

**THE ROLE OF EU-SUPPORTED PROJECTS IN POLICY TRANSFER
IN URBAN TRANSPORT**

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DECLARATION

I, Marcel Rommerts, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

The views expressed in this thesis have not been adopted or in any way approved by the European Commission and do not constitute a statement of the European Commission's views.

Marcel Rommerts

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses certain interventions of the European Union (EU) in the field of urban transport. It assesses if and how policy ideas, concepts and information are transferred through EU-supported projects in the field of urban transport. This possible transfer takes place in a context of multi-level governance and Europeanisation. The study covers a ten-year period which starts around 1995.

The thesis begins with a historical overview of EU transport policy and its urban component. The possible application of concepts from the political science discipline is assessed in the empirical part. This assessment is based on information from interviews with thirty key-informants and case studies covering mobility management and urban road user charging.

Examples have been identified where policy transfer has influenced policies, initiatives and decisions at local, regional and national level. The study results suggest that the policy transfer concept can be applied to EU-supported projects in the field of urban transport. Networked individuals are the basis from which project networks are established. Project networks provide a structure for policy transfer to happen.

Policy transfer is more driven by the individuals involved in projects and less by their organisations. The results provide indications on how the conditions for policy transfer can be optimised, if there is a wish to do so. A precondition for successful policy transfer is the existence of trust between the persons involved in the transfer.

The results provide evidence of an increasing activity of the EU in the field of urban transport. With EU-supported projects acting as a vehicle for the exchange and promotion of best practice, the EU has become an actor in urban transport policy. The projects have contributed to the Europeanisation of urban transport policies across the EU. This, in turn, leads to an increasing Europeanisation of urban transport systems.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACCESS	Network of cities that succeeded the Car Free Cities network
ACEA	European Automobile Manufacturers Association
ALTENER	ALternative ENERgy (EU funding programme in the field of new and renewable energy sources)
APAS	Actions de Préparation, d'Accompagnement et du Suivi
CEMR	Council of European Municipalities and Regions
CIVITAS	CIty, VITAlity, Sustainability (EU funding programme)
COST	European Co-operation in the field of Scientific and Technical Research
DG INFSO	Directorate-General for Information Society
DG RTD	Directorate-General for Research
DG TREN	Directorate-General for Energy and Transport
DRIVE	Dedicated Road Infrastructure and VEHICLE Systems (EU funding programme)
EAEC	European Atomic Energy Community
ECF	European Cyclists Federation
ECOMM	European Conference on Mobility Management
ECSC	European Community for Steel and Coal
EDF	European Disability Forum
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Agreement
ELTIS	European Local Transport Information Service
EPOMM	European Platform on Mobility Management
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESDP	European Spatial Development Perspective
ESF	European Science Foundation
EU	European Union
EURATOM	EUROpean ATOMIC Energy Community (see EAEC)
EUREKA	EU funding programme to support networking in the field of industrial RTD

EURET	European REsearch on Transport (EU funding programme)
GDP	Gross domestic product
IEA	International Energy Agency
INTERREG	EU funding programme to support interregional cooperation
ITS	Intelligent Transport Systems
JRC	Joint Research Centre
LIFE	EU funding programme in the field of the environment
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Development and Cooperation
POLIS	Promoting Operational Links with Integrated Services (Network of cities with interest in transport issues).
PROMETHEUS	PROgram for a European Traffic with Highest Efficiency and Unprecedented Safety (EU funding programme)
RTD	Research and technological development
SAVE	Specific Actions for Vigorous Energy efficiency (EU funding programme)
SEA	Single European Act
SECI	Socialization, Externalisation, Combination, Internalization (model for knowledge transformation)
STEER	Sustainable Transport through Energy Efficiency and Renewables (EU funding programme)
T&E	Transport & Environment
TDM	Transport Demand Management
TEN-T	Trans-European Transport Network
THERMIE	EU funding programme in the field of energy technologies
UITP	Union Internationale des Transports Publics
URBACT	EU funding programme to promote exchange of good practices between cities
URBAN	EU funding programme to support regeneration and sustainable urban development

CHAPTER 1 – FRAMEWORK AND OBJECTIVE FOR THE RESEARCH

The picture that Europeans have of Europe is usually a –sometimes unintended– projection of their own society. For the Germans Europe will become one big Germany, for the Poles one big Poland, and the Dutch will continue to see Europe as organised and compromise-willing as they themselves are. This already leads to conflicts and misunderstandings.

G. Mak

1.1 Introduction

Urban transport is an area of European Union (EU) policy where local, regional, national and European activities overlap and complex interactions take place. The area is governed by the subsidiarity principle, which is why it came relatively late on the EU policy agenda. The subsidiarity principle is based upon the assumption that in the EU a multi-level hierarchical governance structure exists. The principle of subsidiarity is understood as being intended to ensure that decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen, and that constant checks are made as to whether action at EU level is justified in the light of the possibilities available at national, regional or local level.

Despite the application of the subsidiarity principle, the European Commission has launched different new initiatives in the field of urban transport after the publication of the first White Paper on European transport policy (European Commission, 1992). One decade later, by the year 2005, urban transport had become anchored in three fields of EU intervention. These three fields are: (1) transport legislation, for example on public transport services, as well as ‘non transport’ legislation with an impact on urban transport; (2) spending, for example on urban transport investment projects, through different EU budgets; and (3) the exchange of best practice and promotion of research and development, with funding for projects from different EU programmes. For example, the EU’s Framework Programmes for Research and Technological Development (RTD Framework Programmes) have systematically included RTD actions in the field of urban transport since the Fourth RTD Framework Programme which started in 1994.

On the basis of their -sometimes overlapping- objectives, three different types of policy-related (or policy-relevant) projects that fall under the third foothold can be identified: projects supporting development of EU policy; projects supporting implementation of EU policy; and projects supporting Europeanisation processes. Table 1.1 describes these three project-types in greater detail.

<p>1. Projects supporting development of EU policy</p>	<p>2. Projects supporting implementation of EU policy</p>
<p>Aim: establish a knowledge foundation for policy development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Policy and technology watch – Models, scenarios – Statistics, data – Policy evaluation tools – Exploration of technology / policy options (research and development) 	<p>Aim: provide tools and technologies that policies need for implementation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Blue sky research – Research and development responding to policy requirements – Harmonisation and standardisation – Market push (demonstration) – Policy and technology validation
<p style="text-align: center;">3. Projects supporting Europeanisation processes</p> <p>Aim: promote common policy approaches, spread a common RTD culture, raise standards, encourage individuals and bodies to work together</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Policy transfer (Europeanisation of policy / best practice in a field) – Knowledge development (Europeanisation of knowledge) – Strategic industrial projects (Europeanisation of industry) <p>→ Projects allow individuals and bodies (from public sector, private sector and academia) to network and work together in formal and informal settings</p> <p>→ Projects can be a tool for soft policy making and address subsidiarity concerns</p>	

Table 1.1: three different types of policy-related projects

The starting point for this study is that there is a lack of understanding of the impact of these interventions. In particular, there is a lack of evaluation and knowledge of how EU-governance works in the field of urban transport within a framework of subsidiarity, and if and how policy-making and implementation at the local, regional and national level is influenced by various EU interventions. One possible important phenomenon is the transfer

of best practice through EU-sponsored urban transport policy-related projects. This study will aim at providing new insights on these topics. In order to respond to the overlapping activities and complex interactions related to urban transport, it will follow a multi-disciplinary approach.

This study draws on two distinctive disciplines: political science and transport policy. In addition, as part of the definition of the empirical research, and focussing on research impact assessment, the study addresses science and technology studies. The analysis will take a historical, retroactive perspective. The study period will cover a decade roughly between 1995 and 2005. It starts, as a follow up to the first White Paper on European transport policy (European Commission, 1992), with the launch of activities in the field of urban transport at EU level through the Fourth RTD Framework Programme, and a first policy statement and reflection on the application of the subsidiarity principle through the Citizens' Network Green Paper (European Commission, 1995a).

The study period ends with the launch of the CIVITAS demonstration programme and the mid term review of the second White Paper on European transport policy (European Commission, 2006a). The mid term review announced the preparation of a new Green Paper on urban transport. This announcement might be an (implicit) response to the fact that, over the preceding decade, the EU's activities in the field of urban transport had increased in importance and visibility. As a result, the Commission might have considered that a new reflection on the application of the subsidiarity principle in the field of urban transport was appropriate.

The period after the year 2005 can be seen a new phase, characterised by a high level of dynamism and interactivity. It starts with the preparations of the Green Paper 'Towards a new culture for urban mobility' (European Commission, 2007a), followed by its adoption in 2007 and the subsequent consultation process. The Green Paper is followed by an Action Plan on urban mobility (European Commission, 2009a) that included proposals for twenty actions. Just before the publication of the Action Plan the Commission presented a 'pre-

White Paper' on the future of transport in Europe (European Commission, 2009). This paper lists mobility in urban areas as one of the main challenges for future transport policy.

Other scholars have studied the development of policy and the maturing of the CIVITAS Initiative during this new phase. For example, Herrera Domínguez (2011) has described the political processes that surrounded the preparation of the Green Paper and the Action Plan. Pflieger (2009) has looked at the relationship between CIVITAS and policies at local, regional, national and EU level. Stern (2009) has described the impacts of the second group of CIVITAS projects. Marsden et al. (2010) have looked how CIVITAS has operated in the wider context of policy transfer.

The remainder of this chapter on the framework and objectives for the research will be used to look at the importance of transport for the EU, clarify the relevance of the EU for subnational government in terms of legislation, funding and policy development, and to explain a number of key concepts that will be used throughout the study. The overall objective of the research will be outlined in the final part of the chapter.

1.2 The importance of transport for the EU

Transport has been an element in EU policy since the beginning of the 'European project' in the 1950s. It is important for economic integration, including the Single Market; social integration and cohesion; and to achieve environmental objectives. Frybourg and Nijkamp (eds. Button, Nijkamp and Primus, 1999, pp.15-34) suggest that European integration will never come into being if there is not an efficiently operating transport network connecting all nodes of the European network economy. Nijkamp and Vleugel (eds. Banister, Capello and Nijkamp, 1995, pp.3-29) add that the future of a unified Europe will depend on the functioning of strategic infrastructure networks that are interconnected in terms of the integration between different layers of network and intermodality between the different modes. In this respect also the quality of nodal centres (terminals, stations, urban centres) plays an important role, as well as the frequencies of the connecting modes of transport.

EU transport policy has important spatial impacts which go down to the urban level. Ross (1998) sees transport as one of those policy areas that directly determine the functionality and liveability of societies, especially in urban areas. Few factors have determined patterns of European urban and industrial development more decisively than proximity to transport routes and facilities. Vickerman (1994, pp.1-24) confirms that infrastructure is an important determinant of regional production potential. He also mentions that it is the bottlenecks in infrastructure, rather than just overall levels of potential, which are critical in fully exploiting this potential. Dimitriou and Thompson (2007, p. 3) refer to the EU putting more and more emphasis on strategic planning and regional development.

As already mentioned, the European Commission issued its first European policy strategy for transport in 1992 (European Commission, 1992). Aspinwall (eds. Eising and Kohler-Kock, 1999, ch.7) notes that the EU's Common Transport Policy, and its governance system, only began to take shape during the 1980s. Only then had the EU acquired legitimacy and authority. Aspinwall suggests that the EU acts both as a structure and as an agent. Through its work, the Commission strives to legitimise itself and to create a demand for EU-level transport policy. Nugent (2003, pp.327-328) indicates that the policy responsibility for transport is shared between the EU and the Member States through a mix of legislation and cooperation between governments.

1.3 Definition of key concepts

The words 'transport' and 'mobility' cannot be used interchangeably. Transport (Oxford English Dictionary, 2010) is defined as a system or means of conveying people or goods from place to place. Mobility (Oxford English Dictionary, 2010) is defined as the ability to move or to be moved freely and easily. Urban transport can be defined as transport pertaining to or characteristic of, occurring or taking place in, a city or town (Oxford English Dictionary, 2010). This study generally uses the word 'transport' rather than 'mobility' to describe the subject area, which was the habit of the European Commission during the period covered by the study. Over time, the Commission has started to increasingly use the word 'mobility' in its discourse. This seems to be in recognition of the

fact that policy should focus on enhancing opportunities for the movement of people and goods, bringing in stronger user and effectiveness dimensions alongside the systems development and efficiency dimensions.

In the framework of this study, the author defines a ‘project’ as a temporary structure that allows research and technological development (or RTD), pilot actions or best practice exchange to be undertaken in a field that is of common interest to the members of the project network (also referred to as a network of project participants, project partners, or members of a project consortium). Project networks include all individual persons and the public and private bodies that are involved in preparing and implementing the project. Projects have a coordinator. There are basically two types of project coordinators: ‘professional coordinators’ (who are appointed and paid because of their project management capacities) and ‘interest coordinators’ (who take the lead because of their technical, scientific or political interest in the field).

It should be kept in mind that the objective of a project funder or co-funder (for example the EU) is not necessarily the same as the objective of the members of the project network. The funder or co-funder might want to support innovation or industrial competitiveness through RTD or pilot actions. The members of the project network might look for other benefits such as mutual learning, information gathering or networking with likeminded individuals.

This study makes a distinction between two types of projects: big projects and smaller projects. Big projects, with an EU contribution of usually more than €1 - 2 Million, receive grants from the RTD Framework Programmes. Smaller projects receive EU funding of up to €1 – 2 Million through grants awarded directly by the European Commission, or from programmes such as SAVE, Intelligent Energy-Europe or LIFE. This study focuses on policy-related projects in both categories. This means that other types of projects, such as industry-driven projects funded by the RTD Framework Programmes, or infrastructure development projects, are outside the scope of this study.

The word 'information' is used very broadly with different meanings throughout the study, and different forms of information establish the evidence on which the study is based. Information can refer to statements, knowledge or views on high level themes or topics. It can also refer to data or to lower level statements, knowledge or views. And finally, it can refer to supporting evidence that underpins or confirms such statements, knowledge or views (i.e. corroboration).

Scholars use various references to identify different levels of sub-national government. No attempt has been made to harmonise these references and usually the wording from the original source has been used. This means that 'urban' and 'local', and 'local and regional' and 'subnational' are used interchangeably. In geographical references, EU and Europe are used interchangeably. References to institutional structures and legislative processes in the EU have been harmonised as much as possible. These structures and processes cover the EU Member States, applicant countries (who are bringing their legislation in line with EU legislation) and countries covered by the EFTA agreement.

Different disciplines refer to the national government level in different ways. For example, political scientists refer to central government (to stress the multi-level governance approach), to the nation state in the context of Europeanisation and the 'hollowing out of the State', and to the Member States in the context of the EU structure and functioning. In the context of this study, these references have been harmonised as much as possible and replaced by the term national government.

In this study, the term 'network' is used with different meanings depending on the context. Albrechts and Mandelbaum (2005, p.2) define a network as a set of channels through which matter, information and energy flows. The channels connect nodes in which flows are stored and processed. It comprises physical as well as social relations. In the context of political science, the term network refers to a policy network. But, as will be seen later, it can also refer to two governance subsystems: the domestic security network and the supranational regulatory network. In the context of transport policy, it refers to transport and infrastructure networks. In the context of stakeholders and lobbies, it refers to networks

of actors and interests. These do not necessarily take the form of policy networks. Finally, the term network can also relate to networks of project participants. An attempt has been made to ensure that, each time that the term network is used, the meaning is clear from its context.

It is also important to define the term ‘policy’ and some related concepts. In the context of this study, policy refers to a principle or course of action adopted or proposed as desirable, advantageous, or expedient, especially one formally advocated by a government, i.e. the contents of politics (Oxford English Dictionary, 2010). ‘Politics’ refers to the activities or policies associated with government, especially those concerning the organization and administration of a state, i.e. there is a focus on process and interaction, often stakeholder- and power-related (Oxford English Dictionary, 2010). ‘Polity’ refers to the state as a political entity, i.e. the institutions which set the scope for political action (Oxford English Dictionary, 2010).

The field of research covers a wide range of activities. The author considers that, in narrow terms, ‘research’ refers to the first of the three elements of research, technological development and demonstration, i.e. it refers to (basic) research. However, it is also used in a broad meaning, referring to all elements of research, technological development and demonstration (RTD). This broad understanding also applies to this study. The author would like to make a distinction between industry-oriented (focussed) and policy-oriented (focussed) research. In the framework of this study, the author understands dissemination as the spreading of project results outside the members of the project network.

The OECD’s Frascati Manual (2002, pp. 240; 245) is useful for clarifying the difference between ‘basic research’ and ‘applied research’. Basic research is experimental or theoretical work undertaken to acquire new knowledge of the underlying foundation of phenomena and observable facts, without any particular application or use in view. Applied research is also original investigation undertaken in order to acquire new knowledge, but it is directed towards a specific aim or objectives.

Four key concepts from the political science discipline that are relevant for this study will be explained later. However, at this stage it is already useful to provide a first clarification of the term ‘policy transfer’, which is in the heart of this study. Policy transfer is a process by which policies or practices of one political system are fed into and utilised in another political system. The political systems referred to here include the level of local, regional, national or international governments or bodies. Examples of subjects of policy transfer that are relevant for urban transport are: policy solutions and tools; technological solutions; administrative arrangements; planning processes; institutional and legislative frameworks; and strategic approaches including the use of comparisons or evaluations.

Scholars struggle with the question of how to judge the success of policy transfer. The only answer seems to be a rather subjective one: ‘did policy really change and did it achieve its objectives’? In many cases it is difficult to judge whether the change was really caused by policy transfer, and if and how changes in the framework conditions might have played a role. The success of projects can be judged by assessing the delivery of results/output that should be in line with the agreed project objectives and contractual obligations. The agreed project objectives do not usually explicitly include the implementation of a policy transfer process, but are more in line with the objectives of the funding programme (RTD Framework Programme, Intelligent Energy-Europe, etc.).

1.4 Research objective and outline of the rest of the thesis

Before the objective of the research is outlined, the two reasons why this study addresses urban transport will be explained. First, as mentioned before, urban transport is an area of EU policy where local, regional, national and European activities overlap and complex interactions take place. Despite the application of the subsidiarity principle, the EU seems to have an influence. Understanding the background, form and impact of this influence provides an interesting topic for further investigation. Second, the author knows the area of urban transport well through his professional work experience.

The author's professional experience offers the possibility to connect and validate information using insights that have been collected during a work experience in the field of urban transport of ten years outside the European Commission and fifteen years inside the European Commission. However, the close link between the study field and the author's professional experience means that care must be taken to avoid bias and that the validity in the research is ensured. This brings specific methodological and operational requirements to the empirical part of the study.

The overall objective of the research is to study the impacts of the EU's interventions in the field of urban transport on the development of urban transport policy at local, regional and national level. In particular, the research will look at if and how policy transfer takes place via networks of individuals and organisations that participate in EU-supported projects in the field of urban transport. This transfer takes place within a wider context of multi-level governance and Europeanisation of local government.

To address this broad objective, a wide range of questions could be asked. The author has decided to focus on four issues and define the following research questions:

1. what was the role of urban transport in EU policy during the study period?
2. what is the influence of EU-supported projects in the field of urban transport on policy decisions?
3. can the policy transfer and the policy network concepts be applied to EU projects in the field of urban transport?
4. how can the conditions for policy transfer in the field of urban transport be optimised?

As this study is exploratory in nature, the questions have been formulated in an open way, so that they will be able to elicit a broad range of information. The first research question sets the scene for the research, elaborates on the context and describes the activities that take place in this context. The second question focuses on one specific activity: EU-supported research projects. The aim is to identify evidence of the influence of such projects on policy design and on policy decisions. To understand the phenomena that might

explain the influence of projects on policy and policy decisions, the application of two concepts from political science will be tested: policy networks and policy transfer. This explains the reason for including the third question. And finally, the fourth research question addresses the optimisation of the conditions for policy transfer.

The author would like to stress that, besides transfer of information and knowledge, knowledge development can also take place in project networks. This may even be the overall objective of the project. The development of knowledge is, however, not the focus of this research. Assessing knowledge development is not in line with the overall research objective and would require a different approach.

Whenever this study refers to the optimisation of policy transfer, this is assessed both from the perspective of local policy makers as participants in the policy transfer processes (i.e. providers and users of information) and from an EU perspective (i.e. the EU acting as facilitator). It covers both the policy planning and implementation phases at the local level, and the programme design and implementation phases at the EU level.

To respond to the challenging overall research objective, the study is built up as follows. Chapter 2 will outline the EU framework for urban transport, based upon a review of literature and information. After an overview of the development and the institutional structure of the EU, a discussion of the subsidiarity principle follows. This will be followed by a review of EU transport policy, RTD policy and other EU policy fields with urban transport relevance. Chapter 2 ends with a discussion of relevant lobbies and partnerships.

Based upon the phenomena described in chapter 2, chapter 3 elaborates on four important concepts from political science that can help to better understand and explain the EU's interventions in the field of urban transport. Chapter 4 outlines the design of the empirical research. It includes a section that describes how the possible risk of author influence was managed and presents the results of an assessment of the interview characteristics. The results of the empirical research are presented in chapter 5 (the interview results) and chapter 6 (the case study results).

Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 all end with a short section that includes conclusions related to the overall research objective. They are concise and, for chapters 2, 3 and 4, focus on issues that are relevant to the empirical research and include specific questions to be addressed in the empirical research. The integrative and overall conclusions of the research are presented in Chapter 7. The logic of the study approach is illustrated in figure 1.1.

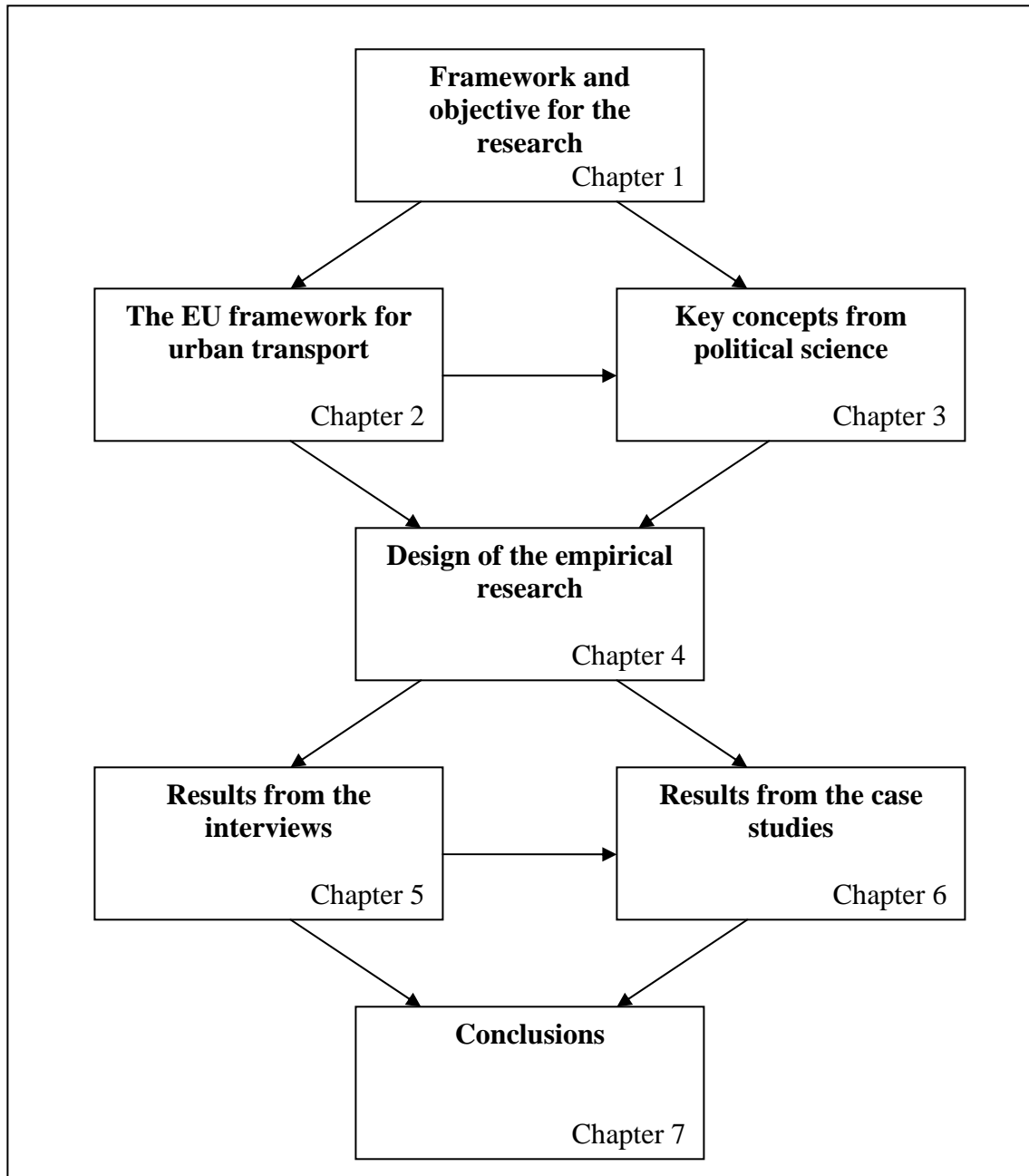


Figure 1.1: the logic of the study approach

CHAPTER 2 – THE EU FRAMEWORK FOR URBAN TRANSPORT

Transport is the blood circulation in an economy.
P. Nijkamp and J. Vleugel

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of two chapters dealing with a review of relevant literature and information. The aim of these chapters is to:

- get a better understanding of the political science and transport policy disciplines;
- identify and understand concepts and issues from each of the disciplines that are relevant for the objective of this study;
- assess the possible use of these concepts and issues for the objectives of this study; and
- identify possible gaps in knowledge.

In order to better understand the EU's interventions in the field of urban transport, it is important to first identify, describe and structure the EU's activities and processes. This chapter therefore starts with outlining the comprehensive framework of EU policy, legislation and funding instruments. It is based on information that is available on the EU's internet site¹. This comprehensive framework has been established by Member States who have decided to hand over competences to the EU, which is unique for any international organisation. The Lisbon Treaty (European Commission, 2008) describes the EU in the following way:

¹ www.europa.eu. Accessed 9 June 2010.

By this Treaty, the HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES establish among themselves a EUROPEAN UNION, hereinafter called "the Union" on which the Member States confer competences to attain objectives they have in common.

This Treaty marks a new stage in the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, in which decisions are taken as openly as possible and as closely as possible to the citizen.

The Union shall be founded on the present Treaty and on the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (hereinafter referred to as "the Treaties"). Those two Treaties shall have the same legal value. The Union shall replace and succeed the European Community.

The Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union constitute the Treaties on which the Union is founded. These two Treaties, which have the same legal value, shall be referred to as "the Treaties".

The Treaties (European Commission, 2008) indicate that the competence for transport is shared between the EU and the Member States. The same situation applies to environment, energy and cohesion policy. In the field of research and technological development, the EU has its own competence to carry out activities, including the definition and implementation of programmes. However, the Treaties indicate that this competence does not prevent Member States from undertaking their own activities in this area.

Proposals, either legislative or non-legislative, are made by the Commission and adopted by the European Parliament and the Council. Usually, in areas where there is a shared competence between the EU and Member States, the Treaties include an obligation to consult the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on proposals as part of the legislative procedure.

2.2 *EU Treaties, institutions and bodies*

2.2.1 Historical overview of the Treaties

The process of European integration was launched on 9 May 1950, when France proposed to create 'the first concrete foundation of a European federation'. The Treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), also called the Treaty of Paris, was signed on 18 April 1951 and came into force on 25 July 1952. For the first time, a group of states agreed to work together towards integration. The Treaty laid the foundations for the current European Union by setting up a 'High Authority', a Parliamentary Assembly, a Council of Ministers, a Court of Justice and a Consultative Committee.

The Treaties of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC, also known as EURATOM), or the Treaties of Rome, were signed on 25 March 1957 and came into force on 1 January 1958. The six founding countries were Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The EEC Treaty made transport a 'common policy area', together with agriculture and external trade.

On 17 February 1986 nine Member States signed the Single European Act (SEA), followed later by Denmark, Italy and Greece, on 28 February 1986. The Act was ratified by the Member States' parliaments during 1986 and entered into force by 1 July 1987. The SEA was the first substantial change to the EEC Treaty. It extended the European Economic Community's powers through the creation of a large internal market to be completed by 1 January 1993, through establishing new powers, improvement in the decision making capacity of the Council of Ministers and increasing the role of the European Parliament.

The Maastricht Treaty entered into force on 1 November 1993. By establishing a European Union, it marks a new step in creating an 'ever-closer union among the peoples of Europe'. The Union is based on the European Communities and supported by policies and forms of cooperation provided for in the Treaty on European Union. It has a single institutional

structure which includes the European Parliament, European Council and European Commission. EU activities must respect the principle of proportionality and, in areas that do not fall within its exclusive competence, the principle of subsidiarity.

The Treaty of Amsterdam entered into force on 1 May 1999. It further increased the powers of the European Union. Special prominence was given to a balanced and sustainable development. The Amsterdam Treaty gives a stronger position to the European Parliament and includes a protocol on Community procedures for implementing the principle of subsidiarity. The Treaty of Nice was signed on 26 February 2001 and entered into force on 1 February 2003. Its aim is to make the Community institutions more efficient and legitimate and to prepare the EU for its major enlargement to include countries from Eastern Europe. The Heads of State and Government also expressed the need to initiate a wider and deeper debate on the future of the Union and adopted a 'declaration on the future of the Union' that was annexed as Declaration No 23 to the Treaty of Nice.

On the basis of the results of this debate, a new Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe was adopted at the Brussels European Council of 17 and 18 June 2004. After the ratification ran into problems in France and the Netherlands, the text was re-negotiated and became known as the Treaty of Lisbon. It entered into force on 1 December 2009. In fact, the Treaty of Lisbon consists of two parts: the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (European Commission, 2008).

The Treaties redefine the tasks and the means of the EU. After six waves of new members joining, the EU currently has twenty-seven Member States². The EU has developed into a structure that is neither a State nor is it comparable to other international organisations. The reason is that EU Member States delegate sovereignty to common institutions representing the interests of the European Union as a whole on questions of joint interest.

² Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom. The 'New Member States' refers to the ten former communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria), Malta and Cyprus.

The EU Institutions, which were for the first time defined by the Maastricht Treaty, include the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Council, the Court of Justice, the European Court of Auditors, the European Ombudsman, the European Data Protection Supervisor and two Financial bodies – the European Central Bank and the European Investment Bank. The EU has two advisory bodies, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions.

For the purpose of this study, the European Commission, the Council, the European Parliament and the Committee of the Regions are particularly relevant. The European Commission is the single responsible institution for drawing up proposals for a decision by the two decision-making institutions, the European Parliament and the European Council. The most important power of the Commission is the exclusive right of initiative.

2.2.2 The relevance of the EU for subnational government

The literature refers to an increasing relevance of the EU at the level of subnational government. Until the 1980s, the EU did not seem very relevant. According to Hull and Rhodes (referred to by John, 2000, pp.877-894), European integration concentrated on certain well-defined policy areas, and these were mainly the responsibilities of the national governments. This changed during the 1980s. Much of the legislation that was included in the Single European Act directly affected local and regional governments.

Hart and Roberts (referred to by John, 2000, pp.877-894) refer, among others, to the Commission becoming active in vocational and professional training, local transport, the environment, trading standards, health and safety, and consumer protection. In the light of the increase in legislation that has had a direct impact on subnational governments, the observation of John (2000, pp.877-894) that money is the main reason for local and regional governments to engage with the EU is probably too limited.

When analysing funding allocations, scholars tend to focus their analysis on the funds allocated within the framework of Regional Policy. Member States play an important role in the allocation of these funds. Other funds receive less attention, despite the fact that they allow for a more entrepreneurial behaviour by subnational authorities. Examples are the RTD Framework Programmes, the Energy Framework Programme (now called Intelligent Energy – Europe) and the LIFE Programme.

