

# The struggles of **Super Cycle Highways**



An explorative study into political prioritization  
of bicycle planning in the Copenhagen area

**Master's thesis  
MSc Innovation Sciences**

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# Summary

Cycling is increasingly seen as a way of making cities more sustainable and liveable. Copenhagen has reached high cycling standards through prioritization of cycling infrastructure. However, a further increase requires current car commuters to take the bike. To this end the Super Cycle Highways (SCH) concept, a network of regional cycling routes, was created. Although initial promising results, a downturn in national funding has halted further development, which shows that SCHs are not sufficiently institutionalized. This study investigates why SCHs are struggling to be prioritized in the Copenhagen area. To analyze this problem, a recent integration of transitions literature and institutional work literature is used as a theoretical foundation. However, to deal with the 'real-time' and highly political nature of the case, this study develops a novel conceptual framework. This is achieved through an iterative grounded theory approach, using in-depth interviews and other qualitative data.

The analysis shows that prioritization of cycling requires strategic work. Although dominant ideas about the proper functioning of the mobility system are car-centric, introduction of novel functionality logics such as city liveability provide a solid basis for prioritization of cycling in the city of Copenhagen. There, cycling is framed as instrumental to unanimously agreed-upon policy goals (e.g. CO<sub>2</sub>-reduction). Furthermore, cycling is made visible to dominant resource allocation practices by focusing on public health benefits. This strategic work depends greatly on a nested structure of policy goals, and the binding agreement it produces. However, such nested structures are tied to institutional boundaries, i.e. municipal borders. On the regional level, no such structure exists. This impacts the prioritization of SCHs since strategic efforts end at municipal borders, there is no common platform for the creation of goals, and most importantly, there is no opportunity for binding agreement.

This study thereby points to the importance of regional-level institutional structures for solving regional-level problems. Furthermore, the strategic work in Copenhagen shows the importance of an entrepreneurial mindset by politicians and administrators alike, in order to spot opportunities to strengthen the position of cycling. The analysis illustrates the usefulness of the developed framework as a means of real-time analysis of institutional change dynamics. Thereby this study aims to contribute to the aforementioned recent theoretical developments.

# 1 // Introduction

## 1.1 Empirical problem and research question

The necessity of a transition from carbon-based cars towards more sustainable transportation continues to rise (European Commission, 2011). Not only is it important to curtail CO<sub>2</sub> emissions to mitigate climate change, automotive transport also causes many local problems such as air pollution, noise and smell (European Commission, 2011; Gössling & Choi, 2015). These problems are the greatest in cities, where the concentration of both cars and populations are high. The global trend of increasing urbanization (World Health Organization, 2010; United Nations, 2014) is likely to increase the severity of this issue. In recent years, many large cities have started giving more attention to cycling as a solution to these problems (Heinen, Van Wee & Maat, 2010; Sick Nielsen et al., 2013; Carstensen et al., 2015; Fishman, 2016). For example, Paris and the Dutch city of Utrecht have expressed ambitions of becoming the ‘world capital of cycling’ (O’Sullivan, 2015; DUIC, 2015).

A good example of a city that has been successful in its efforts to increase the modal share of cycling, is Copenhagen. Like many large cities around the world, Copenhagen had a high modal split of cycling during the early 20th century. However, unlike most cities, Copenhagen maintained relatively high levels of cycling despite the ‘car boom’ that occurred in the Western world after the Second World War. In recent times, cycling has seen a revival in Copenhagen; from the 1980’s to the present, the amount of trips taken by bike has almost tripled (City of Copenhagen, 2011; 2014). These successes can be attributed to the improvement of cycling conditions through conscious political and administrative efforts. For example, the city of Copenhagen introduced its first bicycle strategy in 2002, which lays out goals and concrete planning measures to reach these goals.

Despite Copenhagen’s impressive figures, there are still potential steps to be made. 63% of people who live within the municipal border travel by bike to work or education (City of Copenhagen 2014). However, the city’s primary cycling goal is raising the share of people (living inside *and outside* the municipal borders) who cycle to work or education to 50% (City of Copenhagen, 2014). This goal points to an interesting issue. While people engaging in trips within the city of Copenhagen usually face distances of around 5 kilometers, people living outside of Copenhagen often face longer distances to their destination in Copenhagen. Cycling’s modal share is inversely related to trip distance over 5 kilometers (City of Copenhagen, 2011, p.8). The city of Copenhagen recognizes the importance of increasing modal share of cycling in trips longer than 5 kilometers and in 2010 launched a project to tackle this issue, called the Super Cycle Highways (*Supercykelstier* in Danish). The project is aimed at making cycling a competitive alternative to cars on distances of up to 20 km, by increasing speed, comfort, safety and ease. It is a collaboration between 23 municipalities including the city of Copenhagen. The project has led to installment of 3 routes, with a further 14 routes planned and funded (Supercykelstier, s.a.). The project can be called a success. For example, along the Albertslund route, an increase of 10% in people commuting by bike has been recorded (Supercykelstier, s.a.). Also, it is impressive that municipalities are collaborating to create cohesive routes across municipal boundaries, despite the fact that cycle paths beyond their own borders are not their responsibility.

However, despite these initial successes, the future of the project has become uncertain. The national road directorate’s cycling fund has been discontinued due to changes at the national political level. This fund covered 50% of expenses of the building of routes, the other 50% remaining the responsibility of the municipalities themselves. This discontinuance of national-level funding leaves 18 routes unfunded. In effect, regional cycling planning efforts have more or less come to a halt without this external funding. This

means that regional planning efforts have not been sufficiently institutionalized to survive without the 'protective space' hitherto provided by external funding. Therefore, we can see that although certain success has been achieved by the SCH project, Super Cycle Highways are struggling to become institutionalized.

The following quote from the preface to latest bicycle strategy document of the city of Copenhagen gives an important initial understanding of the institutionalization of cycling in Copenhagen:

“COPENHAGEN MUST BECOME THE WORLD’S BEST BICYCLE CITY! The goal was firmly set by a unanimous city council as an integral part of the vision of Copenhagen as an Environmental Capital. Above par conditions for cycling are also an important element in Copenhagen’s goal of having a good city life and making Copenhagen CO2 neutral by 2025. Good conditions for cycling are also part of the city’s official health policy. In other words, cycling is not a goal in itself but rather a highly prioritized political tool for creating a more liveable city” (City of Copenhagen, 2011, p. 5)

This tells us that developing a cycling infrastructure is a highly political affair in Copenhagen. Secondly, it tells us that prioritization lies at the heart of the institutionalization of cycling. Together these insights point to the central importance of *political prioritization* to explaining cycling institutionalization and thus the struggles of the Super Cycle Highways.

This leads us to formulate the following research question:

*How and why are Super Cycle Highways struggling to be prioritized?*

## 1.2 Theoretical approach and contribution

To answer this question, this study utilizes a transitions theory perspective. This strand of literature is concerned with the analysis of how shifts come about in socio-technical systems that perform important societal functions (such as mobility). Socio-technical systems are characterized by a complex interplay between many different institutional, cultural, social and technological dimensions (Geels, 2004). In this perspective, technological change is not a simple matter of rational development and diffusion, but a multifaceted co-evolution. Due to the complex functionality and multi-dimensional socio-technical constitution of mobility systems (Pinch & Bijker, 2012), the transitions perspective forms a highly suitable base for the phenomenon under investigation. Despite its merits, the transitions literature has its weaknesses. In particular, the much-used Multi-Level Perspective (MLP) has been subjected to constructive critiques (e.g. Geels & Schot, 2007; Geels, 2011). Fuenfschilling & Truffer (2014, 2016) contend that the MLP overemphasizes structure compared to agency, and has trouble conceptualizing mechanisms of institutional change. Fuenfschilling & Truffer recently addressed these weaknesses through a promising integration with Institutional Work (IW) literature, which focuses on the analysis of agency in relation to institutional structure. This integrated approach focuses on the role of strategic action by actors, therefore allowing for more detailed analysis of institutional change processes. The highly political - and therefore strategic - nature of our case requires such an approach. I therefore use the integrated framework provided by Fuenfschilling & Truffer as an initial conceptual starting point.

Instead of simply using their approach, this study presented an opportunity to contribute to Fuenfschilling & Truffer’s approach and answer calls from the literature.

Whereas Fuenfschilling & Truffer’s (2014, 2016) analyses were done in hindsight, this study’s case is currently ongoing. Historical analyses, such as used in Fuenfschilling & Truffer’s studies, tend to foster

stylized images of dynamics and actions that can be identified in hindsight, but not during the ‘heat of battle’ (Jørgensen, 2012). Lawrence, Leca & Zilber (2013), Farla et al. (2012) and Jolly & Raven (2015) call for more research into institutional change as it is occurring instead of retrospectively. In a similar vein, Smith & Raven (2012) argue for research that is sensitive to political realities and the constructed realities of the actors themselves in explaining institutional change. To understand ongoing institutional change, this study stays close to the reality of the actor in order to understand ongoing dynamics in real-time. Additionally, this study will be particular sensitive to political and institutional dynamics across city-regional jurisdictions, which emerged out of the empirical study as important to understand the stagnation of the SCH project. This resonates with recent calls for more spatially sensitive analysis of transition dynamics, in particular in urban contexts, (e.g. Coenen, Benneworth & Truffer, 2012; Jørgensen, 2012; Valderrama & Jørgensen, 2015).

To address the identified issues, contribute to the development of the integrated framework and answer to calls from the literature, the theoretical aim of this paper is:

*To construct a novel conceptualization based on Fuenfschilling & Truffer’s approach, and utilize and develop it in an empirical case study. It should be able to provide analysis of ongoing transition dynamics by focusing on political processes and being attentive to the role of geographical political boundaries.*

### 1.3 Design

To fulfill its aims, this study uses an explorative qualitative design with a constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology. To answer the research question a novel conceptual model is developed, taking outset in Fuenfschilling & Truffer’s framework and developed further through an iterative and grounded theory approach.

A necessary understanding of the institutional context that surrounds the prioritization of cycling was obtained through a broad explorative investigation into both historical and recent socio-technical developments in Copenhagen’s mobility system. Drawing on this contextual understanding, an explanation of the struggles of the SCH project is provided through the analysis of structures, strategies, processes and conditions that shape the political prioritization processes in Copenhagen and other participating municipalities.

### 1.4 Relevance

This study is relevant in both its empirical topic and theoretical contribution. Various aspects of Copenhagen’s cycling planning have been studied, e.g. by Carstensen et al. (2013), Gössling (2013), Sick Nielsen et al. (2013), Gössling & Choi (2015) and Koglin (2015). However, to my knowledge no study has investigated regional cycling planning around Copenhagen, as it is only a recent phenomenon. Understanding the dynamics of regional planning is important because sustainability transitions often entail such larger-scoped issues. This study contributes to theory by furthering the development of a recent and promising institutional perspective on transitions. In particular, by conceptualizing political prioritization processes, this study offers a political-informed institutional perspective on transitions in real-time, answering several calls from the literature. As will be demonstrated in this report, the developed framework proves useful in understanding political mechanisms and conditions for prioritization. The conceptual and empirical insights obtained in this study can be utilized by actors engaged in cycling planning and policy.

## 1.5 Outline

This report is structured as follows. The theory section elaborates on the theoretical foundations and discussion that led to the construction of the conceptual model. The methods section explains the design of the study, the data collection, analysis and theory building methods used. The results section presents the empirical investigation and analysis and is structured according to the conceptual model. The conclusions section synthesizes the insights presented in the results section into an explanation to the empirical problem. In the discussion section the theoretical contributions, limitations, policy recommendations and further research are discussed.



## 2 // Theory

In this section I shortly address the theoretical discussion that has led to Fuenfschilling & Truffer's (2014, 2016) integration of transitions literature with institutional literature. I then elaborate on why the empirical case requires an adapted approach. Subsequently, this study's novel conceptualization is presented, and its constituent concepts are defined and discussed in more detail. Lastly, the novel conceptual model is used to distill pertinent points of focus that aid in answering the main research question.

### 2.1 Theoretical foundations and integration

#### 2.1.1 Transitions literature

One strand of literature that conceptualizes the process of socio-technical change is transitions literature. It is aimed at describing and understanding changes in large systems of societal functions, such as energy and transport systems. Its fundamental assumption is that technological change is not a mere matter of invention and diffusion, but a highly complex interplay between many social, institutional and technological dimensions (Bijker, 1987). This is an important insight that safeguards against technological deterministic thinking. A much-used theoretical approach within this school is the Multi-Level Perspective (MLP). The MLP describes how socio-technical systems change from an old, stable regime to a new regime (Geels, 2002; Smith, Stirling & Berkhout, 2005). Regimes are conceptualized as the set of dominating practices, shared beliefs and rules in a socio-technical system (Rotmans et al., 2001) and they "function as selection and retention mechanism (deep structure)" (Geels, 2002, p. 1260). A regime fulfills a particular societal function, and is conceptualized as a complex and intertwined institutional arrangement with multiple dimensions of institutional, social and techno-material natures (Geels, 2004). The complexity and codependence of the different regime dimensions creates inertia, i.e. resistance to change; "[socio-technical] regimes account for the stability of [socio-technical] configurations" (Geels, 2002, p. 1260).

The MLP provides a narrative of how such regimes become destabilized and break. To conceptualize this process, MLP delineates two additional analytical levels: the niches level and the landscape level. Niches represent novel technologies and its proponents, who typically gain momentum in niche markets (Kemp, Schot & Hoogma, 1998; Geels, 2002). The landscape represents a collection of external, exogenous factors that shape the context in which the regime functions (Geels, 2005; 2007). Examples of landscape forces include political climate, macroeconomic trends, wider societal discourses and cultural change. Regime destabilization is caused by a mixture of external (niche and landscape) and internal (regime) pressures, leading to the breaking of the regime (Geels, 2007). The remains of the regime then align with the niches to form a new regime.

#### 2.1.2 Critiques on the Multi-Level Perspective

Despite its merits, the MLP has been subjected to constructive but critical discussion (e.g. Geels & Schot, 2007; Geels, 2011). A few salient issues emerge. First, the MLP's analytical levels (regime, niche, landscape) pose difficulties for analysis of ongoing transitions as these levels, though clear in hindsight, are not clear during the process of institutional change. Second, the MLP's analytical levels are defined as "heterogeneous socio-technical configuration" (Geels & Schot, 2010, p. 18). Fuenfschilling & Truffer (2014, p. 774) problematize this: "the presentation of the 'levels', and especially of the regime, has a tendency to be too homogenous and harmonious in the empirical accounts". As a result, the MLP seems to rely on exogenous forces of the niche and landscape levels for explaining institutional change, and therefore seems to underplay regime-endogenous sources of change (Fuenfschilling & Truffer 2016, p. 298). Relatedly, the MLP's regime concept too often implies a punctuated shift from one coherent regime to the next. However, if regime change occurs there has to be a period of time in which a regime is semi-coherent and provisional;

and precisely this in-between dynamic state is central to understanding the mechanisms of transitions. The MLP does not provide a clear conceptualization of this dynamic institutionalization process - how institutional arrangements actually change through specific agency actions (Fuenfschilling & Truffer, 2014; 2016).

### **2.1.3 Institutional work**

A literature that has the potential to tackle these issues is that of institutional work (IW). Institutions have been defined as “rules, norms and beliefs that describe reality for organization, explaining what is and is not, what can be acted upon and what cannot” (Hoffman, 1999, p. 351). Institutions are assumed to be socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), but also provide what is called structure: “things that influence an actor’s cognition and behavior as well as the diffusion of practices, e.g. regulations, norms, values, culture, actors and practices” (Fuenfschilling & Truffer, 2014, p. 774). The more structured an environment, i.e. the higher the degree of institutionalization, the greater the influence on actors and their activities: institutions “involve mechanisms that associate nonconformity with increased costs” (Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy, 2004, p. 637). Institutions are self-reinforcing social constructs that are maintained through reproduction by actors (Battilana, Leca & Boxenbaum, 2009). Through reproduction, institutions become “historical accretions of past practices and understandings that set conditions on action”; they “gradually acquire the moral and ontological status of taken-for-granted facts which, in turn, shape future interactions and negotiations” (Barley & Tolbert, 1997, p. 99).

However, actors also deviate from and change the institutional arrangements that provide structure, or there would be no such thing as institutional change. Scholars like Garud & Karnøe (2001) conducted studies into institutional entrepreneurship and what they call path creation. Path creation is seen as a result of the conscious efforts of individuals to influence their organizational and institutional surroundings. Whereas institutions literature places emphasis on the conditioning and limiting effect of institutions on the ideas and practices of actors, institutional entrepreneurship literature places emphasis on the potential of individuals to influence their institutional surroundings.

