprised actually. I had this opinion before I came working here that the municipality is doing nothing. But now I see they are really good persons and interested involving us. They are not stubborn, they are really understanding us” (Anders Beijer).* He is quite satisfied about this cooperation.

Examples of the informal involvement of stakeholders in urban mobility planning in Malmö are meetings between real estate owners, companies and the management of the traffic department. As Peter Håkansson from the municipality of Malmö states: *“Directors [of our municipality] are meeting the people from the organization of especially real estate quite regularly. [...] It is difficult to say how much power they have on decisions, but there is some interaction between civil servants/decision makers and non-governmental stakeholders involved in city development.* One can therefore conclude that some influencing takes place, although it is difficult to estimate the amount.

6.3 Reasons to involve stakeholders in urban mobility planning in Malmö

The former two sections analyzed the context of the TROMP and analyzed who is involved in the TROMP of Malmö. These two sections were mainly descriptive. An interesting emerging question is why the municipality of Malmö is performing these stakeholder involvement practices. This section therefore analyzes why employees from the municipality of Malmö are performing their stakeholder involvement practices, from the aforementioned new institutional perspective. The section first addresses governmental stakeholder involvement, and subsequently focuses on non-governmental stakeholder involvement in the TROMP.

Governmental stakeholder involvement

Section 6.2 made clear that both horizontal and vertical coordination during the development of the TROMP was quite good, although the regional coordination of mobility plans was perceived to be a problem. As explained in section 4.5, the respondents answered statements concerning their opinion about governmental stakeholder involvement during the interviews. They could indicate to what extent they agree on a scale from 1-10 with regards to these statements. The outcomes are shown in table 6.4. It should be mentioned that these averages are only based on answers from five different governmental stakeholders in urban mobility in planning in Malmö. These statements therefore specifically functions as an illustration: the motivation of the answers of the interviewees are more important.

Table 6.4: Statements governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans in Malmö¹

Process as a goal	1-10	Process as a means	1-10
<i>Pro</i>		<i>Pro</i>	
Governmental stakeholder involvement leads to better outcomes because of relationships and reciprocal trust	8.4	Governmental stakeholder involvement improves consistency between different policy sectors	7.2
		Governmental stakeholder involvement gives focus to achieve the government's overall goals	6.8
		Governmental stakeholder involvement promotes synergy (win-win situations) between different policy sectors	8
<i>Contra</i>		<i>Contra</i>	
Governmental stakeholder involvement takes much time and delays the process	-3.6	Governmental stakeholder involvement is not efficient and decisive	-3
Total	4.8*	Total	5.4*

Source: Interviews

Table 6.4 shows that the respondents perceived governmental stakeholder involvement positively both in terms of 'process as a goal' as well as 'process as a means'. Although the number of 'process as a goal' is a bit higher than 'process as a means', they do not outrun each other much. Most interviewees recognized the statements and agreed to a large extent to them. They often agreed that horizontal and vertical coordination of policies results in better plans. Especially in terms of horizontal coordination, the respondents saw the need to do this. However, critical notes to this 'ideal image' were often placed, especially when it comes to vertical coordination. The following two quotes illustrate this:

- *"It is difficult to find the time to consult each other"* (Christian Rydén).
- *"The formal way of regional coordination is not really working"* (Peter Håkansson).

Furthermore the respondents recognized that policy coordination indeed takes a lot of time and is not always efficient. However, in the end the result is a) a better plan and b) the time invested for public support in the beginning improves the progress at the end of the process.

Reasons for the practices of the above governmental stakeholder involvement practices are partly regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive. The formal consultation period at the end of the process is compulsory by law in Sweden, therefore this part is regulative. However, the workshops with the different governmental stakeholders are normative: *"One of the key issues on the traffic and mobility plan is to combine different challenges, so then of course different types of knowledge and experts should be invited to these working groups"* (Peter Håkansson). This quote illustrates that projects leaders within the municipality think it is important to include the different departments and governments. There is a broad awareness of the need to perform horizontal and vertical coordination among governmental stakeholders. Although connections and nepotism play a role, it is mainly the fact that the interviewees perceive it to be desirable and correct to involve governmental stakeholders at the beginning of the process, so before the formal consultation period at the end of the process which is formalized. Next to that, another respondent stated that current governmental stakeholder involvement practices in terms of the workshops in the beginning of the process also originate from a conventional way of acting: *"This is how we usually work when we develop new policies in the past years"* (Anders Nilsson). The need to coordinate policies, particularly with different departments within the municipality, but also with other governments is already in the

¹ The respondents were asked to indicate on a scale from 1-10 (1=totally disagree, 10=totally agree) to what extent they agree on these statements (section 4.5). The presented outcomes are based on answers from five different governmental employees involved in urban mobility planning in Malmö.

* Average of the propositions. 'Contra' is taken as a negative and therefore subtracted. The 'process as a goal' *pro* statement is multiplied by three to allow comparison with 'process as a means'.

routine and culture of the employees of the municipality. One can therefore conclude that cultural-cognitive reasons also play a role in governmental stakeholder involvement in Malmö.

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement

Section 6.2 made clear that there was no plenary involvement of non-governmental stakeholders during the development of the TROMP. Similar to governmental stakeholder involvement, the respondents answered also statements concerning their opinion about non-governmental stakeholder involvement during the interviews. In these statements, they could indicate to what extent they agree on a scale from 1-10. The outcomes are shown in table 6.5. Again, it should be mentioned that these averages are only based on answers from five different governmental stakeholders in urban mobility in planning in Malmö. These statements therefore specifically functions as an illustration: the motivation of the answers of the interviewees are more important.

Table 6.5: Statements non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans Malmö ¹

Process as a goal	1-10	Process as a means	1-10
<i>Pro</i>		<i>Pro</i>	
Non-governmental stakeholder involvement empowers non-governmental stakeholders	6	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases innovativeness in policy	5.4
Non-governmental stakeholder involvement leads to consensus	5.2	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases public acceptability of policy measures and promotes behavioral change	6.8
Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases the legitimacy of policy measures	5	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases the visibility of societal needs	7
		Non-governmental stakeholder involvement maps out the diversity of arguments	6.8
<i>Contra</i>		<i>Contra</i>	
Non-governmental stakeholder involvement takes much time and delays the process	-4.4	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement does not give useful input	-3
Total	3.4*	Total	4.6*

Source: Interviews

Contrary to the statements about governmental stakeholder involvement practices, the respondents are more inclined towards ‘process as a means’ instead of ‘process as a goal’ (table 6.5). Furthermore, most respondents again recognize the benefits of non-governmental stakeholder involvement, although they have more critical notes. This is reflected in the lower numbers in table 6.5 in comparison with table 6.4.

Most respondents recognize and agree on the above statements and the need to involve non-governmental stakeholders when developing a new plan. As the project leader of the TROMP states: “Non-governmental stakeholder involvement takes a lot of time, but the outcome is usually very good, in both process as a means as well as process as a goal” (Peter Håkansson). Furthermore, Malena Möller, employee of the municipality Malmö states: “It is important to involve them, they have of course a right to tell us”. However, the respondents also see a lot of obstacles and problems in involving non-governmental stakeholders. According to the respondents it sounds good in theory to involve external stakeholders, because it for example leads to more empowerment of stakeholders, or it increases the legitimacy of policy measures. However, in practice, the civil servants working for the municipality perceive it difficult to actually implement this. Factors such as a lack of knowledge and the mainly technical background of the civil servants play a role in this, according to the interviewees. The following statement of Max Hanander, working for the municipality of Malmö,

¹ The respondents were asked to indicate on a scale from 1-10 (1=totally disagree, 10=totally agree) to what extent they agree on these statements (section 4.5). The presented outcomes are based on answers from five different governmental employees involved in urban mobility planning in Malmö.

* Average of the propositions. ‘Contra’ is taken as a negative and therefore subtracted. The ‘process as a goal’ *pro* statements are multiplied by 1.33 to allow comparison with ‘process as a means’

makes this perfectly clear: *“Non-governmental stakeholder involvement is a goal of the city, but it is also a great challenge. You also need to take into consideration all the arguments and the opinions you receive. It is also about building an organization that is also prepared to take into account all these opinions and ideas. It is not always that easy. It is kind of a change in the way we work as a municipality. We have to develop this in a balanced way. But we are still seeking methods and ways”.*

Different reasons can be appointed for this. First of all, according to most respondents it is difficult for citizens and most non-governmental stakeholders to think along and participate in developing strategic mobility plans. Malena Möller states about this: *“There are simply not that many organizations with whom you can collaborate, I think. Non-governmental stakeholder involvement is really hard, because people do not have enough knowledge. Especially on a strategic level, it is difficult for citizens and stakeholders to give input, because they give often input on a lower level. For example what a problem is on their street. Furthermore, you don’t reach the critical mass”.* In addition, many respondents put question marks at the democratic justification of non-governmental stakeholder involvement. Often the groups that do have a strong opinion, are likely to participate the most in developing urban mobility processes. Christian Rydén states about this: *“If a powerful group has a strong opinion or statement about something, they are probably heard very much, but that does not necessarily mean that they represent the majority of citizens”.* The former relates to a more general observation most interviewees made about the Swedish planning culture and society in general: Swedish people have relatively a lot of trust in their governmental and administration system. As a result, Swedish people do not disagree that much with planning decisions made by governmental organizations. The following quote makes this clear: *“You can see it as a problem that we do not have so much involvement, but you can also see it as ‘quiet acceptance’. Surveys show that we have a very good acceptance among people. This maybe has to do with the tradition of a strong government and people, in general, like that system, and overall its working. Like: ‘I do not need to get involved, because there are people employed and politicians who have this responsibility. Only when I really dislike something, I need to get involved’” (Christian Rydén).*

This also comes forward from the interviews with the non-governmental stakeholders. According to the non-governmental stakeholders the municipality in general is doing a good job in terms of urban mobility planning. Although they were not involved in the beginning of the process, they are still satisfied with the municipality, as the following quote illustrates: *“Our environmental group is taken seriously. We are often asked our opinion. We are quite content about the relationship with the municipality. I have a good relationship with the traffic department” (Tomas Björnsson).* The former can also be underpinned by analyzing the voter turn-out of the municipal elections in Malmö in the past years. One of the determinants whether or not citizens have trust in their government is to examine what the voter turn-out is for their elections (Larsson & Back, 2008). The municipality of Malmö has on average a high voter turn-out for their municipal elections. These elections always exceed the 70% in the past decades. For example, the voter turn-out was 74,3% for the municipal elections of 2010 (Valmyndigheten, 2014a).

In conclusion, different institutions play a role in non-governmental stakeholder involvement in the TROMP and urban mobility planning in Malmö in general. From a regulative perspective, there is the formal way of consulting at the end of the process in which non-governmental stakeholders have the right to tell their opinion. From a normative perspective, many civil servants from the municipality do have the opinion that it is difficult to involve non-governmental stakeholders. An important reason for this is the trust of Swedish people in their administration system, so that there is no incentive and emphasis on stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning in Malmö. Lastly, cultural-cognitive institutions play a role because non-governmental stakeholder involvement is just not the conventional way of acting of the employees from the municipality.

6.4 Generalization: stakeholder involvement in the whole of Sweden

As stated in chapter 4, the choice for an in-depth case study of the city of Malmö has its drawbacks for the generalization of the findings of this case to a whole country. This section therefore specifically addresses to what extent the findings are generalizable to the rest of Sweden and nuances the findings on stakeholder involvement in Malmö. This is done on the basis of semi-structured interviews with experts (see section 4.6 for the list of respondents).

This section is structured in the same way as the above paragraphs. It first addresses the context of urban mobility plans in Sweden, subsequently discusses which stakeholders, both governmental as non-governmental, are involved in urban mobility planning in general and why (or why not) these stakeholders in general are involved in urban mobility planning in Sweden.

Context of urban mobility planning in Sweden

As stated in section 5.2, the Swedish organization for municipalities and regions ('Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting') published guidelines on how to make urban mobility plans. Patrik Wirsenius, working for SKL stated that this document is "*kind of a bible for Swedish municipalities when they are working on their urban mobility planning*" (Patrik Wirsenius). He stated that these guidelines are more than simply a document on traffic planning: according to him it is particularly an integration of both traffic planning and urban planning: the integrative perspective in this plan is important. Although these guidelines are voluntary, the organization stimulates municipalities to use these guidelines, together with Trafikverket and Boverket. This stimulating can be considered as both a regulative and normative institution. According to the interviewed experts, Swedish municipalities in general develop an urban mobility plan. Bigger municipalities especially see the importance of developing these plans. According to the experts, about half of the municipalities are currently developing or have developed urban mobility plans. These plans are often related to the comprehensive plans which are compulsory for Swedish municipalities.

In terms of sustainable mobility, the experts recognized the picture which came forward during the interviews in Malmö. Sustainability is an important part of the Swedish culture and history. According to one respondent, one can state that the awareness of sustainability is higher than in other countries: "*It has always been important to go out in the woods in the weekend. A long time ago, decades, this was already there, and I guess this could maybe have started the sustainable thinking. So there maybe is a bit more focus [in Sweden], especially when you see other different European projects [in which he participates with his firm]. It is rather deep in the thinking of developing mobility plans in cities*" (Christer Ljungberg). As a result of this, sustainable mobility is an important topic in many Swedish municipalities.

Furthermore, it is important to note that the social and economic side of sustainability is important in developing urban mobility plans too, as recognized by the experts. However, as Patrik Wirsenius stated: "*The social aspect is often taken care of in the master plan, but I don't think the urban mobility plans in Sweden takes care of these aspects the way they should.*" The Swedish organization for municipalities therefore wants to implement this more in their guidelines. Nevertheless, this makes clear that this social aspect of mobility planning is an important normative element in urban mobility planning in Sweden.

Stakeholder involvement practices in strategic urban mobility plans in Sweden

The question is to what extent the findings of the case Malmö in the previous sections are similar to the rest of Sweden and what the underlying determinants are. The below discusses this. Furthermore, box 6.3 discusses stakeholder involvement in the local urban mobility plan of Lund, to show stakeholder involvement practices in another municipality in Sweden.

Governmental stakeholder involvement in Sweden

According to the experts, in general Swedish municipalities coordinate their urban mobility policies very well. It is recognized by the experts that municipalities in Sweden first coordinate their policies internally, before they go out in public. Most municipalities in Sweden do this. According to Tom Rye, working for Lund University, these coordinating activities are in fact institutionalized: the departments of land-use, traffic and environment should coordinate their policies for a long time already. It is therefore already a habit for most Swedish municipalities. Next to that, it is also part of the TRAST-documents. However, it should be mentioned that the city of Malmö is a 'forerunner' in the country in terms of policy coordination, especially in the horizontal coordination of policies. In general, larger municipalities do this better than the smaller municipalities. Although every municipality knows how it should work, really proves differently. According to Patrik Wirsenius: *"Most of the municipalities are aware of how they should work, but in reality it is difficult to implement this [policy coordination]"*. Nevertheless, according to the experts, the bigger cities in Sweden do a good job.

When it comes to vertical policy coordination and the position of the region specifically, the experts recognize the problems as mentioned by the different interviewees. According to Patrik Wirsenius: *"I understand why they talk about it. It would be nice to have a stronger regional government, although it differs from subject to subject"*. Christer Ljungberg, CEO of Trivector Traffic (consultancy firm) also recognizes this and states: *"It is for example a problem in terms of competition between municipalities. For example when developing new shopping malls outside of the city. There are too many of them, and this is a problem for sustainable mobility of course: it creates more car traffic"*. Therefore, according to the experts, the polycentric regions in Sweden would benefit from a stronger regional government with a mandate on traffic policies. Furthermore, on vertical policy coordination, it is widely recognized that this turns out to be more difficult for most Swedish municipalities, although Trafikverket and other municipalities are usually consulted for new strategic transport and traffic plans.

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement in Sweden

According to the experts it is common to first internally agree on the policies and then go out in public, as stated earlier. This is especially the case when policy-making takes place at a high strategic level, which is the case in developing urban mobility plans for the whole municipality. The formal consultation period then offers the option for non-governmental stakeholders to write a comprehensive answer. Nevertheless, the experts also recognize the difficulties of involving external stakeholders in urban mobility planning on a strategic level. The experts state that it is important to let the stakeholder try to think on a strategic level. However, it is not easy for all stakeholders. More professional organizations are in general more able to think strategically, whereas for citizen groups this is more difficult. It is important to be aware of this. It should be mentioned that there are municipalities in Sweden which are actually involving stakeholders more early on in the process, although according to the experts these municipalities can be labeled as forerunners specifically on non-governmental stakeholder involvement. An example of such a forerunner is Lund (box 6.3).

Reasons for the low involvement of non-governmental stakeholders in Sweden originate, according to the experts, partly in Swedish general trust in society. Respondents in Malmö noticed this too, as argued in section 6.3. Especially the trust of the Swedish inhabitants in their government was appointed by the experts. They refer to the history of the Swedish welfare state and the trust of their citizens in their government: *"Sweden does not have a long history of corruption, and also, an administration that works rather good. People trust in it, because it works rather good. It doesn't take months to make a decision etc. It works rather fine"* (Christer Ljungberg).