Once these latter programmes have been decided by the Council and European Parliament, the European Commission often has the discretion to select the individual projects, thus limiting the decision taking power of the Member States and allowing the Commission to work directly with beneficiaries. The activities funded by these programmes in which local and regional authorities are involved often fall in the best practice exchange or pilot project categories.

Looking to the future, Le Galès (2002, p.103) is of the opinion that the urban policy area is surrounded by great uncertainty, despite the institutionalisation and professionalisation of urban interests in Brussels. Besides being concentrations of ‘human’, ‘economic’ and ‘cultural’ capital, Le Galès (2002, p.103) mentions that cities are also concentrations of ‘material’ capital in the form of infrastructures and technologies. One may therefore assume that cities will continue be in the EU spotlight. The reason is that they will remain the focal points of social, economic and technological change which will, among others, affect transport and infrastructure development and management.

In parallel with the increased attention paid to urban issues by the Commission, new working methods have been introduced such as the transfer of best practice. Bomberg and Peterson (2000, pp.9-10) state that, by the end of the 1990s, policy transfer had become a preferred method of extending European cooperation. The reason is that policy transfer might allow the EU to achieve Europeanisation in domains that are so far untouched by ‘formal’ European integration, in areas where the traditional, legislative EU-approach cannot reach.

Colomb (2007, pp.347-372) argues that the European Union is portrayed by some scholars as a ‘massive transfer platform’ or ‘supranational idea hopper’ for the exchange and diffusion of policy concepts. Newman and Thornley (2005, p.133) refer to the fact that best practice has been ‘Europeanised’, a view which this author shares.

Relevant in this context is Hajers’ observation (2003a, p187) that ‘government’ can participate in policy making but that it does not necessarily dominate it, either because it cannot or because it does not want to. He refers to a variety of EU policy areas where the EU is not willing or is unable to come up with firm instruments for steering policy. Hajer (2006, p.43) also highlights that governance in the EU’s multi-level setting is not a routine activity. The institutions involved have to interact within multi-party, polycentric (and often transnational), and inter-cultural governance networks. In addition, the actors bring their own assumptions about rules and authority. Consequently, the policy process itself becomes the site where the rules are negotiated. This author considers that urban transport could form part of the variety of EU policy areas mentioned above. The specific governance network and negotiation process also seems to describe reality quite well.

2.2.3 The subsidiarity principle

The principle of subsidiarity was introduced in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty by, what Nugent (2003, p.64) calls, ‘a rather vaguely worded’ article. The current Treaty on European Union (European Commission, 2008) says that: ‘The use of Union competences is governed by the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality. ... Under the principle of subsidiarity, in areas which do not fall within its exclusive competence, the Union shall act only if and in so far as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States, either at central level or at regional and local level, but can rather, by reason of the scale or effects of the proposed action, be better achieved at Union level. The institutions of the Union shall apply the principle of subsidiarity as laid down in the Protocol on the application of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality’.

Nugent (2003, p.341) explains that, when preparing a legal proposal, a number of matters must be carefully considered by the Commission in addition to the direct policy considerations at issue. These include a justification of the proposal in terms of the application of the subsidiarity principle. Such a justification takes the form of answers to a series of questions on subsidiarity in the explanatory memorandum that is attached to each proposal.

Subsidiarity is a complex and difficult notion. In this author's opinion it is probably intentionally so for political reasons, i.e. to allow for a flexible interpretation on a case by case basis. The principle of subsidiarity is understood as being intended to ensure that decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen, and that constant checks are made as to whether action at EU level is justified in the light of the possibilities available at national, regional or local level. It is closely bound up with the principles of proportionality and necessity, which require that any action by the EU should not go beyond what is necessary to achieve the objectives of the Treaties. This means that an EU action should have added value.

The European Commission (referred to by Mairate, 2001, pp.167-177) has defined EU added value as the 'value resulting from Community assistance that is additional to that which would have been secured by national and regional authorities and the private sector'. As the reference to the regional and local level in the Treaty on European Union indicates, the subsidiarity principle is based upon the assumption that a multi-level governance structure exists.

After the Maastricht Treaty was negotiated, the European Council has developed guidelines designed to assist with the application of the subsidiarity principle. These have been brought together in a dedicated Protocol. Protocol 30 was formally introduced as an annex to the Amsterdam Treaty (European Commission, 1997). It states, among other things, that subsidiarity is a dynamic concept that should be applied in the light of the objectives of the EU and should leave as much scope as possible for national decisions. It includes guidelines that should be used when examining the application of the subsidiarity principle and states

that Member States are required to take all appropriate measures when the application of the subsidiarity principle leads to no action being taken at EU level. It calls on the Commission to take duly into account the financial and administrative burden resulting from its proposals on, among others, local authorities.

Scholars have different views on the subsidiarity principle and its implications. The removal of powers from the Member States in the 1980s made national politicians more determined to protect their remaining policy powers. This is argued by Wallace (eds. Wallace and Wallace, 2000, p.49). She notes a reflex in the increasing emphasis on subsidiarity starting with its reassurance that policy powers should be located at the lowest practicable level of governance.

At the same time, the principle of subsidiarity offers a recognition of subnational government and it offers a direct 'link' between the EU level and the regional and local level, points that are sometimes made by subnational lobbies. John (2001, p.70), and Herrschel and Newman (2002, pp.56-57) indicate that the EU affects the constitutional position of subnational government. Before the Maastricht Treaty, subnational government had no legal existence other than as an interest operating under the legal authority of Member States. The only exception was a requirement for partnership in the Structural Funds regulations from 1988.

In the view of Nugent (2003, p.64), subsidiarity has been taken to mean that policies should be decided at the national level, and perhaps even at the regional or local levels whenever possible. Nugent (2003, p.470) also suggests that the subsidiarity principle may be seen as an embryonic federal principle. In Moreno's view (2003, pp.271-285), it is more the concept of decentralisation that is enshrined in the Maastricht Treaty via the notion of subsidiarity. He indicates that the political elites at Member State level viewed the decentralised layer of government referred to under subsidiarity as being the national governments.

On the contrary, according to Goldsmith (1993, pp.683-699), the subsidiarity principle is a means to promote the subnational level, as it emphasises that activity should be organised at the lowest appropriate level of government. Also Moreno (2003, pp.271-285) suggests that subsidiarity favours the participation of subnational governments in running public policies. John (2001, p.70) explains subsidiarity as a principle of EU governance that states that a public activity should be regulated by the appropriate level of government. This means implicitly that subnational authorities have a right to administer EU functions. Rambow (2002, p.58) notes that the opinions on the importance and relevance of the subsidiarity principle differ widely. He mentions that one needs to weigh the reference in the Treaty to 'sufficiently achieved' at Member State level against the reference to 'better achieved' at EU level.

In transport, according to Nijkamp and Vleugel (eds. Banister, Capello and Nijkamp, 1995, pp.3-29), the subsidiarity principle is an important institutional paradigm that suggests that the responsibility for policy initiatives should rest with authorities at the lowest possible decision level, while reasons of efficiency, coherence, equity and standardisation may necessitate policy coordination at a higher level. This opinion stresses the important role that subnational government plays.

Ross (1998, ch.8) notes that the EU's targeting of the transport sector has highlighted the political nature of transport issues. As one reason for this he mentions the subsidiarity principle, which has brought regional and local decision-makers into the European debate, creating 'spill up' pressures as unresolved domestic issues press onto the EU agenda. He indicates that, in certain cases, this has created political tensions out of issues resolvable, but not resolved, at lower levels. But Ross doesn't give concrete examples of such cases. When discussing competition in local public transport, White (2002, p.205) refers to the role that subsidiarity plays in the debate on this topic, implicitly making the link with relevant EU legislation.

2.3 EU transport policy

2.3.1 Historical overview

As indicated in section 2.2.1, the authors of the founding treaties of the European Economic Community believed that the transport sector was essential, not just for economic development but also for bringing the European population together and establishing peace in Europe. Barnes and Barnes (1999, ch.10) describe the transport industry as essential for both the production and distribution of goods and services across the EU, and it is a key element in the process of economic development and integration. However, this recognition has not been sufficient to ensure the development of dynamic European transport policies.

In the year 1998, Ross (1998, ch.2) divided the European transport policy context into three periods: first, from the early 1950s to the early 1970s; second, from then up to the mid 1980s; and third, from the mid 1980s to ‘the present’. The author considers that the shift towards a more environmentally-oriented transport policy that is expressed in the 2001 White Paper can be seen as the start of a new, fourth period.

Low, Gleeson and Rush (2003, p. 94) argue that in the cases they studied, while the argument is sometimes invoked in terms of ecological sustainability, this does not drive transport policy because the establishment is too institutionally embedded in a network of storylines and organisations. This author, however, disagrees with critical scholars who suggest that the Commission’s increased environmental consciousness is more expressed in words than in the Commissions’ actions. In his view it has adapted its storylines, helped with the setting up of new organisations and demonstrated an increased sensitivity to environmental and climate change concerns in its policy and legislative proposals.

First period: from the early 1950s to the early 1970s

The Treaty of Paris of 1951, which created the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), aims at integrating these two strategic industries as a means of averting future

European conflicts. The 1957 Treaty of Rome regards the transport sector as an integral part of the common market and includes transport as one of three common policy areas. To ensure that national regulations governing transport between Member States do not discriminate, the current Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (European Commission, 2008) indicates in article 90 that ‘The objectives of the Treaties shall be pursued within the framework of a common transport policy’.

The elements of this policy are defined in articles 90 – 100. Article 91 includes a reference to the fact that the distinctive features of transport should be taken into account by the Council. Paragraph 4 allows the Council to lay down ‘any other appropriate provisions’. This offers the EU an important freedom to move beyond the mandate given in the other paragraphs of article 91. During this first period, progress tended to be limited to non-controversial technical harmonization and social concerns. Ross (1998, ch.2) suggests that this was caused by the absence of leadership, whether by a Member State, industrial sector or the Commission.

Second period: from the early 1970s to the mid 1980s

Transport was identified in the original Treaty as a key policy area for the common market. However, in contrast to the Common Agriculture Policy, the Common Transport Policy continued to make little progress during the second phase. The Commission developed action programmes as legislative proposals, but usually the Council failed to act. Ross (1998, ch.2) explains this from the transport industry’s heterogeneous nature, which more properly should be regarded as separate markets and policy environments.

Ross (1998, ch.2) notes that the ‘transport policy network’, as he calls it, includes numerous regulatory and advisory bodies at different levels (local, regional, national, international), as well as private industrial and separate modal interests, all of which retain considerable influence over the policy process as well as a direct stake in its outcome. In the absence of Community policies, transport remained subject to national regulations, price controls and quantitative restrictions on market entry. In a case launched by the

European Parliament, the Court of Justice censured the Council in 1985 for its failure to enact legislation to fulfil Treaty obligations relating to free circulation and cross-border provision of transport services.

Third period: from the mid 1980s to 2000

The Common Transport Policy was 're-launched', as this phase is referred to by Barrass and Madhavan (1996, pp.229-247), in the mid-1980s. The Council was prompted to take action by the May 1985 Court judgement and by the Single European Act (SEA) setting the scene for a Single European Market. A 'newly activist stance' in European transport policy, as it is referred to by Barrass and Madhavan (1996, pp.229-247), is reflected in various Commission documents issued during the 1990s. These include a range of, what they call, 'previously neglected policy issues'. Before the 1992 Single Market deadline, the Council adopted a large amount of legislation to harmonize or eliminate national regulations.

The SEA contained a number of new policy areas, including environment, research, and economic and social cohesion (Nugent, 2003, p.47; 58). Herrschel and Newman (2002, p.52) note that the economic project of the Single Market was accompanied by EU transport planning, for example through a trans-European Transport Network (TEN-T) linking regions and states. Stevens (2004, p.45; 59) suggests that substantial progress was made between 1986 and 1992 towards the establishment of a single market in each of the main transport modes, except rail. The 1992 Maastricht Treaty includes for the first time a provision for transport infrastructure as part of article 170 on the trans-European networks (European Commission, 2008).

The European Commission presented its first White Paper on European transport policy (European Commission, 1992) in 1992. This White Paper includes references to transport in urban areas in chapter IV (Issues and possible answers), articles 175, 176, 177, 178 and 181, and chapter V (Community policies and priorities), articles 364, 367 and 371. It announces the launch of RTD actions related to urban transport as part of the EU's Fourth RTD Framework Programme.

In 1995 the Commission issued its transport policy agenda for the years 1995 – 2000 in combination with a designated action programme (European Commission, 1995). Also in 1995 the Commission produced its first policy document on the promotion of public passenger transport, in particular in urban and suburban areas. This Green Paper on the Citizens' Network (European Commission, 1995a) included examples of best practice on the integration of transport systems, including in urban areas. The Citizens' Network was followed by a Communication on the implementation of the Citizens' Network (European Commission, 1998). In this paper, the Commission lists a series of initiatives to encourage information exchange, benchmarking and RTD actions.

Just before the end of 1998 the Commission issued a 'pre-White Paper' policy paper (European Commission, 1998b) that includes policy considerations and a programme with possible initiatives to be launched until 2004. The text refers to the challenge of improving the quality of local public transport.

Fourth period: from 2000 to today

The second White Paper on European transport policy (European Commission, 2001a) of 2001 includes a chapter specifically dedicated to urban transport with the title 'Rationalising urban transport'. It also has a section on the development of high-quality urban transport as part of the Policy Guidelines. While earlier papers include references to urban transport, the inclusion of an own dedicated chapter can be considered as an explicit indication of the increasingly important role that urban transport plays, in the view of the Commission, in achieving EU transport objectives.

The White Paper proposes some sixty measures, including a restructuring of transport pricing and a new wave of investments in the trans-European Transport networks. In the urban transport section, the Commission looks at diversifying energy use in transport, where a legislative approach is proposed, and at the promotion and spread of best practice, where a voluntary approach is proposed which is in line with the subsidiarity principle.

The 2001 White Paper (European Commission, 2001a) reflects, according to Stevens (2004, p.65), a more decisive shift towards an environmentally responsible transport policy. The White Paper builds upon the conclusions of the Gothenburg European Council in June 2001, which called for a sustainable transport policy within the context of a broader strategy for sustainable development. A mid term review (European Commission, 2006a) of the transport White Paper took place in 2006. This mid term review has a dedicated section on urban transport. The overview of ‘main actions’ includes, as first action planned for the year 2007, the publication of a Green Paper on urban transport.

2.3.2 Urban transport and EU transport policy

EU transport policy, legislation and financial programmes, including the RTD Framework Programmes, all have an impact on transport in Europe’s urban areas. As indicated earlier, policy responsibility in the field of transport, and in related fields such as environment and energy, is shared between the EU and Member States (Nugent, 2003, p.327). This has an impact on local government as it will change national - local relationships and will contribute to the Europeanisation of local politics, within and across Member States. Different scholars provide the following more elaborated examples.

Big political EU ‘projects’ not only have impacts, including transport impacts, at the EU and national level, but also at the urban level. Nijkamp and Vleugel (eds. Banister, Capello and Nijkamp, 1995, pp.3-29) indicate that, for example, the completion of the Single Market, the expansion of the EU, and the increased accessibility of the central and east-European countries have changed the face of European cities and regions. Infrastructure connections, openness, competitiveness, innovation, and private-public initiatives have become keywords in economic development strategies at all spatial levels.

The trans-European transport network programme is part-funded by the EU. It connects national infrastructures into a Europe-wide network, includes nodal points and infrastructure-links in urban areas, and provides access to cities and regions. Hajer (2000, p.

141) interprets the TEN-T programme not simply as an infrastructure development project but as the expression of the discourse of a 'Europe of Flows'. This vision now determines the spatial development policy in Europe, which implicitly also includes an urban and regional dimension.

Funding is another example. Banister, Gérardin and Viegas (1999, pp.202-223) note that public budgets have increasingly come under pressure and urban transport budgets in particular have been easy to cut as the immediate effects of doing so are not apparent. It takes many years for under-investment in both capital and maintenance to manifest itself in terms of lower standards of service reliability and safety. This trend of decreased budgets might result in an intensified search for alternative funding sources at EU level³.

An example of the EU's regulatory activities that have an impact on public transport is provided by White (2002, p.205). He identifies the following aspects that are all applicable to public transport in general, but also to urban public transport specifically:

- adoption of common technical standards, enabling interoperability and economies of scale in the manufacture of vehicles and equipment;
- adoption of a common institutional framework that enables greater interoperability and fairer competition within and between modes;
- encouragement of greater safety in transport, accompanied by common speed limits, vehicle design standards;
- provision of common technology, notably the Galileo navigation system;
- a greater involvement in local transport policies, for example greater competition in the local public transport sector.

Another example of a domain where, on the basis of projects launched at the time of the early RTD Framework Programmes (through initiatives such as PROMETHEUS, DRIVE and the Telematics Applications Programme for Transport), technical standards were

³ Note Johns' observation on money being the main reason for local and regional governments to engage with the EU in section 2.2.2.

developed is Intelligent Transport Systems (ITS). However, projects such as CAPITALS or ITS City Pioneers in the late 1990s have not been able to create a market breakthrough. Only recently some ITS applications, such as route guidance systems and electronic smart card systems for public transport, are being taken up by the market.

Further examples of EU policy, legislation and financial programmes that have an impact on urban transport are included in sections 2.4 and 2.5.

When one looks at these examples, there are several cases where policy makers have had to find a balance between (sometimes conflicting) objectives. In the case of public transport, for example, there is a potential conflict between market liberalisation and public services; while in the case of technical standards for vehicles, there is a potential conflict between industrial competitiveness and pollution targets. No specific literature on conflicting objectives in EU urban transport policy has been found.

Conflicting policy objectives are part of almost every policy making process. In the case of the EU, the objectives and impacts of a proposal are made transparent during an impact assessment process. They are discussed between the Commission departments during the preparation of a proposal. This is followed by a formal ‘interservice consultation’ that involves all relevant Commission departments and a ‘Commission Decision’ which allows the Commissioners to express their views. In the subsequent phase the two co-legislators, the Council and the European Parliament, may re-adjust the balance between the objectives and contents of the Commission’s proposal.

2.3.3 Two examples of the Commission’s ‘activism’

The Citizens’ Network Green Paper and the revision of Regulation 1191/69 are two examples of the Commission’s activism in the 1990s in addressing previously neglected policy issues which touched upon urban transport. As mentioned before, the Commission produced its first policy document on public passenger transport in late 1995. This Green

Paper on the Citizens' Network (European Commission, 1995a), which was also published in a glossy version with pictures, included many examples of best practice.

The Commission addressed, at the same time, the question of efficient pricing in transport in another Green Paper (European Commission, 1995b). Ross (1998, ch.4) notes that, while the Commission admits its limited scope for action in these two areas, its interest remains vital to encourage and sustain cross-national research efforts and for setting the tone of the overall debate.

Aspinwall (eds. Eising and Kohler-Kock, 1999, ch.7) mentions that the Commission has sought active partnerships in industry and consumer groups to help bring about change. The discussions in Council and the European Parliament on the Green Paper, which highlighted sensitivities related to the application of the subsidiarity principle, made the Commission decide to focus the follow up on non-legislative actions. These were presented in a Communication in 1998 (European Commission, 1998). It included a three-year work programme with initiatives to promote information exchange, benchmarking and research, in line with the subsidiarity principle.

Regulation 1191/69 was in place for nearly 40 years and resulted from, what Ross (1998, ch.2) calls a serious structural problem derived from the reference in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union to 'the distinctive features of transport' in article 91 (European Commission, 2008). This reference was intended to account for long standing public service transport obligations nationally, which the Treaty itself cites as a legitimate reason for financial aids. Regulation 1191/69 reinforced Member States' rights to guarantee public transport services in the inland modes.

However, the loopholes in this regulation were later exploited by protectionist-minded governments. Stevens (2004, p.98) notes that the Commission's intention may have been to allow only financial interventions that 'could be economically justified', but the result was that they 'enabled governments to go on subsidising their railways as they always had ...'.

Because of the public service role of transport, it was recognised in the late 1960s that the general prohibition of state aids in the Treaties needed to be dis-applied to transport. This has been done in article 93, which states that ‘Aids shall be compatible with the Treaties if they meet the needs of coordination of transport or if they represent reimbursement for the discharge of certain obligations inherent in the concept of a public service’. This provision was codified in Regulation 1991/69 providing for transport operators to be compensated for the discharge of public-service obligations. This regulation was accompanied by another regulation (1192/69) seeking to apply common principles to the way aids were accounted for in accounts. The Council in 1970 adopted a further regulation (1107/70) setting out the basis on which such aids could be granted, to cover infrastructure costs as well as operating losses and for investment purposes.

Delayed by the stepping down of the Santer Commission which included Transport Commissioner Neil Kinnock, the new Commissioner for Energy and Transport de Palacio presented in 2000 a first proposal to revise Regulation 1191/69 (European Commission, 2000). The proposal partly builds upon the results of the ISOTOPE and QUATTRO projects that were supported by the RTD Framework Programme. It aimed at introducing mandatory ‘regulated’ competition for bus service contracts and included detailed rules to ensure quality and integration. The introduction of mandatory competition and the inclusion of these detailed rules were the reasons that the Commissions’ proposal encountered serious problems in both the Council and the European Parliament.

A case at the European Court re-launched the debate and emphasised the need to revise regulation 1991/69. The Altmark arrest⁴ of 2003 clarifies the rules under which subsidies for public transport operations may be provided in the wider framework of State Aid. The Commission tabled a revised proposal on 20 July 2005 (European Commission, 2005a). This proposal responds to the Court judgement and allows authorities to choose between in-house production and ‘regulated’ competition for public transport service contracts. It

⁴ Judgement C-280/00 of the European Court of Justice of 24/7/2003 in the case between Altmark Trans and Regierungspräsidium Magdeburg.

includes less detailed rules on quality and integration. On the basis of this proposal, a new regulation was adopted in 2007 (European Commission, 2007b).

After the year 2000, the momentum that was built up by the Citizens' Network and the first proposal to revise Regulation 1191/69 gradually got lost. Following the merger between DG Energy and DG Transport in the year 2000, a unit specifically dedicated to urban transport was established in the newly created Commission department DG Energy and Transport (DG TREN). This unit prepared a new Green Paper during the year 2000 but it was never published. It has been suggested that this was because of resistance from the Commissioner, who was sensitive to the subsidiarity argument and who, with the revision of Regulation 1191/69, was already handling a difficult urban transport file. Over time, the unit got more and more focussed on other fields, such as alternative fuels and clean vehicles, and its name changed several times. By the year 2006 the urban transport portfolio consisted of:

- the CIVITAS Initiative, launched in the year 2002 with the aim of bringing urban transport and energy objectives together in integrated demonstration projects co-financed by the RTD Framework Programme;
- the ELTIS internet portal, launched in the year 1998 to disseminate best practices, news and information on urban transport in Europe;
- an urban transport benchmarking initiative (2003 – 2006), a follow up to the previous Citizens' Network Benchmarking initiative (1998 – 2002);
- a small set of RTD projects, co-financed by the RTD Framework Programme;
- the STEER programme, a sub-programme of the Intelligent Energy-Europe Programme that deals with alternative fuels and energy efficiency in transport through best practice exchange and market take up actions.

2.4 RTD policy

2.4.1 Historical overview

Research has been an element of the European integration process from the beginning as it was part of the original EURATOM and ECSC Treaties. Stevens (2004, p.196) highlights that research was an important activity under the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM), which established the Joint Research Centre (JRC) since the 1950s. Nugent (2003, pp.316-317) notes that there was no mention of research in the original EEC Treaty. The Single European Act added a new title on ‘Research and Technological Development’ to the EEC Treaty. This title was further developed in the Maastricht Treaty. Articles 179 – 190 in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (European Commission, 2008) address research and technological development.

When discussing the history of EU research, Grande and Peschke (1999, pp.43-61) mention that a breakthrough in the development of a European RTD policy took place in 1972. Inspired by a debate on a ‘technology gap’ in Europe, the Paris Summit decided to apply the ‘general clause’ in the Treaty to the field of science and technology. This was the precondition for a first ‘Action Programme’ in 1974. The adoption of the First RTD Framework Programme in 1983 is seen as another breakthrough. A third breakthrough came in 1985 with a doubling of resources, from 3% of the Community budget to 6%.

It was decided to use multi-annual framework programmes to coordinate and give direction to the research policies and activities. The First RTD Framework Programme covered 1984-1987, the Second 1987-1991, the Third 1990-1994 (overlapping the Second), the Fourth 1994-1998, the Fifth 1998-2002, the Sixth 2002-2006 and the Seventh 2006 - 2013. The launch of the RTD Framework Programmes ran in parallel with developments in other industrialised regions of the world. Aydogan and Lyon (2008, pp.39-44) state that the Japanese model of publicly funded project consortia was adopted in the United States in the beginning of the 1980s after a relaxation of antitrust restrictions on joint RTD actions.

Besides being an element of EU policy, the EU RTD Framework Programmes have an impact at national level. According to Gusmão (2001, pp.383-393), the EU programmes have become an essential element in Member States' national research policies. For most Member States, the sum of the national participations in EU projects amounts in itself to a research system of strategic importance.

The impact assessment of the non-nuclear energy projects that were funded by the Fourth RTD Framework Programme (Impact Assessment of the 4th Framework Programme Non Nuclear Energy Projects, Synthesis Report, 2002, p. 10) however mentions that there is little or no formal coordination between the EU and Member States programmes. But the report does highlight that there is often an ad-hoc working together, for example by the same organisations being involved in national and EU funded projects. Larédo (1998, pp. 589–598) notes that nearly every large French firm participated in the RTD Framework Programmes. Georghiou and Roessner (2000, pp. 657–678) refer to a French study that looked at the impact of EU funding on the national research system. The study revealed the significance of EU projects in providing a basis for doctoral training. Government funding of RTD is, however, varied across countries and tends to change over time.

In the view of Grande and Peschke (1999, pp.43–61), by the mid 1990s the EU had become a major player in RTD policy. Scholars have different views on how big (or small) the exact EU contribution actually is. Pavitt (1998, pp. 559–568) mentions that EU-funded RTD amounted to only 2% of RTD funding by Member-governments in 1993. Luukkonen (1998, pp.599–610) argues that the RTD Framework Programmes are only a small percentage (approximately 3,5 %) of all research activities funded by the governments in the EU countries and that they cannot be expected to have a great impact. It is not clear to which year this refers. Larédo (1998, pp.589 – 598) mentions that EU funding represents less than 5% of total public expenditure on RTD in the EU. According to Guelle and Van Pottelsberghe (2000, p.5), the share of government funding of RTD in 1998 was 30% on average in all OECD countries, 31% in the United States, 36% in Europe and 19% in Japan.

When the EU's RTD policy is addressed from a multi-level governance perspective then, according to Grande and Peschke (1999, pp.43–61), EU policy is not only confronted with the problem of establishing channels of communication and institutions for cooperation among the actors and organisations, but in addition, the different national research systems and the various levels of policy-making have to be linked as well. As a consequence of the integration of national research systems into a multi-level system of policy-making, the heterogeneity of actors and interests in RTD policy has been multiplied, making effective inter-organizational interest coordination both more important and more difficult.

2.4.2 Objectives of EU-supported RTD

Each EU RTD Framework Programme has different objectives and some of the objectives are specific to the particular areas of research covered. The Single European Act gave a legal basis for the EU in supporting RTD. The current Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (European Commission, 2008) indicates that 'The Union shall have the objective of strengthening its scientific and technological bases by achieving a European research area in which researchers, scientific knowledge and technology circulate freely, and encouraging it to become more competitive, including in its industry, while promoting all the research activities deemed necessary by virtue of other Chapters of the Treaties.'. The reference to research related to other chapters in the Treaties was introduced in the Maastricht Treaty and moved other EU policies, such as transport, to the heart of EU RTD policy.

A categorisation of the EU's RTD policy is provided by Nugent (2003, p.317). He explains that this policy is pursued, on the one hand, by directly managed and financed research activities and, on the other hand, by attempting to create a framework and environment through which research that falls within the EU's priorities is encouraged and facilitated. Nugent (2003, p.317) explains further that research activities can take four main forms: direct undertaken research by the JRC; shared-cost or contract research activities; coordination of research work done at national level; and 'non-conventional' activities in

which only some Member States participate or in which the EU cooperates with non-Member States or international organisations.

The RTD activities that are co-financed by the EU must meet certain specific criteria that include scientific excellence and 'European added value'. When discussing 'European added value' the report on the impact assessment of non-nuclear energy projects funded by the Fourth RTD Framework Programme (2002, p.10) separates technical benefits from political, economic and social added value. Technical benefits include an increased quality and speed of research, the possibility to undertake research that would be difficult or impossible to undertake at national level, increased technology or knowledge transfer between different regions or states, drawing in technologically weaker regions into research consortia (regional development dimension) and contributing to European standardisation and legal requirements.

There are interdependencies between the wider RTD policy and economic policy. Grande and Peschke (1999, pp.43–61) refer to the fact that new knowledge has become indispensable for industrial competitiveness and, vice versa, economic prosperity has turned out to be crucial to the development of organized science in every advanced industrial country. In the view of Pavitt (1998, pp.559–568), the EU has been concerned about its relative world position in RTD and technology, since it helps determine its capacity for economic and social progress. Pavitt (1998, pp.559–568) notes that the central agent in promoting and implementing technological change is usually the business sector. Only in sectors where governments have a major influence on product development and procurement, with public transport being mentioned as one of the examples, they have a major influence on promoting and implementing technological change.

EU-supported RTD actions can contribute to policy development. Larédo (1998, pp.589–598) states that a top-down approach in RTD can be required to address problems that are considered important by policy makers. He adds that demonstration activities are necessary to fill the gap between the European level of decision (in research) and the national or even local levels of decision (for effective implementation of public policies). Pavitt (1998, pp.

559–568) makes a strong case for EU support for ‘regulatory RTD’. In his view, this type of research underpins the regulations, standards and procedures that are increasingly determined at European level. Pavitt argues that there are considerable advantages to European coordination and exchange in such fields.

The role of the RTD Framework Programmes is also to provide an incentive to develop new collaborations that aim at ‘network effects’ in the development of new scientific knowledge. Gusmão (2001, pp.383–393) suggests that research activities in certain fields play a main role in constituting platforms for coordinating ‘the European effort’. Gusmão (2001, pp.383–393) notes that, beyond the reinforcement of collaborative networks, European programmes can also have a strong impact on training and mobility activities. They contribute to the development of a new generation of ‘European-minded’ scientists.

Larédo (1998, pp.589–598) identifies three main configurations of participants in projects: (a) basic technological research networks; (b) innovation geared networks; and (c) public dominated networks, who focus on research and innovation in collective goods. Luukkonen (1998, pp.599–610) suggests that there is an accumulation and continuity in many research networks. Organisations that collaborate often continue to do so in the next programme. Issues related to the creation of networks and sub-networks, types of project participants and continuity of networks will be discussed later in the study.

The RTD Framework Programmes offer intangible infrastructural effects such as learning effects. Luukkonen (1998, pp.599–610) discusses the value of the EU RTD Framework Programmes for organisations. For large firms, EU programmes do not make much difference. They are one potential source of public funding. He adds that the collaboration itself also costs money. The programmes do, however, offer a legal framework for cross-border and cross-institutional collaboration. EU funding may also act as a catalyst in the creation of new network configurations. Luukkonen (1998, pp.599–610) highlights that learning effects cover both learning new skills and enhancing knowledge. Projects also help to create communities of professionals.

2.4.3 Transport RTD

EU-supported transport RTD activities have grown since the 1990s. References to the role played by research, technological development and demonstration activities are included in the Transport White Papers of 1992 and 2001. Aspinwall (eds. Eising and Kohler-Kock, 1999, ch.7) mentions that research and highlighting best technology and best practices are important elements of the EU transport policy agenda. Over time, besides the policy-related RTD activities managed by the Transport Directorate-General, significant transport-related research activities have also supported via other programmes that were managed by other Commission departments, such as the ones dealing with transport telematics, energy and transport technologies.