Garud, Hardy & Maguire (2007) view these two strands as too extreme, arguing that in reality actors are both guided by limiting institutional structure and have a degree of free agency that allows them to change these structures. In doing so, they argue that the *tension between* structure and agency (which they call ‘embedded agency’) should be the focus of scholarly attempts to understand institutional change. In this unifying perspective, actors continually engage in activities that influence institutional arrangements, i.e. institutional work. Lawrence et al., (2013, p. 1024) eloquently summarize IW: “(...) it depicts actors as reflexive, goal-oriented and capable; it focuses on actors’ actions as the center of institutional dynamics; and it strives to capture structure, agency and their interrelations”. The fundamental assumption in the perspective is that institutions do not remain stable by themselves, but require constant maintenance efforts. Institutional work is “the purposive action of individuals and organization aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 215). Whereas the institutional entrepreneurship perspective focuses more on the creation side of institutional change, the institutional perspective focuses also on maintenance and disruption of institutions. Institutional work encompasses the whole of action undertaken to influence institutional arrangements.

### **2.1.4 Integration of literatures**

To cover for the MLP’s weaknesses in conceptualizing institutional change processes, Fuenfschilling & Truffer (2014, 2016) draw on the concepts of institutional work. IW conceptualizes institutional change as the result of strategic action to maintain, create or disrupt institutions. To account for the origin and content

of such strategic action, Fuenfschilling & Truffer draw on the concept of institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Institutional logics are “deep-structural rules that coordinate and guide actor’s perceptions and actions” (Geels, 2012, p. 473) that form “coherent arrangements of beliefs, norms, values and practices that stem from dominant societal institutions” (Fuenfschilling & Truffer, 2014, p. 774) and “define the ends and shape the means by which interests are determined and pursued” (Scott, 1987, p. 508). Institutional logics thus represent the ways of thinking *behind* institutions. Therefore, institutional logics do not only account for structure, but they also account for agency; ideas about how institutional arrangements should change also have to come from a certain way of thinking – a logic.

Institutional logics thus represent the source of, and produce the conditions that shape, creation, maintenance and disruption of institutions. More precisely, Fuenfschilling & Truffer conceptualize institutional change as arising from interaction between institutional logics. If from the perspective of a certain institutional logic current arrangements are inadequate, these arrangements are problematized as issues, and a tension will arise. Such issues and tensions can be observed in ‘discursive hotpots’, i.e. areas in which there is discussion and controversy: “High discursive activity usually indicates that there is contestation among actors. It reveals where institutions are infringed upon, criticized or defended and therefore allows the assessment of the importance of certain institutions to particular actors” (Fuenfschilling & Truffer, 2014, p. 777). Issues are created and addressed through strategic action, which leads to institutional change.

## 2.2 Conceptual framework

Here I describe the conceptual framework that is used to answer the research question. First, I elaborate on the unit of analysis: the political prioritization process. Then, the conceptual model is presented and its concepts defined further.

### 2.2.1 The prioritization process

Fuenfschilling & Truffer’s conceptualization provides a great basis for the analysis of institutional change dynamics. However, this case requires an adapted approach. As stated, this case is ongoing and highly political, and both these properties call for a conceptualization that stays close to the reality of the actor. In the introduction, it was reasoned that the analytical focus should lie on the political prioritization process. But what fundamental characteristics does such a process have?

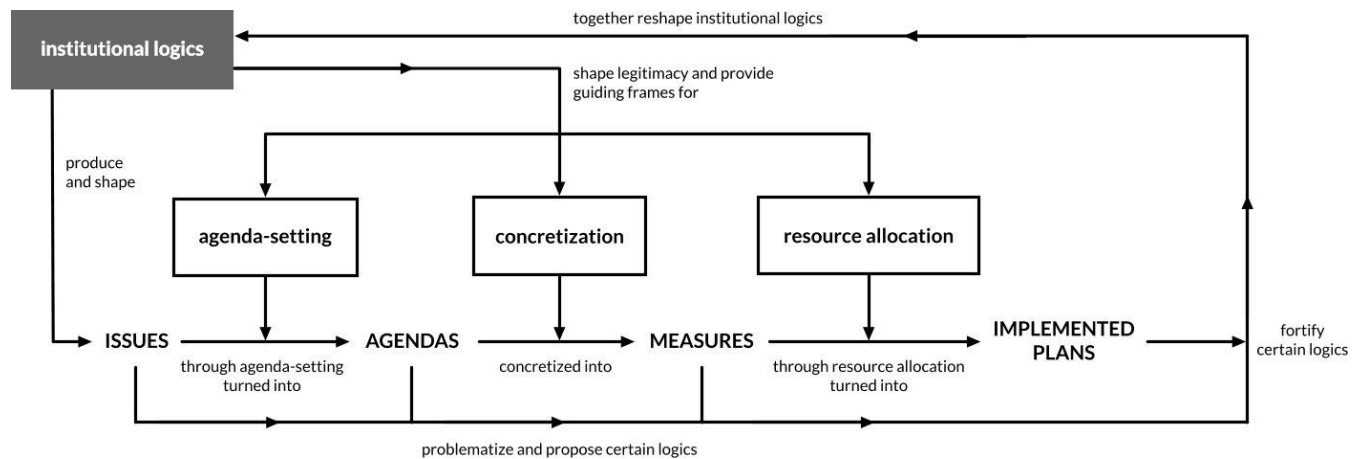
1. Planning and construction of infrastructure and public space are carried out by government. Government is mandated by, and accounts for its functioning through, the democratic process of interface between politicians and the public. Planning is performed and implemented by government administrations. Therefore, the political and administrative stage can be regarded the prime locus of institutional work. This study therefore limits itself to interactions at the political and administrative level.
2. Democratic political decision-making involves steps, structures and procedures; it is a process.
3. Institutional change is brought about by problematizations of institutional arrangements, i.e. issues. Issues are therefore the starting point of the political prioritization process. Implementation of solutions to problematized institutional arrangements is the end point.

With these starting points, the conceptual model can be introduced. The model of the political prioritization process in figure 1 has the following sequence. Institutional logics create an institutional context of beliefs and arrangements that produce the conditions under which the prioritization process takes place. Issues are produced by institutional logics that problematize current beliefs and arrangements. Since decision-making is political, issues need to be taken on a political form. Politicians pick up on issues and transform them through *agenda-setting* into *agendas*, i.e. persuasive discursive constructs that can ‘breathe in the

political atmosphere'. An agenda contains solutions to the perceived problem, the intent being that these solutions become implemented. Solutions need to be *concretized* into *measures* with specifications and price estimates before implementation is possible. Implementing measures into *implemented measures* in turn requires *resource allocation*. Since resources are scarce, resource allocation needs to be legitimized. Therefore, measures compete for legitimacy to be awarded resources for implementation. And since the end goal of implementation is in sight from the beginning, legitimacy is important throughout the entire process. 'Prioritization' means choosing between items that exist in parallel, which therefore all have some degree of legitimacy. Nonetheless, mutually exclusive decisions have to be made, so there have to be certain sources of legitimacy and criteria on which to base decisions. Institutional logics shape this legitimacy and provide guiding frames for the processes of agenda-setting, concretization, and resource allocation. During these processes, beliefs that are being advocated for feed back into the pool of institutional logics. Thus, institutional logics not set in stone but are influenced by issues, agendas, measures and implemented measures.

The political prioritization process can therefore be defined as:

*A political legitimization-based process, in which issues are addressed through constructed agendas that are concretized into measures in order to compete for resource allocation and consequent implementation, which results in institutionalization.*



**Figure 1. Conceptual model of the political prioritization process. Black arrows represent relations and directionality between concepts.**

The model has three analytical categories (from top to bottom): institutional context (grey box), political processes (white boxes) and political items (capitals). This conceptualization allows for the analysis of institutional work dynamics: issues, agendas and measures represent change agency; institutional logics represent structure; and political processes (such as agenda-setting) are the locus where structure and agency engage in dynamics.

## 2.2.2 Concept definitions

Table 1 summarizes concept definitions that are elaborated on below.

**Table 1. Definitions of concepts in the conceptual model.**

Concept	Definition
<i>Political items</i>	
Issue	Problematization of institutional arrangements
Agenda	Political discursive construct that highlights certain issues and links these to solutions through theorized causalities. Constructed with the intent to implement solutions
Measure	Concretized implementable solution, in the form of a plan with price estimates. Aimed at fulfilling the goals of an agenda
Implemented measure	Measure that has been implemented
<i>Political processes</i>	
Agenda-setting	The process in which politicians transform issues into agendas
Concretization	The process of translating an agenda's solutions into concrete, implementable measures
Resource allocation	The process of allocating budgets to proposed measures. Leads to implementation; turns measures into implemented measures
<i>Institutional context</i>	
Institutional logic	Historically developed set of beliefs and institutions that shape the "rules of the game". Institutional logics form the basis for: judging the relative legitimacy of different agendas; cognitive frames that steer the concretization of policy measures; criteria on which to base resource allocation decisions. The pool of institutional logics together forms the institutional context

### Institutional logics

A perceived problem (i.e. issue) is necessarily born from views on what the institutional field is, how it functions, how it should be, who should do what et cetera, i.e. an institutional logic. It is thus important to note that there are different institutional logics present within the institutional context. These institutional logics contain different ideas about e.g. values, goals, technical knowledge, which technologies to use, how to organize the field, how to fund measures (Fuenfschilling & Truffer, 2014). At the same time, institutional logics also represent "rules of the game" and the inertia that emanates from dominant belief systems; they are "(...) guiding principles that offer specific rationalities, set the rules of the game, allocate power and status and steer attention towards specific problems and solutions" (Fuenfschilling & Truffer, 2014, p. 775). These beliefs determine whether an issue, agenda or measure is 'valuable', 'reasonable', 'feasible' et cetera. Institutional logics are not 'just beliefs' but also encompass quite tangible constructs, such as formalized power relations, laws and regulations (Scott, 1995), and physical infrastructures (Fuenfschilling & Truffer, 2014). In this study I, unlike Fuenfschilling & Truffer, do *not* identify a number of aggregated field-level institutional logics in order to explain institutionalization processes through the dynamics between these logics. In this study, are used in a more flexible and facilitative way to understand prioritization dynamics, in line with my explorative aims.

## Issues

Issues arise when views on the field (shaped by institutional logics) conflict with current institutional arrangements (or each other), which leads to a problematization of these current arrangements. I therefore define issues as: *problematizations of institutional arrangements*. It is important to note that a problematization often also implies a proposed solution. To illustrate, if the lack of comfortable benches in public spaces is problematized, this inherently points to a solution: build more comfortable benches.

## Agenda-setting, concretization and resource allocation

Issues do not appear out of thin air, nor do they when brought into existence, automatically lead to institutional change. To be of any relevance to institutional change in this study's government-centric context, an issue needs to enter the political arena. An issue has to be taken up by politicians that support it and want to advocate for it. When an issue is taken up by politicians and put on the political stage, it becomes an *agenda*. I call the transformation of issues into agendas *agenda-setting*. Whether or not issues are selected by politicians to be transformed into agendas depends on whether an agenda is perceived as legitimate, which in turn is influenced by the pre-existing institutional context (i.e. institutional logics). An agenda contains theorized causal linkages that allow for convincing problematization as well as convincing proposition of solutions. For example: pollution is bad - cars cause pollution - car usage needs to be lowered - bicycles are a less polluting alternative to cars - cycling levels should be increased at the expense of car usage levels to lower pollution. An agenda can encompass different issues that fit together to form a convincing rhetorical unit; a package of problems to which a solution is proposed. For instance, bicycling can be presented as a solution to multiple issues; the cycling agenda encompasses multiple issues. I define an agenda as: *a political discursive construct that highlights certain issues and link these to solutions through theorized causalities*. An agenda does not exist in isolation, but becomes part of a complex interrelated web of agendas. After all, agendas compete for implementation and in doing so, engage in interaction. Certain agendas are complementary and can link up to increase their persuasiveness and momentum. An agenda does not have to be new. Existing arrangements need reproduction; maintenance efforts related to current arrangements are also represented by agendas.

Agendas propose solutions to issues. Solutions have to be concrete to be implemented. An agenda thus has to go through a process of concretization in which (abstract) goals and solutions are translated into concrete *measures*. During this process, technical aspects are drawn up by government administration through dynamic interaction between the focal agenda and other agendas and the institutional context - measures have to fit into a more-or-less coherent system of measures.

During concretization, price estimates are generated. These are relevant to the final step in the prioritization process: resource allocation. Resource allocation is the final step, because I assume (for the sake of managing conceptual complexity) that resource allocation inherently leads to implementation. In this step, politicians negotiate budgets for measures based on the institutional context; institutional logics that guide financial decision-making and attach legitimacy to the goals of the measures under discussion. When resources are allocated to measures, these measures become implemented and become *implemented measures*.

## 2.3 Points of focus

The specification of the conceptual model allows us to sharpen the empirical investigation. To understand the struggle for institutionalization of the Super Cycle Highways project, the following steps are taken. First, the historical and recent development in the institutional context of Copenhagen is described. This is necessary as a background to understanding the dynamics of the prioritization process. Then, the dynamics

surrounding the prioritization process are analyzed. The model provides the following points of focus for the analysis:

- *The institutional context surrounding cycling and the prioritization process.*
- *The dynamics surrounding agenda-setting*
- *The dynamics surrounding concretization*
- *The dynamics surrounding resources allocation*

## 3 // Methods

In this section I discuss in order: the research design; the data strategy (collection strategy, types and sources of data and scope); the methods of analysis.

### 3.1 Research design

This study explains the empirical problem through the novel conceptual framework of the political prioritization process presented in the previous chapter. For this study's aims, an approach was required that allows the development of concepts from interpretive observations. Therefore, an explorative qualitative case study approach was used. Qualitative case studies "capture detailed accounts often overlooked in quantitative data vis-à-vis emerging phenomena" and shed light on "complexities faced by practitioners and how they endogenously drive institutional change in particular institutional settings" (Jolly & Raven, 2015, p. 1001). Such entrance into the reality of the actor is required to understand political processes; political processes are difficult to understand from 'the outside' (Smith & Raven, 2012). With 'realities' I mean the constructed realities of actors - the processes of institutional change within socio-technical systems are not natural phenomena 'out there', but human constructs (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). I thus adhere to a constructivist ontology. Therefore, this study uses an interpretivist epistemology. A qualitative case study design "further offers benefits, such as being open-ended, flexible, and allowing the use of rich data with exploratory nature of the analysis" (Jolly, Spodniak & Raven, 2016). This flexibility and focus on interpretation was required for the development of the conceptual framework, for which we adhere to the tenets of grounded theory. To arrive at a good explanation of the empirical problem through the conceptual framework, an iterative process of reconceptualization took place. Table 2 presents an overview of the different methodological steps taken to answer the research question. Subsequent paragraphs elaborate on: the data collection strategy, analysis strategy, research quality, and scope of investigation.

**Table 2. Overview of the research approach used in this study. The process was iterative and required moving back and forth between steps.**

<b>Step 1</b> Building an image of the historical development and current state of the institutional context and political items. Through data from secondary sources in desk research.
<b>Step 2</b> Reconsidering, refining and validating the image, and investigating the dynamics of the prioritization process. Through semi-structured interviews with key individuals. Interviewees selected on the basis of their visibility in secondary sources, and snowball sampling.
<b>Step 3</b> Summarizing collected data and developing a preliminary conceptualization of the prioritization process that can explain the empirical problem. Through methods of grounded theory.
<b>Step 4</b> Testing interpretations and conceptualization by further interviews with key individuals. Refining and developing the conceptual model to a coherent whole.
<b>Step 5</b> Explaining the struggles of the Super Cycle Highways project through developed insights embedded in the conceptual model, in correspondence with finalizing the conceptual framework



## 3.2 Data strategy

### 3.2.1 Data collection

This study uses a data collection strategy based on Hajer's (2006) discourse analysis methodology. Discourse analysis is a suitable foundation because of the following reasons. Institutions are socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and since social beings construct reality through communication, the process of institutionalization occurs through discourse (Phillips et al., 2004, p. 635), i.e. a system of statements consisting of texts (Parker, 1992, p. 5), which can be any form of communication as long as it can be accessed by others (Phillips et al., 2004). Hajer's method is centered on the structure, meaning and impact of discourses and therefore gives us a method of observing socially constructed issues, structures and processes.