The above can be underpinned by examining the voter turn-outs for the municipal elections of Sweden. The average voter turn-out for the municipal elections in 2010 for Sweden was 81.6%,

which is relatively high (Valmyndigheten, 2014b). Furthermore, the average trust of Swedish citizens in their local and regional authorities is relatively high in comparison with other European countries: 65% of the Swedish residents 'tend to trust' their local and regional authorities, which is relatively high for the European average (43%) (Eurobarometer, 2014). Sweden is therefore often mentioned as a 'high-trust society', which can be described as a society where citizens and government have a strong bond of trust and where there is an almost self-evident willingness to rely on the honesty and decency of their fellow citizens (Schnabel, 2010). As the result of the former, one can conclude that Swedish citizens are satisfied with their government. Consequently, the need and incentive for municipalities to involve external stakeholders is less present.

Nevertheless, the experts stress the importance of non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning. According to Patrik Wirsenius: *"All the actors should be part of the mobility planning process in order to produce better plans. However, different cities work differently on this. It can't change overnight"*. According to the experts, factors such as the changing position of the government in society make a change needed. The need to involve non-governmental stakeholders in urban mobility planning is therefore actively promoted to the municipalities by SKL and, as mentioned earlier, part of the TRAST-guidelines.

Box 6.3: Stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning in Lund: LundaMaTs

In 1996, the municipality of Lund decided to develop an environmentally adapted transport plan. Together with political actors, actors from the field and experts, Lund developed an innovative urban mobility plan which was effective in changing the modal split of citizens in Lund. LundaMaTs was continued with LundaMaTs II and now the municipality is preparing LundaMaTs III. The LundaMaTs are nowadays a well-known concept for Swedish urban planners. Furthermore, the plan has gained international recognition (Kommun Lund, 2007).



According to Christer Ljungberg, who developed LundaMaTs as part of Trivector Traffic, the urban mobility plan originally was developed with the ideology of Bent Flyvbjerg (well-known from f.e. 'Rationality and Power: Democracy in practice'). They kept in mind the different power relations within the city and handled according to this. Societal stakeholders such as environmental groups, but especially citizens got the opportunity to take part in developing these LundaMaTs. An example of this citizen participation include the 'kitchen table conversations': the municipality went to the citizens at home to talk about sustainable mobility in the coming years. The conversations had two main aims: first of all, the municipality wanted to hear what the opinion of the inhabitants was about transport and mobility in Lund. Secondly, the municipality offered information about opportunities in car-sharing, public transport and cycling in order to tempt them to change their habits. The municipalities have spoken to half of the households. Effects of this approach were that car-use decreased from 30% to 26%, whereas the national trend was increasing in car use (Kommun Lund, 2007).

However, it should be mentioned that the above method is labor-intensive and therefore costly. Furthermore, Christian Rydén, head of the mobility management department in Lund, stated that it is difficult to involve organizations and citizens on a strategic level. As a result of the former two reasons, the municipality of Lund decreased the opportunities for non-governmental stakeholders to take part in the current urban mobility plan.

6.5 Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to give empirical insight into the context, governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility plans in Sweden. More particularly, the chapter provided an in-depth analysis of stakeholder involvement in the city of Malmö, whereas section 6.5 gave insight in to what extent the findings in Malmö were representative for the rest of Sweden. As a consequence of the approach of this study, the below discussions about stakeholder involvement in Sweden are mainly answered from the perspective of the case-study in Malmö. Malmö is a forerunner in the country in terms of urban transport planning. However, it can be assumed that other Swedish municipalities eventually follow Malmö. As a consequence, Malmö can be typified as an exemplary case-study for the rest of Sweden. Nevertheless, when possible the findings are nuanced by the findings presented in section 6.5. The below first discusses the context of strategic urban mobility planning in Malmö, and subsequently focuses on governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices.

Context strategic urban mobility planning Sweden

First of all it is important to emphasize that developing urban mobility plans mainly comes forward from normative institutions: strategic urban mobility plans are initiated because of a combination of the following three reasons: a) the civil servants themselves feel the need to develop an urban mobility plan, b) the city council asks for it or c) it is a much debated topic in society. These normative institutions are more important in developing an urban mobility plan than regulative or cultural-cognitive institutions: from a regulative perspective, only indicative guidelines exist but no formal plan obligation. Furthermore, from a cultural-cognitive perspective, the development of urban mobility plans in Sweden is quite new: it must be mentioned that Malmö is a forerunner in comparison with the rest of the country when it comes to developing an urban mobility plan. As a consequence, developing these plans in Sweden is not yet a routine or conventional way of acting.

Table 6.6: Synopsis context urban mobility plans Sweden: institutions

	Regulative institutions	Normative institutions	Cultural-cognitive institutions
Start and realization urban mobility plans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No laws concerning plan obligation urban mobility plans SKL: indicative guidelines content and process of strategic urban mobility plans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strategic urban mobility plans initiated by civil servants because: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - own initiative - political attention and pressure to mobility and transport - societal value assigned to sustainable mobility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bigger municipalities develop strategic urban mobility plans: for them conventional way of acting. Not all small municipalities develop them.
Attention to sustainable mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National government recognizes importance sustainable mobility SKL: indicative guidelines content strategic urban mobility plans: promoting sustainable mobility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sustainable mobility is seen from economic, social and ecological perspective Every aspect needs attention: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ecological: more attractive public space and less pollution - economical and social: take away socioeconomic and gender contradictions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Historically, Swedish people have strong connection with nature. Resulting in importance to sustainable mobility

Source: Own work

Swedish urban mobility plans in general give a lot of attention to sustainable mobility. Important reasons for this are first of all that the national government and SKL recognize the importance of sustainable mobility and that they provide guidelines. Secondly, normative institutions play an important role. In Sweden, municipalities have a lot of attention to sustainable mobility in the broadest opinion of the word. Next to the obvious ecological aspects (more attractive public space and less pollution), economical and social reasons play an important role too: urban mobility policies should take away socioeconomic and gender contradictions (table 6.6). The historical connection of Swedish people with nature is important from a cultural-cognitive institutional perspective: since this is part of their culture, sustainability is perceived as important.

Governmental stakeholder involvement practices Sweden

In Sweden it is common, or a routine, to first internally discuss with all the different departments within the municipality on a policy process, before other stakeholders (higher governments or external stakeholders) are involved in the policy process. More specifically this means that in the case of a strategic urban mobility plan, the traffic department involved the other departments in brainstorming sessions in the beginning of the policy process. The Swedish respondents all saw the importance of governmental stakeholder involvement: both in terms of process as a goal (i.e. trust and involvement lead to better outcomes) and process as a means (i.e. use knowledge of other stakeholders to develop better plans). Although, the respondents graded process as a goal slightly better than process as a means, they do not outrun each other much. Table 6.7 shows a summary of the findings.

Horizontal coordination

Reasons that horizontal coordination of transport policies with the other policy fields is so well-developed in Sweden are not regulative, but more normative and cultural-cognitive institutional instead: within the organization of the municipality civil servants recognize and think that it is important to involve the other departments in the beginning of a policy process in order to achieve a better policy result. Their norms and values influenced what they perceive desirable and correct in terms of governmental stakeholder involvement. Moreover, it became clear that most respondents in Malmö have been done horizontal coordination for a long time already. As a result, horizontal policy coordination is part of the conventional way of acting within the municipality nowadays.

Vertical coordination

Reasons for the governmental stakeholder involvement practices of higher governments and surrounding municipalities in urban mobility plans in Sweden, are based on similar institutions as for the horizontal coordination of policies (table 6.7). However, there are differences and furthermore, the position of the regional government is worth mentioning. First of all, it should be mentioned that although the benefits of the involvement of higher governments and surrounding municipalities are seen, the respondents also stated that it takes a lot of time. As a result, the need to involve them is not always there. Important factor in this also is that civil servants are not familiar with ways and methods to coordinate their policies as efficient as possible, except for the formal consultation (table 6.7). Furthermore, the weak position of the region on transport planning is worth mentioning: the regional level in Sweden does not have a formal mandate on mobility. Nevertheless, the Swedish respondents all share the feeling that the region should have a more coordinating role in order to solve cross-bordering transport issues such as changing the modal split on a regional level. Historically, a regional government on transport planning was not needed, since Swedish cities were located far away from each other. However, especially the south of Sweden can be characterized as a polycentric region in which a formal regional coordinating role would be helpful.

Table 6.7: Synopsis governmental stakeholder involvement practices in Sweden

	Regulative institutions	Normative institutions	Cultural-cognitive institutions
Horizontal coordination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation other departments at end of process is obligatory by law: 'samrådshandling'. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brainstorming and consultation during beginning process: civil servants perceive it important involving other departments. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal coordination has been done in Malmö for a long time: routine and conventional ways of acting • Integrated policy making no routine yet
Vertical coordination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation of higher governments at end of process is obligatory by law: 'samrådshandling' • Weak formal mandate regional governmental body on mobility planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brainstorming and consultation during beginning process: civil servants perceive it important involving higher governments. • Vertical coordination takes lot of time • Shared feeling by civil servants and experts: region should have more coordinating role. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No routine or conventional way of acting yet, except for formal consultation. • Historically, coordinating regional government not needed in Sweden.

Source: Own work

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in Sweden

Transport departments of municipalities in Sweden first internally agree (with other governmental stakeholders) in urban transport planning before they involve external stakeholders. As a result, non-governmental stakeholders are not involved in strategic urban mobility plans except for the formal consultation period. Nevertheless, many municipalities work with internet surveys to get input from society: although citizens are not consulted in the form of citizen groups, they are involved by sending out a survey in which they could give their opinion about urban mobility planning. Swedish municipalities do this more often in order to get input from their citizens. In their opinion, this is more representative than involving different organizations.

Although the respondents from the municipality in general see the benefits of the involvement of non-governmental stakeholders, they also see difficulties and problems surrounding it. Furthermore, the respondents did not always see the necessity of doing it. This attitude also came forward from the statements concerning non-governmental stakeholder involvement either as ‘process as a means’ or ‘process as a goal’: the numbers for the statements concerning non-governmental stakeholder involvement were much lower than the numbers concerning governmental stakeholders involvement. These outcomes are in accordance with the above observations. Especially when a motivation was asked, many respondents were nuancing their positive mindset towards the involvement of non-governmental stakeholders. The experts confirmed the observations in Malmö: in the rest of Sweden, many municipalities work the same way and have the same approach to non-governmental stakeholder involvement.

From a new institutional perspective, different reasons can be appointed to the non-governmental involvement practices of Sweden. First of all, the formal consultation or ‘samrådshandling’ at the end of the policy process is compulsory for all Swedish municipalities. Furthermore, SKL provide guidelines which state that non-governmental stakeholder involvement is important. Therefore the former two aspects are regulative institutions (table 6.8). Secondly, normative institutions play an important role: less importance is attached to the input of external stakeholders. Many respondents from the municipality stated that the strategic level of policy making, when developing a strategic urban mobility plan, is a problem for stakeholders from outside the government: they often give input on a more practical level. Furthermore, the non-governmental stakeholders themselves do not ask for involvement. As a result, there is no general norm or value to involve the external stakeholders as early as possible (table 6.8). From a cultural-cognitive perspective, Swedish well-working welfare state does play an important role: Swedish citizens have to a large extent trust in their administration and government system. Furthermore, civil servants in Sweden do not have the knowledge and the methods to involve external stakeholders. Consequently, it is not in their routine or conventional way of acting yet to involve them (table 6.8).

Table 6.8: Synopsis non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in Sweden

Regulative institutions	Normative institutions	Cultural-cognitive institutions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation external stakeholders end of process is obligatory by law: samrådshandling. • Formalized survey citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness to involve stakeholders: some extent. • Limited importance attached to input of non-governmental stakeholders due to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - strategic level of policy-making - external stakeholders do not ask it - Importance attached to representative input from citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quiet acceptance: Swedish culture • Large amount of trust in government • Non-governmental stakeholder involvement is no conventional way of acting or routine: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - limited knowledge and methods

Source: Own work

7. STAKEHOLDER INVOLVEMENT IN URBAN MOBILITY PLANS IN THE NETHERLANDS

This chapter presents the result of the empirical research on both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans in The Netherlands. Furthermore, this chapter gives attention to the context of strategic urban mobility planning in The Netherlands. As with the previous chapter, results are gathered by semi-structured interviews in the first place, and policy analysis to a smaller extent. As argued in section 4.3.2, the case-study for the in-depth research for The Netherlands is Utrecht. The structure of this chapter is similar to the previous one. Section 7.1 describes the context of the urban mobility plan in Utrecht ('Utrecht Aantrekkelijk en Bereikbaar' or UAB). Section 7.2 analyzes which stakeholders, both governmental and non-governmental, are involved in this municipal mobility plan. Section 7.3 presents why (or why not) stakeholders are involved in urban mobility plans in Utrecht. Section 6.4 argues to what extent the findings of this case-study are generalizable to the rest of The Netherlands. Lastly, section 6.5 presents the conclusion.

7.1 Context urban mobility plan ('Utrecht Aantrekkelijk en Bereikbaar') Utrecht

Figure 7.1: "De Dom": Iconic image of the city of Utrecht



Source: Peppijn, 2008

Geographical context

Utrecht, located in the middle of The Netherlands, has approximately 320,000 inhabitants and consists of 99 km². The population density is therefore 3252 inhabitants / km², which is quite comparable to the population density of Malmö's urban area (table 7.1).

Besides being in the geographical middle of The Netherlands, Utrecht is an important hub in terms of both railways and roads of the country (figure 7.2). Utrecht central station functions as the hub of the railway system of the Netherlands and also has the highest amount of on- and off boarding passengers (178,000 every day) (NS, 2014). Furthermore, the city is located at a crossing point of important national highways (figure 7.3). The city of Utrecht is a typical student city, which results in a high percentage of cyclists in the modal split of the municipality (figure 7.2). This number is big, even in comparison with other cities in The Netherlands. The current public transport system is mainly based on buses and next to that, cars still have an important share in

the modal split. As a consequence of the former, there are many debates about air pollution in the city council (Gemeente Utrecht, 2013). Furthermore, Utrecht's amount of inhabitants has increased a lot during the last decade (from 256,000 in 2001 until 320,000 inhabitants in 2014) and is expected to grow even more in the coming years. The city currently has a 'purple' political context with both left- and rightwing parties taking part in the current coalition. However, it should be mentioned that the

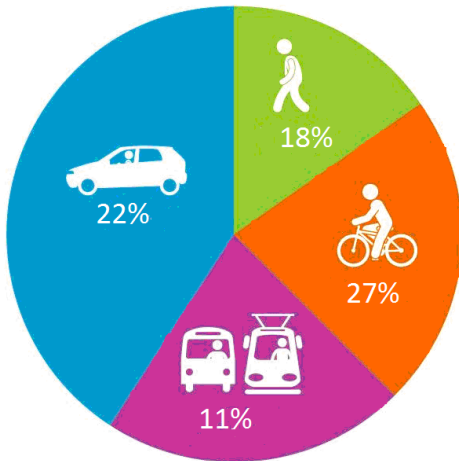
most recent strategic transport plan 'Utrecht Aantrekkelijk en Bereikbaar' was developed during the last coalition period, which was characterized by a more 'green-red' coalition.

Table 7.1: Geographical characteristics Utrecht

Subjects	Numbers
Inhabitants	322,000
Area (km ²)	99 km ²
Population density municipality (people/km ²)	3252 inhabitants /km ²

Source: Gemeente Utrecht (2014a)

Figure 7.2: Modal Split Utrecht (2013)



Source: Degenkamp, 2014

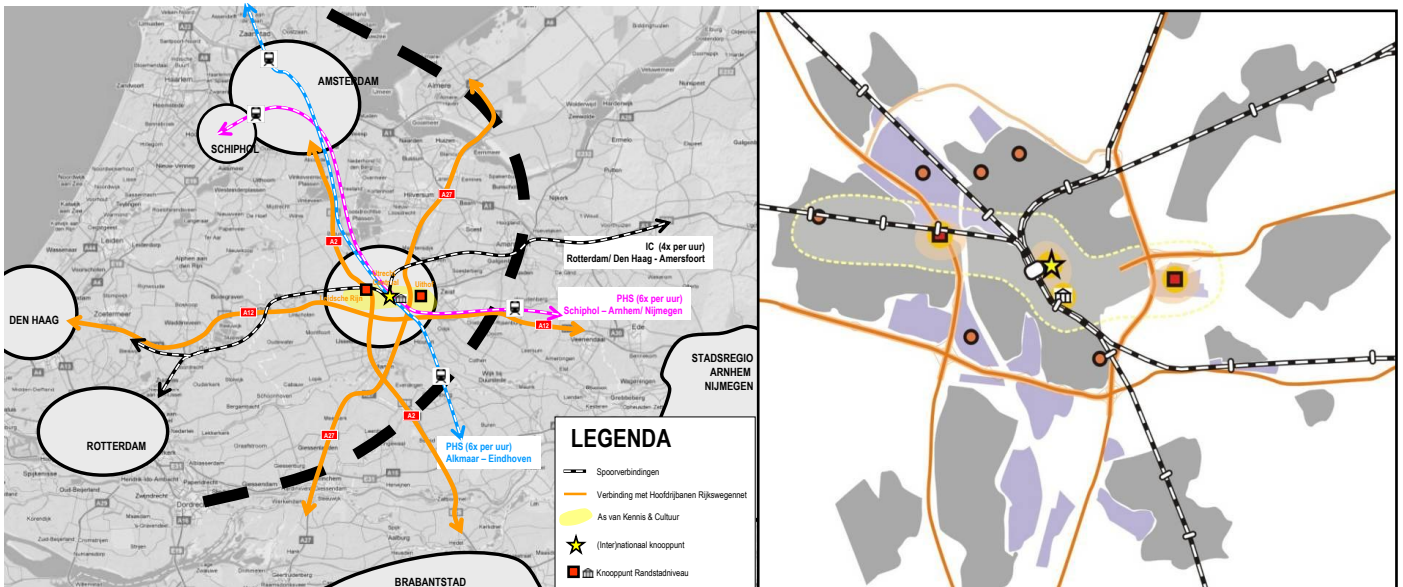
The above described context of Utrecht's transport system makes clear that transport and mobility policies are important for the city. Recently, the municipality addressed these challenges and issues by developing the strategic mobility plan Utrecht Attractive and Accessible.