At the end of the Second RTD Framework Programme (1987-1992), transport research, then managed by the Transport Directorate-General, obtained visibility in the EU's RTD Framework Programmes. It attracted, through the EURET Programme that ran between 1991 and 1993, €12 Million. Thirteen projects were co-financed, mainly in the rail and maritime sectors. There was a gap during the Third RTD Framework Programme that was filled with APAS studies ('Actions de Préparation, d'Accompagnement et du Suivi'). These were carried out in 1994-95 to prepare for the dedicated Transport RTD Programme that was part of Fourth RTD Framework Programme. For the first time there was visibility for urban transport, with studies on public transport prioritization, modelling, effectiveness of measures influencing the levels of public transport use in urban areas, pricing and financing and new market oriented transport systems.

The Transport RTD Programme that was part of the Fourth RTD Framework Programme had a budget of €256 Million and it included a specific sector of urban transport policy research with a budget of around €25 Million. As a result of a Task Force initiative, the financial resources available for policy-related research in the field of transport increased significantly from the Fourth to the Fifth RTD Framework Programme. Among the eight Task Forces that Commissioner for Research Edith Cresson established after 1995 to focus on the innovation needs featured in the 1993 White Paper on Growth, five were transport-

related: new generation aircraft, car of tomorrow, train and railway systems of the future, transport intermodality and the ship of the future. This visibility for transport was the result of a pro-active response to the Task Force concept by Transport Commissioner Kinnock.

In the Fifth and Sixth RTD Framework Programmes, the Transport Directorate General lost its 'own' programme and, instead, managed parts of work programmes for which the Research Directorate-General was end-responsible. Policy-related research in the field of urban transport continued. During the Fifth RTD Framework Programme, activities in the field of transport and land use, new mobility concepts and walking and cycling took place under the heading of the Key Action City of Tomorrow and Cultural Heritage.

During the Fifth RTD Framework Programme, the budget spent on policy-related research in the field of urban transport can be estimated at around €100 Million. This is the budget of urban transport projects financed under the Key Actions City of Tomorrow and Cultural Heritage (managed by the Research Directorate General) and the Key Action Sustainable Mobility and Intermodality (managed by the Transport Directorate General). The total amount includes the €25 Million from the Key Action on Sustainable Energy Systems for its 50% funding share in the CIVITAS Initiative.

The budget spent during the Sixth RTD Framework Programme on policy-related research in the field of urban transport can be estimated at around €75 Million. During the Sixth RTD Framework Programme the Transport Directorate General and the Research Directorate General shared the responsibility for the Sustainable Surface Transport priority. The total amount includes €25 Million from the Energy programme for its 50% funding share in the CIVITAS Initiative.

There are two initiatives of European intergovernmental co-operation in the field of RTD that are legally outside the frame of the EU's RTD Framework Programmes but that both have a transport component. These are EUREKA and COST. Information on the EUREKA and COST internet sites⁵ indicates that EUREKA was created as an intergovernmental

⁵ www.eureka.be and www.cost.esf.org. Accessed 9 June 2010.

initiative in 1985 to enhance European competitiveness through its support to businesses, research centres and universities who carry out pan-European projects to develop innovative products, processes and services.

Founded in 1971, COST is an intergovernmental framework for European Co-operation in the field of Scientific and Technical Research, allowing the co-ordination of nationally funded research on a European level. COST Actions cover basic and pre-competitive research as well as activities of public utility. The COST Actions are networks of research projects in fields that are of interest to a minimum number of participants (at least five) from different Member States. The duration of an Action is generally four years.

Transport is one of the oldest COST domains; it was established in 1973. The first COST Transport Actions focused on alternative fuels, reduction of fuel consumption as well as reduced environmental impact and the use of modern effective methods of transport and traffic management. In the early nineties COST Transport was managed by the Transport Directorate-General. The transport-related RTD activities under the RTD Framework Programme emerged both technically and organisationally from the COST Transport secretariat. At the end of the 1990s, the COST Transport domain covered two major areas: transport infrastructure design, construction and maintenance; and transport policy and environmental issues. COST is financially supported by the RTD Framework Programmes. Currently, the European Science Foundation (ESF) manages the secretariat of COST.

2.5 Other relevant policies

Environment policy

The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (European Commission, 2008) refers to environment policy in articles 191 – 193. Transport is a source of environmental impacts of various types, for example atmospheric pollution, noise and land use changes. These are addressed through environmental policy and legislation and through the integration of

environmental concerns into sectorial policies, as part of the so-called ‘Cardiff process’, such as transport policy.

The 1990 Green Paper on the Urban Environment (European Commission, 1990) presented a comprehensive review of the challenges facing the urban environment and, for the first time, proposed an overall approach at the European level. In the year 1996, the EU Expert Group on the Urban Environment produced a report on European Sustainable Cities. This report identified the basic principles for progressing towards sustainability in urban areas. A Communication from 1997 builds on this report and focuses on the challenges facing European towns and cities. It underlines the need for an urban perspective in EU policies (European Commission, 1997a).

Article 3 of the Treaty on European Union (European Commission, 2008) places sustainable development at the centre of EU policies and actions. This is underlined by the 1998 Communication on Sustainable Urban Development in the European Union (European Commission, 1998a) and the 2001 Communication on a European Union Strategy for Sustainable Development (European Commission, 2001b). In the year 2002, the Commission started to prepare seven Thematic Strategies, as required by the Sixth Environment Action Programme (European Commission, 2002).

One of them, the Thematic Strategy on the urban environment, pays attention to urban transport. Its 2004 Interim Communication (European Commission, 2004) included the suggestion for new EU legislation on mandatory urban transport plans for medium sized and big cities. This suggestion was transformed into a recommendation in the final Thematic Strategy (European Commission, 2005b).

The EU’s funding instrument in the field of environmental policy is the LIFE programme. Between 1992 and 2004, the LIFE programme has co-funded almost 2,500 projects covering 40 countries and territories and contributed € 1.3 Billion towards the total estimated cost of the projects of €3.6 Billion. The programme has supported a wide range of projects, some of them dealing with sustainable transport. For example, LIFE has co-

financed projects on green procurement of public transport services and biofuels. To raise awareness on environmentally friendly urban transport, the Commission initiated the annual European car-free day ('In town without my car!') in the year 2000. In 2002, the Commission launched the European Mobility Week that integrates the car-free day.

Energy policy

Although the EU has been active in policy and research in the field of energy since its early days (ECSC and EURATOM), it was at the time of the first oil crisis in 1973 that a first programme on energy diversification was adopted. Nugent (2003, pp.315-316) notes that since the late 1980s there has been greater receptivity among Member States to the idea of a common energy policy. Since then that there has been progress in the energy policy field but much still remains to be done. Wallace and Wallace (2000, p.49) mention that (at the time of writing) the EU had only weak powers in the area of energy policy.

The development of a comprehensive energy policy was only agreed in principle by the Council in the year 2005. The reason is that many Member States wanted to maintain control over their energy supplies and industries. Matlary (1997, p.95) refers to an attempt to introduce an energy chapter in the Maastricht Treaty that failed because of opposition of the Member States. A new proposal for an EU energy policy was elaborated in the Commission's Green Paper on A European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy (European Commission, 2006). After the consultation process ended, the first proposals were presented by the Commission early 2007 (European Commission, 2007). Energy policy is now explicitly included in the Treaties in article 194 (European Commission, 2008).

In the field of alternative transport fuels, the Commission issued a road map (European Commission, 2001d) for the market take up of alternative fuels. It identified three alternative fuels that could reach a significant market share by 2020: biofuels, natural gas and hydrogen. A directive from 2003 (European Commission, 2003) set the minimum proportion of biofuels and other renewable fuels in Member States at 5.75% by 2010 with

an intermediate target of 2% by 2005. This was followed by another directive (European Commission, 2009b) that set targets for all Member States to ensure that the EU will reach a 20% share of energy from renewable sources by 2020 and a 10% share of renewable energy in the transport sector.

The Commission's Green Paper (European Commission, 2005) and Action Plan (European Commission, 2006b) on energy efficiency include measures for urban transport. However, the measures are not new but 're-sell' initiatives that are already undertaken as part of transport policy. In March 2007 the Council set targets of 20% of EU energy consumption to come from renewable resources and a 20% reduction in energy use by improving energy efficiency. This last number is higher than the 9% energy saving that Member States have to achieve by 2016 on the basis of a directive from 2006 (European Commission, 2006c). These targets cover all sectors, including transport.

In absence of a solid policy basis for action, in the years before 2005 the Commission used its funding programmes as a non-legislative instrument to promote energy efficiency and renewable forms of energy. It set up a non-technological Energy Framework Programme with the sub-programmes SAVE (energy efficiency) and ALTENER (alternative, i.e. renewable energies) as main components. The Energy Framework Programme attracted participation from local and regional governments. SAVE co-financed also projects in the transport field.

When the Intelligent Energy-Europe Programme was launched in 2003 as successor to the Energy Framework Programme, it included a specific sub-programme devoted to energy aspects of transport with the name STEER. In addition, the non-nuclear energy part of the RTD Framework Programmes funded projects dealing with transport. There was a focus on demonstration projects, for example through the so called THERMIE targeted projects.

Cohesion policy

Articles 174 – 178 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (European Commission, 2008) say that, in order to promote its overall harmonious development, the Union shall develop and pursue actions leading to the strengthening of its economic, social and territorial cohesion. With the creation of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) in 1975, the EU started a concerted programme of funding with regional development objectives in mind. A new dedicated Directorate-General for Regional Policy was set up.

The agenda for regional policy changed with the Single European Act in 1986. The Commission predicted that the single market would increase economic growth but that the benefits would be concentrated in the Europe's inner core. The Commission therefore launched a policy to enhance Europe's economic and social cohesion. In the framework of the EU's cohesion policy, the Structural Funds help regions with specific problems.

The Cohesion Fund is a separate instrument of the EU's cohesion policy that was created in 1993. Article 177 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (European Commission, 2008) indicates that this Fund will financially contribute to projects in the fields of environment and trans-European networks in the area of transport infrastructure. Marks and Hooghe (2001, pp.97-98) indicate that it has significant relevance for transport, including local transport. The fund supports projects in countries whose per capita gross domestic product (GDP) is less than 90% of the EU average.

From the 1980s the European Commission developed also its own more precisely targeted 'Community Initiatives'. Among the Commission's targeted initiatives was the URBAN programme. Newman and Thornley (2005, p.124) indicate that this programme included a budget for targeted neighbourhood renewal and experiments with urban policy. Newman and Thornley (2005, p.125) argue that URBAN is one aspect of a shift of orientation towards urban problems as opposed to the wider regional policy.

As part of its increasing focus on urban issues, the Commission launched the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) at the beginning of the 1990s. The Commission had noted that some regions had shared problems that crossed borders. Member States had however little interest in pursuing initiatives on this issue. Equally, they had limited interest in the informal discussions between ministers on spatial planning that started in 1989. Herrschel and Newman (2002, pp.52-54) indicate that the final version of the ESDP was adopted by planning ministers in 1999 as an informal consensus document.

According to Herrschel and Newman (2002, pp.56-57), there were clear signals in the second part of the 1990s that leading European cities in the Eurocities network wanted the Commission to have a competence on urban issues. The Commission responded positively. The involvement of the Commission in urban affairs raises, however, constitutional issues. Herrschel and Newman suggest that many Member States are reluctant to provoke sceptical electorates by proposing such new competences. During the 1990s various forms of cooperation flourished, including in the field of urban policy, complementing or substituting formal arrangements. Herrschel and Newman highlight that an urban policy focus began to make sense in terms of reshaping the European economy and moving towards the goal of internal social and economic convergence and integration.

The Commission launched a debate about urban policy in 1997. Its Communication Towards an Urban Agenda in the European Union (European Commission, 1997a) defined cities as engines of the European economy, but also having specific problems including unemployment and social exclusion. Choriantopoulos (2002, pp.933-939) mentions that this communication launched a discussion on a better integration of EU policies relevant for urban development.

This Communication was followed by the presentation of a framework for action (European Commission, 1998a), a document that clarified the rationale and objectives of an EU urban policy. The Commission's White Paper on European Governance (European Commission, 2001c) included a discussion on the role of cities. Newman and Thornley (2005, p.125) indicate that the White Paper put an emphasis on involving subnational

governments and NGOs in the policy process. They also state that Member States are wary of taking up such institutional change, however many subnational governments support it.

In this author's view, the communication, the results of the discussion launched by it and the subsequent papers did not have a major impact, apart from the recognition of the importance of the subnational level for EU-policy development and implementation in the new Treaty. Neither have they led to a major policy re-orientation at EU-level on urban issues in general.

2.6 Lobbies and partnerships

As a consequence of an increased activity of the EU in the field of urban transport, more and more public actors have gained influence on policy-making. In addition, and as a consequence of this institutional transformation, the target structure for interest groups from, for example, the transport, research or industrial sectors have changed fundamentally. Grande (1996, pp.318-338) suggests that the evolution of a multi-level governance system in the EU has brought about major changes in the way policy-making is influenced. Grande (1996, pp.318-338) notes that, from an institutional perspective, EU policy-making can best be conceived as an integrated system of multi-level bargaining. Richardson (2000, pp.1006-1025) sees the European Commission as an institution that is especially permeable to interest groups as this strengthens the Commission's claim to legitimacy.

Wallace (eds. Wallace and Wallace, 2000, p.26) notes that the direct lobbying of the EU institutions by local and regional authorities is important. These authorities also try to influence national positions on EU policy proposals and EU programmes. Local governments, through the establishment of partnerships with counterparts from other Member States, have created different networks to lobby the European institutions. This leads the members of these networks to by-pass national governments. Goldsmith (1993, pp.683-699) suggests that the subsidiarity principle reinforces this trend.

Stone (2000, pp.45-62) analyses the role of 'think thanks' as agents for policy transfer. He concludes that their prime importance is in the construction of legitimacy for certain policies and agenda-setting. The number of lobbyists and consultants in Brussels has grown rapidly. This was for example noted by Grande (1996, pp.318-338). An article in a French magazine (*Les lobbies du transport à Bruxelles*, 2005) mentions that, in the transport field, there are probably between 500 and 1,000 lobbyists.

Since the 1980s, the involvement of cities and regions in European networks and partnerships has been on the increase. Newman and Thornley (2005, p.124) refer to cities as active players in European processes. Chorianopoulos (2002, pp.933-939) suggests that transnational local authority networking is a local governance political response to the spatial dispersal of economic activities in Europe. It is a competitive strategy seeking to enhance local influence on the emerging European economic space through inter-city collaborative arrangements.

Le Galès (2002, p.107) describes city networks as places for obtaining information, exchanging experiences, ideas, and knowledge. Newman and Thornley (2005, p.133) place attention on a possible downside of cooperation between cities: the transfer of inappropriate practices and consultant's formulas for success. In addition, cities in central and east-European countries often have had to learn 'Western' ways of doing things (De Jong and Reinholde, 2008, pp.62-73). Goldsmith (1993, pp.683 - 699) suggests that small municipalities are less likely to show an active interest in EU matters.

According to John (2000, pp.877-894), the networks and partnerships in which local and regional authorities are involved demonstrate how local authorities take part in networking activities and in the exchange of ideas, as well as seeking to influence European policy. Thus they are an aspect of Europeanisation at the local level, whereby local authorities establish links with a wide range of new actors and groups, and transfer ideas back into the locality. In Bennington's view (referred to by John, 2000, pp.877-894), these networks are transformative because information turns into political power. John (2000, pp.877-894) identifies different types of networks and partnerships. Taking his overview as a starting

point, the lobbies and partnerships of local and regional authorities can be categorised as follows:

- formal representation;
 - via representative organisations;
 - via own offices;
- transnational networks of cities and regions;
 - general networks;
 - topic networks, including Programme Partnerships.

A clear example of formal representation via representative organisations is CEMR, the Council of European Municipalities and Regions. The Council of European Municipalities was formed in 1951 by a group of local government leaders who wanted local government to help in the reconstruction of Europe. In 1981 the regional dimension was added and the name was changed accordingly. CEMR is the largest organisation of local and regional government in Europe. Its members are national associations of towns, municipalities and regions. CEMR has offices in Paris and Brussels and has a committee on transport. John and McAteer (referred to by John, 2000, pp.877-894) note that research on lobbying shows that organisations 'like CEMR' play an important role.

Another type of formal representation is through own offices that are set up by the local and regional authorities themselves. These are permanent addresses in Brussels with permanent staff. They collect intelligence and are a base from which lobbying campaigns are carried out. A study by Marks et al. (referred to by John, 2000, pp.877-894) on the presence and size of the Brussels' offices indicates that local and regional authorities set up offices because of political factors, such as the amount of subnational autonomy that different actors have, that are important. John (2001, p.86) notes that in 1985 there were only 6 local and regional representations. By 2000 there were 167 offices representing cities and regions. Marks and Hooghe (2001, p.86) estimate that, in 2001, subnational governments had established close to 150 offices in Brussels.

Subnational bodies also participate in transnational networks that extend across the EU and across policy sectors. An example is the network of 'major' medium size and large cities called Eurocities. Ercole, Walters and Goldsmith (referred to by John, pp.877-894) mention that Eurocities was founded in 1986 at the initiative of the city of Rotterdam. Over the years, Eurocities has grown in size, scope and importance. Eurocities has also integrated certain topic networks in its organisation, such as the Car Free Cities network. Car Free Cities was launched in 1994 in the context of the Fifth Environmental Action Programme 'Towards Sustainability', according to its internet site 'as a joint initiative of the European Commission and Eurocities'. In 2001 the Car Free Cities network changed name to 'ACCESS - Eurocities for a new mobility culture'.

There exist also more topic related networks, based upon functional interests. McLaughlin and Maloney (1999, ch.10) note that topic networks tend to have unstable memberships and are easily penetrated. John (2000, pp.877-894) suggests that these topic networks can be established and developed bottom up and top down. It is, however, not easy to make this distinction and perhaps it is better to see these topic networks as emerging from the joint interests of cities and regions on one side and the European Commission on the other side. In his observation, John focuses on the European Commission. But also the European Parliament is involved in topic networks by establishing cross-party groups. Examples are the Intergroup on Urban Housing and the Forum for the Automobile and Society.

An example of a topic network is the POLIS network. This brings together cities and regions with an interest in telematics and transport. POLIS developed in the 1990s with the help of the Commission (Directorate-General for Information Society and Directorate-General for Transport). The network was initially focussed on joint research and demonstration actions but later became involved in various policy activities linked with transport, information technology and energy. A recent development is the CIVITAS Forum, a group of over 150 cities that have an involvement or interest in the CIVITAS Initiative. The European Commission also sponsors networks of cities to connect the participants taking part in its programmes for cohesion and regional development. An example is the URBACT initiative.

As mentioned earlier, transport lobbies and interests are very active. Ross (1998) notes that, as the influence of the EU on policy-making has increased, so too has the political process affecting it. Transport politics are also increasingly complicated by the multiple levels at which issues are addressed, ranging from local authorities to global institutions. Aspinwall and Greenwood (eds. Aspinwall and Greenwood, 1998, p.25) note that in transport, industrial consumer groups organised themselves rapidly in the 1980s, particularly in the aviation, road and maritime sectors.

This occurred in the wake of the Single European Act. Stevens (2004, p.31) notes that there is a specific organisation focussing on the special interests of local public transport (UITP, Union International des Transports Publics). Other organisations, besides the organisations of local and regional authorities mentioned before, that are involved in the local transport debate at the European level include, among others, T & E (Transport and Environment), ECF (European Cyclists Foundation), EDF (European Disability Forum) and ACEA (European Automobile Manufacturers Association).

The process of European integration in the field of research has been accompanied, according to Grande and Peschke (1999, pp.43-61), by the formation and organization of interest groups, public and private, scientific and economic, at the EU level. They also indicate that the practical collaboration takes place within various, rather separate, sub-networks. Other scholars suggest that these sub-networks are networks in their own right. One of them is Luukkonen (1998, pp.599–610) who states that the creation of networks constitutes a major impact of the EU's RTD Framework Programmes.

2.7 Conclusions

This chapter sets out the EU framework context for urban transport. It has provided insights in the EU's structures, processes, policies and activities that are relevant to the urban transport field. When looking at the EU's role, it is clear that the principle of subsidiarity applies. Relevant policy and legislation (including standards) has been developed, but the

application of this subsidiarity principle probably explains why the amount of dedicated legislation and policy initiatives are limited. The EU increasingly uses best practice transfer to raise standards in fields where its competence is not clearly established. This trend can be observed in the urban transport field. Here the funding opportunities that the EU offers for different types of projects seem quite extensive.

The review of literature shows that policy responsibility in the overall field of transport is shared between the EU and Member States. The EU's interventions in the field of transport go back to the founding treaties of the European Community in 1957, where transport was defined as a common policy. However, the development of the Common Transport Policy only really took off in the mid-1980s. Before the 1992 Single Market deadline, the Council adopted a large amount of legislation to harmonize or substitute national regulations. The Commission presented the first comprehensive European transport policy programme in 1992, in the form of a White Paper. It paid explicit attention to urban transport but stressed the application of the subsidiarity principle.

The application of the subsidiarity principle is important for this study. It was introduced in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty. The principle of subsidiarity is a complex and difficult notion, and for political reasons it is probably intentionally so. Subsidiarity assumes the existence of different levels of government. It is understood as being intended to ensure that decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen, and that constant checks are made as to whether action at EU level is justified in the light of the possibilities available at national, regional or local level. The subsidiarity principle has brought regional and local decision-makers into the European debate. For subnational governments, it has provided an impulse for policy innovation.

Since the first Transport White Paper, the Commission has become increasingly active in the field of urban transport despite the application of the subsidiarity principle. Nowadays, EU transport policy, legislation and financial programmes have, to different extents, an impact on transport policy at local, regional and national levels. Local governments seem to have become increasingly Europeanised. Four other policy areas that are relevant for

European transport policy (and its urban dimension) are RTD, environment, energy and regional policy. EU-supported RTD activities in the field of transport have grown since the 1990s and are important for this research study.

Overall, it can be concluded that the EU seems to play an increasing role in transport policy, including its urban dimension. As a consequence of increased activity of the EU in the field of urban transport, subnational actors have tried to gain influence on policy-making. Local and regional authorities also take part in networking activities, in the exchange of ideas and they seek to influence European policy. The practical collaboration takes place within project networks. The creation of project networks constitutes a major impact of the EU's RTD Framework Programmes.

CHAPTER 3 – KEY CONCEPTS FROM POLITICAL SCIENCE

Europe ...is the strangest political experiment in history, so it is logical that there is confusion.

Jeremy Rifkin

3.1 Introduction

The review of literature and information that started in chapter 2 continues in this chapter. An initial investigation of academic literature, based upon the phenomena described in the previous chapter on the EU framework for urban transport, has helped to identify four concepts from the political science discipline that could be relevant for this study. These concepts are policy transfer, policy networks, multi-level governance and Europeanisation. These concepts might help to better understand the EU's interventions and interactions in the urban transport field. They seem applicable across the EU and are sufficiently defined, established and operationalised.

Policy transfer and policy networks deal with the processes that facilitate the transfer of information and the organisational structures in which information transfer takes place and they refer to trends that change the way governments work and interact. They seem to have a direct value in the context of the research objective that was presented in section 1.4. Multi-level governance and Europeanization are helpful to understand the overall context in which the policy transfer and policy networks are situated.

This chapter is built up in the following way. First, the concept of policy transfer will be described; attention will be paid to how to analyse policy transfer and which actors are involved. Along with issues of trust and path dependence, potential facilitators and barriers for successful policy transfer will be addressed. Then, the theory of policy networks will be outlined. This will be followed by a discussion of multi-level governance and Europeanisation; for both, special attention will be paid to the actors involved and the local dimension. This chapter ends with a combined critical assessment of the four concepts.

3.2 Policy transfer

3.2.1 Understanding policy transfer

The subject of transferring policy ideas, institutions, models and programmes has received quite some attention in the political science literature, albeit under different names. Evans and Davies (1999, pp.361-385) mention that policy transfer is also referred to as policy convergence, policy diffusion, policy learning and lesson drawing. De Jong and Edelenbos (2007, pp.687–706) add institutional transplantation, imitation and emulation to this list.

Heichel, Pape and Sommerer (2005, pp.817–840) consider the concepts of policy convergence, policy diffusion, policy transfer and policy learning as comparable. They justify this by the fact that these concepts have the general interest in the subject of increasing policy coherence as a common feature. They note that, while the concept of policy convergence refers to a more directly observable phenomenon, policy transfer, diffusion and learning describe mechanisms that can lead to policy similarity, so they constitute pathways towards convergence.

Policy transfer can function as an important tool in the modern policy-making process, as indicated by Dolowitz (2003, pp.101-108). Bomberg and Peterson (2000, p.11) highlight that it is compatible with the subsidiarity principle, takes place intentionally but can produce unintended results. Wolman and Pace (2002, 477-501) suggest that policy transfer is a subset of policy learning and a form of ‘organisational learning’. Policy transfer assumes that public policies change, and that policies can be changed. Changes in public policy are driven by social pressures, by economic pressures or by requirements that result from technological change and innovation.

From a broader perspective, Lindblom (2001, p.222) stresses that in a market economy there should be competition for ideas. This competition works in situations where the messages can challenge each other; where loud voices do not silence other voices; where each contesting message contains some empirical content; and where contestants do not

depart too far from a respect for truth. These are important observations. If a parallel is made with policy transfer, then this means that within a policy transfer process there should be an open, 'intelligent' competition for ideas.

It should be kept in mind that, as argued by Wolman (referred to by Stone, 2000, pp.45-62), the learning aspect has a value in itself. Bennett and Howlett (1992, pp.275-294) suggest that getting a new idea or insight through learning can lead to policy change. Policy decisions can be made on the basis of knowledge of past experiences and knowledge-based judgements about future expectations. They indicate that policy learning encompasses several distinct elements: someone must learn; there must be an object of learning; and the learning must have an effect on policy change. Lätteenmäki-Smith and Dubois (2006, p.15) indicate that network solutions for learning, and the cooperation that these necessitate, are seen as particularly fruitful.

Different definitions of policy transfer exist. The 'original' definition of policy transfer from Dolowitz and Marsh (1996, pp.343–357) is: 'a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions, etc. in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place'. Evans and Davies (1999, pp. 361–385) see policy transfer as an action-oriented intentional activity that leads to policy convergence, but the latter may also occur unintentionally. In 2003, Dolowitz (2003, pp.101-108) defines policy transfer as a process by which the policies and/or practices of one political system are fed into and utilised in the policy-making arena of another political system. Dolowitz (2003, pp.101-108) mentions that there is a big diversity in:

- what is and can be transferred;
- the strategies and processes involved in transferring information;
- who becomes engaged in the transfer process, depending on when and where in the policy-making process policy transfer occurs;
- when they become involved; and
- what motivates them to engage in policy transfer.

Scholars consider that the importance of policy transfer is growing. Dolowitz and Marsh (1999, pp.361-385) suggest that this is, among other factors, caused by the rapid growth in communications and by the increased advocacy of similar policies by international organisations. Evans and Davies (1999, pp.361-385) note that the process of globalisation may have increased policy transfer. Dolowitz, Greenwold and Marsh (1999, pp.719-730) identify the growth of EU legislation and the pace of change as the key drivers for governments to look around for ideas on policy programmes, policy ideas, institutional structures, administrative arrangements, ideological rhetoric and electoral strategies.

According to Dolowitz (1997, pp.23-42) policy transfer can focus around a number of possible subjects including policies, institutions, ideologies or justifications, attitudes and ideas, and negative lessons. Bennett and Howlett (1992, pp.275-294) indicate that policy transfer can occur in three different forms: process-related or institutional design; instruments or tools; and ideas or goals.

When the ideas from different scholars are combined, the overview that is presented in table 3.1 emerges. It includes examples of programmes, ideas, concepts and information that can be transferred. It should be noted that these examples can overlap.

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Policy programmes• Policy ideas• Ideological rhetoric• Institutional structures• Administrative arrangements• Electoral strategies• Legislation• Technologies or technological solutions• Planning and implementation approaches• Joint language• Common classifications (such as indicators)• The use of comparisons and evaluations (such as benchmarking)

Table 3.1: examples of subjects of policy transfer

Three different approaches to describe the process of policy transfer have been identified. First, in the context of their research on prospective policy appraisal, Massberger and Wolman (2003, pp.430-432) propose four criteria for the assessment of the policy transfer process: awareness of information; assessment against problems and goals; performance and differences in settings; and application and use of the information in the decision process. A second approach is suggested by Evans and Davies (1999, pp.361-385). They break down the policy transfer process by a voluntary transfer network into twelve stages that are presented in table 3.2:

1.	Recognition by a decision-making elite of the existence of a decision problem
2.	Search for new policy ideas
3.	Contact with a potential agent of transfer
4.	Emergence of an information feeder network
5.	Cognition and reception – both agents sharing commitment to common values
6.	Emergence of a transfer network
7.	Elite and cognitive mobilization – agent providing detailed information
8.	Interaction – agent to organise forums for the exchange of ideas
9.	Evaluation of the intelligence gathered
10.	Decision as part of an evaluation of options
11.	Process of implementation – decision enters policy stream
12.	Outcome of implementation

Table 3.2: twelve stages of voluntary policy transfer according to Evans and Davies (1999)

A third, more simple model is the one referred to by Arnkil (2005, pp.16-17) when he discusses the knowledge management debate. He introduces a model called ‘SECI’ which suggests that knowledge transformation is arranged into a process with four stages:

- socialization (everyday communication between individuals in natural settings);
- externalisation (articulation of tacit knowledge, such as beliefs, perceptions and intuitions, through dialogue and reflective conversation; the main unit here is the group);
- combination (transformation of knowledge inside the group into explicit knowledge, such as words, arguments and documents which can be shared);

- internalization (the now enriched and new knowledge has to be internalised on the individual level, for example by trying out often under facilitation or guidance of someone with experience).

The author would like to mention that the approaches proposed by Massberger and Wolman (2003), Evans and Davies (1999), and Arnkil (2005) do not address the framework in which the transfer process takes place, so none of them touches upon the role of the persons or bodies establishing the supportive framework. These approaches also do not deal with situations where an ‘intermediary’ person or body is involved in policy transfer, for example as facilitator or ‘organiser’, and they do not address the final impacts of the transfer.

To judge the success of policy transfer, Healey et al. (2003, p. 304-305) argue that new ideas need to be taken up as accepted practices and serious barriers may have to be broken down. Their idea is that transformative initiatives which succeed in ‘institutionalisation’ need to have the capacity to ‘travel’ not just from one arena to another, but also from one level of consciousness to another. By this, a movement is meant from the level of conscious actor invention and mobilisation, to that of routinisation as part of accepted practices, and beyond that to broadly accepted cultural norms and values. The transfer of ideas has to jump boundaries and break through resistances, and this may involve dealing with the complexity of relations between government departments.

3.2.2 Analysing policy transfer

Different models for analysing policy transfer have been developed, including one developed by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, pp.5-24) that is widely used. This model is organised around six questions:

1. Why do actors engage in policy transfer?
2. Who are the key actors involved in the process?

3. What is transferred?
4. What are the different degrees of transfer?
5. What restricts or facilitates the transfer process?
6. How is the process of policy transfer related to policy 'success' or policy 'failure'?

Radaelli (2000, pp.25-43) uses the 'who, what, why and how' questions to analyse policy transfer. It is, however, difficult to quantify the extent to which transfer takes place. Dolowitz, Greenwold and Marsh (1999, pp.719-730) highlight that there are even difficulties in establishing whether transfer really has occurred. Dolowitz and Marsh (1996, pp.23-42) indicate five sources through which the existence of policy transfer might be detected: the media; reports; conferences; visits; and government statements. These categories are presented more as sources of information than as sources of proof that policy transfer has actually occurred. The author would like to draw the attention to the fact that these five sources do not include the personal experiences of persons involved in policy transfer processes.

Evans and Davies (1999, pp.361-385) propose five criteria for the validation of a policy transfer analysis:

1. describe the subject of analysis and clearly indicate the phenomenon under study (facilitation, process, historical analysis);
2. indicate who is the agent/are the agents of transfer. Describe expectations, who will benefit and how;
3. check if there is there evidence of non-transfer, for example through borrowing from domestic antecedents, innovation, lost parts of the original idea;
4. identify what evidence is offered to support the claim of policy transfer and how strong it is;
5. assess what conclusions can be drawn from criteria 1 – 4 about the nature and the extent to which the transfer that has taken place.