I used the following methodological procedure (summarized in table 2), based on Hajer (2006, p. 73):

- Desk research of secondary sources (e.g. scientific articles, governmental publications and substantive articles such as newspaper, magazines and expert blogs) to obtain a first image of the characteristics of the case, in terms of salient historical developments, key issues, prominent agendas and measures, and the different views and positions within the field.
- Helicopter interviews with key individuals who have an overview of the field. To refine and validate interpretations from desk research, and to investigate the structure and dynamics of the prioritization process. Using this sharpened understanding as the basis for reconceptualization.
- Interviews with key individuals with more specialized positions. To get a more detailed understanding of the conditions and process of prioritization, and the interrelations between preliminary concepts. Moving towards explanatory understanding. Explaining the struggles of the SCH project by looking for similarities and contrast in prioritization dynamics between Copenhagen and (municipalities of) the SCH project (e.g. why are certain cycling measures unanimously agreed upon in Copenhagen and not in the SCH project?).

These steps were not cleanly consecutive; data sources were revisited and new ones found during an iterative process. Preceding steps have been revisited during the course of the study to incorporate and test new insights.

### 3.2.2 Data types and sources

Two types of data were used: texts and interviews. These data have been taken from three sources: (strategic) documents, grey literature, and interviews with key individuals. These types complement each other, and different sources allow for triangulation.

#### Strategic documents

Strategic documents have been used as a starting point for gaining an understanding of the position of cycling in Copenhagen, because they address salient problems and issues, goals, agendas, and solutions and plans. Furthermore, interrelations with other modalities are discussed, giving insight into the field as a whole. In particular, the cycling strategy documents *Good, Better, Best* 2011-2015 and the *Bicycle accounts* from 2012 and 2014 have been consulted.

The governmental visions discussed in these documents are central, as governmental actors are central to city planning - their vision matters greatly and forms the platform on which discussion (in the political arena) takes place (Markard, Suter & Ingold, 2015). The account documents are important because they represent iterative discursive engagement between cycling strategy and critiques thereon (for example problematic behavior of cyclists).

## Grey literature

By grey literature I mean written literature such as newspaper articles, press releases, expert blogs and academic publications. Such sources supplement strategic documents by providing context and detail to timelines and understandings. Furthermore, they provided alternative perspectives, explanations and reasoning to the government-issued documents. Grey literature was important to unearthing conflicts that government publications strategically remain rather silent about. Furthermore, academic publications provided great background analyses and timelines. Especially journalistic publications made this study attentive to political conflicts and rationales.

## Interviews

Semi-structure interviews have been the core of this study's empirical work. And for good reasons; they are very useful when having exploratory as well as explanatory research goals pertaining to processes and their outcomes (Creswell, 2009). Semi-structured interviews offer both structure and flexibility, an important balance for explorative search with guiding theory (Bryman, 2008). Although secondary literatures provide a good initial entrance to the empirical case, they cannot be asked 'why?'. Interviews on the other hand were great for finding out the reasoning behind e.g. issues, agendas and prioritization conditions, especially because different actors have different perspectives and provide different explanations and highlight different meanings and interrelations. Interviews gave us an increasingly firm grasp on the layout of the field, position of cycling, development of the super cycle highways, relevant issues, key agendas and their interrelations, and pertinent historical events. Furthermore, interviews were used to test and sharpen my conceptualization of the prioritization process. Interviews were highly suitable for this end, because assumptions could quickly be verified or falsified and new conceptual alternatives could be sparked.

12 in-depth semi-structured interviews with key individuals have been conducted. The positions of these individuals ranged from government to industry, consulting and interest groups. In addition, one individual who was too busy for a face-to-face interview responded by e-mail and a number of conversations with knowledgeable academics took place. The initial interviews were more oriented towards broad understandings; these interviewees were selected because of their high profile and visibility in secondary literature. From the first couple of interviews onward, snowball sampling was used. Table 3 gives an oversight of the conducted interviews.

**Table 3. Overview of conducted interviews.**

No.	Designation / description	Interview type	Date
1	Senior cycling planner in Copenhagen	In person, recorded	16-3-2016
2	Planning policy expert, former head of cycling program in Copenhagen	In person, recorded	18-3-2016
3	Cycling campaigning consultant	In person, recorded	21-3-2016
4	Senior traffic planner in Copenhagen	In person, recorded	4-4-2016
5	Director of Operations at Danish Road Directorate	In person, not recorded	13-4-2016
6	Director of the Danish Cyclists' Federation	In person, recorded	19-4-2016

7	Deputy Chairman of the City Council, Party Chairman, Member of the Finance Committee, and the Technical & Environmental Committee	In person, recorded	20-4-2016
8	Climate Project Leader at Furesø Municipality, member of the Super Cycle Highways' steering committee and project committee	In person, recorded	11-5-2016
9	Road and Traffic Engineer at Frederiksberg municipality, member of the Super Cycle Highways' project committee	In person, recorded	17-5-2016
10	Senior funding consultant at Danish Road Directorate	In person, recorded	19-5-2016
11	Former senior advisor and Head of Transport Planning Section at the Technical and Environmental administration, involved in the primary stages of the initiation of the Super Cycle Highways.	In person, recorded	6-6-2016
12	Project leader of the Super Cycle Highways, chairman of the secretariat	Textual response by e-mail	13-6-2016
13	Cycling planning expert at Danish Road Directorate	In person, not recorded	20-7-2016

Throughout the research process, interview questions were adapted to new insights, becoming more pertinent along the way. Appendix A provides some examples of interview schemes used. Early interviews were transcribed in full using MAXQDA 12. Later interviews were not transcribed but either: summarized and provided with timestamps to be able to revisit passages; or summarized in a memo. Due to the iterative nature of the study, some interviews were processed in more than one of these ways. Interview transcriptions and memo references can be found in Appendix C. Audio files have been kept, and access to them can be given on request. Documents were kept organized in MAXQDA 12.

### 3.2.3 Scope

Because of the sedimentary and embedding nature of institutions, past developments in the institutional context have great influence on current dynamics. Other studies have already constructed timelines of the development of mobility in Copenhagen's, and it would be a shame to reinvent the wheel. My construction of the institutional context starts in the early 20th century, when cycling planning first became institutionalized in Copenhagen. For the analysis of prioritization dynamics, the focus lies on the present (2016), since the empirical problem is currently ongoing.

'Copenhagen' can refer to the municipality or the greater urban area (*Hovedstadsområdet* in Danish). The municipality has a much higher cycling modal share than the greater area (Van der Pas, 2015). Since this study investigated the struggles of regional cycling planning, the geographical scope is: *the greater urban area surrounding and including Copenhagen*. However, it was not possible to investigate the prioritization process of every single municipality that participates in the SCH project. Therefore, the city of Copenhagen was taken as the main source for understanding prioritization dynamics and supplemented with investigation into several other participant municipalities. Although national and even European politics and policies are undoubtedly pertinent to this study's subject, choices had to be made and the regional scale of the empirical problem warranted a predominant focus on the regional and municipal scale.

### 3.3 Analysis strategy

In this study, grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1994) was applied, which is to say that empirical (grounded) data was used to reconfigure the conceptual framework (theory). Grounded theory is often associated with misuse; the willy-nilly creation of speculative theory without reference to relevant bodies of literature (Suddaby, 2006). I am cognizant of the common pitfalls - grounded theory building is not a matter of 'anything goes' - and made use of sensitizing concepts (Blumer, 1954) that are embedded in theoretical foundations. Sensitizing concepts are concepts that are explicitly non-definitive. Blumer (p. 7) contrasts the two: "Whereas definitive concepts provide prescriptions of what to see, sensitizing concepts merely suggest directions along which to look. The hundreds of our concepts - like culture, institutions, social structure, mores, and personality - are not definitive concepts but are sensitizing in nature. They lack precise reference and have no benchmarks which allow a clean-cut identification of a specific instance and of its content. Instead, they rest on a general sense of what is relevant". Sensitizing concepts give direction but allow flexibility, which is a necessity when engaging in an iterative explorative qualitative process of reconceptualization. This of course is not to suggest that all prior theory was dismissed; the foundational themes of transitions literature and mechanisms of institutional work remained the core of the evolving conceptualization. Indeed, as the theoretical discussion in the theory section shows, theoretical foundations have been taken seriously and constructively built on.

In order to perform theory building in a structured fashion, certain methods can be used. First it is important to highlight again the interpretative nature of theory building. As Van Lente (1993, p. 181) eloquently puts it, our representation of the empirical world "(...) is neither something that is only imposed by the analyst to mold the 'raw material' into a story, nor is it something that is 'out there' in the real world, and that is just reflected in the story of the analyst. The account he can give of his construction is that it is a retelling of original constructions [ed.: of actors]". When engaging in building theory from observations "(...) we cannot simply put them together to get the overall picture, as if we put photographs together to get a picture of the whole. What we should do instead, is to look where the storylines overlapped, to look for common themes and recurring elements" (Van Lente, 1993, p. 181). We are therefore dependent on realities of actors to gain understanding, but necessarily dependent on our own interpretations to turn understanding into generalized principles (i.e. performing grounded theory).

To distill principles from data, I drew on Corbin & Strauss' (1990, pp. 12-15) three coding types in grounded theory-building designs: *open*, *axial* and *selective coding*. These build on one another and reflect different stages in analysis. *Open coding* (creating and elaborating on concepts) was used primarily during steps 1 and 2. *Axial coding* (examining connections between concepts) was performed during steps 3 and 4. *Selective coding* (checking for internal consistency and completeness of our concepts) was used in steps 4 and 5, when working towards closure. Table 4 provides an example of how the different grounded theory coding steps led to the conceptual model.

**Table 4. An example of how grounded theory coding steps (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) were used to construct concepts and relations of the conceptual model.**

Coding step	Developed conceptual element
Open coding	Discovery of 'agenda' as a core political item from the ubiquitous use of the word by politicians and in policy documents; Identifying and defining the steps of the prioritization process according to narratives of interviewees
Axial coding	Distinguishing between 'political items' and 'political processes' to clarify the interrelations between concepts; Separating the concept of concretization from resource allocation, based on differences in observed dynamics.

Selective coding	Unifying beliefs and structure-providing institutions dimension in one concept (institutional logics) instead of separating institutional logics and institutions, for consistency and parsimony; reconceptualizing 'plans' as 'measures' to contrast their concrete nature vis a vis agendas (which could also be called plans);
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The number of interviews conducted was based on theoretical saturation; when no important new insights are obtained from interviews, theoretical saturation is reached (Bryman, 2008). These coding strategies can be executed in a tight structure, in which labels and sub-labels are given to data. However, the focus of this explorative study lied on accuracy rather than precision; more attention was given to making sure the concepts reflected the general reality of the prioritization process, rather than giving much attention to identifying dimensions of theoretical concepts to create higher theoretical detail. The three coding types above served as guidelines for conceptual reconfiguration, but no strict coding schemes were developed. Rather, data was summarized and track was kept of interpretations and thoughts on conceptualizations through a system of memos. Using memos proved useful in noticing which themes were recurring and therefore important. Appendix B provides examples of memos that summarize interviews and contemplate conceptual decisions. A full database of memos can be found in a spreadsheet in Appendix D. MAXQDA 12 was used to transcribe interviews, summarize data, and create and keep track of memos. Memos in Appendix D are organized according to type and are dated, allowing for chronological as well as memo type search (e.g. theory reconceptualization, methods, empirical insights).

The iterative analysis strategy described above led to the conceptual framework presented in chapter 2. To give insight into how these concepts were arrived at and observed in the empirical world, table 5 provides an oversight of the linkages between concepts and empirical observations.

**Table 5. Overview of concepts used, their definitions, and the manner in which they were observed in the empirical case.**

Concept	Definition	Empirical example
<i>Political items</i>		
Issue	Problematization of institutional arrangements	Problematization of traffic congestion in the inner city; unsatisfactory feeling of safety as a cyclist; a lack of bicycle parking space
Agenda	Political discursive construct that highlights certain issues and links these to solutions through theorized causalities. Constructed with the intent to implement solutions	Public health agenda, in which cycling is presented as a solution to public health problems caused by sedentary lifestyles (associated with cars); Liveability agenda, in which good urban space is deemed important, and walking and cycling considered as positive for urban space quality
Measure	Concretized implementable solution, in the form of a plan with price estimates. Aimed at fulfilling the goals of an agenda	Widening of cycling tracks to 3 meters, in order to facilitate better cycling flow, in order to increase cycling modal share
Implemented measure	Measure that has been implemented	The transformation of the Nørrebrogade street from a car-heavy road into the world's largest cycling street, with wide cycling paths and no through traffic for cars
<i>Political processes</i>		
Agenda-setting	The process in which politicians turn issues into agendas	The creation of a cyclist safety agenda from problematization of high cyclist accident rates

Concretization	The process of turning an agenda's solutions into concrete, implementable measures	Proposing specific road designs that segregate cyclists from cars, thereby lowering chances of collisions
Resource allocation	The process of allocating budgets to proposed measures. Leads to implementation; turns measures into implemented plans	Assigning budget and space to Copenhagen's PLUS cycling path network, a measure which contains concrete routes and technical and financial specifications.
<i>Institutional context</i>		
Institutional logics	Historically developed set of beliefs and institutions that shape the "rules of the game". Institutional logics form the basis for: judging the relative legitimacy of different agendas; cognitive frames that steer the concretization of policy measures; criteria on which to base resource allocation decisions. The pool of institutional logics together forms the institutional context	Widely supported discourses on the need for more sustainability; entrenched practices of segregated (rather than shared-space) traffic planning; the use of socio-economic cost-benefit analysis as a criterion for resource allocation

### Analysis Quality

A known issue with qualitative research is *replicability*. Since "it is impossible to 'freeze' a social setting and the circumstances of an initial study to make it replicable" (Bryman, 2008, p. 376) I can only try to be as transparent as possible in the process of analysis - I can at least offer *traceability*. To do so, memos were kept of observations and interpretations, and frequently concepts were reflected on (Bryman, 2008, p. 547). Since this study was conducted by only one observer, *inter-observer reliability* has not been an issue. *Internal validity* was guarded by remaining critical about the internal consistency of the developing conceptual framework and by testing it in interviews. Triangulation of sources also helps to safeguard the validity of concepts. *External validity* is obviously not guaranteed, as only the case of Copenhagen is investigated. However, providing explanations of the struggles SCH project involves comparison of prioritization across institutional boundaries. This increased the rigor of the model. Furthermore, the base assumption of grounded theory is that concepts and theories can be inspired by observations, which can also be within single case. In other words, Popper's induction was not performed, but abductive reasoning was used to turn interpretations into concepts that provide an explanation of the empirical problem.

## 4 // Results

The findings of this study are presented in this chapter in the following way. In section 4.1, the institutional context in Copenhagen is illustrated. Section 4.2 presents the development and current (problematic) state of the SCH project. Section 4.3 analyzes the prioritization dynamics in Copenhagen and the SCH project answering the research question. This analysis utilizes the contexts given in sections 4.1 and 4.2 as a foundational background.

### 4.1 The institutional context of Copenhagen

In order to understand the institutional context of Copenhagen, it is necessary to have an understanding of the historical trajectory of its development. Here I shortly illustrate the most important historical developments and overarching facts about Copenhagen's relation to cycling, drawing on Carstensen et al. (2013) and supplementing their analysis with other sources and own findings. Then I turn to more recent developments as these are most pertinent to the ongoing case under investigation.