Structure and content of the urban mobility plan ('Utrecht Aantrekkelijk en Bereikbaar') Utrecht

Utrecht started to work on their urban mobility plan 'Utrecht Aantrekkelijk en Bereikbaar' (UAB) in the beginning of 2010 and was eventually finished January 2012. It took a few months before it was approved by the city council: this took place in July 2012. The ambition document does not per se have a legal basis like a structure vision or a formal traffic and transport plan ('GVVP'). However, the implementation

agenda of the ambition document should in the end formally replace the current formal traffic and transport plan, which is from 2005. However, different respondents state that in reality the current mobility plan already functions as this typical traffic and transport plan

Figure 7.3: Position of Utrecht in the regional transport system



Source: Gemeente Utrecht, 2012

Structure and content urban mobility plan ('Utrecht Aantrekkelijk en Bereikbaar') Utrecht

Utrecht started to work on their urban mobility plan 'Utrecht Aantrekkelijk en Bereikbaar' (UAB) in the beginning of 2010 and was eventually finished January 2012. It took a few months before it was approved by the city council: this took place in July 2012. The ambition document does not per se have a legal basis like a structure vision or a formal traffic and transport plan ('GVVP'). However, the implementation agenda of the ambition document should in the end formally replace the current formal traffic and transport plan, which is from 2005. However, different respondents state that in reality the current mobility plan already functions as this typical traffic and transport plan

According to the respondents from the municipality of Utrecht, there were two main reasons to develop this plan. First reason was that the current vision and direction for the future of traffic and mobility planning in Utrecht needed an update. The project leader of UAB, Mark Degenkamp, stated: *"We thought that it was necessary to approach traffic policies in a different way. So far, one had the tendency to address issues bottleneck by bottleneck. [...]. Actually, there was a need to have a more integrative perspective on the mobility system of the city, both at the system and objective level."* The second reason was that the distance between citizens, and civil servants working for the mobility department was too big. The manager of the traffic and mobility department of Utrecht, Marieke Zijp, stated about this: *"Traffic and transport is so complex, you cannot solve that on your own. The aim [of UAB] was therefore to talk with people and stakeholders too. Not only consulting people from outside the government, but also with people from departments such as urban design and economical affairs"* The initiative of UAB was particularly an initiative coming from the civil servants themselves; because of a general need in the municipality, they started to develop this mobility plan.

New way of traffic planning: sustainable mobility in Utrecht

UAB particularly connects mobility and space into one integrative consistent vision. It therefore makes a link between traffic and public space. Han Schraders, employee from the urban design department, stated about this: *"[The ambition document addresses]...how traffic can be part of the city again, instead of a traffic transit space. From the department of traffic, there was a need to underpin the story behind the quantitative calculations of traffic intensities, to see what story is behind this"*. This is explicitly part of the sustainable mobility paradigm. This is also reflected in the ambition document in terms of a focus on developing bicycle infrastructure and the limiting of the space of cars. As Ria Glas, respondent from the 'Fietzersbond' stated: *"The attention of the municipality for bicycles is incredibly good"*. The main cause for this is the red-green coalition in the previous period which gives a lot of attention to sustainability and the history of the city of Utrecht as a cycle city. One can therefore conclude that both normative and cultural-cognitive institutions play a role. Based on the above, one can state that sustainability is an important part of UAB. However, it is used in the broadest meaning of the word: the social, economical and health side of sustainability is also important: *"Sustainability is merely one of the purposes. Next to that, health and other social issues are part of the plan"* (Mark Degenkamp). The experience of citizens of public space comes first, because of the attention in the city council and societal debates. One can therefore conclude that this is a normative institution.

Table 7.2: Implementation agenda UAB

1. The user is at the heart of mobility policies
2. The place determines the choice of mobility
3. The quality of public space is central in policy making
4. Pedestrian: vibrant centers at nodes
5. The bicycle should be the primary mode of transport in the city
6. 'Randstadspoor' and 'HOV' (tram) is the basis
7. The urban distribution ring becomes urban boulevard

Source: Gemeente Utrecht, 2012

Structure of the plan

On the basis of the above, one can conclude that UAB is a strategic urban mobility plan which functions as a guideline for the traffic and mobility policies of the municipality of Utrecht. Part of this vision is connecting different municipal departments in order to make the city of Utrecht a more attractive and accessible city. So far the municipality published an implementation agenda and a specific parking strategy (for both cars and bicycles). The implementation agenda is based on the seven main strategic policy choices of UAB. Table 7.2 shows this implementation agenda. The municipality is currently working on the specific parts of this implementation agenda.

7.2 Stakeholder involvement practices in Utrecht

Similar to section 6.2, this section discusses both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement, but now in the policy document Utrecht Aantrekkelijk en Bereikbaar (UAB). UAB is developed with the help of the so called ‘roundtable meetings’ with stakeholders. The section first addresses governmental stakeholder involvement in terms of who is involved, at what time of the process they are involved, in what way this took place and what their level of involvement is. The section then continues with what non-governmental stakeholders are involved and follows the same structure as with the governmental stakeholder involvement.

Governmental stakeholder involvement in UAB

As stated above, UAB was an initiative from the civil servants of the traffic department of the municipality. One explicit goal was to form a strong collaboration with the urban design department. These two departments together formed a first framework of the new strategic urban mobility plan. After the two departments had developed this framework, internal brainstorming sessions with other departments within the municipality, such as the department of economic affairs and well-being had taken place (table 7.3). These brainstorm sessions were more or less parallel to the roundtable meetings with external stakeholders, which are discussed later. Higher governments and surrounding municipalities were involved in the roundtable meetings and thematic workshops. During these meetings it was possible for them to think along with the future choices the municipality of Utrecht has to make in mobility policies. Different governmental stakeholders participated in these workshops, such as Rijkswaterstaat, which has a stake in the surrounding highways, and the province and Bestuurs Regio Utrecht, which represents nine municipalities in the urban region of Utrecht. These stakeholders all have a stake in urban mobility policies in the region.

Table 7.3: Governmental stakeholders involved in UAB and their level of involvement ¹

Governmental stakeholder involvement in the UAB	Level of involvement (1-5)*
Internal departments:	
• Traffic department	■ ■ ■ ■ ■
• Urban design department	■ ■ ■ ■
• Economic affairs department	■ ■ ■
• Environmental department	■ ■
• Social services department	■ ■
• Etc.	
National governmental bodies	
• Rijkswaterstaat	■ ■
Regional governmental bodies	
• Province Zuid-Holland	■ ■
• BRU	■ ■
Surrounding municipalities	■

Source: Interviews.

¹ The respondents were asked to indicate on a scale from 1-10 what their level of involvement in UAB was (section 4.5). Some respondents gave a grade whereas others only indicated their involvement in comparison with other stakeholders. Based on this, the author made an estimation of the level of involvement of the different stakeholders on a scale from 1-5 in which 1 is merely any involvement and 5 much involvement.

* When possible, level of involvement is aggregated for the group. When differences appear, the level of involvement is split.

Similar to Sweden, The Netherlands, also have to facilitate a formal consultation at the end of a policy process (regulative institution). Dutch municipalities have to make their plans available for inspection. The different stakeholders then can react on the policy proposals and when needed, and the municipality can change these policy proposals. When it comes to the UAB, there was policy coordination at the beginning of the process because of the participation of other governmental bodies in the brainstorm sessions and round table meetings. However, in terms of the formal consultation part at the end of the process, was the proposal of UAB was not sent out to all the different governmental stakeholders.

Level of involvement of the different governmental stakeholders

Based on the above, one can conclude that governmental stakeholders are involved in the UAB and that horizontal and vertical coordination took place. Similar to the analysis of the TROMP in Malmö, it is interesting to examine what the level of involvement of the different stakeholders is and which institutions have influences on this.

As stated above, the transport department took the initiative to start the UAB. As a consequence, the level of involvement of the traffic department in Utrecht is the highest. Due to the aimed collaboration with the urban design department of the municipality, the urban design department was involved to a large extent too: *“It is explicitly a collaboration between the department of traffic and urban design” (Han Schraders)*. Furthermore, the department of economic affairs was involved to a larger extent too, mainly because of the importance of good accessibility in the city center for the retail sector. Next to that, civil servants from other departments were involved, but to a smaller extent. The main reason to involve other departments was, according to the manager of the traffic department: *“Traffic actually always is serving other interests in the city. However, until now traffic policies always stood on itself, and therefore the aim and why of developing policies needs to be worked out better” (Marieke Zijp)*.

When it comes to policy coordination on a regional level, the interviewees made clear that the higher governmental bodies (Rijkswaterstaat, province and BRU) were only involved in aspects which had influences on the issues which had effects on the transport system of the surrounding municipalities or national or provincial roads. Rijkswaterstaat, the province and BRU all had a similar stake in developing in UAB. They all participated in the round table meetings and furthermore have the possibility to intervene when they do not agree with a decision of the municipality. The surrounding municipalities of Utrecht were represented by the BRU, which has a coordination task in the region. Although municipalities in the Netherlands have autonomy, it is possible to intervene in the decision making in a municipality as a higher government from a legal perspective. Ruud Beijl, project leader of the urban mobility plan of Nieuwegein stated about this: *“If a dispute with a municipality is really taken to the max, the province is able to give an ‘indication’, which states that the municipality has to change their plans” (Ruud Beijl)*.

As stated above, in terms of vertical coordination, the higher governments and surrounding municipalities were involved in the workshops and roundtable discussions in the beginning, however when the policy proposal was ready for consultation, they felt they were not involved enough: before the proposal was send out public they would have liked that the proposal was discussed. According to the project leader of UAB this resulted in tensions with other governmental bodies: *“This is always difficult. But by now, we are closely working together with the other governments, to develop a common vision on the networks and traffic management in our region, taking into account UAB. Less space for the car, movement of traffic to the highway ring – we are now testing jointly whether this is feasible or not and maybe in which steps. So from a situation of resistance, we are now cooperating” (Mark Degenkamp)*. One can state that vertical coordination took place, however at the end of the policy process, improvements are possible.

BRU, the urban region government, is responsible for public transport in the region. According to the respondents, there is a close relationship between the municipality and BRU on public transport. However, there is no involvement of the public transport operator U-OV in the region in the policy making: *“U-OV is just the operator of public transport so they were not involved. BRU has the final responsibility.” (Ruud Beijl)*. The section below discusses the involvement of other external stakeholders.

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement in UAB

UAB was developed with the help of input from different stakeholders. The municipality of Utrecht organized the so called ‘roundtable discussions’. In order to prepare these roundtable discussions, general topics of the mobility policies of Utrecht were determined. Next to that, the municipality was open to all kinds of suggestions coming from the stakeholders in these discussions. Marieke Zijp stated that the initiative for the roundtable meetings originated from her department. She mentioned three different reasons for it, namely: a) the changing role of the government in society, b) the changing society in general and c) input needed from non-governmental stakeholders. According to the employees from the municipality, these roundtable discussions were therefore explicitly used as input for the ambition document. The different stakeholders came up with ten main recommendations which were used as the seven main policy choices in UAB: *“Actually, we translated the outcomes of the roundtable meetings into seven ambitions. The ten most important outcomes of the roundtable discussions actually are grouped into these ambitions. They were the guidance for what was coming after that. [...]. The input was supportive for the framework we chose after that” (Mark Degenkamp)*.

Three different roundtable meetings for non-governmental stakeholders were organized during the policy process. The first roundtable meeting was organized in order to brainstorm about the main issues in urban mobility planning in Utrecht. According to the manager of the department of traffic the brainstorming session worked well: *“Because stakeholders were arguing with each other about urban mobility planning in Utrecht, the important points for mobility policy filtered automatically from this” (Marieke Zijp)*. The second roundtable meeting was organized in order to update the stakeholders. In the third meeting, stakeholders could discuss the different policy options. Furthermore, the stakeholders could indicate whether or not they would like to join further implementation of these policies. The third roundtable meetings were and still are organized for different areas in the city. This last round is part of the implementation agenda of UAB and is therefore not part of the ambition document itself any more. Next to the roundtable meetings in the beginning of UAB, there is the formal consultation as described earlier.

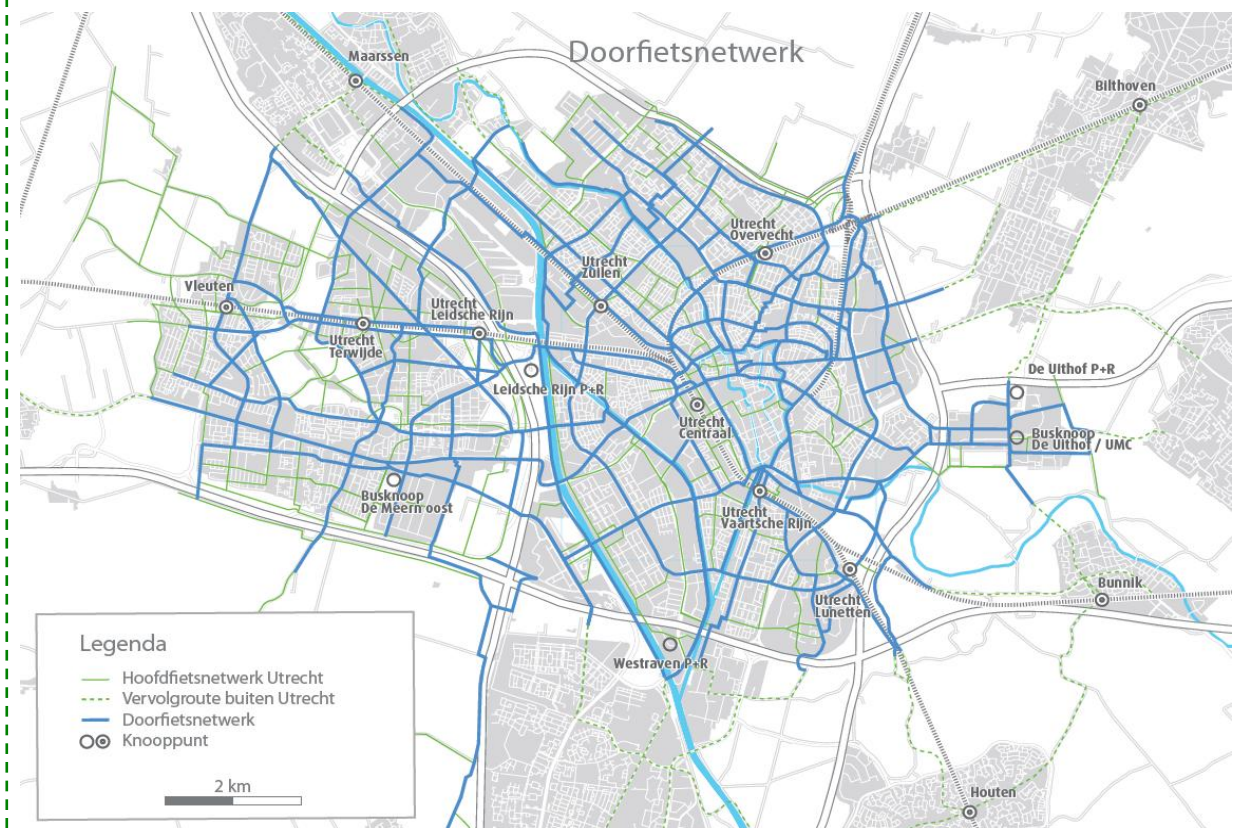
Different non-governmental stakeholders participated in the roundtable meetings. Different citizen groups, environmental groups, public transport companies, experts and business associations participated in these roundtable meetings (table 7.4). Furthermore two ways of involvement of stakeholders are worth mentioning: the online consultation of UAB (box 7.1) and the co-creation between government and external stakeholders (box 7.2).