Evans (2009, p.246) highlights that it is not possible to identify the content of a transfer, and by implication whether transfer has happened, without adopting an implementation perspective. In other words, the proof of policy transfer lies in its implementation. He identifies three variables which can constrain the implementation of ideas collected in the framework of policy transfer: (i) 'cognitive' obstacles, which refer to receptivity for change, organisational culture, and the effective assimilation of policy alternatives; (ii) 'environmental' obstacles related to implementation, which refer to the agents of change and the need for an effective and cohesive policy transfer network; and (iii) public opinion.

As Marsh and Sharman (2009, p.283) note, the fact that there is no generally accepted framework for judging policy success is problematic. Policy success could be judged in several ways: on the basis of an effective process of preparation; the successful implementation of policy; and the desired policy impacts, resulting in practical success and political success. Transfer can be successful in one area, but not in another. This author would like to question who could judge success in these areas.

Evans and Davies (1999, pp.361-385) indicate that policy transfer may take place at and between all levels of government. Stone (2000, pp.45-62) however argues that policy transfer does not necessarily require governmental involvement, it can also occur between corporations, international organisations and NGOs. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, pp.5-24) state that policy transfer can either be voluntary (endogenously driven) or forced (exogenously driven). Dolowitz and Marsh (1996, pp.23-42) suggest that there is a vast domain where policy transfer can occur: voluntary or forced, temporal and spatial.

Evans and Davies (1999, pp.361-385) list the five levels of political spatiality that are referred to in political science: transnational; international; national; regional; and local. According to Stead et al. (2008, pp.62-73) policy transfer can also be demand-led (based on the initiative and acknowledged need of a recipient administration) or supply-led (based on the initiative of the donor and the donor's perception of the needs of the recipient).

There are different views on how to describe the extent to which transfer has taken place. Evans and Davies (1999, pp.361-385) define five degrees of transfer: copying; emulation; hybridization; synthesis; and inspiration. Dolowitz (2003, pp.101-108) speaks about a continuum that covers direct copy, mixture, core idea or concept and inspiration. Holm-Hansen (2005) suggests that most real examples of policy transfer lie in a continuum somewhere between these two extremes. Marsh and Sharman (2009, p.279) agree. In their view, 'cut and paste' transfers are allowed for in the analysis, but should be seen as the exception. Hybridized combinations of outside and local knowledge are much more common. Evans (2009a, p.240) agrees and even suggests that it is better to talk about 'policy imitation', because direct transfer is very rare.

Dolowitz and Marsh (1996, pp.343-357) identify the following degrees of transfer: ranging from pure copying of policy; legislation or techniques through to emulation; synthesis and hybridisation or, in its most simple form, inspiration and ideas. Bache (2000, p.4) explains that the potential for policy transfer can be constrained by differences in framework conditions. He also argues that, generally, complex policies or practices are more difficult to transfer than easy ones. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, pp.5-24) stress that not all policy transfer will be successful and they emphasise the need to follow a policy for some time to see whether uninformed, incomplete or inappropriate transfer leads to policy failure.

The lack of understanding of context and its importance is considered a weakness in the existing policy transfer theory. Healey (2010, p.5;9) notes that individual experts are members of different networks and these networks all act as circuits of knowledge. The particularities of the individual contexts in which their planning work is carried out are diverse. This adds to the complexity of the exogenous forces, and to the flows of ideas and expertise that are available and may be taken up.

Reflecting on comments from different scholars, Evans (2009a, p.238) lists four additional criticisms of policy transfer:

- it is difficult to disentangle policy transfer from a wide range of other concepts of policy making (see also James and Lodge, p.181);
- policy transfer analysis fails to advance an explanatory theory of policy development. Alternative accounts exploring the consequences of policy making processes for outcomes focus more directly on how processes influence outcomes. Analysis based on path dependence suggests that policy changes in general sometimes face difficulties because of fixed costs, resource-dependent constituencies and established standard operation procedures (see also James and Lodge, p.188);
- policy transfer analysts are also accused of failing to provide rigorous tools for evaluating whether policy transfer has occurred;
- policy transfer analysts fail to make their research relevant to the world of practice.

He concludes that policy transfer analysis alone cannot provide a general explanatory theory of policy change, but when combined with other approaches an empirically grounded account of policy change can be developed.

3.2.3 Actors involved

According to Dolowitz (2003, pp.101-108), there is a limitless array of individuals who can become involved in the policy transfer process and of the motivations underpinning their decision to enter the process. The following actors which can be involved in the policy transfer process have been identified by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, pp.5-24): elected politicians; political parties; bureaucrats/civil servants; pressure groups; policy entrepreneurs and experts; transnational corporations; think tanks; supra-national governmental and intergovernmental institutions and consultants.

Marsh, referred to in Dolowitz (2003, pp.101-108), mentions that, while most individuals talk of how they learned about a policy during their 'regular' job duties, policy transfer does not require anything more than a trip, a look on the internet, a discussion at a

conference, or even ideas gained through the interactions of a given policy network. Stone (2000, pp.45-62) refers to the development of common views and policy perspectives among an identifiable elite of people who work in a given field, as a route of policy transfer via transnational policy communities.

There are different reasons why a policy actor might want to engage in policy transfer. Dolowitz (2003, pp.101-108) suggests that the reasons can range from justifying an action already taken or a decision already made, to utilising a foreign model or idea to solve a perceived 'real' policy problem or failure.

The exchange of good and best practices is situated in the debates on policy transfer. Hajer (2005a, p. 302) defines the concept of practice as embedded routines and mutually understood rules and norms that provide coherence to social life. Vettoreto (2009, pp.1067-1083) defines good and best practices as 'structured information ... about successful experiences in ... contexts, concerning issues generally acknowledged as relevant, evaluated according to a set of criteria'. Vettoreto, however, concludes that it is not very clear if good practices have a positive impact.

Also Wolman and Page (2002, pp.477-501) are critical about good practice dissemination. They conclude that, even when it is well resourced and pursued actively, what is achieved by spreading lessons and good practices is not well understood by those involved in the process of dissemination. De Jong and Edelenbos (2007, pp.687-706) argue that best practices as such do not exist, since they always need to be contextualised and institutionalised. Taking a contrary view, Bulkeley (2006, pp.1029-1044) indicates that dissemination of best practice can lead to policy change in urban areas. She adds that best practice and dissemination can serve to reinforce norms in particular networks.

Arnkil (2005, p.5) mentions that the need to identify and disseminate good practice comes from the need to find new ways to promote change. He indicates also that it is therefore important to remember that 'practice' is always local and contextual. Every practice is embedded in a 360 degree context that includes a customer dimension, a horizontal

networking and partnership dimension, and a vertical management and governance dimension. In order to be 'good' a practice has to address successfully, within a reasonable time-span, all these dimensions. In order to learn from good practice, he argues that besides knowledge, 'good' learning spaces and processes and tools to enhance the learning process are needed. When discussing the gap between the knowing and doing, Arnkil, (2005, p.5) states that education or telling the people what to do does not work. What seems to work 'somewhat' is to engage in common, multifunctional problem-solving groups involving researchers, doers, managers, consultants, etc.

In the view of Dolowitz (2003, pp.101-108), context information is a necessary element in transferability analysis. An example of the importance of context is the specific issue of policy transfer in the field of urban transport between developed EU Member States and the new EU Member States. This has been addressed by Stead et al. (2008, pp.62-73). In this specific case, the transfer concerns unequal partners in terms of financial, material and knowledge resources. The countries are different in technological, economic, political and social conditions and in institutional frameworks. In addition, there are different historical and cultural backgrounds. Stead et al. (2008, pp.62-73) conclude that cultural differences are important, so the members of project networks need to make sure that there is tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity, i.e. that there is mutual trust.

3.2.4 The importance of trust

Trust is considered as an important precondition for successful policy transfer. One of the founding fathers of the European integration project, Jean Monnet, was convinced that '... a group carrying out joint tasks must accept common responsibility for the effects of the collective decisions on each member. If the parties are to trust one another to accept a common view, they must feel equal, and they are equal because they have equal capacity to comprehend the context in which they are working and living.' (eds. Crossick and Rueter, 2007, p.203).

Networks of trust have been analysed by Tilly (2005) in his book on Trust and rule. He identifies kinship groups, clandestine religious sects and trade diasporas that have isolated themselves from political control as examples of strong trust networks. Despite focussing on these strong networks in his paper, and Tilly (2005, p.6) indication that trust networks are only a small subset of all networks, some of his comments can be considered relevant for the understanding of trust in other types of networks. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003, p.12) argue that policy making is not simply about finding solutions for problems, is also about finding formats that generate trust among mutually independent actors. The reference to formats may refer to transfer processes and network structures.

In Tilly's (2005, p.4;6) view, trust is a property of interpersonal relationships. The same people can simultaneously maintain relations with different others that range from deep suspicion to confident trust. He gives four characteristics through which a trust network can be recognised. First, one will notice a number of people who are connected, directly or indirectly, by similar ties; they form a network. Second, the sheer existence of such a tie gives one member significant claims on the attention or aid of another; the network consists of strong ties. Third, the members of the network are collectively carrying on major long term enterprises. And fourth, the configuration of ties within the network sets the collective enterprise at risk to the disregard of common rules, mistakes, and failures of individual members. Maintaining the boundary between 'us' and 'them' plays an important role in trust networks' continued existence.

Low (2005, p.47) mentions that the absence, normally, of contractual exchange must mean that mutual trust plays a much more significant role in networks than in markets. Van Ark and Edelenbos (2005, p.282) add that trust is an important aspect of inter-organisational cooperation. In situations of trust, actors have (positive) expectations that other actors will refrain from opportunistic behaviour and because of that, the actors can take a vulnerable position. The informality and boundary spanning qualities of networks uniquely depend on trust to sustain collective action. If trust is absent, cooperation in networks will not hold.

The importance of trust is also highlighted by Wolman and Page (2002, pp.477-501). Their research suggests that, in the field of urban regeneration, informal contacts with peers are the most trustful and useful sources of information. More formal mechanisms, such as seminars, conferences and best practice guides, are less useful. Wolman and Page explain that these informal contacts are increasingly taking place within formal or quasiformal networks. They indicate that these two results are consistent with findings from social-learning and innovation diffusion literature. Wolman and Page also found that information senders often shape the information they send to support their own objectives and to enhance the reputation of their own programmes, activities and policies. Recipients of information are likely to react to disseminated good practices by seeking their own trusted methods of assessment and evaluation, which include personal experiences and trusted individuals as information source.

3.2.5 Path dependence and discourse

The take up of ideas or practices might be prevented by path dependency or the need to re-orient discourse and storylines. These concepts have been discussed by scholars in the planning field. As an introduction, it is useful to recall some basic comments from Braybrooke and Lindblom (1963, p. 63; 64) on policy change. They make a distinction between ‘small’ changes and ‘large’ changes, the latter describing structural changes. They do not draw a sharp line between them, which means that there is may be a continuum of types of changes between them. They also make a distinction between incremental and non-incremental changes.

Braybrooke and Lindblom (1963, p.93) mention that policy objectives shift not only because an old objective becomes impossible or irrelevant, or new ones possible, but also because the cost of achieving an objective can change. Impossible often means no more than prohibitively ‘costly’. The author of this research study considers that the ‘costs’ should be considered in broad terms, which provides a link to path dependence. Besides high ‘costs’, bureaucrats can also form a barrier. Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993, p.63)

warn of bureaucrats who may reduce the intelligence of policymaking. This happens in situations when: administrators focus on protection of their own budgets, power or policy turf; or fall into the preoccupation with process instead of results; or become captured by a narrow set of interests.

Torfinn (2001, p.286-288) defines a policy path as a relatively entrenched way of unifying, organising, and regulating a certain policy field. But the policy path is not merely a certain way in which some privileged decision makers choose to regulate a given field of objects, processes and actions. Rather, it forms a discursive terrain in which the objects of regulation, the regulatory agencies, and the institutional forms of regulation mutually constitute each other. There is a certain 'iterability' along the path. Reform is facilitated by a complex interplay of internal sources of instability and external events that dislocate the structured coherence of the policy path.

Clear definitions of path dependence are rare. Pierson (2000, p. 252) indicates that usage of the term tends to fluctuate between a broader and a narrower conception. In the broader version, path dependence refers to the causal relevance of preceding stages in a temporal sequence, i.e. 'history matters' in policy making. The alternative narrower conception, in which preceding steps in a particular direction induce further movement in the same direction, is well captured by the idea of increasing returns. In an increasing returns process, the probability of further steps along the same path increases with each move down that path. This is because the relative benefits of the current activity compared with other possible options increase over time, i.e. the costs of 'exit' rise.

Low, Gleeson and Rush (2005a, p.296;297) suggest that path dependence involves three interwoven strands: technical, institutional and discursive path dependence. Technical path dependence refers to the case when the historical trajectory of a policy is locked into a particular technical form of production or service delivery. Institutional path dependence relates to organisational structures and formal rules which influence the path of policy. While discourse path dependence refers to the case when discourse networks shape the policy path, i.e. the policy part is supported by a discourse network.

A discourse network, also referred to as a discourse coalition, may be formed around a discourse. Hajer (2005a, p.302;303) defines a discourse coalition as a group of actors that, in the context of an identifiable set of practices, shares the usage of a particular set of story lines over a particular period of time. So a discourse coalition is not only connected to particular persons, but it is related to practices in the context in which actors employ story lines and (re)produce and transform particular discourses. Low (2005, p.52;53) explains that discourse networks have the primary function of pointing people in the same direction. People may have widely diverse opinions and cultures, and the diversity of storylines reflects the diversity of professional, political and bureaucratic contexts from which they come. This author considers a discourse network to be a form of a policy network, as it seems to be linked to the idea of policy change.

Using a short definition, Hajer (2006a, p.71) defines discourse as the ensemble of a set of storylines, the actors that utter these storylines, and the practices through which these storylines get expressed. Using a different definition, Hajer (2005a, p.303) has elaborated on his concept of storylines. Here he defines discourse as an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices. Low (2005, p.51) explains that, as well as excluding actors from influence, storylines also facilitate coalitions. It should, however, be kept in mind that, while discourse is important, it does not take into account the influence of budgetary and social-organisational factors.

Storylines and metaphors play a key role in discourse. Hajer (2000, p.140) highlights that the importance of storylines is their essentially figurative or metaphorical nature which allows for a diversity of interpretations. Low, Gleeson and Rush (2003, p. 95;111) define storylines as metaphors, analogies, historical references, and clichés which appeal to collective fears. Because storylines are what hold discourse together, they are also prime vehicles for change. This means that the development of new policy requires new storylines. They suggest that, without bold political action, it is difficult to change the policy paradigm. It is not only a matter of instituting new policies but also of demolishing ingrained modes of behaviour associated with professional interests and popularly

supported funding programmes, and of changing and radically reconstructing bureaucracies around new storylines.

In conclusion, path dependency or non-adapted discourse and storylines might be among the factors that explain why a policy transfer process is not successful at a given moment in time. But this also means that a similar transfer process may be successful at a different moment, when discourse and storylines are adapted.

3.3 *Policy networks*

3.3.1 Policy network theory

Nowadays, it is impossible to imagine a society that is not dependent on networks, that is not a network society (Albrechts and Mandelbaum, 2005, p.2;4). But, although networks seem to have become a prime mode of organisation, they stress that networks are not the full content of our society. Society still consists of individuals, groups and organisations. Low (2005, p.56) adds that the network society may increasingly be governed by a networked polity, but that this is not only a network of people but also a network of ideas. This discursive network is path dependent and changes only slowly. Torfing (2001, p. 279) states that regulation is now often undertaken in and by decentred governance networks that bring together actors from state, economy and civil society. The various actors are (mutually) interdependent but are operationally autonomous.

Thinking about policy networks started to develop about twenty five years ago. According to some scholars (referred to by Dudley and Richardson, 1998, p.728) the theory shows an intellectual fatigue. Initially, the concept focussed on networks of organisations. Rhodes (1986, p.37) defines a policy network as a cluster or complex of organisations connected to one another by resource dependencies. More recently, policy networks are defined by Nugent (2003, p.490) as arenas in which decision-makers and interests come together to mediate differences and search for solutions. By removing the emphasis on organisations, this latter definition responds, in this author's view, to the criticism of intellectual fatigue.

During a workshop in Birmingham on 21 April 2005, Rhodes emphasised that policy networks depend on trust and reciprocity. In his view, networks work where bureaucracies and markets do not work. To 'measure' the performance of a network one would need to define and apply the characteristics of networks and then assess if the conditions under which a network operates approximate these characteristics.

Healey (2005, p.156) mentions that the power to change governance modes comes from the development of the interactive practices of collaborative partnerships. John (2001, p.169) notes that policy networks at national and local level play an essential role in oiling the governmental machinery. But he also indicates that '... the politics of networks erode the existing pattern of government in tiers ...'. This implies a link with multi-level governance. McLaughlin and Maloney (1999, ch.10) see the policy network model as entirely compatible with the multi-level governance image of the EU.

Some scholars have the view that the policy network concept is weak in explaining how policy change comes about. One example is Smith (referred to by Dudley and Richardson, 1998, p.728), another one is Jachtenfuchs (2000, pp.245-264), who mentions that there is a lack of systematic and quantitative evidence of policy change. Marsh (1998a, p.186) indicates, however, that different scholars argue that policy networks do affect policy outcomes. For example, Dudley and Richardson (referred to by Dudley and Richardson, 1998, p.728) found evidence of how policy networks have influenced trunk roads policy in the United Kingdom.

Rhodes (1997, p.37) identifies three typologies of policy networks: the Rhodes typology; the Wilks and Wright typology; and the Marsh and Rhodes typology. The Rhodes typology (1997, p.36) distinguishes between five types of networks ranging along a continuum from tightly integrated policy communities to loosely integrated issue networks.

Wilks and Wright (referred to by Rhodes, 1997, p.40) developed a second, societal-centred approach to networks. This approach emphasises inter-personal rather than structural relations. They distinguish between a policy universe (at the level of a policy area), a policy

community (at the level of a policy sector) and a policy network (at the level of a policy sub-sector). Marsh and Rhodes (1997, p.43) proposed a third approach to policy networks in the early 1990s. It is considered the most significant development of the initial Rhodes model (Marsh, 1998, p.186). Their typology treats policy networks as types of relationships between interest groups and government and uses policy network as a generic term.

Applying network analytic concepts can help to see the EU in a comparative perspective. Jachtenfuchs (2000, pp.245-264) notes that the network concept is a useful means for empirical analysis of the working of EU policy-making. It appears that the fragmented and fluid institutional structure of the EU, together with the lack of a strong power centre, leads to an increase in channels of access and a larger variation of participants in the policy-making process as compared to governance systems in territorial states. Coleman and Perl (1999, pp.691-709) suggest that the EU has shown that multi-level governance will have a definite impact on arrangements of policy networks. This is because national level policy communities will remain involved in every stage of the policy process, and the formation of transnational policy communities can be expected that are composed of actors from both the national and international levels.

There is a need to separate networks (as institutions) and transnational networking (as a process) located in a wider (political, economic) context, as emphasised by Bennington and Harvey (ed. Marsh, 1998, p.149). This means that, according to Bomberg (ed. Marsh, 1998, p.180), researchers should analyse the network-structures, the processes and should clearly describe the context in which this takes place. The author would like to highlight that a complicating factor is that networks are not necessarily stable; they can change over time.

Three levels of analysis are identified by Marsh (ed. Marsh, 1998, p.15). The macro-level of analysis deals with questions concerning the broader structures and processes of government and the relationship between state and civil society. The meso-level deals with patterns of interest group intermediation, which is with policy networks. The micro-level of analysis deals with individual actions and decisions of actors within networks.

It is important to include the time dimension when trying to understand the network approach. In the view of Aspinwall (eds. Eising and Kohler-Kock, 1999, ch.7) different forms of networking take place along a time continuum. Early in the life of a policy the Commission dialogue with interest groups predominates in an issue network. This has been described as the stage of pre-governance (see section 3.4.4). Later, as agreement is worked out, a supranational regulatory policy network takes shape. Depending on the policy issue, a balance of power has to be found between the supranational regulatory network and the domestic security network, where national priorities are the key underlying norms. The references to the balance of power and domestic security network might be linked to the 'hollowing out' of national government and the 'gatekeeper role' which will be addressed later in sections 3.4.2 and 3.5.3 respectively.

A different view is expressed by Bennington and Harvey (ed. Marsh, 1998, p.166). They suggest that it is mainly during the process of policy formulation, that transnational networking forms part of the political process. The author would like to refer to the policy transfer network concept here. Evans and Davies (1999, pp.361-385) see policy transfer networks as an ad hoc, action-oriented phenomenon set up with the specific intention of engineering policy change and thus no extensive process of bargaining or coalition building external to the transfer network is usually required. In their view, policy transfer networks exist only for the time that a transfer is occurring (see also section 3.2 on policy transfer)..

Richardson (2000, pp. 1006–1025) is critical and argues that policy-making within European states and at the EU level is often much more fluid and unpredictable – and less controllable - than seems to be implied by enthusiasts of the policy network approach. Whilst there are undoubtedly policy communities and networks that exhibit both stability and exclusiveness and do control policy agendas, there appear to be counter-tendencies that lead to lack of control, policy instability, and unpredictable outcomes. In this author's view, one may question if this criticism only applies to the EU level, and if it is not intrinsically linked to the process of EU policy making, where different policy networks can be active in parallel (and may even have overlapping memberships).

In their analysis of the policy network concept for use in internationalised policy contexts, Coleman and Perl (1999, pp. 691-709) suggest that the heightened complexity resulting from internationalised policy-making can result in several different policy communities getting engaged in addressing a policy problem at the same time. In addition, closer linkages between policy problems across different policy sectors results in a wider engagement. Richardson (2000, pp. 1006–1025) suggests that this can lead to a degree of ‘overcrowding’. Policy communities and networks may become linked in a rather messy and unpredictable chain of actors, who do not know each other well and who do not speak the same ‘language’.

A link can be made between the policy network and policy transfer concepts. Evans and Davies (1999, pp. 361–385) state that the relationship between policy networks, so called ‘epistemic communities’ made up of personalities with authoritative claims to policy relevant knowledge, and policy transfer at the international level can be integrated through the development of the notion of a policy transfer network. Referring to different scholars, Healey (2005, p.146) argues that governance is increasingly understood in terms of complex sets of policy communities or ‘epistemic communities’, crosscutting with attempts to build partnerships and coalitions, arenas, and networks to create new policy discourses and agendas.

Evans and Davies (1999, pp. 361–385) further suggest that most empirical examples of policy transfer tend to emphasise close-knit policy communities. Richardson (2000, pp. 1006–1025) emphasises the importance of ideas and knowledge as factors that can often upset the cosy life of established policy communities and networks. These scholars do however not explain if/how a project network can function as a policy transfer network.

Communities of Practice can be related to policy networks. De Jong and Edelenbos (2005) define a ‘more solid form’ of long standing networks, in which for example cities can participate to learn and exchange experience, as Communities of Practice. Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002, p.4) define a Community of Practice as a group of people who share concern, a set of problems, or a passion concerning a particular domain and wish

to improve their knowledge and expertise through ongoing exchange. In their view, it is Communities of Practice that create the relationships required for global integration.

De Jong and Edelenbos (2005) analyse the multilateral learning in a Community of Practice and identify a small core group, a large group of adaptors and a small group of 'lurkers' in the periphery. Bood and Coenders (referred to by Jong and Edelenbos, 2007, pp.687–706) indicate three levels of participation in Communities of Practice: a core group of 10 -15%; a group of adaptors of roughly 70%; and a group of 'lurkers' of about 15 – 20%. Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002, p.56) agree on the size of the core but have a different view on the typology and size of the other groups. They identify a small core group (10 – 15%), a small active group (15 – 20%) and a large group of community members that are peripheral and rarely participate. The literature does not indicate if a similar structure applies to project networks. The structure of a core group, a group of adaptors and a group of 'lurkers' seems an approximation of the structure of a project network.

3.3.2 Networks linking subnational government and the EU

Transnational networks are now a key part of the policy development process in the EU, with increasing numbers of local authorities becoming involved. Marks (referred to by Jordan, 2001, pp.193-208) argues that once policy networks linking subnational governments to the European Commission have been created, there is no certainty that they can be dominated by national governments. Local authorities are well aware that their interests sometimes diverge from those of central government. Two reasons why the Commission wants to deal with subnational government are suggested by Goldsmith (1993, pp.683–699): it needs information both about what should be its policy objectives and about how its programmes are operating, and it needs regional and local agents to better implement and police its policies.

The author of this research disagrees with John (2001, p.85), who states that interest groups may be more useful to the Commission than the other way round. European policy makers

use local and regional authorities as useful assets in their quest to build the legitimacy of the EU and as strategic assets in their internal battles. Bennington and Harvey (ed. Marsh, 1998, p.159) indicate that, through networks, the Commission gains access to information and intelligence, with the transnational networks acting as antennae and early warning systems. In exchange, local authorities gain privileged access to the policy formulation process.

According to Bennington and Harvey (ed. Marsh, 1998, p.159), the European Commission in some cases actively fosters the formation of transnational networks to match or mirror its concerns. The Commission generally accords a high priority to cooperation with societal interests and public authorities across territorial levels, through policy network structures as a means of managing the policy process. One of the reasons given by McLaughlin and Maloney (1999, ch.10) is that the European Commission is 'resource poor'. This author disagrees. In his view, the Commission has at least an equal access to information and ideas as do governments at national, regional and local levels.

Getting involved in a transnational network offers a number of benefits to local authorities. Rhodes (1997, p.158) mentions that the Commission controls resources (notably authority and money) which interest groups, local and regional governments and national governments need. Van Vliet (1998, p.139) asks the question if policy networks are a 'resource' themselves or just a means to get access to 'resources'. He argues that they are a resource themselves because networks are a powerful instrument to influence finances, political support and projects elsewhere.

Networks are also a potential resource for recruiting staff. Bennington and Harvey (ed. Marsh, 1998, pp.161-162) note that networks provide economies of scale in the resources that their members can access. Lobbying via a network ensures that the EU is aware that views concerning a particular policy issue are not confined to a single local authority or national perspective. Transnational networks, therefore, give local authorities an added value in terms of legitimacy. Transnational networks also give local authorities opportunities for rapid cross-national learning and policy innovation.

Cities seek a link with the EU level for different reasons. Goldsmith (1993, pp.683–699) identifies three reasons: to find alternative sources of finance; to place themselves in the economic marketplace; or to promote the political status of their local political leaders. Being identified as a European, or better still, an international city, is a major objective. In his paper on networks of global cities and economic centres, Allen (2008) refers to the dynamic nature of networks, the frequently shifting patterns of relationships in networks and the varied extent of the reach of the networks. He notes that city powers are mobilized through networks. It is high level professionals who interact and, through this interaction, reduce the space and time between them and construct closer integrated ties and relationships. Well-placed individuals are in the position to define an overall orientation or direction that, to all concerned, appears to be indispensable and irreversible.

3.4 *Multi-level governance*

3.4.1 Understanding multi-level governance

The concept of multi-level governance, also referred to as multi-layered governance, is helpful to better understand the changes in governance in the EU that have taken place during the last decades. Multi-level governance is seen by Hooghe (referred to by Jordan, 2001, pp.193-208) as a post Single European Act phenomenon. Goldsmith (eds. Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003, p.115) refers to it as a model for European integration that emerged in the mid-1990s. John (2001, p.73) mentions that it assumes ‘... the presence of three levels of political organisation in the EU – the European, national and local – suggesting that the interaction between them constitutes a new form of politics’.

Also Bache (1999, pp.28–45) refers to an increased role of both the EU level and the local level. Benz and Eberlein (1999, pp.329–348) clarify that multi-level governance emphasizes power-sharing between levels of government and argue that there is a link between Europeanisation and the development of multi-level governance. They assume that the emergence of new governing structures stimulates learning, thus making a possible link with policy transfer. This is an important observation.

A baseline description of multi-level governance from Guy Peters and Pierre (2001, pp.131-135) is that it refers to negotiated non-hierarchical exchanges between institutions at the transnational, national, regional and local levels. Marks (referred to by John, 2001, p.74) defines multi-level governance as a system of continuous negotiation among nested governments at several territorial tiers – supranational, national, regional and local - as a result of the broad process of institutional creation and decision reallocation that has pulled some previously centralised functions of the state up to the supranational level and some down to the local/regional level.

Rhodes (2003, p.140) identifies some problems that are linked with Marks's 'negotiation system-based' approach. First, he argues that the increase in the number of links between levels of government will probably reduce the effectiveness of centralised decision making and second, he regrets that no clear link with the policy network concept is made.

According to Herrschel and Newman (2002, p.25), the idea of multi-level governance presents a challenge to understandings of political institutions and processes. The author supports this view. Hooghe and Marks (2001, p.1) present European integration from a multi-level governance perspective as a polity-creating process in which authority and policy-making influences are shared across different levels of government. It is an alternative concept to a state-centric governance approach towards European integration.

Newman and Thornley (2005, pp.123) indicate that the concept of multi-level governance emerged in the mid-1990s as an attempt to capture the complexity of relations between geographical scales and the lack of any simple hierarchy in decision-making. Jordan (2001, pp.193-208) suggests that the development towards multi-level governance may vary between policy sectors. This is supported by Nugent (referred to by Jordan, 2001, pp.193-208) who notes that the EU is not only multi-level but also multi-sectorial, with the exact position of the pendulum varying between policy sectors. This is an important observation.

The metaphor of a pendulum is also used by Wallace (eds. Wallace and Wallace, 2000, p.49) to convey both the sense of movement in the EU policy process and the uncertainty

about its outcomes. The policy pendulum swings between the national political arenas of the Member States, on the one hand, and the transnational arena, with its European and global dimensions, on the other hand. But she indicates that the pendulum metaphor is only one way of characterising the push-pull between these different arenas. Another way of expressing it is to define the EU policy process as the product of competition between national and the transnational arenas to provide effective or authoritative results.

Pierre and Stoker (referred to by Guy Peters and Pierre, 2001, pp.131-135) mention that multi-level governance refers not just to negotiated relationships between institutions at different institutional levels but also to a vertical 'layering' of governance processes at these levels. The important point is that, although these institutional levels seem to be vertically ordered, institutional relationships do not necessarily have to operate through intermediary levels.

Marks and Hooghe (2001, p.24) suggest that multi-level governance is most prominent in the implementation stage and that here the formal division of authority between the Commission and Member States no longer holds. The Commission has become involved in day-to-day implementation in a number of policy areas, including transport. This brings it into close contact with subnational governments and interest groups. This is not the view of Rhodes (1997, p.142) who states that multi-level governance covers all stages of the policy process and lies at the heart of policy networks.

This author agrees with Jachtenfuchs (2001, pp.245-264), who notes also that the policy network concept appears particularly well suited to grasp the essence of multi-level governance in the EU. There are, however, reasons for criticising multi-level governance, on both theoretical and empirical grounds, and Jordan (2001, pp.193-208) identifies seven of them. One of them is that multi-level governance greatly overstates the autonomy of subnational actors. In this author's view, this may be true but it very much depends on the national situation.

3.4.2 Actors involved

Who are the winners and losers of multi-level governance? Hooghe and Marks (2001, p.24) argue that, while national governments are active participants in EU policy-making, control has slipped from them and from national arenas to the European arena. This means that multi-level governance has resulted in the creation of multiple points of access for 'interests'. Martin and Pearce (1999, pp.32-52) argue that the differentiated pattern of responses from British local authorities to the opportunities offered by European integration lend some support to the theory of multi-level governance, but also highlights the extent to which the individual and collective activities of local authorities are constrained by domestic institutional arrangements.