#### 4.1.1 Brief overview of spatio-temporal development

Copenhagen's infrastructure has, in the period of 1912-2013 expanded more than tenfold, from 35 km to 363 km of tracks. The growth rate of the network was not even throughout time. Between 1912 and 1969, cycling infrastructure grew between 2.3 and 3.2 km per annum. A period of decline can be seen between 1970 and 1974, with a loss of 23.4 km of tracks. 1975 to 1985 showed growth again, and a large one: 8.6 km/year. The period of 1986-2000 shows a slower growth between 1.6 and 2.5 km/year. And finally, the period of 2001-2013 showed increased growth again, with 6.5 km/year. (Carstensen et al., 2013, p. 5)

The development of cycling infrastructure more or less followed urban development. Figure 2 shows how cycling infrastructure developed spatially throughout time. In the early 20th century, cycling paths were constructed radially from the inner districts towards surrounding nature areas. Cross-linkages were also constructed between districts towards the 1940s, coinciding with construction of new dense urban areas. From the late 60s onwards, connections between inner and outer districts became stronger. Yet up until the 80s there was very little cycling infrastructure in the historical district. From the 90s onward, development has been tied to formation of new urban districts (e.g. former industrial areas) and attention was given to the development of green routes, i.e. forming connections across parks and other natural areas. (Carstensen et al., 2013, p. 5-7)

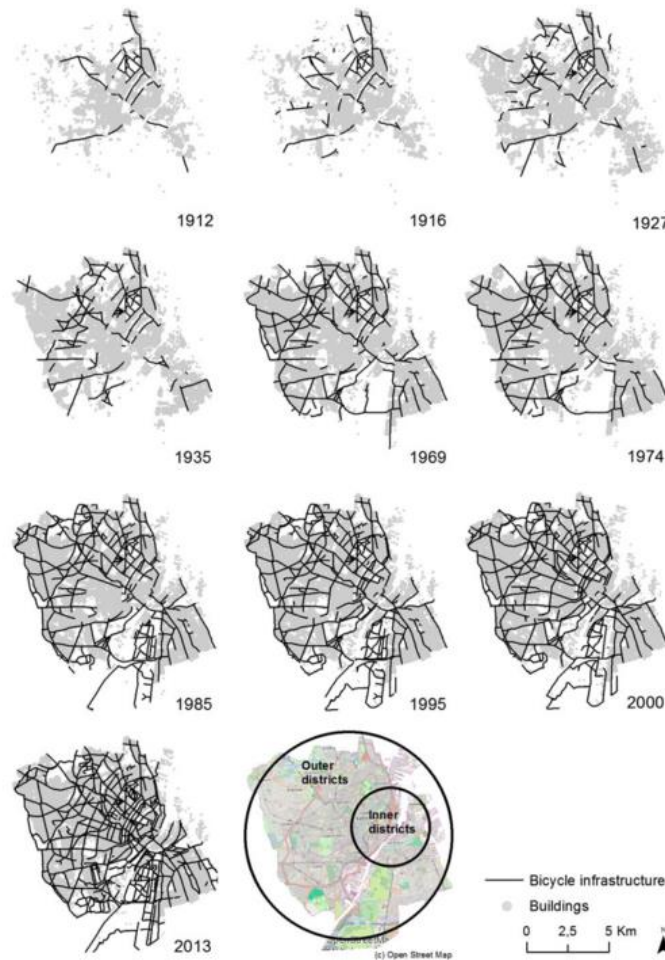


Figure 2. Spatio-temporal development of the City of Copenhagen (from Carstensen et al., p. 6)

#### 4.1.2 Historical development of cycling politics

Even though the following presentation of development may appear successive and discontinuous, in reality the different ways of thinking about cycling, mobility and public space coexist and compete in the prioritization processes in the present, as will be shown in our analysis.

Cycling is in Copenhagen an integrated part of mobility planning practices. Yet throughout time, views on what cycling is and what its relation to the mobility system is, have shifted. Carstensen et al. have identified four distinct periods in which cycling was perceived in different ways and fulfilled different roles. Different aspects of cycling and its relation to its surroundings were problematized, and different solutions were conceptualized. Carstensen et al. call these time periods: *The first cycling city* (1910s-1940s), *The car city* (1950s-1960s), *The liveable city* (1970s-1990s) and *The liveable cycling city* (1990s-2010s).

*The first cycling city* (1910s-1940s) saw a high and rising modal share of cycling. Outward urban development made trip lengths too long for walking, but highly suitable to being cycled. Economic conditions were poor and favored the low-cost nature of cycling in relation to public transportation. The Danish Cyclists' Federation (DCF) was established in 1905, and in this period were concerned with comfort,



which the cobblestone roads lacked. They advocated transforming horse riding tracks to cycling tracks, which when also being occupied by motorcyclist presented the issue of safety. The emergence of the first automobiles furthered this issue, leading to calls for and implementation of, segregated cycling infrastructure with curbs between the cycling path and the road as well as the pedestrian area (which is now referred to as the 'Copenhagen style') (Niels Jensen, 2013, p. 1).

*The car city* (1950s-1960s) saw a sharp rise in automobility. The second world war had ended, and with it oil rations. Urban planners would take American planning, with its wide and car-centric focus, as the guideline for future-proof infrastructure (Interview 4). Road capacity was assigned to cars and away from cycling. For instance, cycling paths were shortened at intersections to make room for turning cars (Interview 1).

*The liveable city* (1970s-1990s) saw a rise of awareness about the negative effects of car dominance. A high rate of accidents with cyclists fueled controversy. Plans to construct highways leading into the city center were opposed. Furthermore, the oil crisis in 1973 placed stress on oil supply, leading to car-free Sundays. At the same time certain streets were pedestrianized and squares used for car parking reverted back into public space. The perceived value of public space and safety rose, together with environmental concern. Advocates of the latter (including politicians) linked cycling to a green future. Notably, the DCF organized large demonstrations (figure 3) in which better cycling conditions were demanded (Interview 1).



Figure 3. Large-scale demonstrations in the 70s for better cycling conditions. Source: Copenhagenize, 2011.

#### **4.1.3 Recent developments and current situation**

*The liveable cycling city* (1990s-2010s) overlaps with the previous period but signifies a shift to more focused political activity and a more elaborate conceptual support for cycling and high-profile projects. More than being a part of liveability consideration, cycling gathered its own momentum in mobility planning.

## Measures and infrastructure developments

Cycling in Copenhagen has reached impressive numbers in recent years. The modal share of journeys made by bicycle to places of work or education has increased by 25% since 2012. In 2014, on a weekday 1.34 million km were cycled. In 2014, 45% of trips to work or education in Copenhagen was done by bike. When looking only at Copenhagen residents, this number lies at 63%. Between 2012 and 2014, travel times went down by 7% (City of Copenhagen, 2014). This growth can be attributed to the improvement of Copenhagen's cycling infrastructure. The official length of the bicycle infrastructure in 2012 was 426 km for Copenhagen Municipality (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2012), and 60.5 km for Frederiksberg Municipality (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2012); a total of 486 km (Carstensen et al., 2013). Table 6 shows the evolution of key figures in recent years.

Table 6. Development in key figures on cycling in Copenhagen (City of Copenhagen, 2014, p. 5).

### TARGETS STATED IN GOOD, BETTER, BEST. THE CITY OF COPENHAGEN'S BICYCLE STRATEGY 2011-2025

'04	'06	'08	'10	'12	'14	'15	'25	
36	36	37	35	36	45	50	50	Proportion of people who cycle to work/education (%) *
58	53	51	67	76	74	80	90	Proportion of cycling Copenhageners who feel secure (%)*
125	97	121	92	102	91	56	34	Cycling casualties (number per year)*
				17	19	40	80	Proportion of PLUS network that has 3 lanes (%)
				0	7	5	15	Reduction in cycling travel time (%)
50	48	54	50	61	63	70	80	Satisfaction with state of cycle tracks (%)
			67	73	70	70	80	Satisfaction with cycling culture's impact on urban life (%)

\*Targets included in the City of Copenhagen's publication Eco-Metropolis. Our Vision for Copenhagen 2015.

### OTHER KEY FIGURES

'04	'06	'08	'10	'12	'14	
1.13	1.15	1.17	1.21	1.27	1.34	Kilometres cycled (million km per weekday)
3	4	3.2	4.4	4.2	4.9	Kilometres cycled between each casualty (million km)
15.3	16	16.2	15.8	15.5	16.4	Average cycling speed (km/h)
329	332	338	346	359	368	Cycle tracks (km)*
14	17	18	23	24	28	Cycle lanes (km)
37	39	41	42	43	58	Green Cycle Routes (km)
				17.5	38.5	Cycle Super Highways (km)**
	42	47	48	49	51	Bicycle parking facilities on roads and pavements (1,000)

\*Includes cycle tracks in Nordhavn \*\*Entire Capital Region of Denmark

Examples of implemented measures are: widening of cycling tracks, increased cycling parking, priority for cyclists at intersections, increased quality of path surface, and traffic light 'green waves' for cyclists, and contraflow cycling (Carstensen et al., p. 10; City of Copenhagen, 2014). Aside from elevating the base level of cycling to create a coherent network, a number of high-profile projects have been executed. Examples are cycling bridges, the biggest of which is the now-famous Cycle Serpent (*Cykelslang*) bridge across the harbor, and the transformation of Noerrebrogade from a car-heavy street into the world's busiest cycling corridor, with 5-meter-wide cycling tracks (Copenhagenize, 2010).

## Policy developments

The increasing strength of cycling's establishment can be attributed to the rise of strategic vision documentation on cycling. In 1996, Copenhagen first issued the Bicycle Account, in which a quantitative

image of the state of cycling in Copenhagen is given. In 2002, Copenhagen issued its first bicycle strategy document (*Cycle Policy 2002-2012*) which explicitly aims at increase of utility cycling by expanding the cycle path network (City of Copenhagen, 2002). Bicycle account have since the introduction of cycling strategies formed a 'tandem' with the cycling strategies; the latter provides measurable goals and the former reports the progress that has been made. The importance of having quantitative measures that can be assessed and reported on were emphasized in this document, and our analysis will show its importance. The strategic points for improvement were: raising cycling commuting figures (to 40%), lowering risk of injury, increasing feeling of safety, increasing travel speed and satisfaction with path surface quality. The current bicycle strategy for 2011-2015 - tellingly called *Good, Better, Best* (figure 4) - expresses the goal of becoming the world's best bicycle city. Part of this goal is an increase of people commuting by bike from 36% (currently at 45%) to 50% in 2015 (City of Copenhagen, 2011).



Figure 4. The city of Copenhagen's latest bicycle strategy document. Source: City of Copenhagen, 2011.

In this strategy document, a shift in issues can be noticed. Comfort is now also tied to bicycle parking facilities, which only 3 out of 10 Copenhageners are satisfied with (City of Copenhagen, 2011, p. 16). Attention is given to the PLUSnet, a mapped-out cycle path network with high standards for route coherence, path width, traffic flow, surface quality. This PLUSnet is aimed primarily at crowded routes, which is linked to increasing bicycle path congestion - a decline in average cycling speed was witnessed during 2010-2012 (City of Copenhagen, 2014, p. 5). The competitiveness of cycling compared to cars is made more explicit and central, and addressed especially through the parameter of travel times, which the strategy aims to reduce for cycling (City of Copenhagen, 2011, p. 7).

The philosophy of the first vision document was that motorists that do not cycle yet, do so because the conditions for cycling are not yet favorable enough in comparison to cars (City of Copenhagen, 2002). Logically, there can be two routes: 1) by increasing the attractiveness of bicycles, and 2) by decreasing the attractiveness of cars (Pucher et al., 2010). These routes are not mutually exclusive. However, in Copenhagen, cycling has very much been framed in a positive manner, rather than actively antagonizing competing modalities in the mobility discourse. Not just rhetorics, but also measures have been more antagonistic than antagonistic; green waves for cycling rather than speed bumps for cars (City of Copenhagen, 2011; 2014). Top civil servants have confirmed that this is a conscious approach (Gössling, 2013). Cycling planner and founding father of the bicycle accounts Niels Jensen has termed the available policy routes 'carrots, sticks and tambourines'. Carrots refer to improvement of cycling infrastructure and experience in parallel to existence of cars. Sticks refer to traffic calming for cars and other restrictive

measures, which indirectly create better cycling (and liveability) conditions. Tambourines refer to public campaigns to promote cycling, which high-profile projects such as the cycling bridge can also be seen as. The most recent strategy speaks of the necessity of antagonism to cars - traffic calming is called "necessary if the bicycle is to have a serious advantage in traffic" (City of Copenhagen 2011, p. 7). It speaks of a combination between prioritization and innovation, in which prioritization also includes an increase of antagonism towards cars in planning practices.

The strategic documents on cycling didn't come out of nowhere - several salient developments can be related to the rise of cycling in recent times. In 2006 a major momentum boost was given to cycling in Copenhagen, when a lord mayor and mayor of the technical and environment were appointed and formed a duo that generated significant political force behind cycling, raising it high on the agenda. This brought in a lot of money for cycling planning (Interviews 2, 6) and much political momentum. Big projects that previously would have been inconceivable now became possible. For examples, the *Cykelslang* cycling bridge was given the go-ahead, even though its design was much more expensive than originally intended (Interview 3). Furthermore, around 2006, visions and strategies on areas other than cycling started to show a clear support for the idea of increasing cycling's modal share.

In 2007, the Copenhagen city council issued their vision document *Eco-metropolis*. The first-mentioned theme is the goal to become the world's best city for cycles. In 2009, the Copenhagen city council issued a climate plan that aimed to reduce carbon emissions of the city by 20% by 2015 and by 50% in 2025. In 2011, the first goal was already met, and a follow-up was released containing "those objectives, main efforts and initiatives adopted by the City Council which must be implemented in order to achieve the goal of carbon neutrality" (Carstensen et al., p. 6). This document frequently stresses the importance of cycling in realizing emission reductions.

### **Political structure & process**

It is worthwhile to give some attention to the structure of the political system in Copenhagen, as it will help to understand the dynamics of prioritization. The supreme authority in Copenhagen's political system is the city council, which is chaired by the lord mayor. The city council is comprised of 55 elected representatives from the eight different parties that currently hold seats in it. Below the council sit the departmental commissions. The municipal administration is divided into seven departments; the Technical and Environmental Administration is responsible for urban planning and mobility. Each departmental commission has a mayor, who chairs the departmental committee, and for instance write the prefaces to strategic documents. The political representation in the committees reflect the party seat balance in the City Council. General decisions are taken by the city council, whereas committees make decisions on matters specific to their field of study (i.e. departmental theme). The city council's decisions are preceded by a recommendation given by commissions, who have at that point discussed and formed the recommendation based on materials provided by their departmental administration. In addition, the committees also make independent decisions on matters within their relevant areas, without forwarding these cases to the City Council. Any recommendation of one of the specialist committees that deals with financial or administrative matters is forwarded to be decided on by the City Council. Before such a recommendation is submitted to the city council, it has to be passed by the finance committee. The lord mayor chairs the finance commission. (Københavns Kommune, s.a.)

This political decision-making structure mirrors the prioritization process structure. The concretization of agendas into measures is performed by the responsible administrative department, but before they can be implemented, measures have to be approved by the financial committee and afterwards by the city council.

## Political culture

What seems to be an important part of Copenhagen's political landscape and process is the idea of constructive and polite conversation. Loud and aggressive advocacy is not appreciated - there are clear 'rules of the game'. This reality is well put by the director of the Danish Cycling Federation, the most powerful cycling NGO: "(...) you go to government offices, that you talk to politicians, that you talk to mayors. Then you have a quiet, good dialogue with them. (...) We are invited to all major discussions on transport policy. Is a loud shouting advocacy guy out there invited? No. that's the difference" (Interview 2, l. 37)

The interviewed professionals working at the political agenda-setting or strategic policy level do not have a normative judgment of present behaviors. An often-heard idea is that it is very understandable that people who have busy lives choose to drive a car rather than cycle everywhere. For instance: a single mom with three kids, who lives in a suburb because Copenhagen's rents are too high, who has to do groceries and run errands all day, and also has to commute 20 kilometers to work (Interviews 3, 6). Even more so, many interviewees take a strong disliking to moralist and activist discourses in the style of Greenpeace (Interview 3). They are considered rude and ineffective.

Furthermore, current institutional arrangements and interests are regarded as the legitimate outcome of democratic processes. To suggest that the present is an immoral outcome is, in a way to these professionals, to dismiss democracy. The balance to be struck is to have a vision of where the world should be headed, while taking into account the legitimate concerns of everyone involved (Interviews 2, 6).

## 4.2 The development and current situation of the Super Cycle Highways project

In this section, first a description is given of what the Super Cycle Highways (SCH) project is and how and why it came into existence. Then we describe the current state of the project and the problems therein. This is followed up with the analysis of these problems by looking into the prioritization processes in Copenhagen and the SCH project. This analysis produces explanations of why regional cycling planning is struggling to become institutionalized.