Box 7.1: Online consultation for UAB

As part of the consultation during the development of UAB, the municipality set out an online questionnaire on the main choices for urban mobility planning in Utrecht. Inhabitants of Utrecht could either agree or not agree on certain statements, such as ‘Inside the urban ring, bicycles should always get priority’ and ‘When a tram is available, I will decide to take public transport’. Most people voted in line with the arguments of the municipality. Furthermore, people got the opportunity to give a motivated reaction on the policy proposals. Unfortunately, the responses to the questionnaire were very low: only around 100 people filled out the questionnaire (Gemeente Utrecht, 2011). Reasons mentioned by the project leader of UAB were that it is difficult for people to think strategically and that the marketing was not well-organized.

Box 7.2: Designing the new cycle highway network (Dutch: 'doorfietsnetwerk'): co-creation

During the summer of 2012, civil servants from the municipality of Utrecht developed and designed together with the 'Kracht van Utrecht' and the 'Fietsersbond' in a workshop the new 'cycle highway network'. Innovative in this project was that the Fietsersbond themselves were able to invite the important stakeholders. Next to the Kracht van Utrecht, the cycle union and the neighborhood councils, many other stakeholders were involved in the process. This was specifically a form of 'co-creation', in which non-governmental actors together with the municipality, create public policies. The participants were satisfied with the process and the result. Ria Glas (cycle union) stated: *"The cycle union and the 'Kracht van Utrecht' jointly organized a workshop, in which we together, also with the municipality, designed the cycle highway network. I composed the list of people we needed for these workshops"*.



Level of involvement of the different non-governmental stakeholders in UAB

As stated above, formal involvement (i.e. roundtable discussions in the beginning of the policy process and formal consultation at the end of the process), and informal involvement (i.e. meetings between civil servants or aldermen and stakeholders outside of these formal discussions) took place during Utrecht Aantrekkelijk en Bereikbaar (UAB). Table 7.4 shows to what extent non-governmental stakeholders are involved in UAB. It should be mentioned that this table does not give a complete overview, but instead it offers a general image. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that according to the project leader of UAB, the level of involvement can always be nuanced: *"The level of involvement or influence has to do with the way you take part of a discussion as stakeholder. Do you get a sympathetic ear or do you only create resistance?"* (Mark Degenkamp). It is important to keep this in mind.

According to the management of the traffic department, the aim was to *"Invite all different stakeholders and different perspective to the table. Almost everybody who we invited, did actually come"* (Marieke Zijp). Marieke Zijp therefore did not see or recognize different power relations within the field of urban mobility planning in Utrecht. However, the project leader of UAB did recognize these different power relations. He stated that *"In a city with a strong 'Groenlinks' (green-left political party) stakeholders with a sustainable or green perspective, will soon get a stage"* (Mark

Degenkamp). According to Mark, this often comes at the expense of groups from a social origin, such as the ‘Ouderenbond’ (elderly organization). Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the interviews made clear that these social groups also find their way in policy making.

Table 7.4: Non-governmental stakeholders involved and their level of involvement in UAB ¹

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement in UAB	Level of involvement (1-5) *
Citizen(s) (groups) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kracht van Utrecht • Neighborhood Councils 	
Social groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ouderenbond (elderly organization) • ANGO (organization for disabled people) • etc. 	
Environmental groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fietsersbond (cycle union) • Natuur- en Milieufederatie (environmental group) • etc. 	
Public transport companies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Q-buzz/U-OV 	
Experts (universities/knowledge institutions) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Universities • Knowledge institutions / consulting companies 	
Business associations and big companies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centrum Management Utrecht (business association) • Kamer van Koophandel (business association) • Rabobank • Corio (real estate owner) • Jaarbeurs Utrecht • etc. 	

Source: Interviews

The stakeholder ‘Kracht van Utrecht’ was quite involved in UAB and urban mobility planning in general. The Kracht van Utrecht is a citizen or expert group which likes to think out-of-the-box on urban mobility planning in Utrecht (Kracht van Utrecht, 2014). According to the project leader of UAB, they functioned more or less as the regular advisors of the alderman of traffic and transport in the last coalition period. According to Jan Korff de Gidts, chairman of the Kracht van Utrecht, they regularly had meetings with the former alderman of traffic Frits Lintmeijer. When asked about grading his involvement, Jan Korff de Gidts stated: *“If it is about the level of involvement in urban mobility planning, then I see this as the amount of meetings with the aldermen, I would give this an 8 or 9, but if it is about the substantive effects, I merely come to a 5”*. Based on the former, one can state that the Kracht van Utrecht is an important player in UAB and urban mobility planning in general in Utrecht. However, as the former quote also makes clear, they are according to themselves not that influential in the end. Although U-OV/Q-buzz was involved in the roundtable discussions, they are merely the operator of public transport in the region of Utrecht. Based on this, there is no strong connection between the public transport company and the municipality. All planning concerning public transport is done via the urban region (BRU).

When it comes to the involvement of business associations and big companies, the interviews make clear that these stakeholders have a lot of influence in urban mobility policies. Due to their economic powers, they are important for the city. The following quote from Jacques Bloemendaal of Centrum Management Utrecht (business association inner city) illustrates this: *“The municipality has to take*

¹ The respondents were asked to indicate on a scale from 1-10 what their level of involvement in UAB was (section 4.5). Some respondents gave a grade whereas others only indicated their involvement in comparison with other stakeholders. Based on this, the author made an estimation of the level of involvement of the different stakeholders on a scale from 1-5 in which 1 is merely any involvement and 5 much involvement.

* When possible, level of involvement is aggregated for the group. When differences appear, the level of involvement is split.

into account that CMU is an important economic player. That's why we find our way [to the municipality], if needed". Due to their importance these business associations and big companies often have meetings with the different aldermen of the city council. However, it is important to mention that these more economical oriented stakeholders only participate in issues which directly have an effect on them. They are usually not interested in visionary policy making. The interviews also made clear that the civil servants from the municipality of Utrecht were positive about the use of the roundtable meetings in the beginning of the policy process whereas the non-governmental stakeholders themselves were not positive at all. Jan Korff de Gids, chairman of KVV, stated for example: "The round table meetings didn't have structure at all. As a consequence, the results coming from these discussions were a cacophony of sounds and opinions". Furthermore, Jacques Blommendaal states "Everything that is going to happen in 30 years does not bother us at all". This makes clear that it is difficult to think along at such a high level of abstraction for many non-governmental stakeholders. The following section addresses this more in detail.

7.3 Reasons to involve stakeholders in urban mobility planning Utrecht

This section therefore particularly analyzes why employees from the municipality of Utrecht are performing their stakeholder involvement practices, from the aforementioned new institutional perspective. The section first addresses governmental stakeholder involvement, and then focuses on non-governmental stakeholder involvement in UAB.

Governmental stakeholder involvement in UAB

The former section analyzed which governmental stakeholders were involved in UAB. It became clear that especially horizontal coordination was taken care of. However, in terms of vertical coordination there were problems during the consultation phase of the proposal of UAB. Similar to the interviews in Malmö, the respondents in Utrecht were asked to fill out statements concerning stakeholder involvement in UAB. The outcomes are shown in table 7.5. It should be mentioned that these averages are only based on answers from five different governmental stakeholders in urban mobility planning in Utrecht and therefore function equally to the statements used in Malmö: as an illustration to the motivation of the answers.

Both 'process as a goal' and 'process as a means' were perceived positively by the interviewees in Utrecht. The grades of both items are almost similar (table 7.5). This is in accordance with the explanations of the respondents: most respondents recognized and agreed to a large extent on the statements. They substantiated the statements with their own experiences. The respondents especially brought forward the value of UAB as a communication tool within the municipality. Han Schraders for example stated: "Utrecht Aantrekkelijk en Bereikbaar functions as a tool to communicate within the municipality. UAB is therefore similar to the older 'structure visions' because they show what the municipality wants. [...] I therefore think that the municipality should continue with the philosophy of UAB. We advocate strongly for that". However, in terms of vertical coordination, surrounding municipalities and higher governmental layers often only come into action when abstract, strategic policy measures have a specific implementation, according to some respondents.

The three distinguished institutions all had a role in governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning in the municipality of Utrecht. From a regulative perspective, the formal consultation at the end of the policy process is important: it is obligatory to use a formal consultation trajectory. Furthermore, from a normative perspective, the civil servants from the municipality explicitly had the wish to have input from all different governmental stakeholders, as made clear by the attention to the integrative character of UAB by different interviewees. Moreover, the aim and framework of UAB was to show the political council and the inhabitants of the municipality the general norm in which the municipality was working in the context of urban mobility planning.

Marieke Zijp stated about this: *“Although it took some time before UAB was adopted by the city council, the awareness and philosophy [of UAB] was implicitly already in use and had everyone within the municipality had adapted to this”*. The cultural-cognitive institution also plays a role: the three tiered transport planning system in The Netherlands is part of the mindset of the civil servants of the municipality of Utrecht.

Table 7.5: Statements governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans in Utrecht ¹

Process as a goal	1-10	Process as a means	1-10
<i>Pro</i>		<i>Pro</i>	
Governmental stakeholder involvement leads to better outcomes because of relationships and reciprocal trust	8.8	Governmental stakeholder involvement improves consistency between different policy sectors	9.2
		Governmental stakeholder involvement gives focus to achieve the government’s overall goals	8.2
		Governmental stakeholder involvement promotes synergy (win-win situations) between different policy sectors	7.8
<i>Contra</i>		<i>Contra</i>	
Governmental stakeholder involvement takes much time and delays the process	-5.4	Governmental stakeholder involvement is not efficient and decisive	-3.2
Total	5.3*	Total	5.5*

Source: Interviews

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement in UAB

The previous section showed that the municipality of Utrecht worked with ‘roundtable discussions’ as a way to involve non-governmental stakeholders in developing UAB, next to the formal consultation period at the end of the process. The respondents also filled out statements concerning non-governmental stakeholder involvement for UAB, similar to the above section and chapter six. The outcomes are shown in table 7.6. The same remarks apply to these statements as for the statements of table 7.5: the motivation of the answers are most interesting.

The respondents in Utrecht are much more inclined towards ‘process as a means’ in comparison with ‘process as a goal’, as table 7.6 shows. This is in contrast to the above: whereas the respondents perceived both ways as positive when it comes to governmental stakeholder involvement, this is different for non-governmental stakeholder involvement. This is in accordance with the motivation of the respondents on these statements. In general, most respondents perceived non-governmental stakeholder involvement positively. Robert Gijsen, an employee for the traffic department of Utrecht, represents the opinion of the most respondents: *“On the one hand, it is good to make use of the knowledge of organizations and citizens, but on the other hand, it also increases the legitimacy of policy measures. Stakeholder involvement or participation is therefore twofold: getting input and knowledge from the inhabitants, but at the same time, increasing acceptability of policy measures”*.

However, especially for the statements belonging to the ‘process as a goal’ category, many respondents had some critical notes. Most of these critical notes relate to the necessary time to make use of stakeholder involvement practices in mobility policy making. Furthermore, the respondents stated that the municipality always has to deal with time pressure. Han Schraders stated about this: *“Not all the time you allocate to involvement and participation, is automatically efficient and effective. This is sometimes frustrating and works contra productive”*. Furthermore, according to

¹ The respondents were asked to indicate on a scale from 1-10 (1=totally disagree, 10=totally agree) to what extent they agree on these statements (section 4.5). The presented outcomes are based on answers from five different governmental employees involved in urban mobility planning in Utrecht.

* Average of the propositions. ‘Contra’ is taken as a negative and therefore subtracted. The ‘process as a goal’ *pro* statement is multiplied by three to allow comparison with ‘process as a means’.

the manager of the traffic department, there is always a field of tension when it comes to the involvement of external stakeholders: Make progression quickly vs. have as many stakeholders participate as possible. However, she also nuances this by saying that stakeholder involvement is context-specific.

Table 7.6: Statements non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans Utrecht ¹

Process as a goal	1-10	Process as a means	1-10
<i>Pro</i>		<i>Pro</i>	
Non-governmental stakeholder involvement empowers non-governmental stakeholders	8.4	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases innovativeness in policy	6.6
Non-governmental stakeholder involvement leads to consensus	5.8	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases public acceptability of policy measures and promotes behavioral change	8.4
Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases the legitimacy of policy measures	6.8	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement increases the visibility of societal needs	8.8
		Non-governmental stakeholder involvement maps out the diversity of arguments	8
<i>Contra</i>		<i>Contra</i>	
Non-governmental stakeholder involvement takes much time and delays the process	-6	Non-governmental stakeholder involvement does not give useful input	-2.4
Total	4.4*	Total	5.9*

Source: Interviews

Next to the above, some respondents also put forward the issue of to what extent involving certain stakeholders is representative for the whole municipality: *“It is always difficult to get a total image of what stakeholders and inhabitants would like, the non-content people always scream the most. You can therefore ask yourself whether or not non-governmental stakeholder involvement is democratic”* (Robert Gijzen). For more respondents the former is a point of discussion. Nevertheless, all interviewees from the government in general saw the need to involve external stakeholders in UAB and urban mobility planning in general, although they also stated that it is difficult to design a process in which this is facilitated best. The strategic level of UAB was a difficulty in this: according to the respondents it is a difficult task to combine strategic visions but at the same time stay to the point so that external stakeholders stay involved.

A couple of reasons can be appointed for the awareness of the importance and usefulness of the involvement of non-governmental stakeholders in Utrecht. First of all, the municipality of Utrecht has the so called ‘Participatieladder’ (participation framework). This framework distinguishes four elements of participation or involvement: 1) Inform, 2) Consult, 3) Give Advice and 4) Co-create (Gemeente Utrecht, 2008). The framework gives advice as to what type of involvement is most appropriate in which projects. Most respondents referred to these guidelines of the municipality. Secondly, in contrast to Malmö, the respondents from Utrecht do recognize the increasing critical citizens but especially the consequences of a changing society and the different role of the government in this. Marieke Zijp stated about this: *“I also think that new insights makes it much more effective to examine what the problem really is, before you directly think in solutions, and make use of the knowledge of others in this. That also has to do with the changing society”*.

The non-governmental stakeholders were also well aware of this changing role of the government. They were critical about their functioning and had many recommendations for improving urban mobility planning in Utrecht. Although they were involved in the ‘roundtable discussions’, these

¹ The respondents were asked to indicate on a scale from 1-10 (1=totally disagree, 10=totally agree) to what extent they agree on these statements (section 4.5). The presented outcomes are based on answers from five different governmental employees involved in urban mobility planning in Utrecht.

* Average of the propositions. ‘Contra’ is taken as a negative. The ‘process as a goal’ *pro* statements are multiplied by 1.33 to allow comparison with ‘process as a means’

stakeholders still found that the municipality could do more in terms of stakeholder involvement. Especially co-creating sessions, with a lot of initiative for the non-governmental stakeholders, was the way they proposed that future stakeholder involvement practices should look like. The following statement illustrates the critical opinion of the non-governmental stakeholders on the current roundtable discussions of UAB: *“I wonder what the motive of the municipality was to organize the roundtable discussions. Was it merely from an old-fashioned perspective that they wanted to inform people, or did they really want to get new knowledge and input?”* (Jos Kloppenburg).

In terms of voter turn-out for the municipal elections of Utrecht in the past years, one can state that the voter turn-out on average is significantly lower in Utrecht in comparison with Malmö. The voter turn-out was 54,2% in the most recent local election (Gemeente Utrecht, 2014b). Furthermore, many interviewees stated that every project has a different project leader who has a different style in leading his or her projects. These people think differently about non-governmental stakeholders and as a consequence, these people have diverse practices when it comes to the involvement of external stakeholders. In the end it is therefore also dependent on the people working for a project.

The above makes clear that different institutions play a role in non-governmental stakeholder involvement in UAB. The formal consultation period as well as the participation framework of the municipality Utrecht can be appointed as a regulative institution. According to the reasons why the manager of the traffic department in Utrecht used roundtable discussions and how other respondents spoke about non-governmental stakeholder involvement one can conclude that these are normative institutions: due to attention in the societal debate and the importance attached to the input of stakeholders, the municipality started to organize these discussions. Lastly, the fact that different project leaders make different choices when it comes to non-governmental stakeholder involvement make clear that not for everyone the involvement of external stakeholders is a routine or conventional way of acting. Nevertheless, the general trend is moving towards more involvement of stakeholders, which implicitly changes the cultural-cognitive institutions of people working for the municipality.

7.4 Generalization: stakeholder involvement in the whole of The Netherlands

Similar to chapter 6, the choice for an in-depth case study also has its drawbacks for the generalization of the findings in this city for the country as a whole. This section therefore has the same goal and structure as section 6.4: it first addresses the context of urban mobility plans in The Netherlands, then discusses which stakeholders, both governmental and non-governmental, are involved in urban mobility planning in general and why (or why not) stakeholders in general are involved in urban mobility planning in The Netherlands.

Context of urban mobility planning in The Netherlands

Urban mobility planning in The Netherlands is first of all influenced by regulative institutions, as described in section 5.2, within the law on traffic and transport. Furthermore, the SUMP-guidelines (section 5.1) are also known in The Netherlands. However, as Jurgen de Haan, expert from the KpVV, states, these guidelines are not that well-known in The Netherlands: *“The SUMP-guidelines are in general fully passed by the municipalities”*. Nevertheless, much of these guidelines were already or are integrated in other governmental policy documents and laws. Furthermore, the respondent from KpVV stated that he actively propagates the guidelines and particularly the recommendations on horizontal and vertical policy coordination and non-governmental stakeholder involvement to the municipalities: *“The guidelines are a well-developed framework in which municipalities can hang up their policies”* (Jurgen de Haan).