Also Richardson (2000, pp.1006–1025) suggests that the EU provides a multitude of access points for policy professionals and interest groups of all kinds. Le Galès (2002, p.95) mentions that local authorities and pressure groups that are marginal in the national political system have found that the European political space offers them new opportunities. Multi-level governance in the EU is manifested by a growing number of exchanges between subnational and transnational institutions, seemingly bypassing the state, as suggested by Guy Peters and Pierre (2001, pp.131-135). They suggest that subnational governments are becoming more assertive in an effort to expand their economic base and that this development is encouraged by international institutions such as the EU. This means that subnational actors have entered directly into the European arena.

Hooghe and Marks (2001, p.89) note that these actors have created networks of communication and influence that link them with supranational institutions and with subnational governments in other countries. Wallace (eds. Wallace and Wallace, 2000, pp.3-38) mentions that local and regional authorities have benefited from policy empowerment as a result of engaging in the European activities. However, as mentioned before, Jordan (2001, pp.193-208) criticises multi-level governance, for example because it overstates the autonomy of subnational actors.

Hajer (2003a, p.179) refers to the phenomena of 'scale jumping'. Anyone who wants to be effective in the European polity, whether a local politician or a radical NGO, must know the game of 'scale jumping': the art of putting in an intervention at the appropriate level. This is much more complex than the concept of multi-level governance suggests. The new order is not simply about the need to communicate more and more effectively between governments at different levels. Societal actors have become implicated as well, and have received new entry points into EU politics.

According to Newman and Thornley (2005, p.262), multi-level governance is important throughout the EU. But at the same time national institutional and political differences still set different contexts for cities. Guy Peters and Pierre (2001, pp.131-135) conclude that, to some extent, multi-level governance seems to emerge as the combined result of decentralisation, the 'hollowing out' of national government, i.e. a shift from an interventionist towards an enabling national government, budgetary cutbacks and a growing degree of institutional self-assertion and professionalism at the subnational level. These developments are seen as long-term and incremental in nature.

Hooghe and Marks (2001, p.89) suggest that multi-level governance may not be a stable equilibrium. Four key interrelated trends that illustrate the process of 'hollowing out' of national government are identified by Rhodes (1994, pp.138-151). They are: privatisation and limits in public intervention; the loss of functions by national governments to alternative service delivery systems; the loss of functions to EU institutions; and the emergence of limits to the discretion of public servants through new thinking about public management. Rhodes (referred to by Davies and Evans, 1999, pp.361-385) also sees policy networks as central to the understanding of 'hollowing out' of national government.

Although some scholars focus on the 'hollowing out' of national government, the author agrees with Newman and Thornley (2005, p.33) who note that many scholars talk about a restructuring of its role. Le Galès (2002, p.76) mentions that subnational governments have become significant actors in European governance and Newman and Thornley (2005, p.123) suggest that in some cases they are challenging the position of national

governments. Le Galès (2002, p.76) refers to cities as potential bases for the implementation of EU programmes, for the mobilisation of citizens on behalf of the European integration project, and for the participation of coalitions that aim to advance this project. Le Galès (2002, p.95) also notes that the state no longer has a monopoly in representing its citizens abroad, with both the EU and local authorities taking part in this role.

3.4.3 Governance and government

Scholars use several definitions of governance. Jordan, Wurzel and Zito (2005, pp.477-496) state that there is no universally accepted definition. Jachtenfuchs (2001, pp.245-264) refers to governance as the ability to make collectively binding decisions. He also mentions another definition by Zürn (referred to by Jachtenfuchs, 2001, pp.245-264) that defines governance as the intentional regulation of social relationships and the underlying conflicts by reliable and durable means and institutions, instead of the direct use of power and violence. John (2001, p.70) defines governance as a flexible pattern of public decision-making based on loose networks of individuals.

A broad definition of governance is given by Healey (2006, p.302). In her view, the general meaning of governance encompasses all forms of collective action focused on the public real (or sphere) in one way or another, from those orchestrated by formal government agencies, to lobby groups, self-regulating groups and social campaigns and movements targeted at resistance or challenge to dominant relations. Rhodes (1997, p.53) sees governance as self-organising, inter-organisational networks. Southern (2002, pp.16-32) mentions that governance can be defined as the means by which an activity or set of activities is controlled or directed, so that it delivers an acceptable range of outcomes according to some established standard. The European Commission (2001c), from its perspective, defines governance as any rules, processes and practices that affect the quality of how powers are exercised.

When commenting on the link between governance and government, Rhodes (1997, p.46) explains that governance is not a synonym for government but that it signifies a change in meaning of government, referring to a new process of governing, or a changed condition of ordered rule, or the new method by which society is governed. Herrschel and Newman (2002, p.29) have a different perspective and suggest that governance is linked with governing hierarchies and formal decision making. Southern (2002, pp.16-32) indicates that the idea of government focuses on the formal institutional structures of decision making. Jordan, Wurzel and Zito (2005, pp.477-496) argue that the change from government to governance is highly differentiated across political jurisdictions, policy sectors and instrument types. They also note that governance often complements and on some occasions competes with government.

The gradual shift from a government towards a governance perspective reflects the new role of the State that has become typical of western politics. Guy Peters and Pierre (2001, pp.131-135) suggest that multi-level governance to some extent is merely a logical extension of this development. Jordan, Wurzel and Zito (2005, pp.477-496) suggest that there is a widespread agreement on the fact that governance is linked with multi-level governance, that it is characterised by the use of non-regulatory instruments and that it is associated with a 'hollowing out' of national government.

Jordan (2001, pp.193-208) identifies elements of both intergovernmentalism and supranationalism, i.e. having power, authority, or influence that overrides or transcends national boundaries, governments, or institutions (Oxford English Dictionary, 2010), in today's EU. Thus in some policy areas (e.g. trade), the Treaties allow the EU to operate like a quasi-federal state, while in others (e.g. taxation), decisions are reached after intergovernmental bargaining following the doctrine of unanimity in international organisations.

The integration process in the European Union after 1985 has brought into question the assumption of the internally and externally sovereign state. Jachtenfuchs (2001, pp.245-264) identifies three major lines of thought in the literature on the impact of the EU on the

domestic affairs of its Member States. These deal with the (1) Europeanisation of policies and politics, (2) the rise of regulatory policy-making, and (3) the emergence of a new mode of governance which he calls network governance, referring to policy networks. Whereas the first two developed more or less simultaneously, the third one developed later.

Hajer and Versteeg (2005, p.341;342) characterise governance networks as relatively stable sets of interdependent, but operationally autonomous and negotiating actors, focussed on joint problem solving. Governance networks characteristically consist of a polycentric, often trans-national and almost by necessity intercultural collaboration of actors. These actors have to develop a common understanding of the problem and build a basis for trust. The networks build up their strength over time. Network governance is marked by the condition of institutional ambiguity, as it is unclear where and how legitimate action is to be taken. It is also marked by multi-signification. Actors may conceive the world in different terms, which means that different meanings and understandings might be at stake.

A range of scholars have criticised the network governance concept. Hajer en Versteeg (2008, p.174;177) state that network governance is operated primarily in a 'de democratic no-mans land'. It thrives on quiet negotiation, which might contribute to the problem solving capacity which the networks have. But this is, of course, problematic in terms of legitimacy and in terms of generating a broader commitment. The media have difficulty with the phenomenon of network governance, which means that their potential as a countervailing power to the risk of network governance being marked by secrecy and a-political bargaining, are limited. Webster and Lee (2005, p.240;241) and Healey (2005a, p.311) consider that, because of the lack of an anchor in law or in legitimate political structures, transversal networks are inherently unstable and can only be transitional.

Network governance should not be confused with 'new governance'. When explaining the new governance approach, Nugent (2003, p.473) mentions that the new governance approach involves a wide variety of actors and processes beyond the state, the relationships between state and not-state actors have become less hierarchical and more interactive, and

the essential ‘business’ of government has become the regulation of public activities rather than the redistribution of resources.

Evans and Davies (1999, pp.361–385) indicate that new governance refers to policy making through multi-layered, self-organising, inter-organisational networks. When applied to the EU, Hix (referred to by Nugent, 2003, p.473) suggests that the new governance perspective ‘... is that the EU is transforming politics and government at the European and national levels into a system of multi-level, non-hierarchical, deliberative and apolitical governance, via a complex web of public/private networks and quasi-autonomous executive agencies ...’. Referring to various scholars, Healey (2005, p.146) argues that governance is increasingly understood in terms of complex sets of policy communities or ‘epistemic communities’, crosscutting with attempts to build partnership and coalitions, arenas, and networks to create new policy discourses and agendas.

Governance in the EU seen as is becoming increasingly complex. John (2000, pp.877-894) indicates that the outcomes of political negotiations are therefore harder to predict. The EU has changed the relationships between the different levels of government. In addition, because the number of possible relationships and coalitions increases, involving different levels of government and also other interests, there are greater opportunities to establish strategic alliances – sometimes in the form of policy networks. Bulmer and Burch (eds. Aspinwall and Schneider, 2001, p.79) mention that the EU style of policy-making has only ‘recently’ become institutionalised. They characterise its general features as fluid, open, network-based, rule-guided, sectorised and subject to inter-institutional bargaining.

3.4.4 Pre-governance

In a text on transport governance, Aspinwall (eds. Eising and Kohler-Kock, 1999, ch.7) identifies the new concept of pre-governance, a concept that might be useful for this study. It should however be noted that neither Aspinwall nor other scholars have further debated or developed this concept. Aspinwall describes the existence of a pre-governance system in

EU policy-making, in which the institutions have begun to gather the participants in anticipation of a possible future governance system. He labels this as pre-governance, to reflect the fact the systems are not yet permanent enough to be thought of as governance sub-systems in their own right. The pre-governance sub-system is structured around, what he calls, 'soft issue alliances' in those areas where the EU does not have a clear jurisdiction.

Aspinwall (eds. Eising and Kohler-Kock, 1999, ch.7) notes that the EU institutions act both as a structure and as an agent, and it is this agency role that is crucial in preparing the ground for possible future governance sub-systems. He notes that in the area of transport, the Commission has promoted an agenda of linkage, attempting to expand EU competence into new areas by stressing the economies of scale and the ability of transport policy to solve related problems, such as environmental and congestion problems. Aspinwall states that, whether the pre-governance system results in a transformation of governance to the EU-level, depends on the agreement of the Member States and the continued participation of non-state actors in EU-level policy networks.

3.5 *Europeanisation*

3.5.1 Internationalisation, globalisation and Europeanisation

In a general context, internationalisation means to render international in character or use. In the specific context of political science, internationalisation refers to bringing a country or territory under the combined government or protection of two or more different national governments (Oxford English Dictionary, 2010).

Internationalisation has an impact on local government. According to John (2000, pp.877-894), internationalisation helps to propel traditional local and regional government towards local and regional governance. He identifies two drivers for the internationalisation process. The first driver is economic competition. Local and regional authorities respond to competition with other cities and regions by strengthening their international activities as the image of the city or region and its ability to access public and private resources become

part of the competitive game. The second driver, covering the political dimension, is the change in the balance of legislative power between the different layers of government. Assuming that the EU is governed on the basis of a multi-level governance system, then the development of the EU, which has legal powers over Member States, has clear implications for the subnational politics.

Internationalisation is not the same as globalisation. Rosamund (2000, pp.261-274) defines globalisation as an economic phenomenon, identified usually with heightened capital mobility, intensified international trade and the multi- and trans-nationalisation of production. Held (referred to by Coleman and Perl, 1999, pp.691-709) understands globalisation not as an economic but as a social phenomena referring to ‘...stretching and deepening of social relations and institutions across space and time such that, on the one hand, day-to-day activities are increasingly influenced by events happening on the other side of the globe and, on the other, the practices and decisions of local groups of communities can have significant global reverberations’.

Brenner (1999, pp.431–451) emphasises the economic, human, information and spatial aspects of globalisation. He describes it as ‘a double-edged, dialectical process through which: the movement of commodities, capital, money, people and information through geographical space is continually expanded and accelerated; and, relatively fixed and immobile spatial infrastructures are produced, reconfigured and/or transformed to enable such expanded, accelerated movement’.

Winn and Harris (2003, p.1) mention that Europeanisation has many meanings but that in all cases it is synonymous with European integration. It implies processes and mechanisms by which European institution building may cause change at the domestic level. Radaelli (eds. Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003, p.27) however highlights that there is a difference between ‘EU-ization’ and Europeanisation and that the scope of Europeanisation can go beyond ‘EU-ization’, for example through the transfer of policy from one country to other countries. Wallace (eds. Wallace and Wallace, 1996, p.41) suggests that European integration is the distinctively West European response to globalisation.

An often used definition for Europeanisation is the one from Radaelli (2004, p.3), who defines Europeanisation as processes of a) construction, b) diffusion and c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures and public policies. Radaelli concludes that Europeanisation is about governance and processes, and that it is not the same as convergence.

Europeanisation is defined by Jachtenfuchs (2001, pp.245-264) as the degree to which public policies are carried out either by the Member States alone, jointly by the Member States and the EU, or exclusively by the EU. He indicates that the variation between policy sectors is huge. Wallace (2000a, p.370) defines Europeanisation as the development and sustaining of systematic European arrangements to manage cross-border connections, such that a European dimension becomes an embedded feature that frames politics and policy within the Member States.

Europeanisation not only impacts on politics and policy, but it also has an impact on people. Bomberg and Peterson (2000, p.3) indicate that besides policies, politics and polity also citizens can become Europeanised. They therefore define Europeanisation as a complex process whereby national and sub-national institutions, political actors, and citizens adapt to, and seek to shape, the trajectory of European integration in general and EU policies in particular. Goldsmith (eds. Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003, p.112) makes a distinction between formal Europeanisation (i.e. 'EU-ization') and informal Europeanisation. This includes informal social processes which EU citizens increasingly enjoy.

These different definitions confirm Olsen's (2002, pp.921-952) view that Europeanisation is a contested subject for which no shared definition has yet emerged. John (2000, pp.877-894) implicitly shares this view when he refers to seven different opinions on Europeanisation.

3.5.2 Europeanisation of local government

Europeanisation has impacts on local government. John (2000, pp.877-894) argues that Europeanisation has become one of the core aspects of local governance. He even places the urban level in the centre when he defines Europeanisation as ‘a process whereby European ideas and practices transfer to the core of local decision-making as well as from local policy-making arenas to the supranational level’ (John, 2001, p.73). Marshall (2005, pp.668–686) provides a definition of Europeanisation at the urban level which separates ‘download’ Europeanisation (changes in local policies and practices arising from European policies and programmes) and ‘upload’ Europeanisation (transfer of innovative practices, resulting in the incorporation of local initiatives in Europe-wide policies or programmes). Also Bache (2000, p.3) establishes a link between Europeanisation and the transfer of ideas. He highlights the transfer from the EU level to the national level.

Arnkil (2005, p.4) links both processes and refers to the concept of ‘glocalization’ that describes the ‘two way flow’ between the rise of the importance of locally embedded solutions on the one hand, and global tendencies and influences on the other, at the expense of the nation state. Brenner explains that this concept was introduced by Swyngedouw (referred to by Brenner, 1999, pp.431–451) to indicate the ‘combined process of globalization and local-territorial re-configuration’. Le Galès (2002, p.97) suggests that Europeanisation and globalisation processes are connected with the local level. John (2001, p.11) refers to several scholars who have suggested that Europeanisation occurs because local authorities become aware of the importance of EU policies and funding opportunities.

A link between Europeanisation and networks is made by John (2001, p.71). This is important for this study. He mentions that Europeanisation is about the politics of networks which erode the existing patterns of government in tiers. Rosamund (2000, pp.261-274) clarifies that, in its advocacy of Europeanisation, the European Commission has been keen to make reference to external context as the driving motivation for the development of common policies or deeper integration.

When he examines the impact of the EU on local government management and internal structures, John (John, 2001, p.72) suggests that Europeanisation is a step process with subnational authorities gradually moving up a ladder. He combines the nine steps of the ladder into stages that reflect the lack of choice local public bodies have over some activities. The more action the local authority undertakes, the greater the interplay with European ideas and practices.

Innovative in John's ladder is the third stage of full Europeanisation. John argues that this stage reflects a more fundamental transformation that goes beyond short-term instrumental behaviour, whereby local policy-making becomes an aspect of the EU, and European ideas and practices become transferred to the core of local decision-making. The European function should be thought of as a means whereby public authorities can innovate and initiate new policies and programmes in the context of transnational co-operation and EU policy-making.

When describing the power of European recognition for project participants through EU funding, Van Vliet (1998, p.132) indicates that the recognition by a European programme is a special form of political recognition. This political recognition is shown by the fact that European funds are allocated by the European Commission. The European recognition leads to an important positive societal and political image. The participation in a European project also triggers the participation of many potentially interested parties in the project. He also mentions that the collection of knowledge from parallel projects in the European arena, and the co-operation with them, leads to the growth of networks.

3.5.3 Actors involved

Le Gales and Harding (1998, pp.120–145) argue that cities are rising in importance and are becoming increasingly independent from national government. But at the same time the state remains an important factor in the evolution of cities. Marks (referred to by John, 2000, pp.877-894) sees, from a multi-level governance perspective, the dispersion of power

to subnational decision-makers (part of what has been referred to earlier as the 'hollowing out' process) as irreversible because they have become part of the new European governing system. This would mean that Europeanisation of local government is irreversible. It should, however, be noted that not all scholars agree on the growing influence of subnational government.

John (2000, pp.877-894) notes that some scholars argue that the nation-state remains dominant in both policy formation and implementation. As an example he refers to Anderson (referred to by John, 2000, pp.877-894) who mentions that national governments continue to act as 'gatekeepers', or controllers, on European public policy, for example over funding and certain policy decisions. The author would like to add that this can also be understood as national governments controlling the application of the subsidiarity principle.

Europeanisation results in significant limitations on domestic actors' room for manoeuvre in many policy areas. McLaughlin and Maloney (1999, ch.10) identify a paradox here: the ability of domestic networks to manage their policy agenda has been circumscribed by the shift of decision making power to the European level, yet this very process has reinforced relationships within domestic networks because of the amount of policy scrutiny required. Young and Wallace (2000, p.112) suggest that the Member States governments, as enforcers of most EU legislation, the guardians of 'home country controls' (i.e. the 'gatekeeper' role which has been mentioned earlier), and proponents of subsidiarity, retain important footholds in the regulatory process. Rhodes (1997, pp.158-159) suggests that the principle of subsidiarity has the potential to change the distribution of authority between levels of government.

Local authorities vary in the way they respond to the EU. Research by Goldsmith and Klausen (referred to by John, 2000, pp.877-894) shows that local and regional government have improved their involvement with the EU, but that the response has been patchy. They classify the responses given by the different sorts of authorities in four categories: counteractive; passive; reactive; and proactive. They find that the largest category of local authorities is passive and the second largest is reactive. This suggests that the impact of

Europeanisation is so far limited. John (2000, pp.877-894) has the view that Europeanisation, through the way it gives incentives to some authorities and not to others, is cross-national and not dominated by north-south divisions.

Some scholars, according to John (2000, pp.877-894), regard the formal and informal partnerships between central and subnational governments over the formulation and implementation of EU-funded programmes as a test of the Europeanisation and multi-level governance thesis. If subnational government can lobby and influence EU policy, then urban politics is part of a wider system of decision-making. If the answer is negative, then local government remains as before, with central government deciding most international issues. Local authorities have mobilised themselves, but John (2000, pp.877-894) notes that there is not much concrete evidence that sub-national activity has influenced EU decision-makers. Rather, EU decision-makers seem to have used lobbies to legitimate policies, to help implementation and as an aid in battles within the EU.

In the view of Moreno (2003, pp.271–285), Europeanisation implies that national, regional and local policies are to be shaped by considerations beyond those that emerge in the domestic politics of the Member States. According to Richardson (2000, pp.1006-1025) the tendency seems to be that all sectors eventually become Europeanised, albeit at quite different rates.

However, John (2000, pp.877-894) notes that the political environment for Europeanisation might have changed in recent years. He suggests that there has been a backlash against European integration in some countries and that some of the key subnational actors have lost their interest in the European project. But John (2000, pp.877-894) stresses that this does not mean that the era of subnational Europeanisation is at an end. Merely, European integration probably does not follow a linear trend. In addition, the inclusion of the New Member States and the direction of funds to them, will bring new subnational actors into the decision-making process. Rather than fading, the centre of gravity of Europeanisation will probably move eastwards.

3.6 Assessment of the key concepts

Now that an overall view has been obtained of the four concepts from political science, this section provides a combined critical assessment. It builds on the observations in the previous sections and tries to highlight the links between the four concepts. Most attention will be paid to the policy transfer concept, as this appears to be most relevant for this study.

Policy transfer

From the different definitions of policy transfer that were identified, this author prefers the one of Evans and Davies (1999, pp. 361–385) who see policy transfer as an action-oriented intentional activity that leads to policy convergence. The reason is that it stresses the transfer process as an intentional activity that results in an outcome (i.e. policy convergence). Dolowitz's (2003, pp.101-108) definition usefully adds that it relates to policies and/or practices that are actually transferred. This author agrees with different scholars who indicated that 'cut and paste' policy transfers should be seen as the exception. The suggestion of Evans (2009a, p.240) to refer to 'policy imitation' instead of policy transfer is therefore an interesting one.

Scholars indicate that the importance of policy transfer is growing. Among the reasons they mention are the increased advocacy of similar policies by a range of international organisations (which may include the EU), and the growth of EU legislation. This offers a link with Europeanisation and seems compatible with the subsidiarity principle, as policy transfer is a voluntary process. In Europe, it is obvious that the EU could be seen as the main international advocate of policy transfer. But the EU is not the only relevant international player. Organisations such as the World Bank, the United Nations (including associated bodies such as the World Health Organisation) and the OECD also actively promote policy transfer. This is usually done in the form of providing support for the exchange of best practices.

The literature review has resulted in the identification of three approaches for analysing a policy transfer. None of these approaches addresses the organisational framework in which the transfer process takes place, so none touches upon the role of the persons or bodies that could initiate or establish the supportive framework for the transfer to happen. This may arise when an 'intermediary' person or body, for example an international organisation such as the EU, is involved in policy transfer as the facilitator or 'organiser' of the process.

Lindblom (2001, p.222) stressed that in a market economy there should be competition for ideas. It was noted in the literature review that, if a parallel would be made with policy transfer, then there should be an open, competitive 'market place' for ideas. In reality this open, competitive 'market place' for ideas might not exist. Information providers might be focussed on 'selling' their ideas, in line with their existing discourse. Once they engage in a policy transfer process, information gatherers or receivers might not be open to all new ideas available, but only collect information this matches their existing or newly developing discourse. These observations link policy transfer with path dependence and discourse theory.

Despite the fact that some scholars define the policy transfer concept in rather broad terms, looking at transfer from one political system to another, it is often seen in more narrow terms, focussing more on the process of information exchange involving individual actors in the role of information providers and information gatherers. The latter is also the case in this study. The large variety of actors that can be involved in a policy transfer process that were listed by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, pp.5-24) does not include citizens. But the fact that such a range of (potential) actors may be involved highlights the difficulty of identifying concrete cases of policy transfer and recording the actors and processes involved.

In the view of this author, policy transfer theory pays insufficient attention to end-users, i.e. people who have not been involved in the project but who could be seen, through the activities of the project itself or via (intermediary) multipliers, as the final beneficiaries of a policy transfer process. In certain cases, the end users may include citizens who will

experience the final impacts. Transformative ideas will only become 'institutionalised' at a large scale if these end-users can be reached and inspired effectively. Another weakness is that the theory is not clear about the media used for policy transfer.

As was already mentioned, one of the key challenges is how to identify and analyse cases of policy transfer. Evans (2009, p.246) argues that the proof of policy transfer lies in its implementation. This should be monitored over a long period of time (see Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000, pp5-24). Different models for analysing policy transfer have been developed and the one developed by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, pp.5-24) is the most widely used. It is based around six concrete questions for which answers can relatively easily be found:

1. Why do actors engage in policy transfer?
2. Who are the key actors involved in the process?
3. What is transferred?
4. What are the different degrees of transfer?
5. What restricts or facilitates the transfer process?
6. How is the process of policy transfer related to policy 'success' or policy 'failure'?

This author would like to highlight that a seventh question on final impacts is lacking. In addition, these questions seem to pay insufficient attention to the importance of context and to the question of how to assess policy 'success' or policy 'failure'. These last two points will be further elaborated.

The lack of understanding of context, its importance and how to measure it, could be seen a weakness in the policy transfer theory. Healey (2010, p.5;9) noted that individual experts are members of different networks and these networks all act as circuits of knowledge. This links policy transfer with policy networks. The particularities of the individual contexts in which their planning work is done are diverse. This adds to the complexity of the exogenous forces and the flows of ideas and expertise that are available and may be taken up.

Marsh and Sharman (2009, p.283) argued that there is no generally accepted framework for judging policy success. Policy success could be judged on the basis of an effective process of preparation; successful implementation; and the desired impacts, resulting in practical success and political success. Transfer can be successful in one area, while not in the other. This author would like to add that one may question who could or should judge the degree of policy success. A politician may have views that differ from the citizens' views.

The importance of trust in the understanding of the policy transfer processes has been insufficiently recognised in the policy transfer literature. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003, p.12) observed that policy making is not simply about finding solutions for problems, but that it is also about finding formats that generate trust between the actors involved. This author considers that, if trust is absent, cooperation in networks would not hold and the transfer process would not work.

Policy networks

Policy networks fit well with the overall image of the modern networked society. But at the same time, the observation of Albrechts and Mandelbaum (2005, p.2;4) that networks are not the full content of society is important. Society still consists of individuals, groups and organisations. Low (2005, p.56) added that, besides the networks, individuals, groups and organisations, one should also think in terms of networks of ideas. This links policy networks with policy transfer.

Rhodes (1986, p.37) defined a policy network as a cluster or complex of organisations connected to one another by resource dependencies. This author supports this definition because of its emphasis on inter-dependencies inside the network. Nugent (2003, p.490) offered a complementary definition, when he described policy networks as arenas in which decision-makers and interests come together to mediate differences and search for solutions. This latter definition puts less emphasis on organisations and, in the view of this author, this responds to the criticism that the policy network concept suffers from intellectual fatigue.

Bennington and Harvey (ed. Marsh, 1998, p.166) suggested that it is mainly during the process of policy formulation, that transnational networking forms part of the political process. This author would like to highlight the policy transfer network concept here. Evans and Davies (1999, pp.361-385) described policy transfer networks as being ad hoc (i.e. they exists only for a limited amount of time), action-oriented phenomenon set up with the specific intention of engineering policy change. Evans and Davies (1999, pp. 361–385) suggested that most empirical examples of policy transfer tend to emphasise close-knit policy communities. This leads to the conclusion that a project network may act as a policy transfer network.

The Communities of Practice concept may be related to policy networks. De Jong and Edelenbos (2005) referred to a ‘more solid form’ of long standing networks, in which, for example, cities can participate to learn and exchange experience, as Communities of Practice. They identified a small core group, a large group of adaptors and a small group of ‘lurkers’ in the periphery. Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002, p.56) provide a somehow similar categorisation. The literature does not indicate if a similar structure applies to project networks. But in the view of this author, the structure of a core group, adaptors and ‘lurkers’ seems to approximate the structure of a project network.

Scholars suggest that the European Commission gains access to information and intelligence through networks, and uses local authorities as assets in their quest to build the legitimacy of the EU, and as strategic assets in their internal battles. Transnational networks give subnational authorities an added value in terms of legitimacy. Being identified as a ‘European city’ can be an important objective. The networks also give local and regional authorities opportunities for cross-national learning and policy innovation.

This author would like to suggest two additional reasons why local authorities might get involved in activities at the EU-level. First, EU contacts can help to get access to EU funds and they can act as an asset in local authorities’ relationships with national governments. For example, EU involvement can help local authorities to push their policy priorities at the national level or obtain national match-funding for EU-supported project activities. Second,

for topics that are of interest but that cannot be included in the national agenda for political reasons, national governments may offer financial instead of political support and politically exploit the fact that the project carries an 'EU-flag' instead of a 'national flag'. These reasons are not clearly mentioned in the literature.

Multi-level governance

When they describe the governance system in the EU, scholars usually refer to multi-level governance. A baseline description of multi-level governance was given by Guy Peters and Pierre (2001, pp.131-135), who indicated that multi-level governance refers to negotiated non-hierarchical exchanges between institutions at the transnational, national, regional and local levels. Benz and Eberlein (1999, pp.329–348) usefully add that multi-level governance emphasizes power-sharing between levels of government. They establish a link between Europeanisation and multi-level governance, and suggest that the emergence of new governing structures stimulates learning, thus making a implicit link with policy transfer. Jachtenfuchs (2001, pp.245-264) mentions that the policy network concept appears to be well suited to grasp the essence of multi-level governance in the EU.

Herrschel and Newman (2002, p.25) suggested that the idea of multi-level governance presents a challenge to understanding of political institutions and processes. This is supported by Nugent (referred to by Jordan, 2001, pp.193-208) who noted that the EU is not only multi-level but also multi-sectorial, with the exact position of the pendulum varying between policy sectors. This author supports these views.

Multi-level governance in Europe assumes the existence of government layers at the transnational (EU), national, regional and local level. Besides 'normal' direct hierarchical exchanges, exchanges may also by-pass a layer. In this context the phenomena of 'scale jumping' referred to by Hajer (2003a, p.179) is important. One layer that might particularly suffer from this is the national level. Scholars refer to this as the 'hollowing out' of national government, which is seen by some scholars as losing influence and power both to the EU level and the subnational level.

This author disagrees with Marks and Hooghe (2001, p.24), who suggested that multi-level governance is most prominent in the implementation stage. As an example, they mention that the Commission has become involved in day-to-day implementation in a number of policy areas, including transport. In the view of this author, the Commission (i.e. the EU) is involved in all stages of the policy process and not only in the implementation stage. Jordan's criticism (2001, pp.193-208) that multi-level governance overstates the autonomy of subnational actors may be true in certain cases. In this author's view, this differs from country to country and very much depends on the national situation.

Europeanisation

The literature review indicated that Europeanisation seems to be a contested subject for which no shared definition has yet emerged. An often used definition for Europeanisation, and the one preferred by this author, is the one from Radaelli (2004, p.3). He defined Europeanisation as processes of a) construction, b) diffusion and c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms, which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, political structures and public policies. This definition stresses the process and governance aspects of Europeanisation, and it links the concept with multi-level governance.

Radaelli (eds. Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003, p.27) highlighted that the scope of Europeanisation can go beyond the 'simple' adaptation to the development of the EU as an institutional structure that produces policy and legislation. It may also include relationships between people, the exchange of ideas and the transfer of policy from one country to another country. In this author's view, this links Europeanisation with policy networks and policy transfer. European recognition for a local project (see Van Vliet, 1998, p.132) may also be seen as an element of Europeanisation and may result in a growth of networking activities.

Anderson (referred to by John, 2000, pp.877-894) observes that national governments continue to act as ‘gatekeepers’, or controllers, of European public policy, for example in relation to funding and certain policy decisions. In the view of this author, this may be understood as national governments controlling the application of the subsidiarity principle from a top down perspective. However, national governments seem to be less able to control entrepreneurial subnational governments who seek direct contacts with the EU-level. In other words, controlling the application of the subsidiarity principle from a bottom up perspective seems more difficult for national governments. In the view of this author, this supports the earlier observation on the ‘hollowing out’ of national government.

3.7 Conclusions

This chapter has looked at four concepts from political science that seem relevant to the objectives of this study: policy transfer; policy networks; multi-level governance and Europeanisation. The review of literature on policy transfer has shown that this concept seems able to explain the information exchange processes that take place in EU-supported projects. This exchange may influence policy decisions related to urban transport. Based on the literature, it appears that EU-supported projects may act as policy networks. However, these initial conclusions need to be validated in the empirical research which forms an important part of this study. The review of literature on multi-level governance and Europeanisation has helped this author to better understand the context in which policy transfer takes place and policy networks operate. These two concepts also shed light on the EU’s institutional structure and on the framework that applies to the EU policies, both of which were reviewed in chapter 2. Further comments follow below.