### 4.2.1 What are Super Cycle Highways?

#### Goals

The SCH project aims to improve regional cycling conditions with the express purpose of elevating levels of commuting by bicycle (Interview 12). A SCH “should connect work, study and residential areas, making it easy to get to and from job or school on a daily commute. Furthermore, a Cycle Superhighway<sup>1</sup> should make it easy to combine a bike commute with public transport. The highways should be as direct as possible and with as few stops as possible” (Supercykelstier, s.a.). To persuade people to take SCH routes, the project aims at improvement of a number of dimensions of regional cycling routes (Supercykelstier, s.a.):

- Accessibility. Routes have to connect work, study and residential areas, and have to be coherent, connecting all municipalities involved.
- Directness. Routes must be as direct as possible with as few stops as possible.
- Comfort. The road surface should be of high quality and maintained well. They must offer additional services such as green waves, service stations for pumping bicycle tires and snow removal during the winter period.
- Safety. The accident rate should be low, and the feeling of safety high.

#### Organizational structure

The SCH project is a collaboration between the capital region and 23 municipalities (including Copenhagen). The capital region (*Hovedstadsregionen*) is the regional public authority that is responsible for treatment, training and research in public health, development of the capital region in the areas of environment, traffic, business, education and social services (Region Hovedstaden, s.a.). It collaborates with municipalities and the business community on these topics. It contributes to the SCH project by paying for organizational and planning expenses (but not construction).

The SCH project is led by a central secretariat which is seated in Copenhagen. This secretariat hosts and moderates meetings, organizes the agenda and handles external communication about and promotion of the project, e.g. about progress that is being made on routes.

There are meetings at two administrative levels. First, there is the steering committee (*styregruppe*) which consists of the heads of all the municipalities’ administrative departments responsible for cycling infrastructure (usually the roads & parks department). The steering committee discusses political decisions, policy and strategy. Second, there is the project committee (*projektgruppe*) which consists of lead cycling planners of all the different municipalities. The project committee discusses planning matters like which tracks to connect and other technical specifications.

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<sup>1</sup> The term ‘Cycle Superhighway’ and ‘Super Cycle highway’ are currently used interchangeably. However, the SCH project coined and used the former term before adopting the latter term. The latter term was coined by the Road Directorate to specify the purpose of their second bicycle fund, which was specifically targeted at regional cycling routes.

Political decision-making (i.e. prioritization) is still solely the responsibility of individual municipalities.

### **Funding**

The funding of the SCH project itself (i.e. the secretariat and coordination activity) is arranged by the member municipalities and the Capital Region. However, the largest costs lie with actual construction of the routes. In principle, the cost of construction and maintenance is carried by each separate municipality. So it is not the case that Copenhagen is funding construction in other municipalities through the SCH project. A big source of funding has been the national road directorate (*Vejdirektoratet*) with their cycling funds (*cykelpuljer*). These funds covered between 40 and 50% of construction costs.

## **4.2.2 Development and current situation**

### **Congestion charge**

When the charge failed, another idea developed. Copenhagen had started noticing that the next challenge was regional commuter cycling and the idea of coherent and high quality regional cycling connections emerged. A 2008 survey of commuters showed that one third of people who normally drive would cycle if there were consistently high quality inter-municipal cycling routes (Citiscopes, 2014). The city of Copenhagen then conducted a study to estimate the potential gains from such cycling connections. With the estimates being positive, the idea was taken to Copenhagen's city council around 2010 (Brian Hansen). Support was found and the concept was presented to the surrounding municipalities, most of which were happy to join. Like with the congestion charge, the focus was on equality and collaboration; hence the creation of the neutral secretariat.

### **Inclusiveness versus standards**

The concept was developed through meetings between planners who were encouraged to dream up ideal solutions without thinking about costs. This was done to spark the imagination of participating municipalities and to create enthusiasm about the possibilities (Citiscopes, 2014). According to one of the early project coordinators, "municipalities who might start out with a less-than-ideal solution can turn to the ideal solution if the project is a great success" (Citiscopes, 2014). This points to a flexible set-up: joining the project does not automatically force municipalities to commit to creating high-quality (and therefore higher-cost) cycling infrastructure. This made it easier to get as many as municipalities as possible join the project. But there is a catch. Such flexibility creates inclusiveness, but also creates a noncommittal context that invites the risk that participant municipalities do not invest enough in the quality of routes. This in turn jeopardizes the overall cohesiveness and quality of the routes, and therefore the effectiveness of the whole project. For instance, some municipalities "said that we could not talk of cycle super highways without actually making them *super*" (Citiscopes, 2014), while other municipalities are more concerned with keeping costs low. In other words, there are marked differences between participating municipalities in terms of their prioritization decisions about the super cycle highways.

### **(Lack of) Funding**

As stated, some 50% of costs for construction of the SCH routes have been covered by the national cycling funds issued by the Road Directorate (*Vejdirektoratet*). Two such funds have existed. The first one, the Cycle fund 2009-2014, was in place before the SCH project was launched (Interview 13). Yet the SCH project was not created with the fund in mind (Brian Hansen). The second fund was sparked by the development of the SCH project; it became a specific national super cycle highways fund. This creation of this fund was decided on in 2012, and grants were given out in 2013 (Interview 13). Most of the SCH routes that have been funded and are awaiting implementation are supported by this second fund. This fund is now empty. There was a pro-cycling transport minister at the time of the creation of the second fund, but the tide has

shifted. The current government appears less pro-cycling and has frozen spending on cycling funds (Interview 10).

This discontinuance of national-level funding leaves 18 routes or route segments unfunded. In effect, most regional cycling planning efforts have come to a halt without this external source of funding (Interview 9); “If we had not done these project and gotten the funding early on, we wouldn’t have made the applications - we probably wouldn’t make the application today” (Interview 8).

Therefore, the SCH project seems to rely heavily on national-level funding from the Road directorate. This in turn makes clear that prioritization of cycling infrastructure is lacking in most participating municipalities.



## 4.3 Analysis of prioritization struggles

### 4.3.1 The dynamics of agenda-setting

#### Strategic positioning of cycling agendas

When looking into the dynamics of agenda-setting, it immediately becomes clear that the issues and agendas that support cycling sit at varying levels of abstraction. This can be seen in the nested structure of the policy documents of the City of Copenhagen. There is the cycling strategy (*Good, Better, Best*), which is embedded in the larger scope of the *Green Mobility Action Plan* strategy, which in turn sits below the *Eco-metropolis 2015* and *Climate Plan 2025* vision documents. These documents address different issues: the highest vision documents speak of issues of sustainability, global competitiveness, carbon neutrality, livability, public health, congestion reduction, green growth (City of Copenhagen, 2007; 2013); strategy documents speak of the issues of carbon reduction, urban experience, health, socio-economic benefits, but also more concrete issues: safety, feeling of safety, exercise and travel times (City of Copenhagen, 2011; 2012).

There is a strategic component to this nested structure. In relation to vision documents and other strategy documents, Copenhagen's cycling strategy documents explicitly state that cycling is 'not a goal in itself' but instrumental to a number of higher-order agendas. On the other hand, within the cycling strategies themselves, the primary goal is to increasing cycling's modal share. So within the cycling strategy, cycling is treated as its own goal. Of course, cycling *is* to some actors a goal in itself. For example, a senior cycling planner regards cycling as a goal in itself - as a citizen's right, even (Interview 1). Furthermore, the Danish Cyclists' Federation (DCF) is centered around cycling and clearly views cycling as a goal in itself. This means that the statement 'cycling is not a goal in itself' is a strategic move at the political agenda-setting level to link cycling up with higher-order agendas to derive legitimacy. Through this maneuvering, cycling is inserted as a crucial component of certain causal chains. For example: "(...) if half of all journeys to place of work or study are done by bicycle in 2025, it will mean a reduction in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions of 40,000 tons CO<sub>2</sub> per year compared with 2010" (City of Copenhagen, 2013, p. 44). This makes an increase in cycling causally related to the higher-order goal of emission reductions. The same can be observed for many issues, such as the assertion of cycling as a means to increase public health. At the same time, the cycling agenda is linked to concrete issues like traffic casualties. Cycling is thus linked horizontally (to multiple issues) and vertically (to different levels of abstraction) and thereby placed firmly in a web of prominent issues. The following quote illustrates this strategic action: "We will use any agenda to promote cycling. We use the climate agenda to promote cycling, because it fits very well into that agenda, and we use the exercise and health agenda because [cycling] fits well into that as well" (Interview 1, l. 34).

#### Foundations for strategic positioning

The strategic linking-up of cycling with widely supported discourses naturally depends on the existence of such discourses. The institutional context of the City of Copenhagen provides many discourses (containing issues) that do not exist to the same extent in the other municipalities of the SCH project. Here are a few examples. Copenhagen was hit especially hard by flash floods in the last decade (Politico, 2015), which created acute environmental agendas (Interview 1). Cycling seems to draw legitimacy from the general sustainability discourse that is interwoven with the strong CO<sub>2</sub> reduction agenda. Copenhagen has a history of protests for cycling (as treated in section 4.1) and around the same time, protests against plans for construction of highways into the city center have made the tearing down of housing and green areas to build car infrastructure politically unviable in Copenhagen (Interview 4). This, together with the liveability discourse that emerged from these protests, form a rooted scepticism to development of car infrastructure (to the benefit of cycling). And in general "all political parties agree in broader terms that

having good cycling facilities is good for the city. And in general terms, they support that” (Interview 2, l. 44). These conditions are particular to Copenhagen’s historical development and likely to be less present outside of Copenhagen. So in many of the municipalities in the SCH project, there is a less fruitful context to draw legitimacy for cycling from.

Furthermore, creating strategic linkages for the cycling agenda like in Copenhagen is based on agreed-upon visions and documentation that anchors these beliefs in directions for policy. Municipalities outside of Copenhagen differ in their agendas and vision(documents) when it comes to cycling.

The further away from Copenhagen, the weaker the political link between cycling and congestion becomes. For municipalities further away from Copenhagen, cycling planning is not a serious part of their traffic policy to tackle congestion: “They would not, these municipalities 15 kilometers outside Copenhagen, say ‘[cycling planning] is what I want to do to tackle congestion’ (...) ‘It is good for you to cycle and we want to be a green municipality, but I’ll be the laughing stock of the local newspaper if I said I’ll build this bicycle track in order to reduce congestion’. The numbers are too small” (Interview 9, t. 31.30). In Furesø, a municipality to the Northwest of Copenhagen, the reason to join the SCH project was their established climate policy and green mobility strategy, embedded in elaborate strategic documentation (Furesø Kommune, 2014). Congestion itself was not part of the cycling agenda in Furesø. In Frederiksberg, a municipality enveloped by Copenhagen, congestion *is* a key issue and cycling was already a part of their traffic planning; not coincidentally, Frederiksberg has a vision in which sustainability is a high priority and the goal is to have very high cycling levels (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2015). Hvidovre, a municipality to the Southwest of Copenhagen, has a succinct 2-pager that briefly outlines a focus on family life and leisure (Hvidovre Kommune, 2013), and no mention of cycling as an important agenda. Hvidovre’s route segment was supposed to have been finished in 2015, but at this time it is still not constructed.

The above together tells us that a structure of linking cycling to higher-order agreed-upon visions seems less present in the municipalities that are less engaged in the project (here: Hvidovre) than others (here: Furesø, Frederiksberg). A lack of good vision documentation seems problematic. Furthermore, there is a dissimilarity in agendas of participating municipalities, despite the clear mission of the project itself; there is no common agenda between the participating municipalities. Why this is problematic will become more apparent in the dynamics around resource allocation.

### **Importance of key individuals**

In the above dynamics, there is an unmistakable element of institutional entrepreneurship. In the interviews taken, the last decade’s momentum for cycling in Copenhagen is for a large part attributed to the efforts of a duo of politicians (Interviews 1, 2, 3, 6). These politicians both had a personal affinity with cycling and found also key individuals in the Technical and Environmental Administration that had “an enormous appetite” (Interview 6, l. 7) for more cycling planning. As stated in section 4.1, Copenhagen’s bicycle secretariat has been disbanded and less money is coming into cycling planning (Interview 1). These developments can be linked to a lack of interest in cycling by Copenhagen’s current lord mayor (Interview 5). In Furesø, a city very engaged in cycling planning, key individuals with personal affinity can also be observed: the mayor and a prominent cycling planner keep momentum going (Interview 8). This city decided to construct a SCH route even though their application was rejected by the Road Directorate (Interview 8). These efforts by individuals point to the contingency of political momentum upon personal affinity of politicians (and administration) with cycling. Not all municipalities have such champions working on cycling.

### **Intermediate conclusion agenda-setting**

The city of Copenhagen’s success in prioritization of cycling appears to rely on the strategic embedding of cycling into agendas at multiple levels, presenting it as a solution to a number of issues that have high

legitimacy. This strategic positioning of cycling has been the result of the efforts of a number of key individuals, and made use of the specific issues, agendas and logics present in Copenhagen. Outside of Copenhagen, the institutional context and political items are less conducive to the strategic positioning of cycling, both in terms of vision and strategy documents to link up to and the issues and agendas present in the political arena. Furthermore, cycling is not in all municipalities being championed by key individuals. Therefore, in many municipalities surrounding Copenhagen, cycling is not positioned as strongly in agendas.

### 4.3.2 The dynamics of concretization

The previous section investigated how cycling agendas are strategically constructed, but what happens when agendas are translated into concrete measures? Whereas agendas can be more abstract, measures *have* to be concrete. This subjects agendas to logics that influence their concretization. I treat both the logics that pose barriers to cycling, and those that create positive conditions for cycling. These are then related to the SCH project.

#### Multimodality

The most recent bicycle strategy's goal was to reach a modal share of 50% for commuting by bike in 2015, without setting a higher goal for after 2015; 50% is thus considered the maximum. In other words, the goal of the City of Copenhagen is not to transition to a fully bike-operated future, but a multimodal transport system. The cycling strategies are created by the Technical and Environmental Administration. This is a large department, responsible for (among many other things) car infrastructure, public transport, public space, urban development and reducing congestion (Københavns Kommune, 2016). In order for a department with such a broad mandate to come up with coherent policy, it has to reconcile different goals into a whole that makes sense to the financial committee that has to okay measure proposals before forwarding them to the city council for plenary discussion (and decision-making). It then comes as no surprise that the measures of the cycling strategies are embedded in a larger strategy: the *Action Plan for Green Mobility* (City of Copenhagen, 2012). The former director of Copenhagen's former traffic department notes that the goal is to create an "integrated system" in which every modality has its role to play (Interview 5). Even a high-level cycling policymaker notes that it does not make much sense to use bicycles for all trips (Interview 2), and a top cycling advocate says that "the mobility of the future has to be a combination of all sorts of different modes of transportation" (Interview 6, l. 78). This notion of multimodality is related to a creed that appears central to planning practices: "It has to function" (Interviews 2, 4, 5, 6, 7). So the translation of agendas into measures is subjected not only to the need for concreteness, but also certain beliefs about what the functionality of the system entails. So what are these structuring beliefs?

#### Car-centric logics

A number of barriers to cycling are caused by the entrenched logics related to the importance and legitimacy of (private) cars. One interviewee sums this idea up as: "we can't devote more space to cycling', that would be a problem, because then 'our busses can't run' or 'the cars can't access the city'", which boils down to "(...) a [belief] of 'things cannot work' without good access for private cars" (Interview 2, l. 65, 39). There are multiple logics associated with the importance of cars in mobility planning. I found three key aspects of car-centric thinking which I discuss below consecutively: traffic models, car parking & economic discourse, and the right to own a car.

Traffic planning is an engineering discipline that uses tries to match infrastructure to mobility needs. To make judgments about what these needs are and which solutions are adequate, models are used. The prime driver of infrastructure development has been the rise of the private car from the 50's onward (see section 4.1): "Every city in the world is controlled by the same mathematical equations regarding traffic, and

they're all from America from the 50s and 60s (...)" (Interview 3, l. 59). Due to this development trajectory, traffic planning models have a distinct car-centric quality (Nielsen e.a. 2013; Interviews 1, 3). Car travel times are the central parameter of these models, which steers attention towards road capacity and flow for cars. This focus is detrimental for cycling, which is generally not included in traffic models (Interviews 1, 3). Therefore, prioritization of cycling, which in general negatively affects car travel times, meets with resistance from traffic planners: "Generally, the question is 'we want to do this thing for bicycles on this street' and the engineering department will say 'that will affect the travel times for cars negatively, (...) we can't do it'" (Interview 3, l. 59).