According to the experts, most municipalities fulfill the legal obligation to develop a municipal transport and traffic plan in one way or another. In terms of sustainable mobility, one can conclude that in general bigger municipalities have more attention to this topic than smaller municipalities.

Municipalities with approximately more than 100,000 inhabitants in general face similar and obvious problems related to mobility, such as air pollution, congestion etc. Therefore, topic is more part of the societal debate (normative institution) in these municipalities. Additionally, the political context (normative institution) and how civil servants cope with this subject (cultural-cognitive institution) are determinants of to what extent (sustainable) mobility is an important topic in a municipality. The experts also recognized that especially younger people are much more committed to sustainable mobility: it is more in their mindset to think about it. The social perspective of sustainability is important in debates about urban mobility planning in The Netherlands too, according to the experts: *“this usually is an important pillar, especially within public transport issues”* (Jurgen de Haan). One can appoint this as a normative institution.

Stakeholder involvement in The Netherlands

The question is to what extent the findings in the previous sections of the case Utrecht are representative for the rest of the Netherlands and what the underlying determinants are. The below discusses this. Furthermore, box 7.3 discusses stakeholder involvement in the local urban mobility plan of Nieuwegein, to show stakeholder involvement practices in another municipality in The Netherlands.

Governmental stakeholder involvement in The Netherlands

Experts from both Goudappel Coffeng and KpVV (knowledge platform on traffic and transport) state that Dutch municipalities in general coordinate their urban mobility policies inside their own municipal organization well. According to Jurgen de Haan *“In terms of coordination, Dutch municipalities make use of the ‘kantelorganisatie’ (overturned organization), in which issues are more often tackled on a project basis. Some municipalities do this more often than other municipalities”*. This overturned organization means that municipalities no longer work in different departments, but more for an organization which is well-understandable and has a recognizable perspective for companies and inhabitants. As a result, departments within municipalities work much more on a project basis (Breeman et al., 2008). However, it should be mentioned that there are differences between the municipalities. According to the experts, bigger municipalities in terms of inhabitants, do this better in general due to the importance of a more sustainable transport system in their cities. Furthermore, the characteristics of the city council and the type of civil servants working for the municipalities are also important.

In terms of coordination with higher governments, municipalities only coordinate their policies with provinces and the national level when needed from their perspective. According to Jurgen de Haan, money often plays a role in this: higher governments are only involved when money is at stake. Nevertheless, provinces and the urban regions do have a coordinating role in The Netherlands. As mentioned earlier, the role of urban regions is probably going to change in the coming years.

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement in The Netherlands

According to the experts, most Dutch municipalities recognize the need to involve non-governmental stakeholders in policy making, although the implementation of this in practice is different within the different municipalities. Similar to employees from the municipality Utrecht (section 7.2 and 7.3) and the experiences of the municipality of Nieuwegein (box 7.3), the experts recognize the issue of involving stakeholders at a strategic level of policy making. According to Jurgen de Haan: *“It is immensely difficult. Municipalities often have a lack of experience and methods. Everyone is searching for a way to do this”*. According to the experts, social media can possibly play an important role in this. This however makes clear that there is a clear need for knowledge and methods from the perspective of municipalities how to tackle this.

Currently, according to Ron Bos (expert Goudappel Coffeng), ‘the usual suspects’ often take part in urban mobility planning processes. Examples include, according to him, the cycle union,

environmental groups, business associations etc. According to him, Dutch planning culture plays an important role in involving stakeholders in urban mobility planning in The Netherlands: the strong presence of the cycle union and environmental groups grew historically. Reasons identified by the experts for municipalities to involve external stakeholders in strategic urban mobility planning, were the withdrawing government and the awareness that the government cannot do it on their own any more: according to the experts, external stakeholders (especially companies) are able to contribute innovative ideas to transport policies. It is therefore important to involve them. The following quote illustrates this statement: *“Companies increasingly take their responsibility and think at the same time more in opportunities than problems”* (Jurgen de Haan). Furthermore, the Dutch culture is known because of its ‘polder model’: The Netherlands have a long tradition of consultation and consensus building between governmental bodies and private stakeholders (Breeman et al., 2008).

According to the experts, another reason for the increasing importance of external stakeholders relate to the critical citizen in The Netherlands who wants to have a voice in policy making, next to the official way of voting and formal consultation. It was striking that the non-governmental stakeholders in The Netherlands were also keen on influencing policy making. This relates to the amount of trust citizens have in their political and administration system. Voter turn-out for the municipal elections was on average 53,8% for The Netherlands as a whole (De Koster, 2014), which is significantly lower than in Sweden (81,6%). Nevertheless, Dutch citizens still have a relatively high amount of trust in their government: 58% of the Dutch citizens ‘tend to trust’ their local and regional authority, whereas the average for Europe is 43% (Eurobarometer, 2014). Trust in government in general has decreased in the last decade. Although The Netherlands historically is perceived as a ‘high-trust society’, debates are going on whether or not The Netherlands this still is, or is downgraded to a ‘middle-trust society’ (Schnabel, 2010).

Box 7.3: Stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning in Nieuwegein: GMP+

The municipality of Nieuwegein made a new ‘Gemeentelijk Mobiliteits Plan Plus’ (municipal mobility plan plus), in which the plus stands for sustainability. This GMP+ was agreed upon by the city council on 11 December 2013. The municipality wanted to give direction to mobility policies, in which spatial developments and environment are integrated (Gemeente Nieuwegein, 2014). Similar to Utrecht, the municipality of Nieuwegein decided to organize discussion-sessions during the beginning and end of the process in which stakeholders, such as the cycle union, elderly organizations, environmental groups and Chamber of Commerce, were invited. Furthermore, the municipality gave citizens the opportunity to give their opinion and input by means of an ‘e-participation website’ when they felt not represented by one of the stakeholders which took part in the discussing-sessions.

Similar to the civil servants from the municipality Utrecht, Ruud Beijl (project leader GMP+) also recognized the difficulties to involve non-governmental stakeholders. According to him, citizens usually do not have the knowledge, or are not ‘professional’ enough to understand what mobility issues are. Therefore Ruud Beijl stressed the importance of the involvement of interest groups such as the cycle union, because, according to him, these stakeholders often represent an important part of the population. The following statement makes this clear: *“You serve the general interest as a municipality. Therefore the stakeholders or interest groups are particularly useful to involve. They represent part of the population. Furthermore, they are more professional than the average citizen”*. (Ruud Beijl). On the basis of the before, one can conclude that the municipality of Utrecht and Nieuwegein have similar stakeholder involvement practices.

7.5 Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to give empirical insight into the (non-)governmental stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility plans in The Netherlands. In order to achieve this aim, an in-depth analysis of stakeholder involvement of the case-study Utrecht was presented. As a consequence of the approach of this study, the below discussions about stakeholder involvement in The Netherlands are mainly answered from the perspective of the case-study in Utrecht. Utrecht is a forerunner in the country in terms of urban transport planning. However, it can be assumed that other Dutch municipalities eventually follow Utrecht. As a consequence, Utrecht can be typified as an exemplary case-study for the rest of The Netherlands. Nevertheless, section 7.5 provided insight in to what extent the findings in Utrecht were representative for the rest of The Netherlands. Nevertheless, the findings are nuanced by the finding presented in section 7.5 when possible.

Context strategic urban mobility planning in The Netherlands

The requirement to make urban mobility plans play an important role in The Netherlands: Dutch municipalities have the obligation and consequently the incentive to develop a traffic and transport plan. Especially because of the obligation to make these plans, regulative institutions play an important role in strategic urban mobility planning in The Netherlands. Nevertheless, particularly for Utrecht, the strategic urban mobility plan was initiated by the employees of the municipality itself. They felt that there was a need to have a strategic and integrative perspective on urban transport. This also came forward from the societal value attached to the importance of sustainable mobility. From a cultural-cognitive institution, one can state that making urban mobility plans for Dutch municipalities is a conventional way of acting: Dutch municipalities have made urban mobility plans for decades already. Table 7.7 shows a summary.

Table 7.7: Synopsis context urban mobility plans in The Netherlands: institutions

	Regulative institutions	Normative institutions	Cultural-cognitive institutions
Start and realization urban mobility plans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local level: Obligation making traffic and transport plans ('GVVP') Rijkswaterstaat, VNG and knowledge institutions: indicative guidelines urban mobility plans, derived from SUMP-guidelines. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strategic urban mobility plans initiated by civil servants because: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Own initiative - Societal value assigned to sustainable mobility City council firstly was not in favor of plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dutch municipalities have made urban mobility plans for decades already: conventional way of acting
Attention to sustainable mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National government recognizes the importance of sustainable mobility: offer indicative guidelines in terms of content of strategic urban mobility plans: it promotes sustainable mobility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sustainable mobility is seen in the broadest meaning of the word: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attractive and healthy city Economical and social reasons: everyone should have opportunity to move 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dutch respondents connect topics such as 'spatial quality' and 'livability' to sustainable mobility

Source: Own work

The national government, VNG and knowledge institutions offer guidelines in how municipalities can make their transport system more sustainable (table 7.7). Furthermore, in Dutch municipalities 'sustainable mobility' is used in the broadest meaning of the word: next to ecological sustainability, many respondents referred to the notion that a city should be attractive and healthy. Additionally, an important social goal is to make sure that everyone has the opportunity to move. Therefore one can conclude from a normative perspective that ecological sustainability is not the only determinant for the sustainability of the plan. The former can also be explained because of cultural-cognitive reasons: whereas sustainability in Dutch culture and history, concepts such as 'spatial quality' and 'livability' are also always part when it comes to urban planning. The former sketched out the context in which stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility plans in The Netherlands takes place.

Governmental stakeholder involvement practices in The Netherlands

The most important finding was that in the case of the strategic urban mobility plan of Utrecht there was a strong collaboration between the department of traffic and urban design. The other departments were involved, but to a lesser extent. Higher governments and surrounding

municipalities were involved during the roundtable discussions in the beginning of the process; however they were not involved during the further development of UAB. The respondents from the municipality all saw the benefits of governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility plans: both ‘process as a means’ and ‘process as a goal’ received a relatively high grade. The motivation of the answers on the statements respondents supported this too. Table 7.8 shows a summary of the findings.

Horizontal coordination

The three different institutions play a role in the horizontal policy coordination practices. From a regulative perspective, the Dutch national law on traffic and transport state that policy coordination is important. Furthermore, Dutch municipalities often use the overturned organization (‘kantelorganisatie’) in which municipalities work more on a project basis. Normatively, employees of municipalities perceive it as important to have coordinated policy making: this leads to better outcomes and creates synergy between the different policy sectors according to the respondents. From the point of view of cultural-cognitive institutions, it can be concluded that policy coordination is already a routine and part of the culture in Dutch municipalities to perform.

Table 7.8: Synopsis governmental stakeholder involvement practices in The Netherlands

	Regulative	Normative	Cultural-cognitive
Horizontal coordination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation of higher governments at the end of the process is obligatory by law: ‘inspraaktraject’ • Overturned organization (‘kantelorganisatie’) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brainstorming and consultation by workshops during begin of process: civil servants perceive it important involving other departments. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal coordination: conventional way of acting • Integrated policy making: no routine yet
Vertical coordination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation of higher governments at the end of the process is obligatory by law: ‘inspraaktraject’ • Province has coordinating role: possibility to enforce by indication • BRU: urban region has coordinating role 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brainstorming and consultation during beginning of the process: civil servants perceive it important to involve the higher governments • Conflicting interests ensure field of tension whether or not involving governmental stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three tiered transport planning system: part of mindset civil servants

Source: Own work

Vertical coordination

Similar institutions can be appointed for the governmental stakeholder involvement practices of higher governments and surrounding municipalities (vertical coordination) in Dutch urban mobility plans as for the horizontal coordination of policies (table 7.8). However, there are differences and additionally, the positions of some regional governmental bodies are worth mentioning. Although the respondents see the need to involve governmental stakeholders, they also mentioned that the conflicting interests ensure a field of tension. In this, it is important to balance between the amount of involvement and particularly which moments to involve them. Furthermore, the respondents in Utrecht all referred to the three-tiered system of transport planning in The Netherlands: every governmental body makes their own traffic and transport plan and has their own responsibilities. As a consequence of this, the civil servants were well aware of when and how higher governments had a stake in urban mobility planning in Utrecht and when they should be involved. Based on this, one can conclude that vertical coordination of policies at least partly is a routine. The position of the urban region (‘BRU’ in the case of Utrecht) is important to mention in this context. As a coordinating governmental body, they are involved in the urban transport planning of Utrecht. In the rest of The Netherlands, the bigger cities have similar urban regions. However, there are debates going on about reforming these urban regions. Next to these urban regions, the provinces also have a coordinating role in transport planning in The Netherlands. When needed, it is possible for them to enforce policy measures by ‘indication’ (table 7.8).

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in The Netherlands

Dutch municipalities often make use of stakeholder involvement during the beginning of their policy process of their strategic urban mobility plan next to the formal consultation at the end of the

process. Most respondents from the municipality were in general positive about the involvement of non-governmental stakeholders, although the respondents had some critical notes too. The positive attitude towards non-governmental stakeholder involvement also came forward in the statements concerning ‘process as a goal’ and ‘process as a means’. The respondents perceived the involvement of external stakeholders as quite high. The governmental respondents especially were positive about ‘process as a means’ which means that they do see the involvement of external stakeholders as a way to receive input for their policy making. In terms of ‘process as a goal’, this received a lower average grade, respondents were especially critical towards the possibility to strive to consensus and the amount of time the involvement of non-governmental stakeholder involvement in general takes.

Table 7.9: Synopsis non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in The Netherlands

Regulative institutions	Normative institutions	Cultural-cognitive institutions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation external stakeholders at end of process obligatory by law: ‘inspraaktraject’ • VNG/Rijkswaterstaat guidelines: non-governmental stakeholder involvement is important • ‘Participatieladder Utrecht’ (Participation framework) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The awareness to involve stakeholders is there. • Strategic level of policy-making • Importance attached input non-governmental stakeholders due to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - changing role government - external stakeholders do ask it (attention in the societal debate) • Many differences involvement different groups • Importance attached to the opinions of experts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decreasing amount of trust in the government: critical stakeholders • The Dutch ‘poldermodel’ • Limited knowledge and methods

Source: own work

It stood out that different stakeholder groups in The Netherlands have different levels of involvement in strategic urban mobility planning due to, for example, their connection within the city council. Furthermore, the awareness of the municipality that they cannot make policies on their own any more, in the context of urban mobility planning, is also shown by the fact that the municipality of Utrecht organized two expert roundtable meetings in which experts in the field of urban transport planning were invited to think about the future of urban transport in Utrecht: the municipality attached importance to the opinions of these experts.

Different reasons from an institutional perspective can be recognized in the stakeholder involvement practices in The Netherlands (table 7.9). First of all, the consultation of external stakeholders at the end of the policy process is obligatory to perform. Furthermore, the municipality of Utrecht makes use of the ‘Participatieladder’ (Participation framework) which gives guidelines on what type of involvement is most appropriate in what type of projects. Secondly, there is broad awareness of the need to involve external stakeholders: employees of the municipality think it is desirable and correct to involve non-governmental stakeholders. Important elements mentioned are the changing role of the government in which municipalities have to perform their activities with less money. Furthermore, governments cannot solve current difficult issues on their own anymore. Consequently, the government needs to seek the support of external stakeholders (table 7.9). However, Dutch respondents also put forward the problem of the strategic level of policy-making which is a problem for many less professional stakeholders such as citizen groups. Cultural-cognitive institutions also play a role. First of all, the trust of external stakeholders in the governmental system has decreased. The non-governmental interviewees made clear that they were critical of the government and felt the need to contribute to policy-making. As a result, Dutch municipalities have incentives to use external stakeholders in their policy process. At the same time, Dutch municipalities are struggling with ways to involve stakeholders on such an abstract policy level: many employees from the municipality state that there is sometimes limited knowledge and methods of some employees of the municipalities. Consequently, project leaders deal differently with the question whether or not and how to involve external stakeholders in their strategic urban mobility policy processes (table 7.9). Another important institution influencing Dutch non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices is the Dutch history of ‘polderen’: The Netherlands has a long tradition of consultation and consensus building between governmental bodies and private stakeholders.

8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This last section discusses the conclusions, recommendations and reflection of this study. This chapter first gives answers to the three empirical sub questions as formulated in sections 1.3 and 4.1. The theoretical sub questions are already answered in chapter two and three. Based on these answers, it is possible to give an answer to the central question of this research (section 8.2). Then section 8.3 gives policy recommendations for the Swedish and Dutch situation on stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility planning. The chapter ends with concluding (8.4). This chapter makes use of tables in which the main similarities and differences are summarized. Differences between the Swedish and Dutch situation are shown in bold.

8.1 Answers on the empirical sub questions

What contextual differences and similarities do exist concerning stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility plans between Sweden and The Netherlands and which institutions play a role in this?