Policy transfer is a process by which the policies and/or practices of one political system are fed into and are utilised in the policy-making arena of another political system. It assumes that public policies can be changed. Policy transfer requires the right combination of individuals, ideas, incentives, and interests, and the timing has to be right. The

development of a trust relationship might be an important pre-condition. These requirements and pre-condition will be examined later in this study.

The assessment of the key concepts from the political science literature has resulted in this author making a number of critical observations on the policy transfer concept. For example, scholars have not addressed the organisational framework in which the transfer process takes place. The widely used Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, pp.5-24) model for analysing policy transfer misses a question on final impacts. In addition, the model pays insufficient attention to the importance of context and to the question of how to assess policy 'success' or policy 'failure' (and who should make the judgement?). This is linked with the observation that the policy transfer concept pays insufficient attention to end-users.

It should be highlighted that there seems to be a lack of analysis of policy transfer in the particular field of urban transport. Apart from the articles by Marsden et al. (referred to in section 1.1) and Stead et al. (referred to in section 3.2.3) no relevant literature was available at the time of the study.

The importance of policy transfer seems to be growing. It has been suggested that this, among other factors, is caused by the increased advocacy of similar policies by international organisations. Policy transfer is seen as compatible with the subsidiarity principle. Networks for learning and cooperation are seen as particularly fruitful to facilitate policy transfer. However, the role of persons and organisations in establishing and operating a supportive framework for policy transfer, for example in the form of a project network, has not been well described. The exchange of good practices is situated in the debate on policy transfer. These issues will be further addressed later in this study.

A policy network is a cluster or complex of organisations connected to one another by resource dependencies. A complementary definition stresses the policy dimension and defines a policy network as an arena in which decision-makers and interests come together to mediate differences and search for solutions. The functioning of policy networks depends on trust and reciprocity. Policy transfer networks are seen as an ad hoc, action-

oriented phenomenon, set up with the specific intention of engineering policy change, i.e. a link with policy transfer is made. It is not clear whether and how a project network can function as a policy transfer network.

There is a need to separate policy networks (as institutions) from transnational networking (as a process) located in a wider (political, economic) context. This means that researchers should indicate how the existence of policy transfer will be detected and describe the network-structures, the transfer processes and the context in which the transfer takes place. A complicating factor when analysing networks is that they are not necessarily stable over time. Scholars disagree on the question of whether policy networks actually affect policy outcomes. These issues will be addressed later in this study.

A specific form of a long standing network in which people can participate to learn and exchange experience is a Community of Practice. A Community of Practice is a group of persons who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion regarding a particular domain and wish to improve their knowledge and expertise through ongoing exchange. The members of a Community of Practice have three different levels of participation. These participation levels, and if and how they compare with EU-supported projects, will be addressed in the framework of this study.

The concept of multi-level governance is helpful to understand the changes that have taken place in governance in the EU. A baseline definition of multi-level governance is that it refers to negotiated non-hierarchical exchanges between institutions at the transnational, national, regional and local levels. Multi-level governance in the EU is manifested by a growing number of exchanges between subnational and transnational institutions, bypassing national governments. Local authorities that are marginal in the national political system have found that the EU offers them new opportunities. Obtaining direct project funding from the EU might be an example of such an opportunity, and will be further explored in this study.

Europeanisation has been defined as involving processes of a) construction, b) diffusion and c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’, shared beliefs and norms. These are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated at the national and subnational levels. The tendency seems to be that all policy sectors become Europeanised, albeit at different rates. Local authorities vary in the way they respond to the EU. It has been argued that the north-south dichotomy does not account for Europeanisation. It is not clear if this judgement also applies to cities and regions participating in EU-supported projects. This question will be addressed later in the framework of this study.

CHAPTER 4 – DESIGN OF THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Knowledge involves the head, the heart, and the hand, inquiry, interactions, and craft. Like a community, it involves identity, relationships, and competences, meaningfulness, belonging, and action.

E.C. Wenger, R.A. McDermott and W.M. Snyder

4.1 Introduction

At the end of chapter 1, the overall objective of the research was defined as to study the impacts of the EU's interventions in the field of urban transport on the development of urban transport policy at local, regional and national level. In particular, the research will look at if and how policy transfer takes place via networks of individuals and organisations that participate in EU-supported projects in the field of urban transport. This transfer takes place within a wider context framework of multi-level governance and Europeanisation of local government.

When identifying the methodology and designing the empirical research, the research objective should be kept in mind. The key hypothesis for the research is that policy-relevant knowledge is transferred through EU-supported urban transport projects and that this transfer of knowledge influences policy decisions. The empirical research aims at providing insights and collecting evidence that should help to answer the research questions. The research, which has an exploratory character, should result in a confirmation or rejection of the existence of policy transfer and, in case of confirmation, in a better understanding of the nature of the transfer, the processes through which it takes place, the context in which it happens and the impacts it achieves.

This chapter on the methodology and design of the empirical research continues as follows. In order to better understand relevant evaluation processes, a general introduction to the evaluation of programmes and activities is presented. As the study focuses on the information transfer inside projects, the introduction acts mainly as background

information. Some of the lessons learned are, however, useful for the design of the empirical research. For example, they provide a basis for the decision on the chosen research methodology, which will consist of a combination of interviews and case studies.

An introduction to the methodological approach selected to undertake the interviews and an outline of the approach to undertaking the case studies then follow. This chapter ends with a number of methodological considerations related to the empirical research. Among others, it addresses the validity of the approach and includes an analysis of the characteristics of the interviews. The subsequent chapters 5 and 6 report on the results from the interviews and the case studies, respectively.

4.2 *Assessment of programmes and activities*

4.2.1 Understanding evaluation

Scholars provide varying definitions of evaluation. According to Rossi and Freedman (referred to by Giorgi and Tandon, 2002, p.4), evaluation is a process that seeks to determine as systematically and objectively as possible the relevance, efficiency and effect of a ongoing or past activity in terms of its objectives. In other words, it represents ‘an assessment of the outputs, outcomes and processes of an activity’ (Giorgi and Tandon, 2002, p.4).

According to Parsons (eds. Giorgi, Pearman et al, 2002, p.144), evaluation is an activity through which policy makers and those involved in policy-driven research endeavour to get information and knowledge so as to better understand the ways in which policies, programmes, and projects have brought about, or failed to bring about change, or how a proposed intervention is likely to impact on a given problem. The author would like to mention that this last aspect is usually referred to as appraisal or ex ante evaluation. The European Commission (2004a) defines evaluation as a judgement of interventions according to their results, impacts and the needs they aim to satisfy. Insofar as the level of

analysis is concerned, Giorgi and Tandon (eds. Giorgi, Pearman et al, 2002, p.4) mention that it is widespread practice to distinguish between policies, programmes and projects.

Evaluation can have one or more than one objective. Giorgi and Tandon (eds. Giorgi, Pearman et al, 2002, p.4) provide a useful overview of possible objectives. Evaluation can be employed for judging whether an intervention is or has been legitimate or not; for examining whether an activity conforms to statutory and regulatory requirements, programme designs and professional standards; for providing feedback as part of a monitoring exercise; or for assessing the outcomes of a policy intervention and, in this connection, to give information on the use and allocation of public resources or the efficiency of a programme.

There are different types of evaluation and Haight (eds. Giorgi, Pearman et al, 2002, p.4) identifies three. Administrative evaluation refers to the process of seeing how well, according to the plans, the project is actually implemented. Impact or effectiveness evaluation refers to the process of inferring the effect of the implementation on previously designed parameters. Clinical evaluation refers to procedures for combining objective results with other information, for example from similar projects, to obtain a balanced judgement of effects. In addition to these distinctions, evaluation can be divided between qualitative and quantitative evaluation. Quantitative evaluation is usually used for exploratory research and matches the objective of this study.

4.2.2 Evaluation of research and other programmes

Evaluation has become a central part of the management and governance of publicly funded research. Georghiou and Larédo (2005, p.1) provide a short historic overview. Evaluation is important because it fills the functions of legitimation, promoting efficiency and institutional renewal. A report prepared by the SITPRO project (1999, p.4) states that there is not a large amount of experience with the study of research impacts, despite a strong demand for evaluation among policy-makers. Georghiou and Roessner (2000,

pp.657-678) indicate that this demand for evaluation is fuelled by the desire to understand the effects of technology policies and programmes, to learn from the past and to justify the continuation of technology policies and programmes.

An OECD report (1997, p.5) indicates that governments use research evaluation for different purposes, including optimising research allocations at the time of budget limits; orienting research support; rationalising research organisations; and augmenting research productivity. There are trends in research evaluation. The researchers involved in the SITPRO project (1999, p.4) report that during the period 1980 – 1999 two major developments have taken place: (1) the acceptance of qualitative methods in evaluation and (2) the incorporation of performance evaluation tools in the planning or pre-implementation phase of a programme or project.

Georghiou and Larédo (2005, p.1) highlight that the debates currently focus on how to ensure the take-up of findings and recommendations in follow-up programmes. The author considers that take-up should be seen broader, going beyond follow-up programmes. Arnkil (2005, p.5) stresses that it is important to distinguish between the short term or real-time dimension of an activity, where weak signals of evidence and observations are discussed and interpreted in multi-actor settings ('dialogue and learning network mode'), and the long term dimension, which looks for evidence of sustainable results and searches for evidence across a multitude of long term findings ('evidence based mode').

An OECD study (2006, p.30) reports on an analysis of the results of the various impact assessments of the EU's Fifth RTD Framework Programme. In line with the Commission's legal obligations, the impacts of the Framework Programmes and their components are assessed every five years. The conclusion of this assessment is that there are significant additionality effects. Most projects were reported to be a continuation of existing project trajectories and portfolios. There was a significant impact on collaborative behaviour, in terms of goal attainment, impacts and the formation of collaborative networks. This last point is important for this study.

As background to this study, the author undertook a comparative analysis of EU level assessments of EU programmes, of national assessments of national programmes in the field of research and science and of national assessments of performance of government services. The conclusion of this analysis is that assessments of EU programmes are rather advanced and usually look at programme outputs, outcomes and processes. The more short-term oriented the evaluations are, the more they look at the processes. For example, the impact assessment of the Fifth RTD Framework Programme (European Commission, 2005c) looks explicitly at the network-related goals of project partners. An assessment of the ALTENER programme (New-Energy-Works B.V., 2004) hints at the consortium partnership as a success factor. The success of an EU programme is usually measured against the rather vague programme objectives. The assessment of national programmes is usually less sophisticated than the EU programmes and input and output oriented.

4.2.3 Lessons learned

Different evaluation methodologies have been applied and different evaluation criteria have been used in research evaluation. Georghiou and Roessner (2000, pp.657-678) warn of the pitfalls involved in trying to capture complex effects with quantitative indicators. They also emphasise the importance of putting a weight on different criteria.

A report prepared by OECD (1997, p.7) states that research evaluation covers both quantifiable outputs such as publications, conference papers and second rank outputs such as patents, as well as outcomes such as graduates, applications, innovations, contract research services and international links. However, Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002, p.135) argue that in order to really understand the value of knowledge one should not count 'things' such as patents, documents produced or degrees. They propose a method that relies on two complementary principles: (1) demonstrate causality through stories on how knowledge resources are produced and applied and (2) ensure systematicity through rigorous documentation of anecdotic evidence. The author agrees with this point.

On evaluation methodologies Luukkonen (1997, p.351) notes that the drawback of interviews can be that if they are insufficiently structured their content may be difficult to digest into coherent conclusions within a reasonable timeframe. The influence of the participant's position in the organisation on his assessment should also be taken into account. Therefore evaluations should consult a variety of people who have different interests in the activities being evaluated. This is an important recommendation for the design of the empirical research.

When commenting on the 'level' of analysis, Georghiou and Roessner (2000, pp.657-678) recommend that the appropriate unit of analysis should be the set of individuals connected by their uses of a particular type of application – the scientific or technical knowledge. They refer to some lessons included in a report on the implications of the evaluations undertaken of the National Science Foundation's Engineering Research Center Program using surveys, case studies and focus groups. Surveys must distinguish between two key roles in the unit: the 'champion' (driver) and the 'decision taker' who approves the budget. This is relevant for the design of the empirical research.

One possibly important impact of research programmes and projects is that they facilitate network effects and synergies among networks of researchers. These effects are however difficult to measure. In the view of Luukkonen (1998, pp.599-610), researchers have not sufficiently looked at the collaborative networks or their functioning as units of assessment. Studies have often resorted to standard survey methods addressed to individual partners, thus providing a fragmented view of how the collaborative networks function in practice. Networking, however, emerges as a major impact of the programmes and more evaluation efforts should be devoted to studying these networks. Luukkonen suggests that researchers should better analyse what happens in collaborative networks. This should be taken into account in the design of the empirical research.

Colomb (2007, pp.347–372) has critically assessed the evaluation of the INTERREG cooperation programmes, which are part of the EU's Structural Funds budget. She indicates that the evaluations have aimed at assessing the economy, efficiency and effectiveness of

the Structural Funds. The result has been that intangible results of the INTERREG programmes have not been assessed. Colomb recommends that learning should be put at the heart of the monitoring and evaluation process and more attention should be paid to the link between learning and policy and institutional change.

There are gaps in research evaluation. Georghiou and Roessner (2000, pp.657-678) refer to, among others, a lack of involvement of a broad range of stakeholders. Another gap is the lack of evaluation of the concept of 'European added value'. Also Luukkonen (1998, pp.599-610) identifies weaknesses in research evaluation. He notes that many impact studies have weaknesses in their data collection, such as low response rates or small sample sizes. In addition, many of the questions have been formulated within a given framework defined by the authorities responsible for policies. Finally, Luukkonen mentions that there are interdependencies between those commissioning the evaluation and those performing it. These are all relevant issues for this study.

A specific problem is the measurement of additionality. Georghiou (referred to by Luukkonen, 1998, pp.599-610) differentiates three types of additionality. Input additionality is defined as a situation in which the projects would not have taken place at all without EU funding; behavioural additionality as a situation in which the organisation has done something in a way it would not have done without its participation in the project; and output additionality as a situation in which there are permanent changes in the behaviour of the organisation, resulting in new products or services. The identification of additionality is an important point for the empirical research. This author would like to add that the same project participant might experience two or three types of additionality at the same time.

4.3 *The interviews*

4.3.1 Approach, sample size and theoretical saturation

A qualitative research interview or series of interviews is most appropriate (1) where the study focuses on the meaning of a particular phenomenon to a person or group, (2) where

individual perceptions within a social group are to be studied over time or (3) where exploratory work is required. This first and last situations are valid for this study. A European Commission guide (2004a) suggests that interviews with key informants are suitable for all evaluation situations, being adapted to collecting qualitative data of both retrospective and prospective nature. They can be structured, taking a form similar to that of a questionnaire, semi-structured, with the interview focussing on providing detailed information on a number of key themes whilst leaving the possibility to explore sub-themes or to develop new themes, or unstructured, to allow areas of interest to be developed and explored in the course of the interview. Interviews are especially useful for gathering in-depth information about process-related issues.

As it is impossible to interview a total population, a sample from the population will have to be selected. In the case of interviews, sampling is connected to the decision about which persons to interview (case sampling) and the decision from which groups these persons should come (sampling groups of cases). The various types of sampling are usually divided into probability sampling (where the probability of the selection of each respondent is known, also called representative or statistical sampling) and non-probability sampling (where the probability of the selection of each respondent is not known).

Examples of non-probability sampling are purposive sampling (also referred to as theoretical sampling) and convenience sampling. This involves choosing the nearest and most convenient persons to act as respondents but it means that the researcher will never know whether or not the findings will be representative. Random sampling, based upon statistical representativeness, is used rarely in qualitative research. Purposive sampling, a strategy that is often used, stresses the search for information rich cases (Baxter and Eyles, 1997, pp.505-525). In the case of this study, interviewees will be selected as broadly as possible according to this latter strategy, and proportionally from different subgroups or segments.

An important issue in purposive sampling is the decision when to stop integrating further cases. Glaser and Strauss (referred to by Flick, 1998, p.66) suggest using the criterion of

theoretical saturation. Saturation means that no additional data are being found whereby the researcher can develop properties of the category. Baxter and Eyles (1997, pp.505-525) suggest that the sample size should be determined largely by the need to involve as many experiences as possible.

Recruitment often continues until redundancy or saturation are experienced. In practice this means that, after a number of interviews, one reaches a point where nothing new is learned, that no important additional information can be gathered. This may happen at a rather early stage and means that credibility, i.e. the fact that the experience is recognised by those having the experience, need not to be threatened by low sample sizes. Purposive sampling pays more attention to the (expected) new insights to be gathered rather than to the statistical adequacy of the sample. This sampling approach matches well the exploratory nature of this study.

Care should be taken to avoid the situation where the group of interviewees consists of too many 'similar' people. Therefore a stratification of the interviewees, i.e. a segmentation of interviewees into distinct subgroups, has to take place. It is important to remember that this segmentation simplifies reality because people might belong to different subgroups at the same time or at different moments during the lifetime of a project. The subgroups in this study will include seven to eight interviewees. Four subgroups will be identified, which provides a good balance between the aim of keeping the interview process manageable and the aim of identifying distinct subgroups with their own characteristics. This means that the total number of interviews that will need to be undertaken is between 28 and 32.

According to expert judgements, a rule of the thumb is that samples of five to seven persons are usually sufficient to reach a stage of theoretical saturation in the case of qualitative interviews. However, it has not been possible to find clear literature references to this commonly used rule. Miles and Huberman (1994, p.30) note that the question of the appropriate number of interviews (which they consider as a 'multiple-case study') cannot be answered on statistical grounds.

Two experts could neither give a clarification⁶: ‘The rule of the thumb that I have used for over 30 years is to stop doing interviews when they simply repeat information that you have already obtained in earlier ones. That generally works out at 5 – 7 interviews ...’ and ‘... I realised that the small sample requirement ... was based totally on experience ... perhaps 10 or so people. The number is so small because ... people in a homogeneous group will share many of their ways of looking at their ... environment’.

4.3.2 Selecting and segmenting the interviewees

The objectives for the selection of the interviewees were:

- to ensure, through segmentation, that each of the different roles in the possible policy transfer process is represented by a reasonable number of interviewees in the study population;
- to incorporate experiences relevant for the case studies;
- to achieve a reasonable geographical spread by bringing in interviewees from across Europe;
- to achieve a well-balanced representation of different types of organisations/organisational structures;
- to achieve a reasonable balance between male and female interviewees.

Before the interviews started, an ‘ideal’ list of interviewees was prepared in line with these objectives. Interviewees had to be opinion leaders with a broad view and experience in EU urban transport policy-related projects, be project participants and they had to be accessible. The final selection of the interviewees took place while the interviews were ongoing, also taking into account convenience (opportunity to interview somebody).

⁶ Personal communications by Prof. Fay Fransella, School of Psychology, University of Hertfordshire on 15 February 2007 and by John Wicks, Director Social and Market Research, MVA Consultancy on 4 September 2007.

This means that the final list of interviewees was only available at the end of the interview stage. The overview of interviewees is included in Annex 1. Possible interviewees were contacted by e-mail and an appointment for the interview was made by e-mail or by phone. Except for one, all persons contacted agreed to be interviewed. The interviews took place at various locations in Brussels, at the work-location of the interviewee or at another location.

The list of interviewees has been externally validated twice during the interview process⁷ to ensure that the selection was not biased. After identifying and confirming the first 11 interviewees, the author invited two senior and experienced project managers from inside the European Commission that are not involved in this study to confirm that the list is representative and not biased. As part of this procedure, they suggested some additional interviewees to make sure that different sectors were represented in a balanced way. At the end of the interview phase, the same two persons were again requested to assess whether the list of interviewees was representative and not biased. This confirmation was provided.

As mentioned earlier, segmentation of the sample of interviewees helps is to avoid too many ‘similar’ people being interviewed. The literature review has not provided clear suggestions on how to segment the people that are involved in a project network. Therefore, an own approach to segmentation has been developed based upon the roles that people play in a network. Because one of the main topics of the research is policy transfer, this approach pays particular attention to the roles that are important for successfully managing and facilitating the policy transfer process, and for maximising its impact. The two key roles played in projects that have been mentioned by Georghiou and Roessner (2000, pp.657-678) have been taken as a starting point. These are the champion and the financial decision taker, i.e. the person who approves the budget for participation.

⁷ In spring and autumn 2007 by Maria Alfayate and Patrick Mercier-Handyside. Both worked as senior officials in the European Commission, had a European perspective and knew the urban transport RTD domain well. Maria left the European Commission on 1 April 2007, which means that the second validation has taken place while she was working outside the European Commission.

For this study, the following four different roles are considered as important for a potential policy transfer process inside a project network:

- the champion (in a certain subject area);
- the political/financial decision taker (on project participation);
- the producer/deliverer (of results);
- the user/multiplier (of results or of the network).

The first role is the role of the champion. The champion is considered a leader in a subject area. Champions often drive innovation, are in the core of networks and may initiate networking, knowledge development or research activities. Their leadership can take three forms: political leadership in progressing the state of the art; technical leadership in progressing the state of the art; or leadership by being a ‘grandfather’. A ‘grandfather’ has usually extensive knowledge and experience in a domain and his/her role is to guide, teach and help others.

The second role is the role of the political/financial decision taker. This person assesses the political risks and the related financial risks of project participation. In the case of EU-supported urban transport policy-related projects, the role of financial decision taker and political decision taker is often combined in the same person. Therefore, in the case of this study, these two categories can be combined into one single category.

The third role that can be identified is that of the producer or deliverer. This is the person that practically delivers the project work and the results, usually from a leading position in the core of the network but sometimes also outside the core. It should be remembered that the person which does the real hard work is not always the same as the person which gets the credit for it.

The fourth role is that of the user (or multiplier in case of dissemination) of the project results, the project network or the project process. A user might obtain information from the network for further broad dissemination or for ‘internal’ use. A user might also use a network for simply establishing first contacts or for networking. Or he or she might provide

the network with, or collect information or other types of input, which could include strategic knowledge, technology or infrastructure, from the network with the aim of influencing the project's results or the projects' impacts.

In the case of EU-supported urban transport projects, the role of user/multiplier should be understood in a broad way. Users do not only include traditional user-project participants and users and multipliers of research results, such as researchers, policy makers or technology producers, but also persons that represent organisations with a political interest or that have been tasked to influence such as organised lobbies. A user/multiplier can be internal or external to the project network.

It should be highlighted that 'outsiders', i.e. persons that have not participated in an EU-supported project, have not been interviewed. This implies that that the 'end-users', who may be the prime targets of policy transfer, have not been involved. 'Outsiders' could have been considered as a fifth role-based segment. However, due to the resources available, and the fact that the study focus was on getting an understanding of the possible policy transfer process that takes place inside EU-supported projects, interviewing this group was not considered as a priority. This may, however, limit the comprehensiveness of the findings of the work.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, it is important to remember that a person might play more than one role at the same time or might play different roles at different moments during the lifetime of a project. It should also be considered that each of these roles can be played by each of the different public and private actors that are involved in undertaking the project, such as academics/researchers, (research) consultants, industry or transport operators and local politicians or their assistants.

4.3.3 Preparing, undertaking and analysing the interviews

The interview process followed a fixed protocol, as for example recommended by Van den Bergh et al (2007). The protocol consists of three stages: preparation for the interview; during the interview; and after the interview. The protocol is included as Annex 2.

The interviews were designed to gather insights into five topics related to EU-supported projects in the field of urban transport. Taking into account the research objectives that were presented in section 1.4, these topics were identified and defined on the basis of the results of the literature review (reported in chapters 2 and 3) and the recommendations related to the assessment of programmes and activities that are included in section 4.2. Topic 1 is related to research objectives 2 and 3; topics 2 and 3 are related to research objectives 3 and 4; and topics 4 and 5 are related to research objective 4.

The five topics addressed by the interviews are:

1. understanding urban transport policy transfer through projects, including concrete evidence of transfer, the extent of transfer and how it can be facilitated;
2. the reasons why people and organisations get involved in the projects;
3. the development of project networks, the links between them and the stability of project networks;
4. the project life cycle, i.e. the different stages from proposal preparation to project finalisation and follow up; and
5. the success and risk factors related to participation in the projects.

Around five questions were asked for each of the topics, leading to a standard question list of some 25 questions. This allows the length of the interview to be kept under one hour. The questions were clustered on the basis of these topics. This helped to make the interview more understandable for the interviewee and manageable for the interviewer. The interviews, all undertaken by the author, consisted of an introduction to the interview, a warm up phase with some easy questions, the main body of the interview, a cool down

phase with some straightforward questions, and a closure. All interviews were undertaken in the English language, face-to-face, recorded and professionally transcribed.

The question list was prepared by the author and he did this in an interactive way, using a three-step approach: (1) a few initial unstructured interviews were undertaken to help prepare the draft question list; (2) on the basis of the draft question list a few semi-structured interviews were undertaken to test and improve the question list; and (3) after transcribing and analysing the results of the interviews undertaken in step 2, the question list was further improved. The large majority of the interviews used the resulting ‘standard’ question list, which is included as Annex 3.

During the interviews, the questions were formulated in such a way as to elicit relevant information but that they were not made too specific. Language that was comprehensible and adopted to the linguistic and cultural environment of the interviewee was used. Questions that were long, double-barrelled (= two questions in one sentence), involved jargon, or that were too directing were avoided as much as possible.

The interviewees were not provided with the question list in advance. This was done to ensure that they would answer the questions in a spontaneous manner and not in a ‘politically correct’ way⁸. But, upon request, the interviewees were informed about the interview content using the description of the five interview topics mentioned above. Not all questions were asked to all interviewees. The reasons for this were time constraints in the availability of the interviewee, the relevance of questions linked to the role of the interviewee, and the relevance of questions linked to experience of the interviewee.

Confidentiality was discussed with the interviewees. The interviewees were not promised full anonymity, but received a guarantee that their individual answers would not be identifiable. In addition, the interviewees agreed with the principle that their specific statements could be included in the study report with reference to their name only after they have been consulted and had given permission to do so.

⁸ With the exception interviewee 24-US, who requested to receive the question-list in advance.

While preparing for each interview, the author went through the protocol and the question list. For each interviewee the standard question list was, if necessary, adapted during the preparation of the interview. The question list should be seen as a list of topics to be discussed in a semi-structured format. The exact wording might be adapted to an interviewee or to the circumstances.

Because insights might evolve and new avenues might be opened during the period in which the interviews took place, particular questions might be added, irrelevant questions removed or questions might be re-oriented. The technicalities related to the recording of the interview were checked and it was ensured that the personal details of the interviewee were added to the recording. As a means to manage the risk that interviewees might tell the interviewer what they think that he wanted to hear, he stressed his academic position and explained his current work responsibilities, which are not linked anymore to funding decisions or project management in the European Commission.

The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 75 minutes. The interviews were recorded and professionally transcribed. The transcripts were then assessed and, if necessary, corrected by the author. The corrected transcriptions were the basis for the interview analysis. The interview analysis took place according to the following seven steps:

1. prepare a hierarchically structured list with relevant issues/topics/concepts (ensure that ‘families’ of issues/topics/concepts are together);
2. add codes (numbers) to comments on issues/topics/concepts in each interview transcript that seem relevant for the analysis as a means of identifying and assigning a meaning to possible relevant information;
3. deconstruct the transcripts by putting comments with similar codes from the different transcripts together;
4. analyse each issue/topic/concept, leave room for personal observations and judgements;
5. undertake a comparative analysis for related issues/topics/concepts to check convergence in results;

6. analysis per subgroup of interviewees (roles, case studies);
7. draw conclusions and report results in qualitative and quantitative format.

An initial list with codes was prepared on the basis of the interview questions. This list was further refined after an initial rough review of the full set of transcripts and at various stages during the coding of the transcripts. The initial list contained some 90 codes. After the analysis the final list contained 102 codes, out of which 24 were related to the case studies (i.e. 12 similar codes for each of the case study fields). It is included in Annex 4. The codes have been attached to words, phrases, sentences, or sometimes whole paragraphs.

During the analysis it had to be kept in mind that it is not the specific words that matter but their meaning in the context provided by the interviewee. Any comment could be a candidate for more than one code. Multiple coding has helped to avoid a too strong rigidity during the analysis and to ensure a certain level of openness until the conclusion drawing stage. While coding, it also had to be kept in mind that answers related to an issue/topic/concept might be spread across the interview and that not every interviewee commented on every issue/topic/concept.

Generally, this approach has worked well and has met the author's expectations. However, on reflection, during the interviews the collection of evidence on concrete examples of policy transfer, and their real-life impacts, could have received more attention. Another point that could have been addressed in more depth is the importance of context information for policy transfer.

4.4 The case studies

The case studies look at how policy transfer in EU-supported urban transport projects may work in a real life environment. In line with Yin's definition (2003, p.13), case studies are an empirical inquiry to investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. A European Commission guide (2004a) indicates that case studies are usually used to

generate and analyse data of a retrospective nature about a particular entity or issue. A concern related to case-study analysis among scholars, see Van den Bergh et al. (2007), is that it may be difficult to draw conclusions and generalise the results because of an arbitrary selection of a small number of cases. It is also not known how representative these cases are. These concerns should be kept in mind for the case study design.

The Commission's guide identifies three main types of case studies: exploratory; descriptive; and explanatory. An exploratory case study is used to develop a better understanding of key issues. A descriptive case study is used to illustrate analyses with specific and detailed information about the case study objects. An explanatory case study is used to test a hypothesis across a relatively limited number of cases, searching to replicate specific results or processes. In this study, the case studies are of both an exploratory and descriptive nature.

The basis for the case study analysis is provided by a series of projects dealing with urban road user charging and with mobility management that started and ended during the study period covered by this thesis. A two-case design was preferred over a single-case study (Yin, 2003, p.53). One reason for this preference is that the analysis can be expected to provide stronger and richer conclusions. In addition, choosing two different case study fields allows for comparisons between them.

As the contexts of the case study fields are to some extent different, in the event of any common conclusions the validity and reliability of the results will be higher compared to a single case. The two case study areas (i.e. urban road user charging and mobility management) cover a different spectrum of issues related to EU-supported urban transport research and policy. For example, the role of the EU has been different (mainly facilitator in the area of pricing, initiator in the area of mobility management), the position of Member States has been different, and the type of actors involved has been different.

The case studies have been undertaken using information and data from different sources. Desk research was undertaken to collect and analyse information from literature, official

EU documents, project deliverables, conference presentations and other publicly available sources. This information will be combined with information on the perceptions of the persons involved that was collected through the interviews. The analysis of the information input can take different forms. It can consist of examining, categorising, tabulating, testing, or otherwise recombining both qualitative and quantitative evidence. To allow for drawing conclusions and making comparisons, the results from each individual case study should be reported in a uniform way. The theoretical background that led to the case study must always be kept in mind and consideration should be given to alternative interpretations.

The answers to some questions in the standard question list given by the general population of interviewees already offers certain information that is relevant for the case studies. In addition, some specific case study-related questions were asked to a subset of the interviewees to obtain additional insights. They were selected because of their specific insights and experiences which could be relevant for the two case studies. For the urban road user charging field, the subgroup consists of 5 persons. For the mobility management field, the subgroup consists of 9 persons. The same selection criteria were applied for each of the case study interviewees as those that apply generally for all interviewees. The comments that were earlier made about confidentiality and disclosure of the identities of the interviewees are equally applicable to the case studies.

4.5 Methodological observations

4.5.1 The validity of the approach and the conclusions related to the empirical research

Baxter and Eyles (1997, pp.505-525) stress that a researcher is always an active instrument in research. The author is aware of the fact that he has to some extent been a subject of his own study and that this can result in a possible risk of bias or subjectivity. However, the author considers that his job position and experience has positively contributed to the research. For example, it has provided a good understanding of the research field, helped

with the definition of the research questions and it has helped to interpret the interview answers. At the same time, he had an unusual degree of access to the interviewees. This has enabled a more comprehensive analysis of the subject of the study, and partly balances out the risk of a bias in the analysis and the risk of receiving non-objective interview responses.