A recent surge of pro-car parking political activity from the political right wing can be seen (Interviews 3, 4, 5, 7), with 3000 parking spots being put back into Copenhagen's streets. Car parking spaces are a very big 'hotspot' in prioritization: "Should we take out a parking spot to make this cycling track, or not?', where there can really be intense discussion and fighting (...) over, like, 5 to 10 parking spots" (Interview 2, l. 44). The role of car parking is a multifaceted one. Only 10% of Copenhagen's inhabitants drive daily and only around 22% own a car (Interview 3, l. 21). On the other hand, currently an influx of wealth taxpayers (a group that used to move to the suburbs to escape the poor living conditions in the city, and are now being attracted by the liveable city) is going on (Interviews 3, 4; Gössling, 2013). These new rich inhabitants have a higher car ownership, creating the somewhat strange situation that both the modal share of cycling and car ownership are rising in Copenhagen (Gössling, 2013). These cars have to be parked somewhere. A long-time city planner notes that the development of new areas, such as Nordhavn, is by the developers being designed for rich inhabitants, who they assume will want to have more parking space (Interview 4). Despite the increase in car ownership, for the majority of Copenhagen's inhabitants, car parking spaces are not that relevant; another element is at play. Parking spaces are primarily aimed at people who live outside of the city, but work or shop in Copenhagen (Interview 3). This points to a very important part of the power of car-centric planning: economic functionality. The case of the transformation of Nørrebrogade from a car-heavy street to the world's busiest cycling corridor (City of Copenhagen, 2011; Interview 3) shows this element. When the plans for this transformation were presented, the fiercest opposition came from shop owners, who feared that taking away parking spots (a necessity for construction of wide cycling lanes) would inevitably lead to their bankruptcy (Interviews 2, 6). But also on a more abstract level, proponents of car parking and car accessibility often refer to economic functionality, such as consumerism, commuting and all-round logistics. For example: "(...) the business angle, there's also pretty strong discourses around that, where often good access for cars is tied to the discourse: that you need that to have a good business climate. And I think some cities have proven that that is not necessarily the case, but that [economic] discourse is often tied to good access [for cars]" (Interview 2, l. 42). The relevance of economic logics for prioritization of cycling will become more apparent in section 4.3.3.

Aside from economic discourses in the previous paragraph, there is also an element of individual rights to car parking and car ownership. "If you ask people living in Copenhagen what should be done to improve traffic, a lot of them say they want more cycle tracks, and when it comes to concrete projects, should we have more cycle tracks on the streets where we live, there is also the opinion about that - because some people still want space for parking their car" (Interview 1, l. 77), and "if you're going to a neighborhood to take out car spots to make a cycle track, you'll have substantial amounts of people saying... no no no, not here, not *those* parking spots, they are important. And they *are* important to those people, and that's how it is... they are" (Interview 2, l. 51). These quotes point to a fundamental respect for individual interests. This is linked to the more abstract rationale of democratic process, which in this case means that the arrangement of the mobility system has to be based on multiple (potentially conflicting) interests. Two quotes illustrate this logic: "if I'm living in an apartment, I'm speaking on behalf of myself and my parking spot. And I think that's how it should be, and that's very very natural" (Interview 2, l. 53-54) and "The thing is that as (...) a

citizen in a democratic society, who pays his taxes, I basically want good quality whenever I take the road. Good safe, secure accessible infrastructure. Whether I take the train, the car, walk or on bike. And I think that that is a very egalitarian democratic approach" (Interview 6, l. 35). This in turn means that these top level politicians and administrators are not opposed to cars on a fundamental level - they guard the legitimacy of owning a car. This negatively impacts prioritization of cycling in a universal way, as car ownership takes much space and competes in many cases with cycling measures, but nonetheless retains high legitimacy.

### **Safety logic and the police**

In previous sections, the issue of safety has surfaced a number of times. It is one of the hotspots in discussions and has multiple facets and consequences for concretization.

There is a long history to safety in relation to cycling, as shown in section 4.1. From the early 20th century onwards, segregated cycling paths have been a standard measure to reduce chances of collisions between cars and cyclists. This practice can be said to have played an important role in prioritization of cycling measures; cycling is taken seriously enough to build specific infrastructure (Interview 6). This practice is strengthened by its mutual benefit: cars also benefit by not having to watch out for cyclists as much. Yet there is a drawback to this institutionalized safety logic. Prioritization of space creates high tension in areas where space is scarce, which is the case most of the time (Interview 2). For example, when we consider a narrow street that contains car lanes, these have a certain minimum width to host cars. There have to be sidewalks, which also have a certain width. So in many cases there is not enough space to construct segregated cycling paths. To fit such cycling paths, measure that are drastic for cars (e.g. making the street one-way) would have to be taken. This increases resistance for cycling measures. A way to reduce such tension on prioritization is to use *shared space*, in which cyclists and cars use the same road surface. However, this design goes against a century of heavily embedded safety logic, and therefore is controversial in planning discussions: "it's a very strong background design thing, that you separate as much as you can, even if it might in some situations be better to integrate the two" (Interview 1, l. 46). The safety logic thus supports cycling to a certain extent, but also limits further development of cycling; this safety logic affirms and cements rather than challenges the current power balance between modalities (Sharing Copenhagen, 2014). This logic is not unique to Copenhagen; segregated infrastructure is the standard throughout Denmark (Interviews 1, 3, 6).

A very powerful actor in the decision-making process is the police, who have to approve a measure before it can be implemented. Even though the decision-making process occurs in the political arena, the police have a very strong position: "The police are the ones that dictate what you are allowed to do. You have to go to them to get permission. First there is the political decision, and then the police have to say it is ok. And then you implement it" (Interview 6, l. 53). The police frequently frustrate progressive cycling plans, such as shared space measures. A telling case is the transformation of Nørrebrogade: "The original intent was to make a huge road of shared space traffic. That was not allowed by the police, who are very anti-shared space. They don't like the idea" (Interview 6, l. 53), and "[The plan to make Nørrebrogade shared-space] went flying through these 7 kingdoms [ed. administrative departments]. Everybody thought it was awesome (...). And then it went to the police and there was some desk-cop going 'nah... doesn't work, we can't see how that works' and rejected it. (...) So they had to go back and re-work it, so that's the [design for Nørrebrogade] we see now" (Interview 3, l. 27). There are other examples, such as right turns on red lights. Segregated cycling infrastructure makes it so that right turns on red light can virtually impossibly lead to collisions with cars. However, turning right on red is not allowed by the police (Interview 3). The police have, in general, a conservative stance on cycling infrastructure, related to their mandate to guarantee safety. This poses a general challenge to the prioritization of progressive cycling planning, because this traditional safety logic favors segregated infrastructure. It is also problematic that such a powerful actor is situated outside of the rules of the political game.

### **Strategic positioning of cycling measures**

In Copenhagen, the car-centric logics have been strategically dealt with to enable improvements for cycling. Instead of engaging in discussions about prioritizing space for cycling over cars, focus has been placed on 'smart solutions'. For instance, cyclists have been given 'pre-green' and 'green waves' in some occasions (City of Copenhagen, 2012). These are ways to alter the flow of traffic through managing traffic light patterns. This has allowed cycling prioritization to take place, but remain rather unnoticed by actors that would be opposed to a shift in road capacity from cars to cycling (Interview 5). The former director of the traffic department states that car capacity has never really been reduced, but that traffic light management has a very big impact on traffic flow. Furthermore, the focus has been on "finding unused capacity" to avoid antagonizing cars, in order to avoid conflict with car logics in designing and prioritizing measure (Interview 5). Copenhagen definitely has a richer repertoire of traffic light 'smart mobility' solutions than outside of Copenhagen; these pressure alleviation tools are less common outside of Copenhagen.

In section 4.3.1 I already touched upon the discursive content available in Copenhagen that isn't as present outside of Copenhagen. In Copenhagen, new logics like sustainability, liveability and feeling of safety were introduced and embedded in administrative units, counter-balancing car-centric logics. For example, Jan Gehl is a prominent architect whose ideas have influenced Copenhagen's design of urban public space (Interviews 2, 3). His ideas about the 'human scale' are strongly related to the liveability agenda and include a heavy focus on walking and cycling.

Cycling does not only challenge economic logics but also links up with them where possible; cycling is in Copenhagen often framed as a good investment. The *Green Mobility Action Plan* (City of Copenhagen, 2012) states cycling to be good for 'green growth' by creating jobs in construction and bike selling. Furthermore, tourists list Copenhagen's cycling facilities as a major reason for coming (City of Copenhagen, 2014), and companies use Copenhagen's high liveability to attract foreign talent (Interview 7). These reasonings also pertain to 'making the city run', and are, again, Copenhagen-specific.

Like in agenda-setting, a strategic effort to create nested levels of argumentation can be seen in surrounding the concretization process. The notion of 'feeling of safety' is a good example of this. When cycling became framed as a part of the experience of liveability, the idea of the feeling of safety was asserted. It originated from the bicycle accounts and was spearheaded by a lead cycle planner (Interview 1). The reasoning behind it is that people will only cycle if they feel safe, which is something quite different from statistical accident occurrence. Feeling of safety requires a road design that makes cyclists more visible and empowered. An example is the 'cycle box' design: at a traffic light, the stop mark for cars is moved back a few meters, creating a dedicated cycle box in which cyclists can gather. This guarantees that car drivers see cyclists and have to adjust to the cyclist's pace. Such measures have been nested by extending the theorized causal chains from new goals to cycling measures. In this case, cycling has been positioned as a means to create better liveability, and the feeling of safety has been theorized as a necessary causal precondition to increasing cycling levels. The measure of cycle boxes is in turn asserted as a means to increase the feeling of safety. Such strategic theorizing and positioning required both key individuals and administrative resources and prerogatives (such as the existence of a dedicated cycling secretariat), which are particular characteristics of Copenhagen.

### **Intermediate conclusion concretization**

Cycling is not thought of as a mode of transport that can replace all others; multimodality is the universal point of departure. This requires cycling to fit within a complex mobility system, the governing of which is shaped by certain logics that pose barriers to cycling. It is problematic that the private car is central to a number of powerful logics: economic and logistical viability, personal freedom in a democracy. Furthermore, traffic engineering is based on car-centric models and practices. Lastly, there is a strong safety logic, which strongly favors segregation of cycling and car infrastructure. Both the safety logic and car-

centric traffic engineering reinforce the current (skewed) power balance between cars and cycling in planning and undermine the legitimacy of progressive cycling planning such as shared-space traffic. These logics appear to be universal to the region.

In Copenhagen however, strategic action has tackled these barriers in multiple ways. First, by avoiding conflict through clever measures that boost cycling but do not overtly antagonize cars. Second, through the introduction of cycling-friendly logics such as liveability and sustainability, which challenge car-centric logics. And where possible, cycling is linked up with the same economic logics that support the legitimacy of cars. It can thus be seen that cycling is positioned to fit with 'it has to function', but also is tied to logics that have in part redefined what the functioning of a city entails (e.g. that it has to be liveable).

In this strategic work, the nested structure of agendas and documents (seen in 4.3.1) is used as well. The specific content and nested structure of agendas therefore also matter greatly to the concretization process; again, this context is present in Copenhagen but less so outside of it.

### 4.3.3 The dynamics of resource allocation

#### Cost-benefit analysis

As explained in section 4.1, the finance committee has to approve a proposed measure before it is discussed in city council, pointing to the central importance of financial logics in the justification of resource allocation. The most powerful logic is that of Cost-benefit analysis (CBA), a way of quantifying the socio-economic benefits of a policy measure. Discussions about the merit of measures almost always include some mention of the CBA; it is taken to be the most important tool for decision-making (Interviews 2, 3, 5, 6, 7). For instance, the Road Directorate, when analyzing new car infrastructure, base their recommendations solely on a CBA (Interview 5). Cycling is hampered by this CBA logic, but through strategic work has also become able to derive legitimacy from it. CBA practices hamper cycling because they commonly use indicators that originate from car-centric traffic logics. For instance, car travel times are to main focus, and increase in car travel times are calculated as economic losses. As discussed, car-based traffic models neglect cycling. CBA is about making things 'visible'; to give them presence in political discussions (Interview 2). If cycling is not part of traffic planning practices, it is not visible and is not represented in the CBA. This of course gives cycling a strong disadvantage.

However, in Copenhagen strategic work has been done to insert cycling into CBA frames in order to gain, rather than lose, a competitive edge compared to cars. In the *Bicycle Account 2014* (City of Copenhagen, 2014, p. 18), cycling is made visible to CBA practices by including the economic value of the health benefits produced by cycling. Moreover, the CBA includes the effect of cycling on tourism, which also generates financial income. The persuasiveness of these new CBA factors is enhanced by a direct comparison with the socio-economic effects of cars; cars are calculated to produce a net *loss* of 74 eurocents per kilometer driven, while cycling is calculated to produce a net *gain* of 22 eurocents per kilometer pedaled (City of Copenhagen, 2014, p. 18-19). The way in which CBA has been reframed to legitimize resource allocation to cycling is unique to Copenhagen. For example, in a neighboring municipality cycling planners do not have such health calculations or bicycle accounts to communicate the benefits of cycling to politicians (Interview 9).

#### Binding power of unanimous visions

Another way in which Copenhagen manages to overcome strong structuration by economic and financial logics is by the *binding* role of their nested visions and strategies (see section 4.3.1). The vision document *Eco-metropolis* notes in its preface: "The visions and goals of the Eco-metropolis will be included and specified in the City's other work, e.g. the Municipal Plan and the Agenda 21 Plan" (City of Copenhagen, 2007). These overarching agendas can be seen as a touchstone for more concrete plans (such as mobility

strategies); lower-order strategies have to be consistent with and instrumental to reaching the goals of the higher-order agenda. The binding power of unanimous agreement in city council is often referred to in strategic documents (e.g. in City of Copenhagen, 2011). Therefore, the strategically nested structures of measures within strategies within visions is not only a matter of persuasive argumentation about problems and solutions (in agenda-setting and concretization), it is also a matter of *contract*. The following quotes illustrate this: “Larger visions are the guidelines for the daily political choices at city hall. We have some goals for livability, economic growth, CO<sub>2</sub> neutrality, on top of that we have some ten different sector plans [ed. i.e. strategies], and they are the guidelines for budget negotiations and the daily choices. And they are unanimously decided on by city council” (Interview 7, l. 13). The most common tension is between the Technical & Environmental Committee and the Finance Committee: “if there is a conflict, it is between the visions of the Technical & Environmental Committee, and the economists in the Financial Committee, talking about ‘remember the bill’” (Interview 7, l. 16). However, these tensions do not stop progressive measures, but rather delays them: “the strength of these [visions] is that the council unanimously voted for them, so then there is political debate on much of the detail when executing the [visions], but there is overall political support for the goals of the [visions]. And that makes it a solid plan. And even in the elections, the [visions] aren’t [under discussion]” (Interview 7, l. 15). This is very positive for cycling, which can draw continual legitimacy from different unanimously decided-on vision goals. This binding quality proves to be the bridge between nice ideas and actually turning them into reality - it is key.

The binding and cementing quality of these unanimously agreed upon guidelines is sorely missing in the SCH project. At the regional scale no structure is present that can create a binding linkage to the central vision (the one of the secretariat) - on the contrary: the project was designed to allow implementation of lower-quality solutions to offer flexibility to participating municipalities. Furthermore, as stated in section 4.3.1, different participating municipalities have different agendas with the SCH project. The SCH secretariat performs a coordinating function, but does not set a common agenda (Interviews 8, 9, 13). In other words, there is no common vision and even if there were, it would not be binding.

However, the SCH project can hardly be blamed for these problematic conditions, and to understand why I now turn to the unifying insight of this study.

### **Political households and their boundaries**

If a common vision is to be created and agreed upon in a binding fashion, institutional structures that allow for this have to be present. This points to the politico-institutional boundaries of decision-making. In 2005, a major governmental structure reform was decided on. It divided the country into five regions and 98 municipalities (Ministry of the Interior and Health, 2005). The regions system replaced the old county system (Interview 7). The counties used to be responsible for regional roads, but since the reform the regional roads category ceased to exist; only the national and municipal levels remained. This coincides with the fact that the current regions are primarily responsible for and only have ruling power over health administration and hospitals (Interview 6, l. 42). They are allowed to contribute to mobility planning, but not to construction budgets (which comprise the great majority of costs). This led to the current situation, in which responsibility for cycling infrastructure rests at the individual municipal level. This is problematic when considering the scope and mechanisms of prioritization decision-making; politicians and the administration are mandated and funded (through taxes) by the local population. This inherently creates an inward focus on the interests of the municipality’s inhabitants. Municipalities thus represent ‘political households’, separate units concerned with their own interests and their own political and financial accounting (Interview 5). This inadvertently means that when cycling planning spans multiple municipal borders, effort has to be put into creating an institutional structure that can counteract these centripetal forces. That is to say, a structure that leads to regional agenda-setting, creation of a common vision, and produces binding agreements. While the SCH project has been successful as a platform for collaboration



between municipal planners at the technical level (project committee), commitment at the political level (steering committee and other politicians) is lacking (Interviews 8, 9, 11, 13). For instance, the incentives to join the project and to construct routes are referred to in terms of peer pressure (Interviews 8, 11) but there is no formal agreement on goals and resource allocation commitment.