The contexts of the strategic urban mobility plans in Sweden and The Netherlands corresponds for a large part to each other, except for one major element (table 8.1 and 8.2): Dutch municipalities have an obligation to make an urban mobility plan by law whereas this is not the case in Sweden. However, there are guidelines to make urban mobility plans in Sweden instead, but due to absence of a planning obligation the incentive to make one is less strict. Nevertheless, most municipalities in Sweden still make a strategic urban mobility plan. However, differences exist between municipalities: many small municipalities do not develop strategic urban mobility plans whereas the bigger municipalities in general make strategic urban mobility plans.

In terms of similarities, both countries have guidelines on strategic urban mobility plans and sustainable mobility on a national level and from other organizations. Furthermore, from a normative perspective, in both cases the initiative of making an urban mobility plan was from the civil servants of the municipalities. In addition, it was an important topic in society and sustainable mobility was perceived in the broadest meaning of the word: despite nuanced differences in the explanation of the concept, all respondents saw the concept of sustainable mobility broader than the ecological explanation (i.e. reduce CO² emissions and air pollution). Based on the before, one can conclude that the normative institutions (norms and values) are quite similar in Sweden and the Netherlands (tables 8.1 and 8.2). All in all, the Swedish and Dutch contexts in strategic urban mobility plans are to a large extent similar.

Table 8.1: Synopsis context urban mobility plans in Sweden: institutions

	Regulative institutions	Normative institutions	Cultural-cognitive institutions
Start and realization urban mobility plans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No laws concerning plan obligation urban mobility plans • SKL: indicative guidelines content and process of strategic urban mobility plans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic urban mobility plans initiated by civil servants because: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - own initiative - societal value assigned to sustainable mobility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bigger municipalities develop strategic urban mobility plans: for them conventional way of acting. Not all small municipalities develop them.
Attention to sustainable mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National government recognizes importance sustainable mobility • SKL: indicative guidelines content strategic urban mobility plans: promoting sustainable mobility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable mobility is seen from economic, social and ecological perspective Every aspect needs attention: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ecological: more attractive public space and less pollution - economical and social: take away socio-economic and gender contradictions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swedish people have strong connection with nature historically. Resulting in importance to sustainable mobility

Source: Own work

Table 8.2: Synopsis context urban mobility plans The Netherlands: institutions

	Regulative institutions	Normative institutions	Cultural-cognitive institutions
Start and realization urban mobility plans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local level: Obligation making traffic and transport plans ('GVVP') • Rijkswaterstaat, VNG and knowledge institutions: indicative guidelines urban mobility plans, derived from SUMP-guidelines 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic urban mobility plans initiated by civil servants because: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Own initiative - Societal value assigned to sustainable mobility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dutch municipalities make urban mobility plans for decades already: conventional way of acting
Attention to sustainable mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National government recognizes the importance of sustainable mobility • Rijkswaterstaat, VNG and knowledge institutions offer indicative guidelines in terms of content of strategic urban mobility plans: it promotes sustainable mobility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable mobility is seen in the broadest meaning of the word: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attractive and healthy city - Economical and social reasons: everyone should have opportunity to move 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dutch respondents connect topics such as 'spatial quality' and 'livability' to sustainable mobility.

Source: Own work

Which differences and similarities exist in current governmental stakeholder involvement practices in strategic urban mobility plans between Sweden and The Netherlands and which institutions play a role in this?

Governmental stakeholder involvement practices in Sweden and The Netherlands are to a large extent similar, although some differences exist. The outcomes are summarized in tables 8.3 and 8.4. First of all, both countries have a formal consultation period at the end of a policy process when stakeholders can give an answer to the policy proposals. Secondly, in both countries the traffic departments usually have meetings with other departments at the beginning of the policy process when developing a strategic urban mobility plan. In other words, horizontal coordination usually takes place in both countries at the beginning of the process already. For vertical policy coordination similar practices are found in both countries: higher governments and surrounding municipalities are involved during the relevant policy issues. However, in both countries it is believed that this form of involvement takes a lot of time and is not always efficient. As a result, the respondents recognize a field of tension whether or not to involve other governmental stakeholders (table 8.3 and 8.4).

There are also differences between governmental stakeholder involvement practices between Sweden and The Netherlands (table 8.3 and 8.4). First of all, Dutch municipalities often work with a so called 'overturned organization' in which municipalities work on a project basis, with employees from different departments, whereas Swedish municipalities often use the traditional department approach. Secondly, the regional level in Sweden does not have a formal mandate in transport planning whereas the Dutch regional level (provinces and urban regions) have a formal mandate: they can intervene in policy measures when it comes to transport issues. In Sweden, this is perceived as a problem: the regional level should have a more coordinating role. In The Netherlands, one is aware of the implications of the three tiered planning system and as a result, governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning is carefully weighed. In Sweden current vertical coordination practices with the regional level are more informal: there is involvement of other governments in developing local urban mobility plans but the regional level does not have a formal mandate to block developments. The Swedish national level Trafikverket, responsible for transport planning on the national level, partly has the role the regional level has in The Netherlands. From a cultural-cognitive perspective the stronger position of the region in The Netherlands, or the three-tiered of transport planning in general, is part of the routine and culture of Dutch employees of municipalities whereas in Sweden there was historically no need for coordination by a regional government since Sweden is much less densely populated.

Table 8.3: Synopsis governmental stakeholder involvement practices in Sweden

	Regulative institutions	Normative institutions	Cultural-cognitive institutions
Horizontal coordination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation other departments at end of process is obligatory by law: samrådshandling. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brainstorming and consultation during begin process: civil servants perceive it important involving other departments. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal coordination has been done in Malmö for a long time: routine and conventional ways of acting • Integrated policy making no routine yet
Vertical coordination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation of higher governments at end of process is obligatory by law: samrådshandling • Weak formal mandate regional governmental body on mobility planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brainstorming and consultation during beginning process: civil servants perceive it important involving higher governments • Vertical coordination takes a lot of time • Shared feeling by civil servants and experts that region should have more coordinating role. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No routine or conventional way of acting yet, except for formal consultation. • Historically, coordinating regional government not needed in Sweden.

Source: Own work

Table 8.4: Synopsis governmental stakeholder involvement practices in The Netherlands

	Regulative institutions	Normative institutions	Cultural-cognitive institutions
Horizontal coordination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation of higher governments at the end of the process is obligatory by law: 'inspraaktraject' • Overtured organization ('kantelorganisatie') 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brainstorming and consultation by workshops during beginning of process: civil servants perceive it important involving other departments. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal coordination: conventional way of acting • Integrated policy making: no routine yet
Vertical coordination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation of higher governments at the end of the process is obligatory by law: 'inspraaktraject' • Province has coordinating role: possibility to enforce by indication • BRU: urban region has coordinating role 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brainstorming and consultation during begin of the process: civil servants perceive it important to involve the higher governments • Conflicting interests ensure field of tension whether or not involving governmental stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three tiered transport planning system: part of mindset civil servants

Source: Own work

All in all, governmental stakeholder involvement practices between Sweden and the Netherlands are to a large extent similar, except for two main issues. Firstly, the municipal organization which is traditional in Sweden whereas The Netherlands uses the 'overtured organization'. Secondly, the position of the regional level in Sweden is different from the Netherlands: the Swedish regional mandate does not have a formal mandate whereas the Dutch situation has.

Which differences and similarities exist in current non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in strategic urban mobility plans between Sweden and The Netherlands and which institutions play a role in this?

The level of external stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility policy processes is different between Sweden and The Netherlands: Dutch municipalities involve non-governmental stakeholders more and earlier in the policy process than Swedish municipalities (table 8.5 and 8.6). The practices between Sweden and The Netherlands differ on many aspects due to regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive institutions. From a normative perspective, Sweden attaches less importance to the involvement of external stakeholders than The Netherlands. Reasons for this are first of all the difficulty of external stakeholders to think on a strategic level of policy making. Secondly an important reason is that Swedish non-governmental stakeholders simply do not ask for it. This relates to two cultural-cognitive institutional explanations. Swedish citizens and stakeholders have a large amount of trust in their government system. Furthermore, Swedish people are inclined to the cultural notion of 'quiet acceptance': people in general approve urban mobility policies in Sweden.

This is contrary to the Dutch situation. In The Netherlands the government explicitly puts itself in another role: facilitating instead of regulating. External stakeholders are more critical and expect to be involved in policy making. The former makes clear that different norms and values play a role in Sweden and The Netherlands when it comes to strategic urban mobility planning. Important aspects in the Dutch context from a cultural-cognitive aspect are the decreasing amount of trust in The Netherlands: citizens, and consequently stakeholders became more critical to the Dutch governmental system in the last decade. Furthermore, a collaboration between private and public actors, the ‘poldermodel’, is common in the The Netherlands (table 8.6). The higher awareness of the importance of stakeholder involvement also comes forward in the specific case of Utrecht: the municipality uses the so called ‘participation framework’ which provides guidelines on what type of involvement project leaders should use in projects.

Table 8.5: Synopsis non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in Sweden

Regulative institutions	Normative institutions	Cultural-cognitive institutions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation external stakeholders end of process is obligatory by law: ‘samrådshandling’. • Formalized survey citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness to involve stakeholders: some extent • Limited importance attached to input of non-governmental stakeholders due to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - strategic level of policy-making - external stakeholders do not ask it • Importance attached to representative input from citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quiet acceptance: Swedish culture • Large amount of trust in government • Non-governmental stakeholder involvement is no conventional way of acting or routine: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - limited knowledge and methods

Source: Own work

Table 8.6: Synopsis non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in The Netherlands

Regulative institutions	Normative institutions	Cultural-cognitive institutions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation external stakeholders at end of process obligatory by law: ‘inspraaktraject’ • ‘Participatieladder’ (Participation framework) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness to involve stakeholders is there. • Strategic level of policy-making • Importance attached input non-governmental stakeholders due to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - changing role government -external stakeholders do ask it (attention in the societal debate) • Much difference involvement different groups • Importance attached to the opinions of experts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decreasing amount of trust in the government: critical stakeholders • The Dutch ‘polder model’ • Limited knowledge and methods

Source: own work

Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that Swedish municipalities have the awareness to involve non-governmental stakeholders to some extent. They see this more in getting representative input from citizens in terms of surveys instead of involving different organizations, as is the case in The Netherlands. The municipality of Malmö for example sets out a survey among their citizens about amongst others urban transport planning of which 40% was the response rate. The Dutch situation is different; diverse citizen groups are involved during the policy process (such as neighborhood councils, cycle unions and citizen initiatives). These different groups all have variable levels of involvement during the urban mobility policy process (table 8.5 and 8.6).

However, there are also some similarities: from a regulative perspective, both countries have formal consultation at the end of their policy process. Next to that, municipalities in both countries struggle with the strategic level of strategic urban mobility planning. According to employees from municipalities non-governmental stakeholders often find it difficult to think on a strategic level. This is often perceived as a difficulty and as a consequence municipalities are hesitant to involve external stakeholders. Furthermore, and related to the former, both municipalities recognize that the involvement of external stakeholders is difficult: respondents indicate that they have limited knowledge and methods to involve external stakeholders. All in all, the levels of non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices differ between Sweden and The Netherlands: Dutch municipalities involve more and earlier non-governmental stakeholders than Swedish municipalities.

8.2 Conclusion

The central aim of this research was to give insight in the governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement in the realization of strategic urban mobility plans with respect to current theoretical insights in two different countries, namely Sweden and the Netherlands, and give recommendations on how the countries can improve their policy making on this topic. In each country one case-study was chosen: these case-studies can be typified as forerunners in strategic urban mobility planning in their country: other municipalities will therefore probably follow up these practices in the coming years. Therefore, these case-studies are exemplifying for both Sweden and The Netherlands. The central question of this research was:

To what extent do strategic urban mobility plans in two national contexts, Swedish and Dutch, differ on the current theoretical insights in terms of governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement from a new institutional perspective?

Based on the answers of the above three empirical research questions one can conclude that **non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices** in strategic urban mobility planning between Sweden and The Netherlands **differ to a large extent**, whereas **governmental stakeholder involvement practices** in strategic urban mobility plans **are similar for a large part**.

Dutch municipalities involve **non-governmental stakeholders** more and earlier in the process than municipalities in Sweden. Additionally, Dutch municipalities are also more aware of the benefits and moreover, see more the need to involve non-governmental stakeholders in strategic urban mobility planning because of the changing role of the government, and the fact that stakeholders ask for it. Swedish municipalities on the other hand are aware of the importance to involve non-governmental stakeholders, however there is less importance attached to their input. As a result, Swedish municipalities merely involve non-governmental stakeholders during the process of formal consultation and involve citizens in online surveys to ask their opinion about mobility issues, such as how they perceive public space in inner cities. Important reasons for this are mainly normative and cultural-cognitive. Swedish people have relatively a large amount of trust in their government: non-governmental stakeholders do not ask to be involved in strategic urban mobility planning as stakeholders in The Netherlands do. These empirical findings are in contrast with the literature of Granberg & Elander (2007) and Smedby & Neij (2013) who stated that Sweden has well-working participatory planning practices in urban sustainability, as mentioned in section 1.2 and 4.2. Two explanations for these different outcomes can be given. First of all, Granberg & Elander (2007) and Smedby & Neij (2013) aimed on (re)developing real estate planning practices whereas this research focuses on urban transport planning. Secondly, Swedish respondents in this research particularly indicated that the strategic level of policy making was a limitation to involve non-governmental stakeholders and decreased the willingness of external stakeholders to participate in policy making even more. The cases of the other two studies were less strategic. Consequently, this research took place in a different context which probably is the main cause of the different findings.

For **governmental stakeholder involvement** practices, this research showed that municipalities in both countries are aware of the need and moreover do involve relevant governmental stakeholders, especially in terms of horizontal coordination. The municipalities strive for integrated policy making and see the benefits of involving other departments. Dutch municipalities often make use of the 'overturned organization', although this did not directly result in improved policy making. In the case of vertical coordination, the same applies, although both countries struggle with optimal working and efficient ways of involving them. Particularly different is the position of the region: whereas the Swedish regional government body does not have a formal mandate on transport planning, the Dutch regional government body on the other hand does have this. According to the literature (Busck

et al., 2008; Spit & Zoete, 2009), the Netherlands is known for its integrative character (section 1.2 and 4.2). Therefore the findings of this study are in accordance with this for the Netherlands. However, the Swedish situation also shows an integrative character of policy making. Although Busck et al. (2008) stated that the Swedish government mainly uses sector policies (section 1.2 and 4.2), this research was mainly directed at higher governments, whereas this thesis analyzed municipalities. This difference can therefore explain the different conclusions.

Although most employees within municipalities recognized the added values of stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility planning they also had some critical notes. Especially the strategic level of policy making, the time it takes and a lack of knowledge and methods were mentioned during the interviews. As a consequence, the added values of stakeholder involvement as mentioned in section 3.2.2 (based on scholars such as Healey, 1997; Asselt & Rijkens-Klomp, 2002; Peters, 2005; Stead, 2008) were recognized as the added values, although the empirical research showed that stakeholder involvement in practice does not per definition offer an added value.

The answers on the sub questions also made clear that the interaction of three different institutions have recognizable influences on both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement practices in strategic urban mobility planning in Sweden and The Netherlands. Regulative institutions give directives to civil servants of municipalities how to perform their stakeholder involvement practices. The missing mandate of the regional level on transport planning in Sweden makes clear that regulative institutions are important for governmental stakeholder involvement whereas the participation framework in Utrecht, The Netherlands, makes clear that regulative institutions are useful for non-governmental stakeholder involvement. However, whereas regulative institutions determine the framework in which municipalities are able to move and give incentives on how to perform stakeholder involvement practices, this research made also clear that normative and cultural-cognitive institutions are at least equally important in comparison to these regulative institutions (i.e. laws & guidelines). The importance attached to both governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement within the municipal organization and society determines the incentives for municipalities what level, when and in what way their governmental and non-governmental stakeholder involvement should take place. In other words, when non-governmental stakeholders do ask for involvement in urban transport policy making, this results in a stimulus for municipalities to perform this. Furthermore, from a cultural-cognitive, perspective routine, conventional ways of acting and cultural elements play an important role in stakeholder involvement practices. This research showed that employees of the municipality use routines and good practices in their urban mobility policy making when it comes to stakeholder involvement. The 'mindset' of employees of the municipality concerning stakeholder involvement determines how they perform stakeholder involvement.

The methodological framework of the new institutional approach (Scott, 2001) therefore proved worthwhile: the three different institutions form a well-functioning method to analyze differences and similarities in this research area. All in all, the combination of an analysis of the formal, regulative institutions and the more 'soft' normative and cultural-cognitive institutions produced a good analysis of important elements, factors and causes in this research.

8.3 Policy recommendations

The below discusses recommendations for (managers of) urban mobility departments of Swedish and Dutch municipalities in order to improve their stakeholder involvement practices in strategic urban mobility planning. These recommendations are derived from the conclusions. This section is structured as follows: first, general directions for solutions or improvements of stakeholder involvement practices are given. Although these recommendations are in the first place mentioned for municipalities in Sweden and The Netherlands, they are also useful for other European countries. Subsequently specific recommendations for Sweden (section 8.3.2) and the Netherlands (section 8.3.3) are formulated.