Nevertheless, to manage this risk of bias, the author has followed several of the recommendations by Miles and Huberman (1994, p.245) on how to develop good quality research and derive high quality and credible conclusions. Therefore the author has attempted to ensure neutrality and freedom from unacknowledged biases. The author has also demonstrated continuity in the study process over time and across methods. The author has ensured that the research results are placed in their context and are credible, i.e. that the conclusions are recognised by those having the experience. To ensure validity, the conclusions from the interviews have been sent back to four interviewees, each one having a different role, with a request for comments or observations. This form of verification is suggested by Baxter and Eyles (1997, pp.505-525).

All four interviewees have sent their feedback, which can be summarised as follows. The interviewees generally support the conclusions. Three of the four interviewees picked up the fact that project participation is seen as more linked with personal interests than with interests of organisations. Other interesting comments refer to the difficulties of getting involved, the administrative burden, and the fact that 'trust' is so important could also be seen as indicating that EU cooperation in the field of urban transport is still in its infancy. A more extensive summary of the feedback is included in Annex 5.

The author has collected information and evidence in this study from four different sources. First, a general literature review was undertaken. Second, insights gained by the author as project officer and programme manager have been incorporated in the work. These insights have, for example, been taken into account in the presentation of the research conclusions, and in the interview analysis by adding observations in footnotes. He gained these insights from project and report reviews and from formal and informal exchanges during project meetings. Third, thirty interviews took place with opinion leaders with a broad view and

experience in EU urban transport policy-related projects. Fourth, additional insights were gained through case studies. The case studies used and integrated information from literature, public information sources and the interviews.

Two specific sources of researcher bias are the effects of the researcher on the subject and the effects of the subject on the researcher. Effects of the researcher on the subject can occur when interviewees prepare their responses in a way that they believe are amenable to the researcher or that protects their self-interests. Effects of the subject on the researcher can have the form of the researcher becoming too self-confident and reassuring, which might lead to the data that are collected being biased.

The author managed the risk of bias stemming from researcher effects by taking a low profile during the interviews. He stressed his role as researcher to the interviewees. He also guaranteed anonymity and carefully explained the process of data collection and analysis. The list of interviewees was validated externally. Furthermore, at the time of the interviews, the author had changed his job profile and was not responsible for projects anymore, which reduced the risk of perceived dependency between him and the interviewees.

The risk of bias stemming from the effects of the research on the researcher has been avoided by using a wide variety of interviewees and information sources. A combination of the use of different methodologies and judgements has helped to strengthen the validity of the conclusions. For example, in a number of cases, the conclusions from observations that were collected in the literature review, from the interviews and from the case studies can be combined. Where inconsistencies between observations or conclusions exist, these have been identified and the researcher has been conscious of the need to identify other possible explanations.

In the case of exploratory case studies, Yin (2003, p.34) recommends ensuring construct validity, external validity and reliability in the design and during the case study work. Construct validity has been ensured by using multiple sources of evidence. External validity has been ensured through the two case study design, in particular by looking for

similarities in the results. These would point at the fact that results could be generalised. To maximise reliability, details have been provided in the thesis on the case study methodology and on the information sources that have been used.

4.5.2 Analysis of the interview characteristics

In order to undertake an overall assessment of the efficiency and effectiveness of the interview process, the interview characteristics have been analysed. Because no methodology for such an analysis was found in the literature, the author developed his own methodology. The basis for the analysis is data, statements, knowledge or views at the lower level (see section 1.4). The results of the analysis help to answer the question whether the segmentation into subgroups was useful, interview length is an indicator of interview richness or interview efficiency, and the number of interviews was appropriate.

As was mentioned in section 4.3.3, the final list of interview codes contained 102 codes, out of which 24 were related to the case studies. During the analysis of the interviews, in total 67 unique codes related to the information provided in the general interview questions were used from the list of 78 codes that had been prepared. In addition, 24 additional codes were used for information related to the case studies. During the coding process, a piece of information was allocated a code irrespective of its length or level of detail. A piece of information might also have received more than one code, in case it was considered relevant for different parts of the analysis.

It should be remembered that a code refers to the fact that the interviewee has provided information on a certain topic or issue. When the same code has been used in different interviews, or where the same code has been used more than once in the same interview, this does not mean that the information recorded under this code is the same. Table 4.1 presents information⁹ on the results of the 30 interviews and allows for a comparison between the interviews.

⁹ Averages are rounded off.

Name interviewee	Number of words	Unique codes	Interv. density	Interv. order	Rank on basis of codes	Rank on basis of density
<i>Main role: champion</i>						
1-CH	4,136	24	58.03	1	13	6
2-CH	10,065	33	32.79	13	4	24
3-CH	4,829	32	66.27	20	5	2
4-CH	6,664	33	49.52	9	4	8
5-CH	6,354	27	42.49	3	10	16
6-CH	8,571	42	49.00	11	1	10
7-CH	14,360	30	20.88	7	7	30
8-CH	7,532	35	46.47	12	3	11
Average	7,814	32	45.68			
<i>Main role: political/ financial decision taker</i>						
9-DT	4,916	31	63.06	23	6	4
10-DT	8,102	24	29.62	8	13	26
11-DT	2,283	15	65.70	14	17	3
12-DT	6,045	26	43.01	28	11	15
13-DT	7,564	27	35.69	18	10	20
14-DT	5,465	27	49.40	22	10	9
15-DT	6,562	24	36.57	4	13	19
Average	5,848	25	46.15			
<i>Main role: producer/ deliverer</i>						
16-PR	5,341	19	35.57	2	16	21
17-PR	7,934	36	45.37	26	2	13
18-PR	8,119	32	39.41	10	5	17
19-PR	5,280	33	62.50	17	4	5
20-PR	8,059	31	38.47	24	6	18
21-PR	8,899	25	28.09	5	12	28
22-PR	5,057	23	45.48	27	14	12
Average	6,956	28	42.13			
<i>Main role: user/ multiplier</i>						
23-US	7,426	24	32.32	21	13	25
24-US	10,102	21	20.79	25	15	28
25-US	3,895	13	33.38	6	18	22
26-US	6,856	21	30.63	16	15	26
27-US	8,750	29	33.14	30	8	23
28-US	5,720	25	43.71	15	12	14
29-US	4,885	25	51.18	19	12	7
30-US	3,944	28	70.99	29	9	1
Average	6,447	23	39.52			
Average	6,791	27	43.32			

Table 4.1: basic information on the results of the interviews

In table 4.1, the number of words gives an indication of the length of the interview. The number of codes gives an indication of how rich an interview is in providing information for the interview analysis because a code links a piece of information with a topic or issue for the analysis. Interview order refers to the temporal order in which the interviews took place. The information also allows for an assessment of the efficiency of each interview, by comparing the length of the interview with the number of codes.

The number of codes per interviewee covers both the general interview questions and the case study-related questions. For reasons of comparability it refers to unique codes, so the numbers exclude repetitive codes in the same interview. The reason is that there are cases where interviewees have provided focussed and condensed information and a code has only been given once. In other cases an interviewee has commented on the same topic at different stages of the interview and the same code has been used several times. If the repetitive codes would have been counted as individual pieces of information, interviews where more focussed and condensed information has been provided would be considered as less rich in information.

The average length for all 30 interviews is 6791 words. The longest interview was with interviewee 7-CH which has almost double the average number of words. The shortest interview was with interviewee 11-DT, which has about one third of the average number of words. The analysis shows that of the four role-based subgroups, the interviews with producers/deliverers and users/multipliers are around the overall average length. The interviews with the champions are above the average length. The average length of the interviews with the decision takers is below the average.

Figure 4.1 provides an overview of the number of codes per interview in temporal order. Interview number 11 with 6-CH produced most codes. On the assumption that the more often a code comes up the more information is given, the number of codes is seen as an indicator for the richness in information of the interview. The interview that includes the lowest number of codes is the interview with interviewee 25-US. Looking at all 30 interviews, the average number of unique codes per interview is 27. The interviews with the

subgroup of champions are on average one-fifth richer than the average of all subgroups. Only one of the interviewees in this subgroup provided a number of codes that was below the average. The interviews with the producers/deliverers are about the average in richness. The interviews with the decision takers and users/multipliers are below the average.

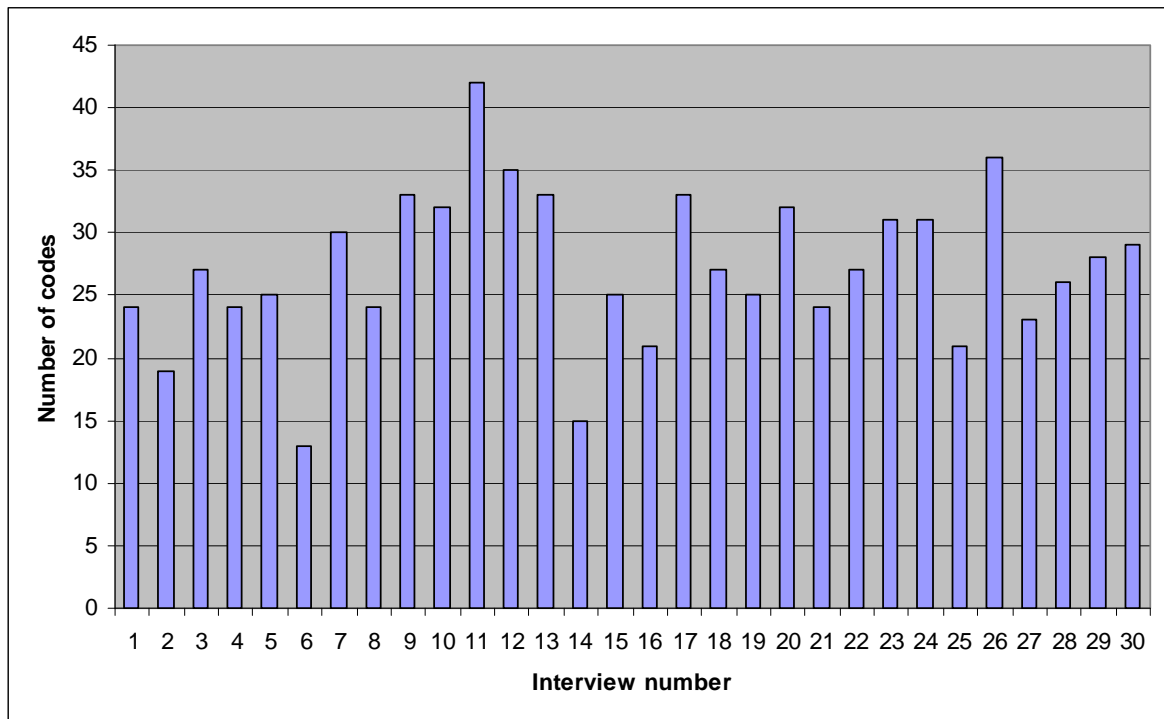


Figure 4.1: number of codes per interview in temporal order

The analysis shows that interview length does not say anything about the efficiency of an interview. Efficiency is understood as the amount of information provided in relation to the interview length. It is judged by comparing the number of codes with the length of the interview, i.e. by looking at the density of the information provided. The density factor is calculated by dividing the number codes by the number of words x 10,000. The most efficient interview is the interview with interviewee 30-US. The interview with the lowest efficiency is the interview with 7-CH. The interviews with the subgroups of champions and decision takers are on average slightly more efficient than the overall average. The interviews with the producers/deliverers are around the average in efficiency. The interviews with the users/multipliers are on average slightly below the average.

Overall, the analysis shows that there is quite some variety in interview length, interview richness and interview efficiency. The results from the different subgroups show different characteristics. The interviews with the champions are clearly above the overall average, and the interviews with the users/multipliers are clearly below the overall average, for both interview richness and density. As the interviews with interviewees 11-DT, 6-CH and 24-US indicate, interview length is not a good indicator for interview richness or interview efficiency. The reason is that relatively short interviews can contain a lot of information and relatively long interviews do not necessarily include as much information.

The information in figure 4.1 does not enable exploration of the phenomenon of theoretical saturation, i.e. to make a judgement on the added value of each individual interview. The reason is that the interviewees are listed by subgroup and not in order of the interviews. In addition, the numbers of unique codes include codes related to the case studies. To allow for an analysis of theoretical saturation, the number of unique codes per interview in the order of the interviews has been used as a basis. Codes related to the case studies have however been excluded. The reason for excluding the case study information is that questions related to the case studies were only asked to a limited number of interviewees. A detailed overview of the data used is included in Annex 6.

As mentioned earlier, the total number of unique codes allocated to information related to general interview questions was 67. The analysis indicates that 80% of the codes ($0.8 \times 67 = 54$) were allocated to information obtained in the first nine interviews. If the interview with most codes, i.e. interview number 11 with interviewee 6-CH, had been the first one then 63 % of the codes would have been allocated to the first interview. Figure 4.2 visualises the phenomenon of theoretical saturation, i.e. it shows the added value of each interview through the number of additional new codes compared to the temporal order of the interviews. i.e. the interview sequence.

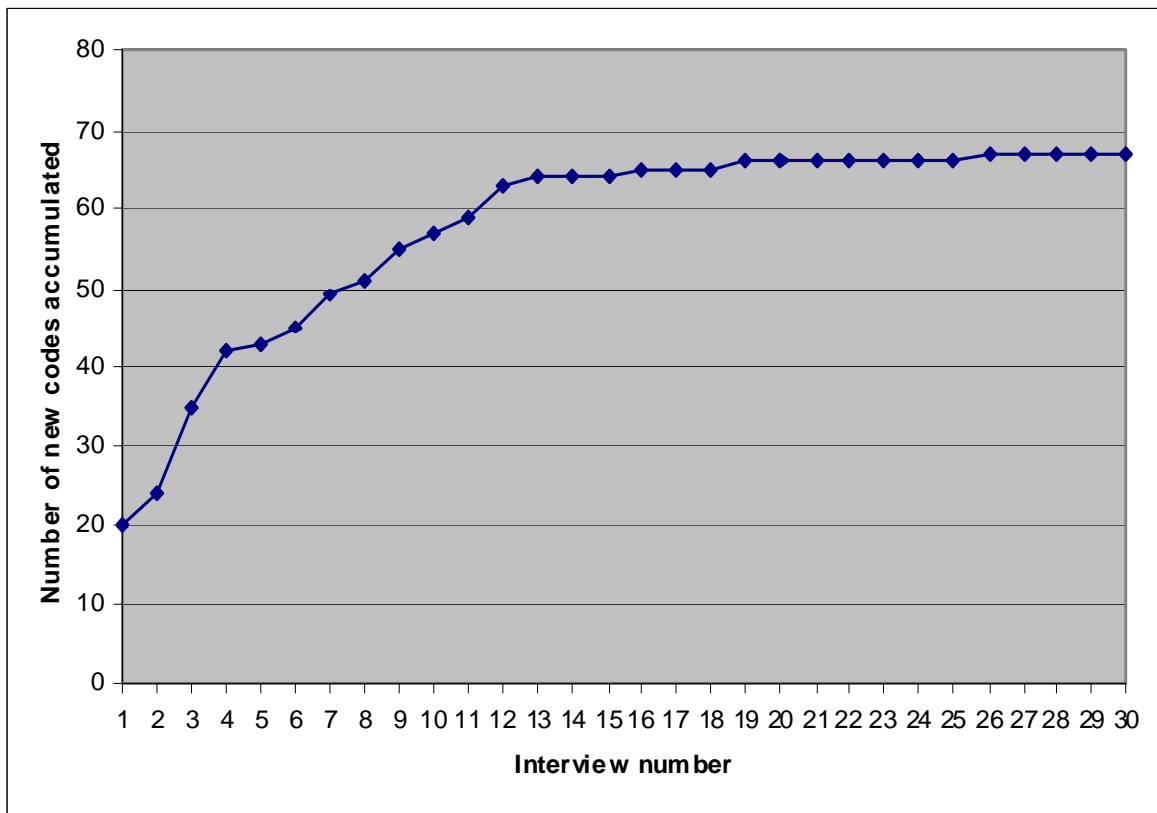


Figure 4.2: theoretical saturation of the topic and issue coverage

The analysis shows that, in the case of this research, theoretical saturation of the topic and issue coverage happens around interview number 13 - 14. This means that around the thirteenth interview, for the different topics and issues that were coded, at least one piece of information has been provided. It does not mean that the extra interviews did not have value. During the additional interviews additional information was collected, but this is not reflected in this analysis of topic and issue coverage (i.e. where each code has only been counted once).

The higher number of interviewees was needed to accommodate the segmentation of interviewees in subgroups with a sufficient minimum size. The theoretical saturation for the four subgroups is visualised in figure 4.3. The interview sequence is based upon the temporal order of the interview. The form of the four graphs hints at different saturation patterns and saturation points for each subgroup, but some more interviewees would have been necessary for the exact identification of these saturation points. Assuming that there

are indeed different saturation points then this supports the approach followed in this study of a role-based segmentation of interviewees.

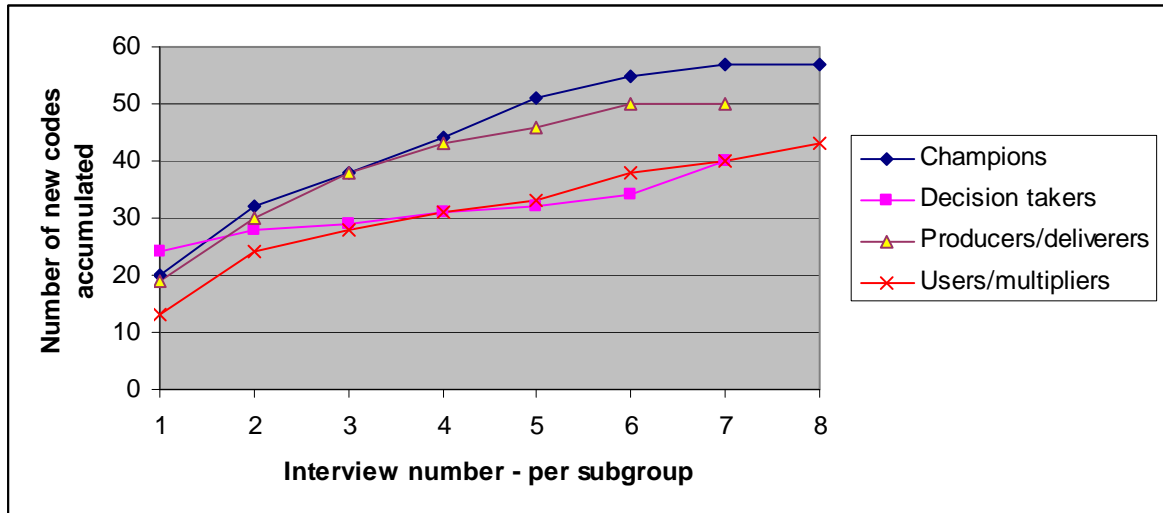


Figure 4.3: theoretical saturation of the topic and issue coverage for the subgroups

The analysis by subgroups demonstrates that, although theoretical saturation for the full group of interviewees seems to happen around interview number 13 - 14, the same phenomena at the level of subgroups seems to happen around interview number 7 - 8. This means that the choice of including 7 - 8 interviewees in each role-based subgroup was the right one.

The analysis shows that none of the four subgroups reaches the number of 67 codes, which was the number of codes allocated to the total group of interviewees. The subgroup that comes closest to this number is the champions with 57 codes allocated (8 interviewees). Among the other groups, the producers/deliverers require 50 codes (7 interviewees), the users/multipliers 43 codes (8 interviewees) and the decision takers 40 codes (7 interviewees). This result suggests that the results of the subgroup of champions provide the best proxy of the total group of interviewees.

It is important to keep in mind that the review of literature and experience has shown that the identification of the theoretical saturation point is based upon experience and analysis.

When a scholar has the possibility to immediately transcribe each interview, to code the relevant information and to keep the list of new codes accumulated up to date, the point of theoretical saturation can be identified while work is ongoing. It is however necessary that a few additional interviews are undertaken to confirm the point of theoretical saturation.

4.6 Conclusions

This chapter has described the design of the programme of empirical research. After reviewing the methodological options, qualitative research methods were chosen, as they are nowadays widely accepted as being appropriate to explore policy processes, and because a qualitative method is best suited to the exploratory character of this study. The method uses two complementary means of investigating causality, using ‘stories’ (i.e. via individual interviews exploring personal experiences) and in a more systematic way through the documentation of anecdotal evidence using case studies.

The use of interviews is appropriate when a study focuses on the meaning of a particular phenomenon to a person or group, where individual perceptions within a social group are to be studied over time, or where exploratory work is required. A variety of people with different interests in the activities that are being evaluated should be consulted. It should be avoided that the group of interviewees consists of too many ‘similar’ people. Therefore a stratification of the interviewees, i.e. a segmentation of interviewees into distinct subgroups, has to take place. It is important to remember that this segmentation simplifies reality because people might belong to various subgroups at the same time or at different moments during the lifetime of a project.

The literature recommends recognising at least two key roles in the interviewee segmentation: the ‘champion’ (driver), and the ‘decision taker’ who approves the budget. For this study, the following four roles are considered as important for a potential policy transfer process inside a project network, and were included in the survey:

- the champion (in a certain subject area);
- the political/financial decision taker (on project participation);
- the producer/deliverer (of results);
- the user/multiplier (of results or the network).

This segmentation provides a good balance between the aim of keeping the interview process manageable, and the aim of identifying distinct subgroups with their own characteristics. It should, however, be noted that the final end-users have not been interviewed and that this might influence the scope of the study results. An interview protocol and standard list of 25 questions was prepared, which would allow the interview length to be kept to under one hour.

In addition to the personal interviews it was decided to incorporate two case studies as part of the empirical research. The case studies looked at how policy transfer in EU-supported urban transport projects works in a real-life context, within particular subject areas over an extended period of time. The basis for the case study analysis is provided by a series of projects dealing with urban road user charging and with mobility management that started and ended during the study period. This two-case design is preferred over single-case study, so that similarities and differences can be explored. The case studies have been undertaken using information and data from various sources.

In a further piece of work, the author has undertaken an assessment of the validity of his approach and findings. The conclusion is that he has managed to avoid bias or subjectivity during the interviews, and in the interpretation of the interview and case study results.

The interviews with key informants, segmented into four role-based subgroups, have proven to be a successful methodology for the identification of relevant topics and issues related to the impacts of the EU's interventions in the field of urban transport, on the development of urban transport policy at local, regional and national levels. The two case studies have provided added value, as they have offered insights and evidence that are complementary to the interview results.

According to the literature, a total of 30 interviews is relatively high for this kind of study. An analysis of responses in this study indicated that theoretical saturation, based upon the cessation of the identification of new topics and issues, appeared around interview number 13 - 14. Some scholars have referred to the fact that, as a rule-of-the-thumb, after 5 – 7 interviews with persons from a homogeneous group usually little additional information is collected, i.e. the theoretical saturation point is reached. This would suggest that the overall group of interviewees in this study was not homogeneous.

The segmentation of the interviewees into the four role-based subgroups has resulted in different saturation patterns and points. For these subgroups, theoretical saturation seems to have occurred around interview number 7 – 8. This suggests that the subgroups are homogeneous and supports the approach followed in this study.

The analysis by segment shows that interviewees with different roles have views that differ from ‘the average’. The same is true for the interviewees that provided information on the case studies and the interviewees that come from the New Member States. This leads to the conclusion that the segmentation has resulted in additional insights which have enriched the results. The results suggest that the information provided by the champions subgroup provides the best approximation to the views of the total group of interviewees.

The richness of the each interview (defined in terms of the total number of relevant issues and topics mentioned) is not related to interview length, which in turn is not a good indicator for interview efficiency (total number of relevant issues and topics compared to the interview length).

CHAPTER 5 – RESULTS FROM THE INTERVIEWS

Remember: complexity is your enemy. Any fool can make something complicated. It is hard to make something simple.

R. Branson

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reports on the results of the analysis of the interviews with 30 key informants. The following four research questions form the basis for the interviews, and also for the case studies:

- what was the role of urban transport in EU policy during the study period?
- what is the influence of EU-supported projects in the field of urban transport on policy decisions?
- can the policy network concept and the policy transfer concept be applied to EU projects in the field of urban transport?
- how can the conditions for policy transfer in the field of urban transport be optimised?

The results of the analysis of the interviews will be reported in a qualitative (descriptive) format. In cases where specific comments from the interviewees are included, an anonymous reference to the interviewee has been added (see overview of interviewees in Annex 1). Some limited quantitative analysis has been added for those topics where a sufficiently high number of comments was made. Annex 7 includes an overview of topics where a quantitative assessment was undertaken together with a detailed overview of the answers.

In addition to this quantitative analysis, for those topics where a sufficiently high number of comments was available, an additional deeper analysis at subgroup level was undertaken to explore possible influences resulting from the role, field of involvement or geographic

origin of the interviewees. This means that separate analyses were undertaken for the subgroups of champions, decision takers, producers/deliverers, and users/multipliers; the interviewees linked to the case studies on mobility management and road user charging; and the interviewees from the New Member States.

The author would like to draw attention to the fact that the interview results are based on information that was provided in different forms by the interviewees. For example, one interviewee might have provided limited general comments on a broad range of different issues while another interviewee might have provided in-depth comments on a limited range of issues. All comments made by the interviewees have been combined and form the basis for the analysis.

To avoid any confusion as to which comments are opinions of the interviewees and which comments are the authors' observations and comments, in this chapter the authors' observations and comments have been included as footnotes. This is different from the approach followed in other chapters, where these observations have been integrated in the text. It should be kept in mind that most interviewees are opinion leaders and past or current participants in EU-sponsored projects in the field of urban transport. This brings limitations to the general application of the results. For example, the results are not necessarily representative of all participants in EU-supported projects, or of the subgroups from which the interviewees have been drawn.

This chapter is structured as follows. To start, the interviewees' views on whether and how urban transport policy transfer works will be presented. This will be followed by an analysis of the people, organisations and networks involved in policy transfer. The third and final part of this chapter deals with the different stages in the lifecycle of a project and the success and risk factors related to project participation.

5.2 Understanding urban transport policy transfer

5.2.1 What is transferred?

To get an understanding of policy transfer through EU-supported projects in the field of urban transport, the interviewees were asked to name the policies or practices which are transferred inside project networks. The interviewees comment in a rather focussed way. Clearly, as figure 5.1 indicates, most transfer between project participants in the form of practical policy solutions and tools. The second most important topic on which transfer takes place is project preparation, management, administration and financial procedures. Of lower importance are context information, policy making approaches, scientific knowledge and urban transport strategies.

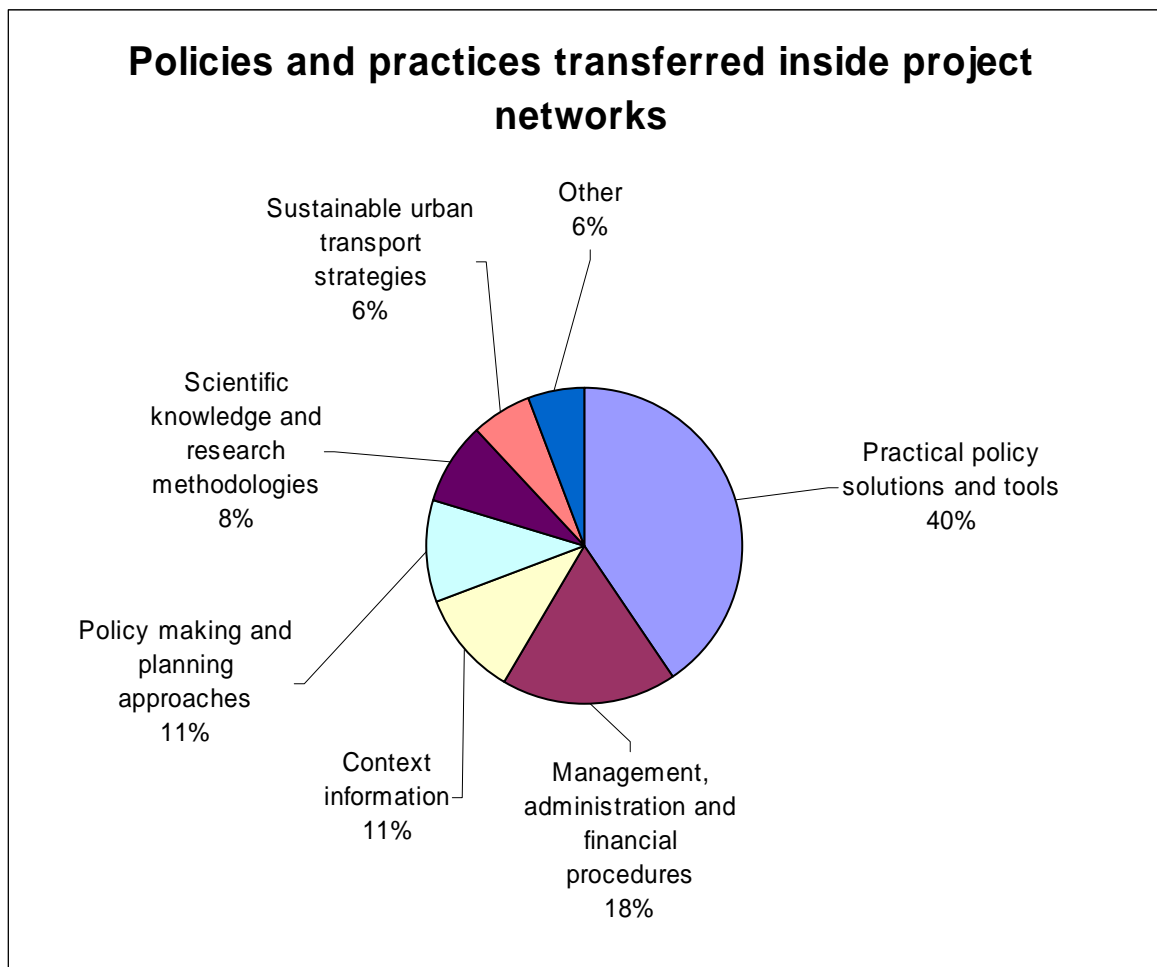


Figure 5.1: policies or practices transferred inside project networks

Table 5.1 presents an overview of the examples of policies and practices that were mentioned by the interviewees. Practical solutions and tools, both technology-based and non-technology-based, were much more often mentioned than policy approaches and ideas.

References to technology-based solutions, tools (13): specific technological solutions (6), intelligent transport solutions (3), vehicle technologies (2), common specifications (1), systems architecture (1)

References to non-technology-based solutions, tools (15): access control schemes (2), marketing, awareness campaigns (2), transport infrastructure (2), organising park-and-ride (1), public transport (1), tolling systems (1), parking management (1), solutions for people with reduced mobility (1), mobility management (1), waste management (1), models (1), road safety (1)

References to policy approaches, ideas (6): policy measures, ideas (2), common approaches (1), public private partnerships (1), use of energy (1), urban management (1)

Table 5.1: overview of the examples of transferred policies or practices mentioned by the interviewees (with number of times mentioned)

The interviewees indicate that, within the framework of project networks, project participants can act in the role of both information provider and information receiver. They can even change role within the same project, depending on the topic. One interviewee stated that EU-supported projects in the field of urban transport have been successful in getting a wider and stronger consensus on what actions should be taken. The projects have helped to consolidate a certain number of policies and technologies into best practices. The projects have helped to spread knowledge on concepts and solutions. They have also helped to provide the supporting materials based on research (23-US).

To get an insight into the characteristics of the respondents which expressed these views, an analysis at subgroup-level has been undertaken to see if there is a possible influence related to the interviewees' role, field of involvement or geographic area. The analysis by subgroup provides a picture that is largely consistent with the general picture. Information on practical policy solutions and tools is the most important topic on which exchange takes

place for champions, decision takers and users. For producers, information on administrative procedures, including on how to write proposals, is the most important topic; and information on policy solutions and tools is the second most important topic almost mentioned as often.

Analysis by area of involvement indicates that information on policy solutions and tools is the most important topic for both the mobility management and urban road user charging fields. The interviewees from the New Member States refer to information on policy solutions and tools as the most important topic; information on administrative procedures, including on how to write proposals, is the second most important topic with a score that is almost as high.