These problems point to a lack of *formal authority* that is necessary for creating a common agenda and binding agreement. The non-committal and flexible nature of the project also points to the absence of an authority; municipalities joined in part because they would not need to commit to a set quality standard - if the project was stricter in its quality and resource allocation demands, municipalities might not have joined. A regional authority with coercive power *would* be able to tackle this weakness by forcing commitment and quality standards. Not only standards and commitment issues point to the lack of an authority; the funding problems also seem to point in this direction. A characteristic of resource allocation in political households is that municipalities do not spend *their* money on *others*. Even though Copenhagen has most to gain from the SCH projects (especially in terms of the congestion problem), it cannot spend money on cycle tracks in other municipalities - it does not fit within the politico-institutional structures. The scope of the congestion problem is regional, yet funding is currently local. This points to the need for a regional authority with a common funding pool that distributes finances across municipalities to match the scale of funding with the scale of the problem.

### **Intermediate conclusion resource allocation**

CBA is the dominant tool for determining resource allocation and therefore implementation of measures. It uses indicators that are strongly intertwined with the car-centric logics described in the dynamics of concretization. This in general limits the visibility of cycling to political decision-making. In Copenhagen, efforts have been made to make cycling visible in CBA, and not just visible, but even favorable over cars. Outside of Copenhagen, such practices are not yet present.

Apart from the repositioning of cycling in CBA practices, a powerful institutional force in Copenhagen gives cycling agendas and measures the momentum to receive resources. This force is the binding agreement on visions and goals. Currently such binding agreement can be seen within a municipality, in particular in Copenhagen, but not on a regional level. The reemerging observation that certain things are institutionalized in Copenhagen but not elsewhere, points us to 'political households'. These households have an internal focus, which is problematic as the scope of decision-making therefore has a mismatch with the scope of the problem (regional congestion). The lacks of an institutional structure with cross-municipal boundaries becomes apparent. Current structures do not lead to common agenda-setting, formulation of agreed-upon visions and goals, and most importantly: they do not facilitate *binding agreement*.

## 5 // Conclusions

The empirical question asked in this study is: *how and why are Super Cycle Highways struggling to be prioritized?*

I answer this question through the analysis of dynamics surrounding the political prioritization process within and across politico-institutional ('household') boundaries. These dynamics take place in the three key processes that entail prioritization: agenda-setting, concretization and resource allocation. In these respective processes: current institutional arrangements are problematized and solutions are theorized, solutions are made concrete by translating agendas into measures, and measures are judged and selected for the resource allocation that leads to implementation. From the dynamics in these processes, a pattern of mechanisms and conditions emerged that explains why the Super Cycle Highways (SCH) are struggling to be prioritized. I here present the key mechanism identified in this study, according to the process structure of the conceptual framework. Then I present the conditions for these mechanisms through the role of institutional contexts and boundaries. These two together answer the research question.

### Key mechanisms

The strength of cycling agendas and measures depends on creation of strategic linkages to different issues as different levels of abstraction. The more problems cycling can be framed as a solution to (from emissions to public health to traffic speeds), the more embedded cycling is in different agendas from which it can draw legitimacy and therefore political momentum. Such strategic linking of cycling crucially depends on a nested structure of overarching policy visions with ancillary strategies (e.g. CO<sub>2</sub>-neutrality vision with green mobility strategy). Such nested structures allow for fitting cycling into chains of theorized causalities (i.e. problem-solution reasoning).

The concretization of cycling agendas into measures faces barriers from car-centric logics. For example, the private car is central to logics of economic and logistical viability, and central to traditional traffic planning models and practices. The negative force from car-centric ('it has to function') logics can be counteracted in several ways. Novel logics create new sources of legitimacy and question existing beliefs; they redefine system functionality (i.e. liveability, sustainability goals versus short-term economic rationales). Furthermore, development of cycling planning practices provides alternative designs that one both challenge car-centric planning and avoid overt conflict over space through clever measures (e.g. traffic light prioritization instead of removing car capacity from roads). Again, a nested structure of policy documents strengthens concretization by cementing measures as solutions to agreed-upon problems.

Resource allocation strongly hinges on the compatibility of measures with the dominant selection tool: cost-benefit analysis. That which is not valued in socio-economic terms, faces a severe up-hill battle. Conversely, measures that are made visible to the cost-benefit framework have access to the legitimacy of the dominant financial logic. Cycling is linked up with economic logics (e.g. green growth, tourism, competitive business climate due to liveability). But more importantly, cycling is made highly legitimate through the calculated financial savings due to its public health benefits. Again, the nested policy structure is used for strategic positioning. This vital nested policy goal structures derives power from being unanimously agreed upon by the city council. The power of unanimous agreement is seen in the most crucial part of the prioritization process: resource allocation. Unanimously agreed upon visions are anchored in official goals, forming a binding framework for resource allocation which grants cycling measures a base-level of priority even in tight budget negotiations.

### **Institutional contexts and boundaries**

The above mechanisms depend greatly on the institutional context. Differences in institutional context account for differences in prioritization of cycling. The institutional context of the city of Copenhagen, where cycling is highly prioritized, is much richer and more fruitful for cycling than the contexts of (most) surrounding municipalities that participate in the SCH project. In Copenhagen, issues such as congestion, public health, emission reduction and green growth are highly legitimate due to the particularities of the city (its size, historical events and specific advocacy). These issues are thus in Copenhagen more easily turned into powerful cycling agendas. The prominence of these issues has led to institutionalization of the cycling-friendly logics that rival traditional car-centric logics, which has a palpable effect on the balance between logics that govern concretization. Furthermore, the strategic work that has created Copenhagen's favorable institutional context has been performed by key individuals. For example, the crucial focus on the socio-economic benefits of cycling was initiated by one individual. Moreover, the nested policy document structure that is so crucial to all of the processes described above is without doubt the strongest and most elaborate in Copenhagen - especially the binding quality thereof.

It is this binding quality that points to another key explanation of the problem. While a favorable institutional context can spark prioritization of cycling, this context is delimited by politico-institutional boundaries I call 'households'. Municipalities form separate households with an inherent focus on their mandated scope of governance. While Copenhagen has a structure that generates binding agreement, other municipalities do not have such mechanisms. Moreover, the scope of the SCH project does not fit these household boundaries; there is no political structure that can perform the crucial task of a regional political household. In essence, there is mismatch between the scope of the problem and solution (respectively: congestion and commuter cycling) and the scope of politico-institutional structure. This lacuna points to the potential of a regional authority that can coordinate and reinforce, through binding agreement, common agenda-setting, concretization and resource allocation.

### **Answer to the research question**

From the above, the following explanation to the empirical problem is given. The prioritization of cycling requires: strategic linking and positioning to create strong cycling agendas; novel logics that redefine system functionality and can produce concrete cycling measures; binding agreement on visions and fitting cycling to dominant decision-making criteria. This strategic work requires a nested structure of vision and strategy documents, with associated unanimously agreed-upon goals. The institutional context of Copenhagen has these characteristics, but surrounding municipalities have much less fruitful institutional contexts. Institutional contexts and strategic action thereon are necessarily confined to the boundaries of political households. Since SCHs cross multiple political households, their prioritization is hampered by a mismatch between the scope of their aims (tackling regional congestion) and the scope of household boundaries (municipal level). Neither strategic work nor binding agreement can currently operate at a regional level. This points to a lacuna: the lack of a regional political structure (e.g. an authority).

# 6 // Discussion

## 6.1 Theoretical implications

### Aims and contribution

This study set out to contribute to theory through the following aim: *to construct a novel conceptualization based on Fuenfschilling & Truffer's approach, and utilize and develop it in an empirical case study. It should be able to provide analysis of ongoing transition dynamics by focusing on political processes and being attentive to the role of geographical political boundaries.*

In accordance with these aims, a novel conceptual framework was constructed. It was developed iteratively through grounded theory in close relation to the experiential world of the actor. By staying close to the actor's experience, the framework deals well with political realities in an ongoing transitions context. This attention to the reality of actors led to the central placement of the interaction between political processes and political items as key mechanisms in the model. By conceptualizing political dynamics as taking place within politico-institutional households, the model highlights the importance of (geographical) institutional boundaries to understanding prioritization dynamics. The conceptualization is not a historical process, nor a deterministic model. It provides conceptual tools for observing and interpreting dynamics in political prioritization processes.

In doing so, it provides a more fundamental explanation than more straightforward explanations. For example, an economist might argue that cycling is not prioritized because it is not economically viable to do so – that costs outweigh the benefits. Such an explanation has truth to it, but misses the fundamental point. The real explanation rest precisely in the fact that such logics dictate decision-making, and that these logics contain blind spots to value that does not fit its belief system. As this study has shown, the economic viability of cycling has been tilted favorably by altering the logics that govern decision-making (case in point: incorporation of liveability and health benefits in cost-benefit analysis).

### Relation to literature

Institutional work (IW) focuses on the dynamics at the interface between structure and agency, which are in my conceptualization represented by, respectively, the analytical categories of *institutional context* and *political items*. The analytical category of *political processes* in turn represents the interface between structure and agency. Therefore, the conceptual model fits well with the analytical tenets of institutional work literature. This study contributes to IW by offering a process- and politics-oriented framework.

By conceptualizing the process in terms close to the experiential world of the actor, the framework allows easier entry into ongoing transition dynamics than an MLP approach would. To be fair, the MLP is not meant to be used in an ongoing context. Nonetheless, it highlights the usefulness of study's conceptualization in analyzing dynamics in an ongoing context. This quality contrasts this study with its primary foundation: the work of Fuenfschilling & Truffer (2014; 2016). Their analysis is historical, in which institutional logic ideal types are useful to explaining dynamics. In the current study, a multitude of logics have been identified. These could have been aggregated and stylized into ideal-types, but it appears such a strategy would not have provided a better answer to the research question. I therefore argue that in an ongoing, more 'insider' (Smith & Raven, 2012), analysis context, a focus on key mechanisms and processes is more fruitful than a focus on stylized field-level logics. There are transitions frameworks that pertain to ongoing transitions, most notably Strategic Niche Management (SNM) (Schot, Hoogma & Elzen, 1994; Kemp et al., 1998).

Shove & Walker (2007) argue that SNM is too much focused on prescribing policies to further preconceived necessary transitions, based on assumptions about how transitions occur. The current study was focused

on contributing to an understanding of the complex political workings of institutional change, rather than imprint an 'evolutionary imperative' (Smith & Raven, 2012) onto empirical reality.

This study has implications for the notion of 'transitions' itself. While transitions literature emphasizes socio-technical nature of technological change, technology is often the central object (especially in SNM and MLP). This study however shows, in line with Fuenfschilling & Truffer, that an understanding of transitions benefits from viewing transitions as a shift in ways of thinking rather than a shift in technology. Cycling is not intended to become dominant (i.e. multimodal aims); the real focus seems to be on the underlying beliefs, e.g. liveability.

## **6.2 Policy recommendations**

### **Strategic work**

In terms of strategic work, several practical advices can be given. Although historical events have shaped Copenhagen favorable institutional context, these cannot simply be recreated and are therefore of little use in terms of policy advice. Therefore, I here focus on strategic action that can likely be performed in other contexts as well.

First and foremost, addressing and making measurable the socio-economic benefits of cycling seems like the most surefire way of giving cycling a prioritization boost, as it does not require a fundamental change in values or economic logics but creates a large amount of legitimacy for resource allocation.

Second, alongside this measurability a focus on visibility can be applied. Political prioritization is about communication of problems, solutions and benefits. Communication depends just as much on the receiver as the sender; there has to be a common 'language'. The more languages used to communicate (financial numbers, quality of life numbers, arguments of equality/values, vivid envisionments, etc.), the more momentum can be gathered. (Interview 2)

Third, positive visibility seems key. The old school 'Greenpeace' strategy of negativity and pleading for restriction of harmful practices has shown to be a poor driver for change (Interview 3). Rather, spurring imagination and linking solutions (here: cycling) up with needs in a positive way (instead of harsh judgments of human needs that perpetuate the current situation) seems to be much more effective. Copenhagen's campaigning has been almost exclusively focused on making the image of cycling more positive instead of making the image of car driving more negative. (Interview 3)

Fourth, a variant of positive visibility is absence of negative visibility. This strategy is used in prioritizing cycling through traffic light management instead of decreasing car capacity. (Interview 5)

### **Regional authority**

The case of the Super Cycle Highways is an example of institutional dynamics around issues that have a larger scope than the institutional boundaries that are meant to deal with these issues (i.e. commuting and congestion are supra-municipal issues). It seems that politico-institutional boundaries need to be aligned with the scope of the problem at hand (for examples, negative externalities of regional mobility, such as congestion and pollution) through an authority at the appropriate geographical scale (in this case: the capital region of Denmark). In other words, a regional planning authority seems necessary to fully engage with the problem of regional car commuting (Interview 7, 11). The word 'authority' is key here. The SCH secretariat has to balance between pushing the quality of the project, while still allowing municipalities to work on it in their own terms. They do not have the power to force discussion and agreement on regional cycling goals. The notion of using external funding to reduce prioritization tensions is in itself very reasonable - after all, subsidies are a common stimulation tool. However, to institutionalize regional cycling planning in a stable fashion, such funding would need to be structural rather than incidental. An

institutionalized authority that receives a set amount of budget for injection into regional cycling would go a long way in providing stable funding. Furthermore, the binding nature of agreement seen in Copenhagen would be much more possible in the structure of a regional authority.

To give an example of a problem that is now under-addressed and would benefit from a regional authority: making Park & Ride competitive with cars. Park & Ride requires parking spaces near train stations. But the ground around a train station is normally quite expensive because of their central location, which creates high parking fees. This hurts the competitiveness of Park & Ride, and would require injection of funding to the local municipality to decrease parking costs. (Interview 4)

The need for a regional authority seems to be a blind spot. In Eco-metropolis, the most idealistic and large-scaled of the governmental documents on sustainability goals, we can also see this particular gap: “We will look beyond our municipal borders. Copenhagen will increasingly influence national and international agendas. We will work to ensure that challenges and barriers the City cannot overcome alone will be debated in the Danish Parliament, EU, UN and other national and international fora” (City of Copenhagen, 2007, p. 6). The regional scale is simply skipped in this summation.

### **6.3 Limitations & future research**

#### **Validity**

This study contains only one case (or rather a number of cases within an overarching case). The mechanisms and conditions of prioritization may differ strongly across national or even regional contexts. The conceptualization developed in this study is therefore perhaps not generalizable (*external validity*). Further studies could validate or disprove the generality of the model. For example, a comparison between the Copenhagen area and the Amsterdam area seems suitable to this end.

Within the Copenhagen area, only a small number of municipalities was investigated more closely. Due to time constraints and theoretical considerations (richer context), the city of Copenhagen has received by far the most attention. Insights gained about Copenhagen account for a large part of the conceptual work performed, the analysis and the explanation provided by this study. This raises questions about whether the developed concepts are representative of the entire Copenhagen area (*internal validity*).

The analysis made use of the concept of institutional context and institutional logics. These concepts are rather broad and conflate many things that could perhaps provide a more detailed and precise answer to the empirical question. However, this study did not aim for high precision. Indeed, an explorative study with theory building aims cannot be expected to deliver a highly precise framework – the required open-endedness, in pragmatic terms, excludes a focus on detailed categorization. In other words, this study focused on accuracy over precision. More precision can be added in future studies, for example by using Lawrence & Suddaby’s (2006) categorization of institutional work (political, technical and cultural work) or looking into the discrete institutional work actions identified by Perkmann & Spicer (2008). In relation to this study’s explorative aims, methods have been iterative and focused on interpretation rather than tight coding schemes. Such coding schemes, which generate higher internal validity, could be used in future studies that are more precision-oriented.

#### **Further empirical avenues**

The potential of cycling for longer distances (>25 km) hinges on the extent to which it can be integrated with public transport. Although the link between cycling and public transport resurfaced a number of times during the course of this study, analytical choices had to be made. A proper analysis would require more

attention. Future studies could look specifically into the dynamics between cycling and public transportation.