8.3.1 General recommendations

The below first gives recommendations on governmental stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility plans, and subsequently discusses recommendations for non-governmental stakeholder involvement.

Recommendations for governmental stakeholder involvement

Horizontal coordination: Rethink the municipal organization

First of all, it is important to think about different forms of municipal organization such as ‘inter-sectoral programs’ or ‘budgeting arrangements’ instead of the traditional municipal organization. Although departments within Swedish and Dutch municipalities already internally agree their policies, many municipalities mostly work from a sectoral and departmental perspective. Further research is needed to analyze which form of organization is most efficient in which country. It must be noted that some Dutch municipalities already make use of a more innovative municipal organization.

Vertical coordination: Develop standardized ways of meeting and communicating between different governments

Secondly, municipalities should establish fixed moments of discussions and consultation in the regional coordination of strategic urban mobility planning in order to improve vertical policy coordination. This research showed that standardized ways of meeting and communicating between different governments work quite well: Trafikverket meets some bigger municipalities in Sweden at least once a month on a regular basis. This improves integrated policy making and vertical coordination.

Recommendations for non-governmental stakeholder involvement

Develop methods to use input of non-governmental stakeholders on the strategic level of urban transport planning in an early stage

As has been concluded, many employees of the Swedish and Dutch municipalities indicate that it is difficult to use the input of non-governmental stakeholders during strategic urban mobility planning in an early stage. It is therefore important to develop tools and methods to facilitate this: in this, it is important to *a) manage expectations* and *b) offer a framework* in which the non-governmental stakeholders can give their input. This framework should offer structure: one can, for example, think of discussing the main issues in mobility of the municipality (such as road safety, public transport, sustainable mobility, bicycles and main road structure). Possible settings are the aforementioned roundtable meetings, but also co-creating sessions or ‘envisioning’ workshops.

Make employees more aware of added value of non-governmental stakeholder involvement and consciously change routines: teach them to have confidence in ‘the uncertainty’.

It is important to make employees of municipalities more aware of the added values of non-governmental stakeholder involvement in order to make more use of the knowledge and input to

achieve a more sustainable transport and mobility system. It is important to be aware of the fact that changes in policymaking practices take time: people in general make use of routines. It is therefore important to often repeat the added values of non-governmental stakeholder involvement in strategic urban mobility planning and teach civil servants to trust non-governmental stakeholders and to get rid of traditional frameworks; to have confidence in the uncertainty of non-governmental stakeholder involvement.

8.3.2 Recommendations for Sweden

Governmental stakeholder involvement: Evaluate the position of the regional governmental authority (län) in terms of the mandate on transport planning¹

This study made clear that the position of the region concerning transport planning is a much debated topic among governmental employees and experts in Sweden. The position of the regional governmental authority concerning transport planning should therefore be evaluated in order to exactly determine whether or not this really is a problem in the Swedish regulative institutional framework. Further research is needed to do an in-depth analysis on this aspect. The Dutch situation possibly gives ideas about an alternative way of governmental organization.

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement: develop a standardized participation framework.

Swedish municipalities should develop a standardized participation framework, adapted to the local context, in order to support and give points of references to employees of the urban mobility departments of Swedish municipalities. This way, employees of Swedish municipalities have a tool in which they can assess whether or not to involve non-governmental stakeholders, and moreover when and how in the policy process, these stakeholders should be consulted. The participation framework used in Utrecht can be an example: the municipality distinguishes four possibilities: 1) Inform, 2) Consult, 3) Give advice and 4) Co-create. Depending on characteristics of the policy process, one of these four options should be chosen.

8.3.2 Recommendations for The Netherlands

Governmental stakeholder involvement: Evaluate the role of the WGR+-regions and analyze which governmental layer can take over this role in the most efficient way²

This research showed that the urban region, 'the WGR+-region', is useful in the case of Utrecht. However, the Dutch government wants to abolish the 'WGR+-regions' governmental layer per 1 January 2015. An evaluation and assessment is needed on which governmental layer (for example the province or an informal collaboration) most efficiently can take over the 'regional transport planning' role per current urban region in the Netherlands in order to ensure efficient policy coordination.

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement: develop a formalized (online) survey to get representative input

Dutch municipalities should set up a formalized big (online) survey concerning urban mobility issues (for example on whether or not the city center should be car-free or not) in order to get representative input from all citizens. This is an added value to other external stakeholder involvement processes. The survey in Malmö, or similar surveys of other municipalities in Sweden, can serve as an example, especially when it comes to making the response rate as high as possible.

¹ This recommendation is beyond the capability of managers of urban transport departments. This recommendation is therefore directed to the Swedish national government.

² As with the Swedish recommendation concerning governmental stakeholder involvement, this recommendation is beyond the capability of managers of urban transport departments of municipalities. This recommendation is therefore directed to the Dutch national government.

8.4 Final remarks

Comparisons between planning systems and -cultures are widely debated scientific topics: cross-national comparative research of urban and regional planning practices has been conducted by many scholars in recent years, especially between European countries (e.g. Larsson, 2006; Healey & Upton, 2010; Getimis, 2012). Scholars map out different planning systems and try to find good practices. With the increasing role the European Union plays in urban and regional planning (the SUMP-guidelines are an example), it is important and valuable to examine and analyze urban planning practices in different countries in Europe. However, at the same time, it is important to be aware of the constraints and barriers of cross-national comparative research. Culture- and language differences simply result in practical difficulties during the execution of research. It is more difficult to form a complete image of social reality in a country the researcher himself does not live due to these constraints. Furthermore, the embeddedness of planning practices within the local culture results in the fact that it is not possible to copy planning practices one on one in another country, which per definition has another (legal) context. Although cross-national comparative research is difficult to make operational and carry out due to these practical reasons, it really offers fruitful insights into the urban planning practices of the different European member states. It enables thinking outside the local legal framework and ensures possibilities to share knowledge. It prevents tunnel vision and stimulates innovation. Therefore, cross-country comparative research offers an added value to urban and regional planning research.

The former mentioned knowledge sharing also relates to another main element of this thesis, namely non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban (transport) planning. Scholars such as Healey (1997; 2003) and Rydin (2007) stress the importance of participation within urban planning policy processes. Furthermore, many municipalities mention the changing role of the government in which the municipality should facilitate instead of regulate. Especially within the Netherlands, participation and the involvement of stakeholders is a popular subject. The embodiment of this is the speech that the Dutch king gave about the 'participation society' last year (2013). Participation, therefore, is currently a widely debated topic in both sciences as well as society. As a consequence, municipalities increasingly want to carry out participation when developing their policies, whether or not due to societal pressure. Participation is often seen as the solution for current budget cuts of municipalities and the withdrawing government in general. However, there is a danger in this: municipalities should not involve stakeholders without any assessment concerning the question of whether or not the involvement of stakeholders *really* results in an added value. Although theoretically, most scholars perceive non-governmental stakeholder involvement positively, this research also shows that practice sometimes proves differently. The involvement of actors can possibly result in large delays of the policy process whereas at the same time these actors are not satisfied with how the process went. Furthermore, it is the question if it is necessary to carry out non-governmental stakeholder involvement when a society does not ask for it, as the case in Sweden shows. In that case, what is the added value of stakeholder involvement? These empirical results nuance the theoretical added value of stakeholder involvement: in practice it does not always have an added value. Or in other words, participation of stakeholders in policy processes is no panacea.

All in all, although stakeholder involvement can be useful in urban planning policy making, it is important not to overshoot the aim of stakeholder involvement and to strive for the participation of stakeholders without any prepared framework. Instead, when municipalities are developing policies, they first should assess whether or not participation is needed per policy process and if that is the case, the process should be carefully prepared within a well-functioning framework adapted to the local context. This way, non-governmental stakeholder involvement can *really* offer an added value to strategic urban mobility planning, even when a local context is characterized by 'quiet acceptance', the 'polder model' or another local situation.

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APPENDIX I: Schemes of Analysis A-E

Scheme of analysis part A: Context of urban mobility policy-making

Step 1: Determine context of urban mobility policy making	Step 2: Determine the influence of institutions	
Important topics: - Political attention to the plan - Start of the process (timing) - Previous plans - Motivation of making the plan - Geographical context - Preferred end-view of the plan - Attention to sustainability - Focus on people or cars - Visioning on cities or forecasting traffic?	Regulative: - Laws - Guidelines	Indicators: - National laws concerning urban mobility plans - (EU/national/regional) guidelines urban mobility plans - Ways of financing - etc.
	Normative: - Norms and values - What is desirable, advisable and correct	Indicators: - Societal value assigned to sustainable mobility - Attention in the societal debate - Political environment municipality - etc.
	Cultural-cognitive: - Culture - Routine - Conventional way of acting - Frame of reference	Indicators: - Crusted ways of policy making - 'That's how we always do it' - Reoccurring phenomena of policy-making - etc.

Scheme of analysis part B: Who is involved?

Step 1: Determining stakeholder involvement practices	Step 2: Determine the influence of institutions	
Governmental: - Civil servants other departments than the traffic one - Civil servants surrounded municipalities - Civil servants higher layers of government	Regulative: - Laws - Guidelines	Indicators: - National laws concerning coordination in urban mobility plans - (EU/national/regional) guidelines urban mobility plans - Ways of financing - National performance system - etc.
	Normative: - Norms and values - What is desirable, advisable and correct	Indicators: - Social value assigned to sustainable mobility - Attention in the societal debate - Nepotism - Importance attached to the input of other governmental stakeholders - etc.
	Cultural-cognitive: - Culture - Routine - Conventional way of acting - Frame of reference	Indicators: - Crusted ways of coordination - Good practices - Trust by stakeholders in the governmental system - "That's how we always do it" - etc.
Non-governmental: - Citizen groups - Environmental groups - Business associations - Public transport companies - Big companies - NGO's/ foundations /organizations (such as 'fietsersbond')	Regulative: - Laws - Guidelines	Indicators: - National laws concerning public consultation - (EU/national/regional) guidelines urban mobility plans - Ways of financing - Participation framework - etc.
	Normative: - Norms and values - What is desirable, advisable and correct	Indicators: - Attention in the societal debate - Nepotism - Importance attached to the input of stakeholders - etc.
	Cultural-cognitive: - Culture - Routine - Conventional way of acting - Frame of reference	Indicators: - Crusted ways of non-governmental stakeholder involvement - Good practices - Trust by stakeholders in the governmental system - "That's how we always do it" - etc.

Scheme of analysis part C: When in the process are which stakeholders involved?

Step 1: Determining stakeholder involvement practices	Step 2: Determine the influence of institutions	
When in the policy process is <i>who</i> involved and what is their level of involvement?		
<p>When:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Start of the process - Thinking along during the process - End of the process <p>In what way:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - working ‘ateliers’ - joint-budgeting - inter-sectoral programs - interdepartmental committees - etc. <p>Level of involvement:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Level of involvement of the different governmental stakeholders (Scale 1-10) 	<p>Regulative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Laws - Guidelines 	<p>Indicators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National laws concerning consultation other governments - (EU/national/regional) guidelines concerning (public) consultation - national performance system - etc.
	<p>Normative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Norms and values - What is desirable, advisable and correct 	<p>Indicators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attention in the societal debate - Nepotism - Importance attached to the input of stakeholders - etc.
	<p>Cultural-cognitive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Culture - Routine - Conventional way of acting - Frame of reference 	<p>Indicators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Crusted ways of policy making - Good practices - Trust by stakeholders in the governmental system - “That’s how we always do it” - etc.
<p>When:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Start of the process - Thinking along during the process - End of the process <p>In what way:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focus groups - Citizens juries - ‘Envisioning’ workshops - Scenario analysis - Consensus conferences - Scientists-stakeholder workshop - etc. <p>Level of involvement:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Level of involvement of different non-governmental stakeholders. (Scale 1-10) 	<p>Regulative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Laws - Guidelines 	<p>Indicators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National laws concerning public consultation - (EU/national/regional) guidelines concerning (public) consultation - etc. - Participation framework
	<p>Normative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Norms and values - What is desirable, advisable and correct 	<p>Indicators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attention in the societal debate - Nepotism - Importance attached to the input of stakeholders - etc.
	<p>Cultural-cognitive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Culture - Routine - Conventional way of acting - Frame of reference 	<p>Indicators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Crusted ways of non-governmental stakeholder involvement - Good practices - Trust by stakeholders in the governmental system - “That’s how we always do it” - etc.

Scheme of analysis part D: Why are these stakeholders involved? Process as a means

Step 1: Determining stakeholder involvement practices	Step 2: Determine the influence of institutions	
Why are these stakeholders involved?		
Governmental: <i>Pro (Scale 1-10)</i> - Promotes consistency - Gives focus to the achieve of government's overall goals - Promotes synergie (win-win situations) <i>Contra (Scale 1-10)</i> - Coordination is not efficient/decisive	Regulative: - Laws - Guidelines	Indicators: - National laws concerning consultation other governments - (EU/national/regional) guidelines concerning (public) consultation - national performance system - etc.
	Normative: - Norms and values - What is desirable, advisable and correct	Indicators: - Attention in the societal debate - Nepotism - Importance attached to the input of stakeholders - etc.
	Cultural-cognitive: - Culture - Routine - Conventional way of acting - Frame of reference	Indicators: - Crusted ways of coordination - Good practices - "That's how we always do it" - etc.
Non-governmental: <i>Pro (Scale 1-10)</i> - Increases innovativeness - increases public acceptability - visibility societal needs - maps out diversity of arguments <i>Contra (Scale 1-10)</i> - Stakeholder involvement does not give useful input	Regulative: - Laws - Guidelines	Indicators: - National laws concerning public consultation - (EU/national/regional) guidelines concerning (public) consultation - etc.
	Normative: - Norms and values - What is desirable, advisable and correct	Indicators: - Attention in the societal debate - Nepotism - Importance attached to the input of stakeholders - etc.
	Cultural-cognitive: - Culture - Routine - Conventional way of acting - Frame of reference	Indicators: - Crusted ways of non-governmental stakeholder involvement - Good practices - Trust by stakeholders in the governmental system - "That's how we always do it" - etc.

Scheme of analysis part E: Why are these stakeholders involved? Process as a goal

Step 1: Determining stakeholder involvement practices	Step 2: Determine the influence of institutions	
Why are these stakeholders involved?		
Governmental: <i>Pro (1-5)</i> - Relationships and trust produces better outcomes <i>Contra (1-5)</i> - Coordination takes too much time/delays the process	Regulative: - Laws - Guidelines	Indicators: - National laws concerning consultation other governments - (EU/national/regional) guidelines concerning (public) consultation - national performance system - etc.
	Normative: - Norms and values - What is desirable, advisable and correct	Indicators: - Attention in the societal debate - Nepotism - Importance attached to the input of stakeholders - etc.
	Cultural-cognitive: - Culture - Routine - Conventional way of acting - Frame of reference	Indicators: - Crusted ways of coordination - Good practices - “That’s how we always do it” - etc.
Non-governmental <i>Pro (1-5)</i> - Empowerment of stakeholders - Consensus - Legitimacy of policy measures <i>Contra (1-5)</i> - Coordination takes too much time/delays the process	Regulative: - Laws - Guidelines	Indicators: - National laws concerning public consultation - (EU/national/regional) guidelines concerning (public) consultation - etc.
	Normative: - Norms and values - What is desirable, advisable and correct	Indicators: - Attention in the societal debate - Nepotism - Importance attached to the input of stakeholders - etc.
	Cultural-cognitive: - Culture - Routine - Conventional way of acting - Frame of reference	Indicators: - Crusted ways of non-governmental stakeholder involvement - Good practices - Trust by stakeholders in the governmental system - “That’s how we always do it” - etc.

APPENDIX II: Topic Lists A-D

Topic list participant Traffic/mobility department municipality – Topic list A

1) Introduction

- Introduction own research [short summary].
- Explaining the structure of the interview
- Check whether or not it is ok if the interviews are recorded.

Questions

- What is your job position within the municipality?
- For how long have you been working for the municipality?
- What are your main activities?

2) Context

- Can you tell something about the urban mobility plan you are making/have made for this municipality? For example on *why* you made/are making this plan, *when* you exactly started the process, what the relationship is with *previous plans* and to what extent is *sustainability* in this plan is important?

- To what extent is there *political attention* to the plan? Does the municipal council consider it to be important?

- What do you want or did you want to achieve by making this plan? Was there or is there a *preferred end-view* of the plan?

Be attentive and ask through when the respondent is talking about:

Regulative institutions	Laws, guidelines, ways of financing
Normative Institutions	Societal value assigned to sustainable mobility, mobility in general, political environment municipality
Cultural-cognitive Institutions	Routines, culture, conventional way of acting, Crusted ways of policy making and 'That's how we always do it'

3) Which stakeholders are involved?

- Which governmental stakeholders are involved in the process of making an urban mobility plan? Why were they involved?

Possible answers: Civil servants other departments within municipality, surrounded municipalities, higher layers of governments

Which non-governmental stakeholders are involved in the process of making an urban mobility plan? Why were they involved?

Possible answers: Citizen groups, Environmental groups, Business associations, Public transport companies, Big Companies, NGO's/foundations/organizations

Be attentive and ask through when the respondent is talking about:

Regulative institutions	Laws, guidelines, ways of financing, national performance system
Normative Institutions	Nepotism, importance attached to the input of stakeholders, attention in the societal debate
Cultural-cognitive Institutions	Routines, culture, conventional way of acting, crusted ways of coordination, good practices, 'that's how we always do it'.

4) When in the process are which stakeholders in what way involved and what is their level of involvement?

- At which points are governmental stakeholders involved in the process? Why are they involved at that time of the process?

Possible answers: Civil servants other departments within municipality, surrounded municipalities, higher layers of governments

When in the process: Start of the process, thinking along during the process, end of the process

Governmental stakeholders: Civil servants other departments within municipality, surrounded municipalities, higher layers of governments

- In what way are governmental stakeholders involved? Why is this the case?

Possible answers: working 'ateliers', joint-budgeting, inter-sectoral programs, interdepartmental committees, etc.

- What is the level of involvement of governmental stakeholders in urban mobility planning? (1-10) (1 = totally no involvement, 10 =extremely influential). Why?

Which stakeholder?	When?	What way?	Level of involvement? (1-10)

- At which points are non-governmental stakeholders involved in the process? Why are they involved at that time of the process?

Possible answers: Citizen groups, Environmental groups, Business associations, Public transport companies, Big Companies, NGO's/foundations/organizations

When in the process: Start of the process, thinking along during the process, end of the process

Non-governmental stakeholders: Citizen groups, Environmental groups, Business associations, Public transport companies, Big Companies, NGO's/foundations/organizations

- In what way are non-governmental stakeholders involved? Why is this the case?

Possible answers: Focus groups, Citizens juries, 'Envisioning' workshops, Scenario analysis, Consensus conferences, Scientists-stakeholder workshop, etc.

- What is the level of involvement of non-governmental stakeholders in urban mobility planning? (1-10) (1 = totally no involvement, 10 =extremely influential). Why?

Which stakeholder?	When?	What way?	Level of involvement? (1-10)

Be attentive and ask through when the respondent is talking about:

Regulative institutions	Laws, guidelines, national performance system on consultation
Normative Institutions	Nepotism, importance attached to the input of stakeholders, attention in the societal debate.
Cultural-cognitive Institutions	Routines, culture, conventional way of acting, crusted ways of coordination, good practices, 'that's how we always do it'. Trust by stakeholders in the governmental system

5) Why are these stakeholders involved?

The following presents different statements. Can you please tell me (on a scale from 1-10) to what extent you agree with these statements and why? (1= totally disagree, 10 = totally agree)

Governmental stakeholder involvement (i.e. civil servants from other departments, surrounding municipalities and higher governments)...

... improves consistency between different policy sectors	
... gives focus to achieve the government's overall goals	
... is not efficient and decisive	
... promotes synergy (win-win situations) between different policy sectors	
... leads to better outcomes because of relationships and reciprocal trust	
... takes too much time and delays the process	

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement (i.e. the involvement of private and civic actors such as citizen groups, environmental groups, business associations, NGO's etc.)...

... increases public acceptability of policy measures	
... increases visibility of societal needs	
... maps out diversity of arguments	
... does not give useful input	
... increases innovativeness	
... empowers non-governmental stakeholders	
... leads to consensus	
... increases legitimacy of policy measures	
... takes much time and delays the process	

- Why do you give the above numbers?

Be attentive and ask through when the respondent is talking about:

Regulative institutions	Laws, guidelines, national performance system on consultation
Normative Institutions	Nepotism, importance attached to the input of stakeholders, attention in the societal debate
Cultural-cognitive Institutions	Routines, culture, conventional way of acting, crusted ways of coordination, good practices, 'that's how we always do it'. Trust by stakeholders in the governmental system

6) Closure

- What is your vision on the future of stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning? How do you perceive that? What is the ambition of the municipality for that?
- Is there anything else that we didn't address but that you would like to discuss?

Topic list participant governmental stakeholder – Topic list B

1) Introduction

- Introduction own research [short summary].
- Explaining the structure of the interview
- Check whether or not it is ok if the interviews are recorded.

Questions

- What is your job position within the municipality/trafikverket?
- For how long have you been working for the municipality/trafikverket?
- What are your main activities?

2) Context

- What do you know about urban mobility planning in [**name city**] (*more specifically TROMP/UAB*)?
- Can you tell something about in what way you are currently or were involved in urban mobility planning in [**name city**] (*more specifically TROMP/UAB*)?
- Can you tell something about the motives of the municipality on why they are making this urban mobility plan, what the relationship is with *previous plans* and to what extent *sustainability* in this plan is important?
- To what extent is there political attention to local urban mobility planning? Does the municipal council/higher governments consider it to be important?
- What do you want or did you want to contribute from your perspective at this plan? Was there or is there a *preferred end-view* of the plan?

Be attentive and ask through when the respondent is talking about:

Regulative institutions	Laws, guidelines, ways of financing
Normative Institutions	Societal value assigned to sustainable mobility, mobility in general, political environment municipality
Cultural-cognitive Institutions	- Routines, culture, conventional way of acting, Crusted ways of policy making and 'That's how we always do it'

3) Which stakeholders are involved?

- You just told in what way you are involved in the process of urban mobility planning. Why is this the case, according to you? What did you contribute?

- Which other governmental stakeholders are involved in the process of making an urban mobility plan, that you know? Why were they involved?

Answer: Civil servants other departments within municipality, surrounded municipalities, higher layers of governments

Be attentive and ask through when the respondent is talking about:

Regulative institutions	Laws, guidelines, ways of financing, national performance system
Normative Institutions	Nepotism, importance attached to the input of stakeholders, attention in the societal debate
Cultural-cognitive Institutions	Routines, culture, conventional way of acting, crusted ways of coordination, good practices, 'that's how we always do it'.

4) When in the process are *which* stakeholders in *what* way involved what is their level of involvement?

- At which points are you involved in the process? And why then?

- When are other governmental stakeholders involved in the process, that you know? Why are they involved at that time of the process?

When in the process: Start of the process, thinking along during the process, end of the process

Governmental stakeholders: Civil servants other departments within municipality, surrounded municipalities, higher layers of governments

- In what way are you and other governmental stakeholders involved? Why is this the case?

Possible answers: working 'ateliers', joint-budgeting, inter-sectoral programs, interdepartmental committees, etc.

- What is the level of involvement of governmental stakeholders in urban mobility planning? (1-10) (1 = totally no involvement, 10 =extremely influential). Why?

Which stakeholder?	When?	What way?	Level of involvement? (1-10)

Be attentive and ask through when the respondent is talking about:

Regulative institutions	Laws, guidelines, national performance system on consultation
Normative Institutions	Nepotism, importance attached to the input of stakeholders, attention in the societal debate.
Cultural-cognitive Institutions	Routines, culture, conventional way of acting, trusted ways of coordination, good practices, 'that's how we always do it'. Trust by stakeholders in the governmental system

5) Why are these stakeholders involved?

The following presents different statements. Can you please tell me (on a scale from 1-10) to what extent you agree with these statements and why? (1 = totally disagree, 10 = totally agree)

Governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning (i.e. civil servants from other departments, surrounding municipalities and higher governments)...

... improves consistency between different policy sectors	
... gives focus to achieve the government's overall goals	
... is not efficient and decisive	
... promotes synergy (win-win situations) between different policy sectors	
... leads to better outcomes because of acquired relationships and reciprocal trust	
... takes too much time and delays the process	

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning (i.e. the involvement of private and civic actors such as citizen groups, environmental groups, business associations, NGO's etc.)...

... increases public acceptability of policy measures	
... increases visibility of societal needs	
... maps out diversity of arguments	
... does not give useful input	
... increases innovativeness	
... empowers non-governmental stakeholders	
... leads to consensus	
... increases legitimacy of policy measures	
... takes much time and delays the process	

Be attentive and ask through when the respondent is talking about:

Regulative institutions	Laws, guidelines, national performance system on consultation
Normative Institutions	Nepotism, importance attached to the input of stakeholders, attention in the societal debate
Cultural-cognitive Institutions	Routines, culture, conventional way of acting, trusted ways of coordination, good practices, 'that's how we always do it'. Trust by stakeholders in the governmental system

6) Closure

- What is your vision on the future of stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning? How do you perceive that? What is the ambition of the municipality for that?

- Is there anything else that we didn't address but that you would like to discuss?

Topic list participant non-governmental stakeholder – Topic list C

1) Introduction

- Introduction own research [short summary].
- Explaining the structure of the interview
- Check whether or not it is ok if the interviews are recorded.

2) Context

- What do you know about urban mobility planning in [**name city**] (*more specifically TROMP/UAB*)?
- Can you tell something about the motives of the municipality (in your opinion) on why they are making this urban mobility plan, what the relationship is with *previous plans* and to what extent *sustainability* in this plan is important?
- To what extent is there political attention to local urban mobility planning that you know? Does the municipal counsel/higher governments consider it to be important?

Be attentive and ask through when the respondent is talking about:

Regulative institutions	Laws, guidelines, ways of financing
Normative Institutions	Societal value assigned to sustainable mobility, mobility in general, political environment municipality
Cultural-cognitive Institutions	Routines, culture, conventional way of acting, Crusted ways of policy making and 'That's how we always do it'

3) Involvement of the actor

- Can you tell something about in what way you are currently or were involved in urban mobility planning in [**name city**] (*more specifically TROMP/UAB*). Why do you think the municipality involved you in the planning process?

- When in the process were you involved in the planning process?

Possible answers: start of the process, thinking along during the process, end of the process

- In what way are you involved? Why is this the case?

Possible answers: Focus groups, Citizens juries, 'Envisioning' workshops, Scenario analysis, Consensus conferences, Scientists-stakeholder workshop, etc.

- What do you want or did you want to contribute from your perspective in this plan? Do/did you succeed in that?

Possible answers: knowledge, to let hear my voice, make visible my problems etc. etc.)

- Which other stakeholders are involved, that you know? And why?

Be attentive and ask through when the respondent is talking about:

Regulative institutions	Laws, guidelines
Normative Institutions	Nepotism, importance attached to the input of stakeholders, attention in the societal debate
Cultural-cognitive Institutions	Routines, culture, conventional way of acting, Crusted ways of policy making and 'That's how we always do it'. Trust by stakeholders in the governmental system

- What way do you feel involved in urban mobility planning? (1-10): (1 = totally no involvement, 10 =extremely influential. Why?

Which stakeholder?	When?	What way?	Level of involvement? (1-10)

- What can, according to you, be improved in your involvement in urban mobility planning?

4) Closure

- What is your vision on the future of stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning? How do you perceive that? What is the ambition of the municipality for that?
- Is there anything else that we didn't address but that you would like to discuss?

Topic list participant expert – Topic list D

1) Introduction

- Introduction own research [short summary].
- Explaining the structure of the interview
- Check whether or not it is ok if the interviews are recorded.
- *Keep in mind the opinion of municipalities – so please answer the questions from their perspective*

Questions

- What is your job position?
- For how long have you been working here?
- What are your main activities?

2) Context

- Can you tell something about why municipalities nowadays in general make sustainable urban mobility plans? For example *why* are they making this plan (aim), what is the relationship with *previous plans* and to what extent is *sustainability* considered to be important?

- To what extent is there usually political attention to the plan? Does municipal counsels/higher governments consider it to be important?

- What do municipalities want to achieve by making this plan? Was there or is there usually a *preferred end-view* of the plan?

Be attentive and ask through when the respondent is talking about:

Regulative institutions	Laws, guidelines, ways of financing
Normative Institutions	Societal value assigned to sustainable mobility, mobility in general, political environment municipality
Cultural-cognitive Institutions	Routines, culture, conventional way of acting, Crusted ways of policy making and 'That's how we always do it'

3) Which stakeholders are involved?

- Which governmental stakeholders are usually involved in the process of making an urban mobility plan? Why, when and in what way are they involved?

Answer: Civil servants other departments within municipality, surrounded municipalities, higher layers of governments

- Which non-governmental stakeholders are usually involved in the process of making an urban mobility plan? Why, when and in what way are they usually involved?

Answer: Citizen groups, Environmental groups, Business associations, Public transport companies, Big Companies, NGO's/foundations/organizations

Be attentive and ask through when the respondent is talking about:

Regulative institutions	Laws, guidelines, ways of financing, national performance system
Normative Institutions	Nepotism, importance attached to the input of stakeholders, attention in the societal debate
Cultural-cognitive Institutions	Routines, culture, conventional way of acting, crusted ways of coordination, good practices, 'that's how we always do it'.

4) Why are these stakeholders involved?

The following presents different statements. Can you please tell me (on a scale from 1-10) to what extent Dutch/Swedish municipalities think the following statements are important? (1= totally disagree, 10 = totally agree)

Governmental stakeholder involvement (i.e. civil servants from other departments, surrounding municipalities and higher governments)...

... improves consistency between different policy sectors	
... gives focus to achieve the government's overall goals	
... is not efficient and decisive	
... promotes synergy (win-win situations) between different policy sectors	
... leads to better outcomes because of relationships and reciprocal trust	
... takes too much time and delays the process	

Non-governmental stakeholder involvement (i.e. the involvement of private and civic actors such as citizen groups, environmental groups, business associations, NGO's etc.)...

... increases public acceptability of policy measures	
... increases visibility of societal needs	
... maps out diversity of arguments	
... does not give useful input	
... increases innovativeness	
... empowers non-governmental stakeholders	
... leads to consensus	
... increases legitimacy of policy measures	
... takes much time and delays the process	

Be attentive and ask through when the respondent is talking about:

Regulative institutions	Laws, guidelines, national performance system on consultation
Normative Institutions	Nepotism, importance attached to the input of stakeholders, attention in the societal debate
Cultural-cognitive Institutions	Routines, culture, conventional way of acting, crusted ways of coordination, good practices, 'that's how we always do it'. Trust by stakeholders in the governmental system

6) Closure

- What is your vision on the future of stakeholder involvement in urban mobility planning? How do you perceive that? What is the ambition of the municipality for that?

- Is there anything else that we didn't address but that you would like to discuss?

APPENDIX III: List of participants semi-structured interviews

The below gives an overview of the participants of the semi-structured interviews, conducted both in Sweden and The Netherlands. The recorded interviews can be found on the CD, included on the last page of this thesis. Furthermore, the topic lists filled out with the numbers they gave on the statements, are available at the author.

Sweden

Case-study Malmö

- Peter Håkansson - Project manager Traffic and mobility plan, kommun Malmö (municipality)
- Malena Müller - Expert in public transport, kommun Malmö (municipality)
- Anders Nilsson & Max Hanander – Traffic planners kommun Malmö (municipality)
- Juliana Pyron - Transport planner Trafikverket department Malmö area (national government)
- Anders Beijer – Employee ‘Malmö Citysamverkan’ (business association)
- Mattias Schiöth - Head of planning Skånetrafiken (public transport company)
- Tomas Björnsson – Member ‘Naturskyddsförening Skåne (environmental group)

Generalization

- Tom Rye, Professor Transport Policy and Mobility Management, Lund University (expert)*
- Christer Ljungberg - Trivector Consultancy (expert)
- Patrik Wirsenius – Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (Association Swedish Municipalities) (expert)
- Christian Rydén - Head of transport planning, municipality Lund (other municipality)

The Netherlands

Case-study Utrecht

- Marieke Zijp – Manager department mobility, gemeente Utrecht (municipality)
- Mark Degenkamp - Projectmanager Utrecht Aantrekkelijk en Bereikbaar, gemeente Utrecht (municipality)
- Robert Gijsen, Traffic planner, gemeente Utrecht (municipality)
- Han Schraders – Urban designer, gemeente Utrecht (municipality)
- Ria Glas – Spokesperson ‘Fietzersbond Utrecht’ (cycle union)
- Jacques Blommendaal – Chairman ‘Centrum Management Utrecht’ (business association)
- Jan Korff de Gidts – Chairman ‘Kracht van Utrecht’ (citizen group)

Generalization

- Ron Bos – Goudappel Coffeng (expert)*
- Jurgen de Haan – Kennisplatform Verkeer en Vervoer (expert)
- Ruud Beijl - Senior adviser traffic and transport, gemeente Nieuwegein (other municipality)

* Interview not recorded. Summary of the interview available at the author

APPENDIX IV: List of Abbreviations

- BRU Bestuurs Regio Utrecht (urban region Utrecht)
- GVVP Gemeentelijk Verkeers- en Vervoersplan (municipal traffic and transport plan)
- KpVV Kennisplatform Verkeer en Vervoer (knowledge institution traffic and transport)
- SKL Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (Swedish municipalities and provinces)
- SUMP Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan
- TRAST Trafik för en Attraktiv stad (traffic for an attractive city)
- TROMP Trafik- och Mobilitetsplan (traffic and transport plan)
- UAB Utrecht Aantrekkelijk en Bereikbaar (Utrecht Attractive and Accessible)
- VNG Vereniging Nederlandse Gemeenten (Organization Dutch municipalities)
- WGR+ Wet Gemeenschappelijke Regelingen (Law Common Rules: Dutch Urban Regions)