### **Further theoretical avenues**

During the course of this study, many interesting theoretical avenues presented themselves. These could, of course, not all be taken. Here I would like to present a number of promising directions for future research. Recently, Foucauldian governmentality literature has been mobilized (by Jensen, Cashmore & Elle, 2016) to investigate transitions. This strand of literature focuses on how 'calculative devices' (i.e. epistemic tools for decision-making, such as cost-benefit analysis) actively shape governance rationales that define what issues are important and which solutions are appropriate and adequate. In particular, this recent study highlights the importance of visibility to these calculative devices. These concepts clearly have a solid fit with the findings and conceptualization of the current study. Therefore, integration with this strand of literature seems highly promising in sharpening the conceptualizing of the content of and dynamics between institutional logics.

Furthermore, the current study suggests that Smith & Raven's (2012) specification of transitions pathways into *fit & conform* and *stretch & transform* dynamics have merit in conceptualizing transitions. Both dynamics can be observed. On the one hand, the integration of novel values of emission reduction and liveability into the institutional context of Copenhagen has been highly important to Copenhagen's cycling success. This is an example of stretch & transform. On the other hand, fitting the benefits of cycling into cost-benefit analysis frames – and example of fit & conform - has been equally important. In particular, this dichotomy pertains to the interesting coexistence of the structuring creed 'it has to function' (related to the fit & conform dynamic) and the need for progressive visions (related to the stretch & transform dynamic). The current study did not explore the compatibility of these conceptualizations, but future studies on institutional work could explore its merit.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A. Examples of interview questions

### Interview 2

#### 1 Intro

- Short introduction: interview anonymized & recorded (if agreed upon).
- general: age, educational background?
- specific:
  - can you explain briefly what your organization does? How does your experience relate to architecture?

#### 2 Future of cycling

- Your view on the future of cycling: what should the mobility system look like in the future?
  - Why cycling?
- *In what ways* should the system be different from the present to that future?

#### 3 Key issues

- What key problems do you see on the way there?

#### 4 Key opportunities

- What key opportunities do you see on the way there?
  - **Futurelab** → **working together**
  - **Combo cycling - walking, public transport?**

#### 5 IW

- What is being undertaken to further develop cycling in context of these problems and opportunities?
  - and what should be done in the future?

#### 6 Map

- I made a map of the field as how it appears to me (logics, actors, interrelations between these). What do you think?

#### 7 Closing questions

- Are these any important topics I have missed?
  - Are there any more remarks you would like to make?
- 

### Interview 6

- recording?
- Semistructured

#### 1) Intro

- What was it like to make the transition from TMF mayor to DCF?

#### 2) Agendas

- What are currently the main agendas of the DCF?
  - 'Cycling not a goal in itself'?
- What is the role of the DCF?
  - At which points influential?

### 3) Challenges & prioritization

- What are the biggest challenges for the DCF?
- How does the prioritization process go? (for instance Noerrebrogade)
  - Dynamics between different departments, role of city council?
  - What 'parameters' are important?
  - Role of new discourses? Livability, health, etc.
- Prioritization in terms of antagonism?

### 4) Long distance cycling

- Challenge: long-distance. Geography / households?
  - How do agendas differ over geography? (CPH city, omrade)

### 5) Opportunities

- Biggest opportunities for cycling?
- '10 year' discussion, the fundamental questions?

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## Interview 7

### 1) Intro

- recording?
- Semistructured, might interrupt you
- Data I have, still up to date?

### 2) Agenda

- 'Cycling not a goal in itself'?
- What **agendas** do **Socialdemokraterne** have with cycling?
  - You personally?
- What are the biggest conflicting agendas in mobility planning?
  - Biggest fights over space ?
  - & resources?

### 3) Prioritization & politics

- How does the prioritization **process** go? (e.g. Norrebrogade & **Harbor** tunnel)
  - Dynamics between different departments?
  - Committee > administration > city council?
- On **basis** of what is prioritization done? What 'parameters' are important?
  - Role of new discourses? Livability, health, etc.
- Prioritization in terms of **antagonism**? (speed bumps, traffic lights)

### 4) Future

- 'It has to **function**' → but in what **direction**?
- '10 year' discussion?

- “We live in a society where cars are unavoidable” & “will use same space” → how so? What about PT+bike? What about autonomous cars?

## 5) Long distance / SCH

- Challenge: long-distance. Geography / households?
  - How do agendas differ over geography? (CPH city, omrade)
  - Are attempts made to make inclusive households/agendas?

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## Interview 11

### 1 Creation of SCH

- **Why, How and when** was the project conceived? Did it have to do with the congestion charge, or separate from it?

#### Agendas

- How did you get all the municipalities around the table?
- → What reasons / agendas did municipalities have to join the conversation?
  - What differences in agendas are there?

#### Funding

- Cykelpuljen instrumental to deciding on current routes and plans → but pulje not part of the initial plan. How was it meant to be financed?
- Role of Region H?

#### Structure

- The structure of secretariat, styrgruppen, projektgruppen. Why in that way?

### 2 implementation / ongoing navigation of SCH

#### Vision / common agenda

- Challenges in negotiating visions everyone can agree to?
- → is it a matter of common agenda, or are the agendas different across muni's?
  - Is that a strength or a weakness?
- Can you describe the challenges of moving from vision to concrete shared plans?
  - Basic and ideal solution. What is the idea behind that?

#### Prioritization

- You were Chairman of styrgruppen, where administration meets political reality. What political realities did you encounter there? Difference with projektgruppen?
- Is CSS ‘generating’ enough money/benefits?
- Challenges in making benefits of routes ‘visible’ in the political arena?

- What role does commitment or peer pressure play in the dynamics? How is agreement arrived at?
- Momentum at which level is most important? (funding, muni, steering committee, secretariat)



## Appendix B. Examples of memos

Memo type	Creation date	Title	Memo text
Structure / writing / discussion	1-04-16 16:01	Historische analyse vs. real-time	Ik begrijp dat veel van de dynamics die ik zie een rijke historische achtergrond hebben. In mijn proposal heb gezegd dat historische analyse niet mijn doel is. Dat is ook, zo maar uiteindelijk moet ik de historie meenemen in hoeverre het de context dan wel the very foundation is van de dynamics en logics en IW actions die ik waarneem. Dat gaat ongetwijfeld nog ergens opgeschreven moeten worden
Theory / reconceptualization	20-03-16 12:02	Logic/modality relatie revisie	<p>Het lijkt er niet om te gaan dat het cyclists vs cars is, maar conventional vs progressive cycling planning (mixed met immer-verschuivende politieke discoursen en prioriteiten). Daar speelt kennis een grote rol in, zo lijkt het. bijv de aannames over planning models, wat het toevoegen van bike lanes ten koste van de weg capacity met de traffic flow doet, etc... (zie citylabs artikel, Copenhagenize etc.).</p> <p>Dus misschien is er dus meer sprake van een conventional logic (met bepaalde waarden?) en een nieuwe logic (met andere waarden, zoals liveability). Wat hierin wel complex is... dat juist de strijd over aannames in bepaalde belangrijke planning parameters juist doet hintten naar gemeenschappelijke waarden... waarover iig fundamenteel gezien dus geen strijd is. (maar wel op measure niveau). Parameters als snelheid, cost-effectiviteit,</p> <p>Lijkt er dus op dat er een categorie van waarden is die inherent zijn aan de planning business, en er een sfeer van andere, bredere, politieke agendas omheen zweeft die de planning practices de ene danwel andere kant op kunnen trekken. Plus nog de inherent traagheid van inertie erbij, in al deze dimensies.</p>
Theory / reconceptualization	14-04-16 21:55	Nieuwe ideeën conceptualisatie (bespreking Jens)	<p>Kern</p> <p>Ongoing transitions vergen, zo lijkt het, een insider ontology. Dwz 'follow the actors' en hoe dichter je op de messy reality zit, hoe meer je ook gedwongen wordt om in hun termen te gaan denken --&gt; en dat is weer in lijn met mijn aim direction om in de buurt te blijven van de belevingswereld van practicioners, zodat strategy een real connection kan maken met practice. En het doel is dan niet een 'evolutionary imperative' (zoals beschreven in transitie literatuur door smith&amp;raven), maar een mapping van agendas, conflict</p> <p>Agendas</p> <p>Agendas als centraal begrip. Agenda's zijn 'topics to be discussed' at a formal meeting (government focus). Topics to be discussed op een 'list of items' en die list reflecteert priorities. Agenda's hebben ook 'underlying intentions'. (Topic = issue)</p> <p>--&gt; dus iets als 'health' is niet een agenda, want aan agenda heeft een problem definition + een solution. 'health' is een issue en 'more cycling to promote health' is een agenda.</p> <p>Agendas worden gecreerd, en ondersteund met argumententen. Ze hoeven niet op elk niveau van institutie te zitten (bijv normatief en technisch en politiek/organisationeel)</p> <p>--&gt; het is een proces van prioritization.</p> <p>--&gt; agendas kunnen naast elkaar uitgevoerd worden (bijv. het maken van een non-antagonistic mix of modality 'finding unused capacity' Toersloev --&gt; 'holistic solutions')</p> <p>Logics are constructed by actors, and translated to politics (politicized) to Agendas --&gt; after which political currency applies. The support of actors = also political currence.</p>

		<p>Agendas kunnen de household overstijgen, maar beslissingen worden op household niveau genomen. Household kunnen decisionmaking (scope of agenda prioritization) integreren, als er een common agenda bestaat --&gt; zoals bijv. bij 'counting people'.</p> <p>Sommige agendas zijn cycling-centered. En in andere agendas is cycling instrumenteel.</p> <p>IW Institutional work is alomvattend, basically. In principe is institutional work alles dat betrokken is bij agenda-setting en prioritization</p> <p>Logic Wat betekent 'logic'? --&gt; misschien is logic (of 'rationality') wel de manier van kijken; de 'cycling as X'. De 'definitie' van een object in termen van governance. --&gt; calculative devices, visibility en rationality zijn allemaal mutually constitutive. Dat tezamen kan ik een logic noemen. Governmentality terminology: Rationality = means-end, measures Calc. devices = language for means-ends, legitimacy for measures, tool for transforming infinite reality to governable object field of visibility = describing problems, a way of seeing (through lens of rationality &amp; calc.dev.) Subject formation = values, norms, appropriate behavior (inc. law?)</p> <p>Op die manier zijn veel meer dan 3 logics aan te wijzen.</p> <p>Een governance logic kan groter zijn dan households (bijv calc.dev. van CBA, maar agendas zijn typically limited to household)</p> <p>--&gt; governance for whom? dat ontbreekt nog. Wie wordt gerepresenteerd door een agenda? (bijv. harbor tunnel kritiek, erg neighborhood inhabitant oriented)</p> <p>Conflict Er zijn twee vormen van conflict: non-inhoudelijk; over resources, ruimte en legitimacy - de parameters van de prioritization arena. Inhoudelijk; als er verschillende perspectieven zijn over hetzelfde object Conflict is te zien in er verschillende Dit betekent dat dynamics niet op inter-logic/inter-rationality conflict hoeven te zitten, maar dat die dus ook naast elkaar competeten over priority via 'political currency' (netwerk, support, resources, etc...) --&gt; een voorbeeld van conflict: parking space. As shop necessity vs. more space for cycling. --&gt; conflict: cyclists as big spenders</p> <p>Ability om agenda veel momentum te geven heeft te maken met de inclusiveness van agenda (commonality) , en dat heeft alles te maken met de framing van de agenda.</p> <p>Sterke punten van conceptualization geeft ruimte voor politieke aard van IW/change, dingen als contingencie van champions die nou eenmaal veel past beter bij de a-normatieve aard van veel politiek</p> <p>Methode</p> <p>Uitdagingen Wat zijn dynamics? 'cycling as' is vanuit tech geredeneerd. Terwijl ik juist zie dat tech instrument Hoe ga ik kijken naar de problemen op regional scale? M.a.w. hoe kijk ik tegen cross-household agenda conflict aan? Welke objecten ga ik bekijken? Neem ik de fiets, de auto, voetgang, public space, PT als objects die competeten over space en resources in hetzelfde field? Klinkt wel</p>
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			<p>aannemelijk dat dit goed werk. -&gt; Het punt is dat ik ergens wel simpelheid moet creëren voor mezelf -&gt; met het oog op vragen stellen en analyse.</p> <p>Als ik mijn initiële approach in acht houd: vanuit cycling, conflict erbij pakken. Niet alles willen doen</p> <p>Welke rol heeft IW nog? Leuk, die verschillende actions, maar wat levert het me op? inspiratie voor zoeken en interpreteren, als sensitizing concepts is het nuttig. Maar voor mijn analyse zelf zie ik het weinig bijdragen.</p> <p>'Political work'</p> <p>Eigenlijk een slechte benaming, omdat het hele proces politiek is. Verschil met origine van hun indeling ; zij komen uit management, en niet government. -&gt; beter een andere naam bedenken.. of andere indeling.. -&gt; organizational work!!!!</p>
Theory / reconceptualization	22-04-16 13:33	Logics concept	<p>Wat is het doel van het logics concept?</p> <p>-&gt; ik kan alsnog wel identificeren wat ik denk dat enigszins gerelateerde manieren van kijken zijn</p> <p>-&gt; maar dat wordt dan al snel een outsider beeld. En wat schiet ik ermee op om het op die manier te beschrijven? -&gt; MLP en SNM hebben het idee om op basis van de zichtbare stappen in het proces niches te empoweren.</p> <p>-&gt; maar ik heb geen niche in die zin. Dan is een sustainable logic een instrumentele stap om alsnog rob's 'evolutionary imperative' erin te fietsen.</p> <p>-&gt; ik wilde het ongoing proces in duiken om er achter te komen</p> <p>-&gt; als ik een mapping heb van de logics, waar is het dan om te doen? -&gt; de dynamics. Levert het logics concept een nuttige conceptualisatie van dynamics? -&gt; dynamics als hotspots (conflict)</p> <p>-&gt; ik zie iig dat er niet echt iets is als mutually exclusive logics (zoals in F&amp;T) -&gt; de splitsing van car en cycle als aparte conflicting logics is niet eerlijk. Ze dienen andere doelen (distance), hebben andere problemen, lossen andere problemen op.</p>
Theory / reconceptualization	23-05-16 12:35	iterativity translation	<p>bij het herluisteren van interview 7:</p> <p>Prioritization en translatie van plannen hoeft niet iteratief en negotiatory te zijn. Het kan ook binnen een kingdom met veel harmonie worden gecreëerd en dan pas bij de budget wars onderworpen worden aan de sel criteria/competition over currency. Of in laat stadium pre-implementatie veel lokale politieke weerstand tegenkomen (noerrebrogade). 'Ideaal gezien' zou het dus heel iteratief zijn, om goed te adapteren naar de sel criteria/andere agendas, maar allemaal maar partial understanding en weinig communicatie met andere 'kingdoms'.</p> <p>maar ook de sel criteria zijn moving goalposts + kunnen worden beïnvloed door agendas (bijv health agenda, CBA cycling)</p>
Theory / reconceptualization	8-06-16 17:08	Units of analysis	<p>(Geels 2009; MLP heeft als UoA 'the overall trajectories, paths, phases or stages in the development of an innovation', terwijl local model kijkt naar 'micro ideas, decision, actions or events of particular developmental episodes'). Ik kijk naar prioritization tussen agendas over objects of governance in kaders die worden geschapen vanuit logics (rationalities, visibilities, criteria en worden constrained door spatio-temporal locality.</p> <p>-&gt; ik leg geen nadruk op specifieke IW actions. Hoe kom ik aan mijn inzichten? Welke observeerbare units vertaalt ik?</p> <p>Mijn voornaamste ontologische basis is IW en interpretivism (AoD, governmentality). Institutional work bevindt zich op de interface tussen structuralism en interpretivism (agency). Het is dus niet verwonderlijk dat de units of analysis van IW institutions en strategic action zijn. En wat daar tussenin ligt is discourse/conflict/issues/problems and solutions. Dat is de plek waar dynamics plaatsvinden. Dus mijn raamwerk, dat probeert te kijken naar de spanningen en processen... de eigenschappen van de arena waarin prioritization plaatsvindt (en niet zozeer sec naar structuur, maar ook niet sec naar strategische handelingen) kijkt vrij logischerwijs naar issues (matters of concern... of agendas) als unit of analysis.</p>