Transfer within project networks can take place in formal settings and in informal settings. As was mentioned earlier, policy transfer theory is not clear about the media used for policy transfer. The comments made during the interviews suggest that different media may be used; however, the effectiveness of the different media cannot be judged from the interviews¹⁰. In the case of formal settings, the interviewees mention the following media:

- formal exchanges, debates or discussions during meetings;
- official written sources of information, such as project reports and publications;
- conferences and workshops, with good, inspirational presenters;
- site visits.

In the case of informal settings, the following media are mentioned:

- informal exchanges during meetings;
- informal communication outside meetings, for example during social events.

¹⁰ The author's personal experience is that oral communication seems more effective than written communication, seeing a solution seems more effective than reading about a solution, and 'good communicators' seem more effective in inspiring others and transmitting information than 'bad communicators'.

5.2.2 Concrete evidence of policy transfer

Twenty-seven out of thirty interviewees refer to at least one concrete example of information that was gathered through a project and has influenced a policy decision at local, regional, national or EU level. In total thirty-four examples were mentioned. An overview is given in table 5.2, which separates the comments between references to strategic and operational decisions and includes three additional comments of a general nature.

The large majority of the examples given are local, i.e. twenty out of thirty-four examples¹¹. The interviewees mention five examples where national policy decisions were influenced, two examples where policy decisions at regional level were influenced and another four examples where policy decisions at EU level were influenced, plus they make three general comments on policy decisions influenced. It is remarkable that urban transport projects seem to influence also non-urban transport policy and legislation up to the EU-level.

Roughly half of the decisions that were influenced was of an operational, practical nature. They were, for example, related to the selection or implementation of a specific measure or set of measures. The other half was of a strategic, policy-related nature. One interviewee explained that the projects interact with policy making at EU level in two directions: by 'making local efforts relevant for Europe' and by 'changing local conditions by the force of Europe' (27-US).

¹¹ This study focuses on urban transport and this is the field where most of the interviewees are active, therefore this local focus is not unexpected and does not mean that this is a general picture of all EU-supported projects.

<u>Local level</u>	<u>strategic decisions</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - influenced local cycle policy (2x) - we took our policy on clean vehicles from C - strengthened our commitment to urban road user charging - additional push for city A into the direction of sustainable mobility <u>operational decisions</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - took our ideas for development of local harbour area from city D - implementation of ITS applications (2x) - public transport projects in rural areas - pushed us to build the first dedicated bus lane - first introduction of buses with high environmental standard in country - introduction of mobility management - launched travel awareness campaigns - helped decisions to introduce car pooling schemes - could launch project on the use of biomass as transport fuel - started to make mobility plans for events - introduction of HOV lanes - project accelerated the implementation of local measures in city B (3x)
<u>Regional level</u>	<u>strategic decisions</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - mobility management policy in Flanders <u>operational decisions</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - project internet site became an established information tool in Flanders
<u>National level</u>	<u>strategic decisions</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Italian policy on access control and urban road user charging (2x) - Italian policy to support introduction of car sharing at local level - Swedish policy related to option generation and evaluation - Czech road safety policy <u>operational decisions</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no examples of an operational nature mentioned
<u>EU level</u>	<u>strategic decisions</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - policy related on air quality - policy on internalisation of external costs in transport <u>operational decisions</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - car sharing concept was spread across Europe - spread of mobility management <u>general comments at strategic level</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - projects influence the 'specific policy mission' (direction?) - projects have an indirect influence through the people involved - through projects, things can be discussed

Table 5.2: examples mentioned by the interviewees where information gathered through a project has influenced policy decisions

One may question of whether the policy decisions were really influenced through participation in an EU funded project or by the project just carrying an 'EU-flag'. The concept of EU added value may help to answer this question. EU added value is a formal justification for the EU to co-finance projects, because there is added value of undertaking the work at European level instead of at national, regional or local level. Therefore, EU added value is usually an assessment criterion for the evaluation of project proposals. Many comments in the interviews refer to access to ideas, working together, spreading best practice and developing EU wide solutions, which seems to hint at policy transfer.

Although no specific question was asked on the impacts of policy transfer, some of the interviewees gave additional details of concrete cases of policy transfer prompted by participation in EU-supported projects, that included their impacts. These are summarised in the following overview.

- After seeing the successful narrow two-way cycle tracks in Graz, the Mayor of Gdynia decided to change the local regulation that had previously prescribed a quite high minimum-width for two-way cycle tracks. This has allowed the development of a more extensive cycle track network. In turn this may have helped cycling to become a more attractive mobility option (22-PR).

- Around the year 2000 the transport councillor of Genoa saw the car sharing concept operating in Bremen during a project meeting. He took the idea back to Italy and, as he was active in a national club of municipalities, he started to promote it. Besides Genoa, cities such as Palermo, Rome and Milan opened car sharing schemes. The use of this alternative transport option has grown by three hundred percent between 2005 and 2007 (9-DT).

- A city that was introduced by a consultant to a project on biogas got inspired during the project. In an agreement between the municipality, a company with a public service task and another company, the partners decided to buy a gas vehicle, establish a biomass factory with a distribution chain, and build a fuelling station.

This may have helped the city in implementing its alternative energy strategy (27-US).

- A city representative learned through a project that it is possible to buy buses with a much higher environmental standard for little additional money. His local public transport provider accepted this commitment and successfully purchased buses according to this higher standard. The traditional (national) bus manufacturers had said for a long time that they were unable to build buses according to this standard. But when several municipalities started to organise similar procurements based on the standard, the manufacturers started to produce (and sell) them (2-CH).
- The city of Bucharest introduced its first dedicated bus-lane based on information collected in a project. Many more dedicated bus-lanes have followed after the end of the project. This may have helped public transport to become a more attractive and reliable option (1-CH).

These cases refer to (direct and indirect) impacts related to all three aspects of sustainability and include concrete impacts affecting technical regulations, the attractiveness of alternative transport options, investment decisions and environmental conditions.

These comments on policy transfer are supported by the answers given to the question of how to define EU added value (see figure 5.2). The interviewees provided two main explanations: access to ideas from across Europe and building a joint Europe. As an example of this latter explanation, one interviewee added that ‘urban transport is a key element of convergence among European cities’ (23-US). Another interviewee mentioned that ‘Despite all the variety, there are common problems’. The interviewees gave four other explanations of lower importance: putting capacities together; facilitate monitoring; spreading best practice; and developing solutions for the whole EU. This last point was highlighted with the comment ‘Europe would not be developed if we would not have this type of research projects’. The reference to monitoring is interesting. This means that the

interviewees see an EU added value in the facilitating role of analysing and progressing thinking in the Member States.

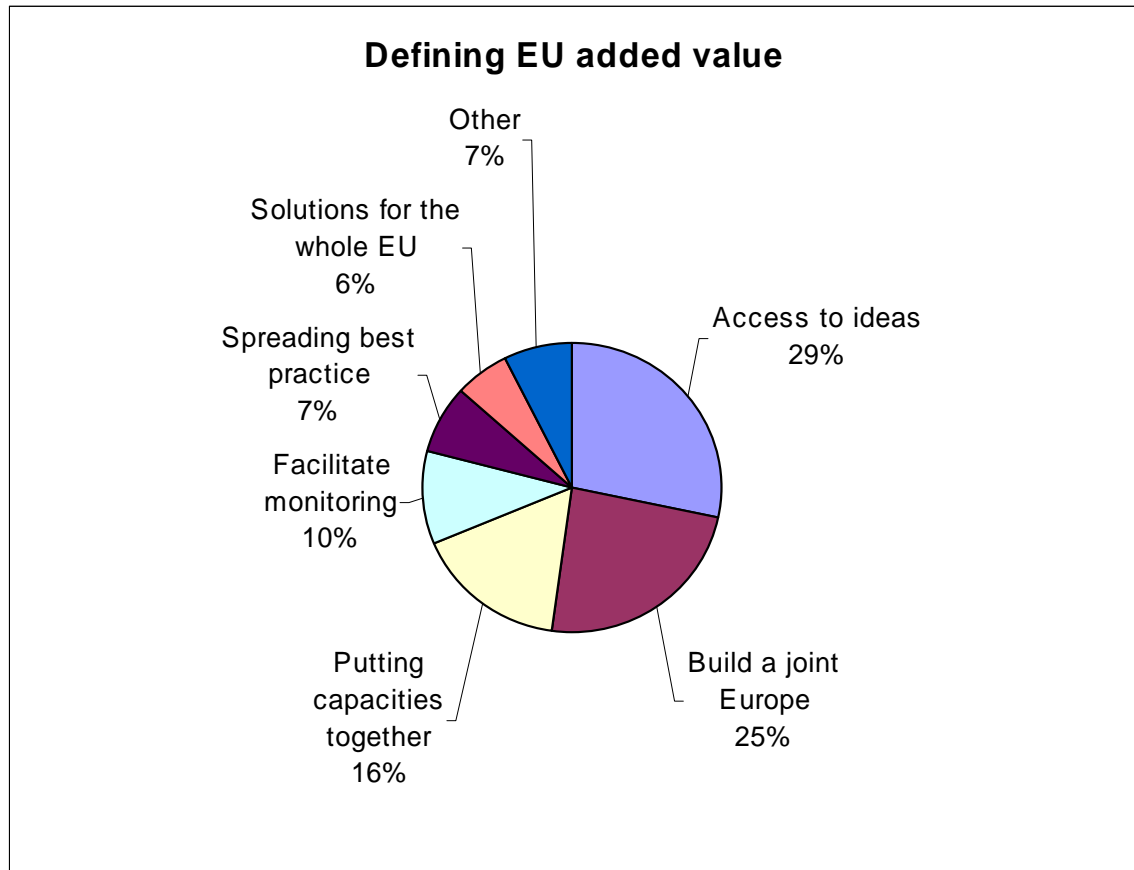


Figure 5.2: the interviewees' definition of EU added value

Analysis by subgroup provides a picture that is largely consistent with the general picture, with some spread over the different answer categories. Building a joint Europe is the most important form of added value for champions and for users. Access to ideas and best practice is the most important form of added value for decision takers and for producers. The champions and the users give access to ideas and best practice the second highest score. Analysis by area of involvement does not provide a clear picture for either of the two fields. The interviewees from the New Member States have a different view. Spreading best practice, and this includes providing input to policy (including to EU policy), is the most important form of EU added value for them.

5.3 The role of people, organisations and networks

5.3.1 People

The interviewees were asked to indicate the reasons why they personally take part in EU-supported projects. They gave a rather wide variety of answers (see figure 5.3). The main personal reason to take part is to learn and improve the own professional profile. The second and third most important reasons are to build up and work with a professional network of good people and to be able to see the state of the art elsewhere. Several other reasons are given, some of them work-related, others more related to personal interests¹².

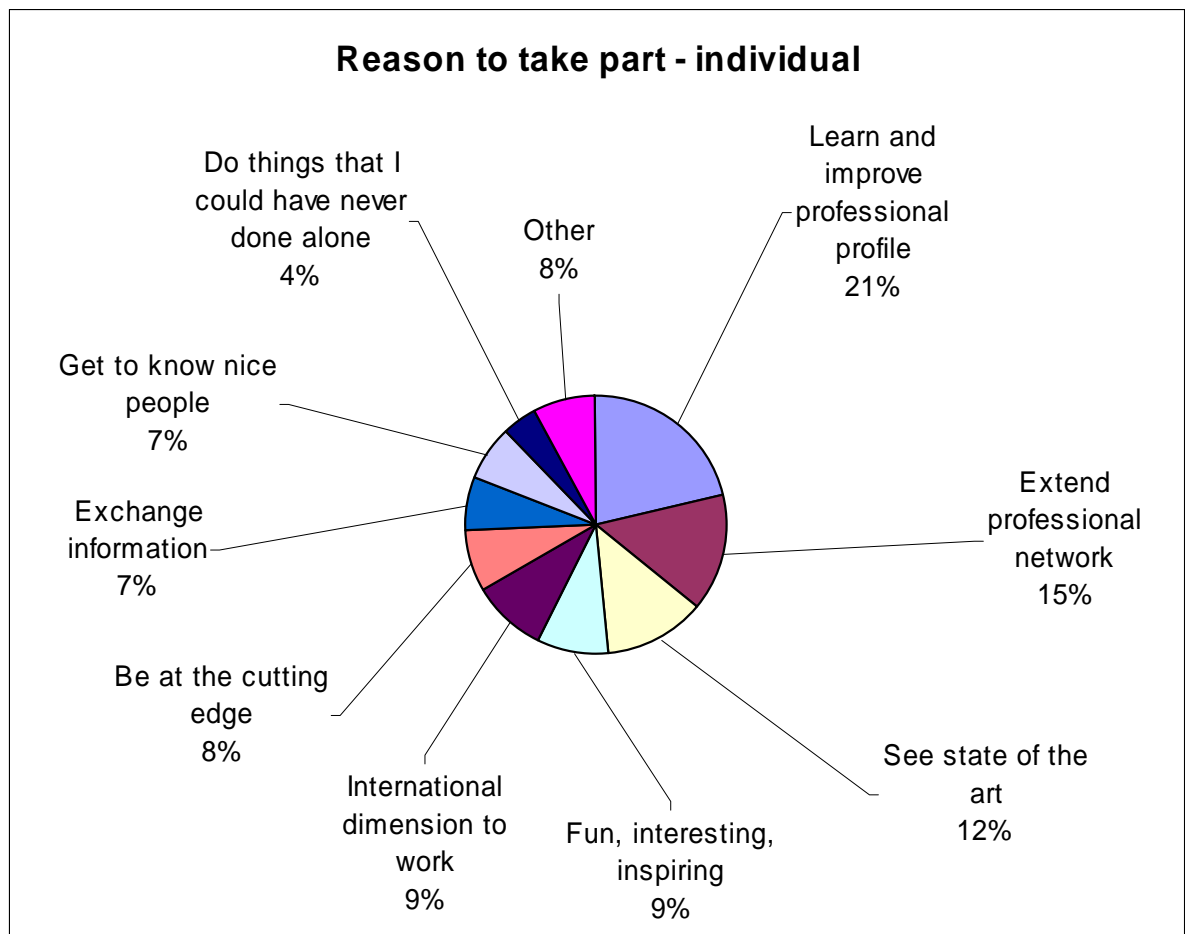


Figure 5.3: reasons for individuals to take part in EU-supported projects

¹² It should be kept in mind that personal reasons and professional reasons can be interlinked. For example, extending the professional network and exchanging information can be considered as work related but can also be related to personal interest.

The most important reason for individuals to take part that was given by champions and decision takers is that projects allow to them meet and to extend their professional network. For producers and for users the most important reason is that projects allow to learn and to improve their professional profile.

Analysis by area of involvement indicates that, for the interviewees from the mobility management field, the most important reason to take part is that projects allow them to see the state of the art. The fact that projects enable people to extend their professional networks and allow them to be at the cutting edge are other reasons that received high importance. The interviewees from the urban road user charging field indicate that the most important reason for them is to learn and to improve the professional profile. Interviewees from the New Member States indicate also that the most important reason is that projects allow them to learn and to improve the professional profile.

But which interests are driving project involvement? Are they the interests of the individual or of the organisation? Project involvement seems to be strongly linked to the wish of individual persons. None of the nineteen interviewees that commented on this issue mentioned that the strategy or goals of the organisation was the sole reason. Project involvement is mainly linked with:

• the wish of an individual	12
• the wish of an individual and the strategy/goals of the organisation	7
• the strategy/goals of the organisation	0
Total	19

When a person that is involved in a project changes job, then this has impacts on the project itself and future project involvement. The impacts of a person changing job which the interviewees indicate fall in four broad categories, which all seem of equal importance: projects are technically, organisationally and/or financially modified; the chances of a successful project outcome are reduced; it can put an extra burden on the person's

organisation and on the consortium; and it can have a negative impact on the current or future involvement of the persons' organisation in projects¹³.

Several interviewees indicate that it is important for organisations to structurally integrate their project involvement within the organisation. This can help to avoid project involvement becoming too dependent on individuals who act as the driver for project involvement and/or as an information interface. One interviewee mentions that exchanges with governments or cities have run into difficulty because an individual left (24-US). However, not all impacts of a job change are seen as negative. Interviewees also refer to neutral impacts. They indicate that when a person changes job, then things change in the project but not necessarily in a negative way.

The interviewees give indications that trust between people plays a role in each of the three project phases:

- first phase: while the project proposal is prepared and the consortium established;
- second phase: while the project is running, which is the phase of information gathering and exchange, knowledge development and result-delivery;
- third phase: after the project ends, when the results need to be further disseminated and exploited.

Most of the interviewees' comments refer to the importance of trust during the second phase, i.e. when the project is running. The interviewees comments seem to indicate that trust has two dimensions: personal trust (emotional, trust leading to openness) and professional trust (linked to project contributions: quality and reliability). Personal trust seems to be considered as more important than professional trust¹⁴.

¹³ This could be an indication that project participation is more related to the individual person's wishes and less to the organisations' strategy.

¹⁴ One may question if they can really be separated.

5.3.2 Organisations

The interviewees were asked to indicate why their organisation is involved in EU-supported projects. The results are presented in figure 5.4. The three most important reasons for organisations to take part are that projects facilitate learning from what others do, because of the interests of individuals, and to obtain funding. Politics-related reasons also score quite high (spread over three categories: political reasons; profile of organisation; and establishing links with EU policy). It should be noted that the interviewees, when asked about reasons for organisations to take part, place great importance on the interests of individuals¹⁵.

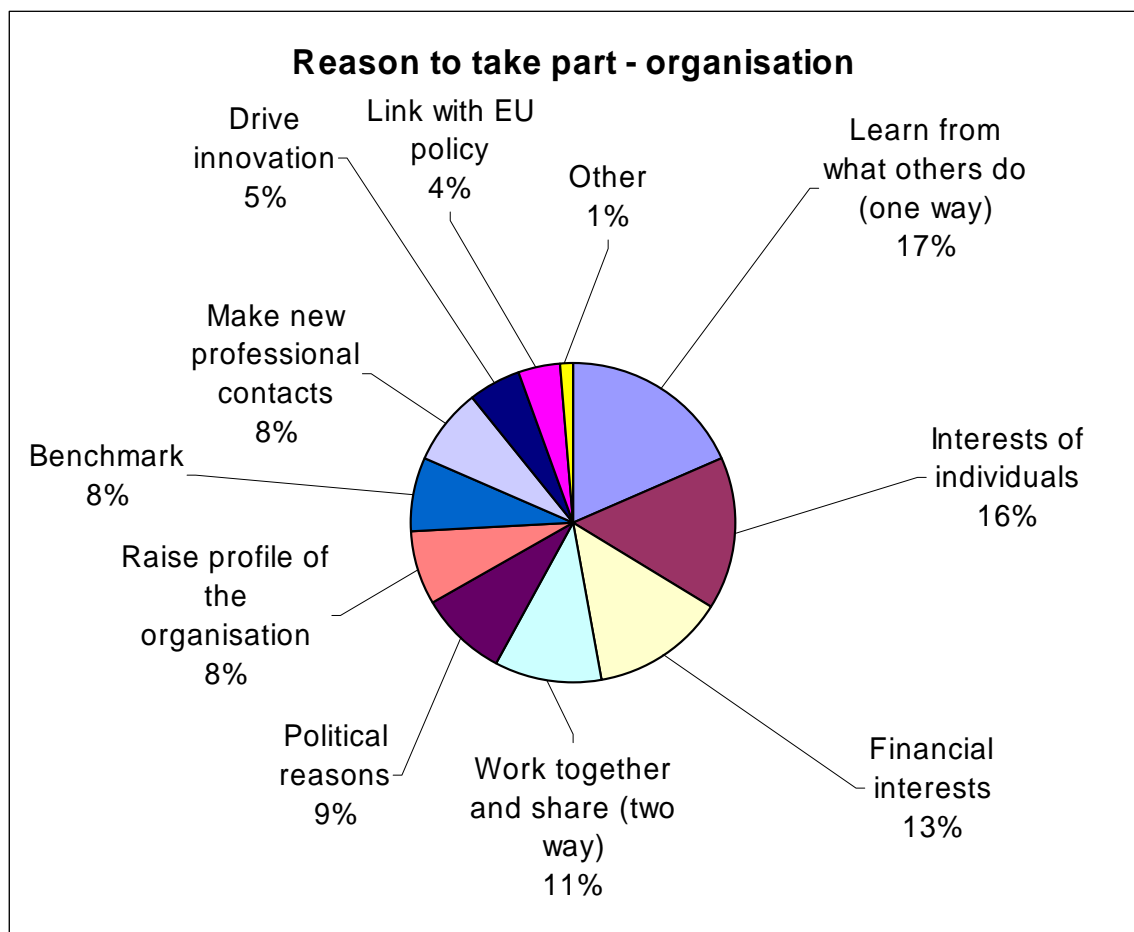


Figure 5.4: reasons for organisations to take part in EU-supported projects

¹⁵ This could be an indication that project participation is more related to the person's wishes and less to the organisations' strategy.

The most important reason for organisations to be involved in EU-supported projects that was given by producers and users is that projects allow them to learn from what others do. The interest of individuals has the second highest score for these two subgroups. Champions give a higher importance to new professional contacts and links with EU policy than the other subgroups. It is difficult to make further observations.

Analysis by area of involvement indicates that, for the interviewees from the mobility management field, the most important reason for organisations to take part is that projects allow them to learn from what others do. Interests of individuals come second and financial interests is the third most important reason given. For the interviewees from the urban road user charging field, the interests of individuals and financial interests are both given as the most important reason for organisations to take part. However, for this subgroup, political reasons also score high and come in second place. For the interviewees from the New Member States, the fact that projects allow them to learn from what others do is clearly the most important reason. The second most important reason is the interests of individuals.

In a related question, the interviewees were asked to indicate the impacts and benefits for their organisation of involvement in EU-supported projects. The impacts and benefits mentioned are largely similar¹⁶ to the reasons that are given for organisations to take part. However, one category is mentioned that does not come out clearly as a reason why organisations take part¹⁷: ‘Europeanisation’ of work procedures (including fixed deadlines for delivery, harmonised terminology, harmonised management procedures). This impact/benefit has a medium importance.

¹⁶ The categories of arguments that were identified were different, but this conclusion is based upon a comparison between their detailed contents.

¹⁷ Three other categories of impacts/benefits that were identified are included with different wording under the reasons why organisations take part: 1. new commercial opportunities, including access to potential clients (is linked with new professional contacts in figure 5.4), 2. provides confidence, the security and manpower of the consortium, of EU support (is linked with work together and share - including sharing risks- in figure 5.4), 3. staff learning, brings new knowledge to staff, helps them to broaden views, modernisation of staff management (is linked with interest of individuals –including staff development- in figure 5.4).

Analysis by subgroup shows that the fact that projects help to implement solutions and help to develop, and spread ideas is more important for producers than for the other three subgroups. It is difficult to make further judgements. Analysis by area of involvement does not provide a clear picture for either of the two fields. The New Member States' interviewees indicate that 'Europeanisation' of work procedures is the most important impact and benefit for the organisation.

In a second related question, the interviewees were asked to indicate the impacts and benefits that they would mention as arguments to convince other persons or organisations to get involved EU-sponsored projects, i.e. to provide 'sales arguments' for project involvement. The arguments that the interviewees provide are largely similar¹⁸ to the ones they give when they explain their organisations' reasons to take part in projects, so they confirm these reasons. Also the order of importance is largely similar. It should be noted that, under this question, three interviewees refer to the fact that major impacts and benefits of involvement in EU-supported projects appear in the longer term only. It should also be noted that the arguments given are all rather 'rational' and related to benefits for the organisation, except for one category (individual benefits).

Not all reasons for involvement of organisations are also mentioned as 'sales' arguments and impacts and benefits in general. These are political reasons and the link with EU policy¹⁹. There is one impact and benefit for the organisation from a 'sales' perspective that is not mentioned under reasons for the organisation to take part and impacts and benefits in general. This is commercial opportunities²⁰.

Is there some form of evaluation of involvement in the interviewees' organisation? In about two-thirds of the cases where interviewees commented on this issue, they report some form of internal evaluation of the organisations' project involvement. This evaluation consists in

¹⁸ The categories of arguments that were identified were different, but this conclusion is based upon a comparison between their detailed contents.

¹⁹ One may speculate that perhaps these benefits are too indirect and therefore not mentioned under impacts/benefits for the organisation from a 'sales' perspective and benefits/impacts in general.

²⁰ One may speculate that perhaps these are unexpected benefits or benefits that are unpredictable and therefore cannot be 'booked in'.

about half of the cases of a formal evaluation and for the other half of an indirect evaluation through an assessment of the political acceptability or an academic assessment. Most evaluations take place after the end of the project. There is little evaluation while the project proposal is being prepared or the project is running.

The interviewees provide different reasons for undertaking an evaluation. These include finding out what project outputs the organisation will be able to use subsequently; trying to understand what lessons have been learned and what information has been gathered; assessing impacts by going beyond the information in public reports and plans (which do not always represent reality); and understanding how useful or successful the work has been. Reasons for not undertaking an evaluation have also been given. These explanations refer to a lack of in-house support²¹. For example, managers do not really have an interest in what the person participating in the project is doing or there is no strong political support for project involvement.

The interviewees were asked to comment on whether there is an interaction between the organisations' RTD-strategy and the involvement in EU-supported projects. A clear majority of the interviewees that have commented on this issue indicate that there is such an interaction. The interviewees refer to four different forms of interaction: organisational; political; financial; and technical/scientific. Financial or technical/scientific interaction are mentioned more often than an organisational or political interaction. The organisations' RTD-strategy can have two forms. It can exist on paper (i.e. written down, usually with objectives) or it can be 'in the head' of somebody²². For the cases where no interaction is reported, the reason is either that the organisation does not have such a strategy or that the organisation has a strategy but that it does not put it into practice.

One possible success factor for becoming involved in an EU-supported project could be the direct or indirect influence of the national government of the project participant or his/her

²¹ This could be an indication that project participation is more related to the individual person's wishes and less to the organisation's strategy.

²² This could be an indication that project participation is more related to the individual person's wishes and less to the organisations' strategy.

organisation on project participation. The views on this topic are divided. Of the twenty-two interviewees who commented on this issue, nine say that there is an influence and fourteen say that there is not. Of the nine interviewees who refer to an influence, five indicate that the influence is small and two indicate that the influence is linked to persons in the national administration or acting on behalf of the national administration.

Three interviewees refer in positive terms to national support programmes that help to prepare project proposals, but it is not clear from the interviews in what form this support is given. Other interviewees are very negative about the role of their government. One interviewee indicated that the situation is upside down: his organisation even tries to stimulate a more active involvement of the national level. Another person mentioned that the influence is even negative as a result of not giving information, by pretending to be helpful but being not, and by occasionally giving wrong information.

An analysis by Member State (see table 5.3) provides information for a limited number of countries from a limited number of interviewees. The picture that emerges is diverse. For certain countries, the interviewees clearly indicate that the national governments do not have influence. For other countries, the interviewees indicate that the national governments do have an influence. But it should be noted that in the cases where interviewees refer to an influence, the situation is not equally perceived by all interviewees. In several cases, other interviewees from the same country indicate that there is no influence.

Austria: 1 x no	Netherlands: 1 x yes, 2 x no
Belgium: 3 x no	Poland: 1 x yes, 1 x no
Germany: 1 x yes, 2 x no	Spain: 1 x yes
Hungary: 1 x no	Sweden: 1 x yes, 1 x no
Italy: 3 x no	UK: 2 x yes, 1 x no

Table 5.3: analysis of influence of national government by Member State

In a multi-level governance framework, an organisations' RTD-activities might be influenced by national RTD policy and RTD programmes, which themselves might be influenced by the EU's RTD policy and programmes. The interviewees indicate that the interaction between RTD at EU level and national RTD is a complex issue. They refer to 'competition', to the fact that 'there are many barriers' or that 'it is a pending issue' rather than a resolved situation. Some comments were made that would suggest that the EU is in the leading role, and not national RTD policy and programme strategies²³. The interviewees mention that the EU has 'progressed a lot in its freedom' and that it 'has forced ... government to think'.

5.3.3 Networks

The interviewees commented in a rather focussed way on the reasons why they want to be part of a project network (see figure 5.5). One reason clearly stands out in their replies: networks facilitate exchange. Other important reasons mentioned are that networks provide access to information; to people and to the project scene; and that they help to undertake research. Of lower importance, but mentioned several times, are two other reasons: networks provide an encouraging work environment and networks can positively contribute to one's personal image.

²³ This might be evidence of the 'hollowing out' of national government.

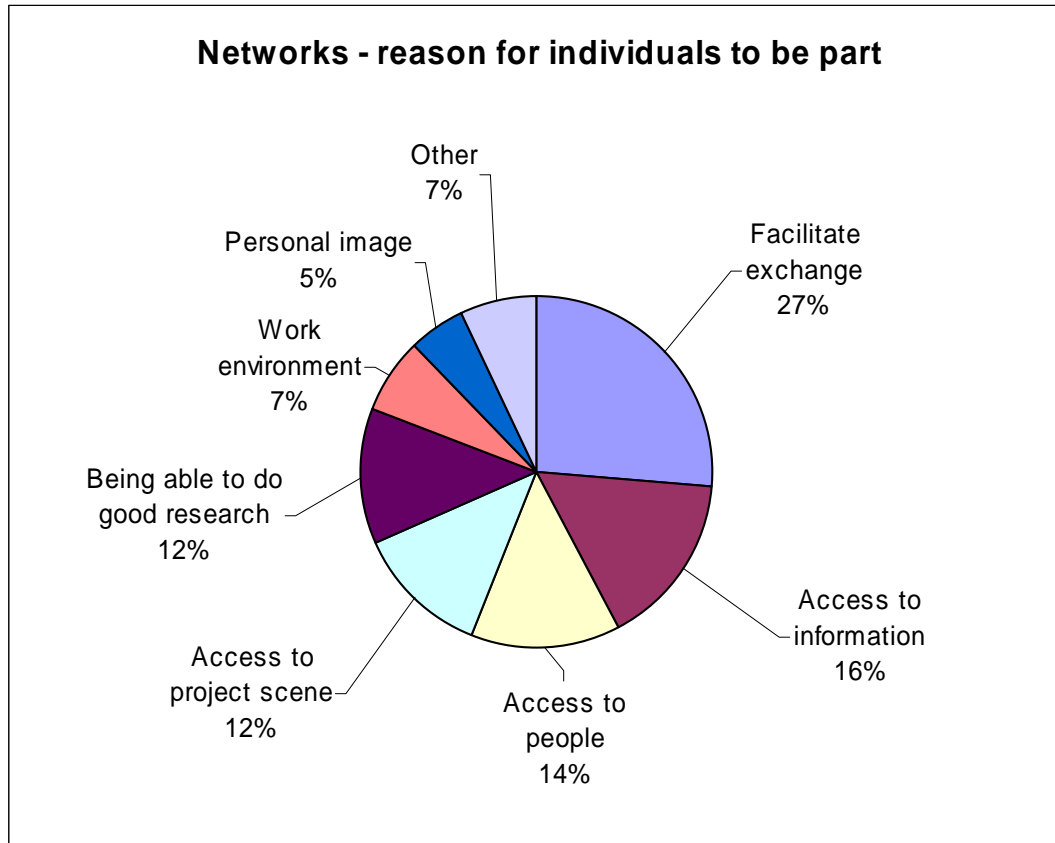


Figure 5.5: reason for individuals to be part of a project network

To get a better insight into the characteristics of the respondents which expressed these views, an analysis at subgroup level has been undertaken. The results of this analysis are broadly in line with the general picture. It shows that the most important reason to be part of a project network for all four subgroups is that these networks facilitate exchange. Producers and users also attach a high importance to the fact that networks offer access to both people and information.

Analysis by area of involvement suggests that, for the interviewees from the mobility management field, project networks facilitating exchange is the most important reason. The interviewees from the mobility management field also attach high importance to access to people. The interviewees from the urban road user charging field do not provide a sufficiently clear picture that allows for a similar judgement. The interviewees from the New Member States also indicate that the most important reason to be part of a project

network is that project networks facilitate exchange. They also attach high importance to the fact that project networks allow participants to undertake research.

The interviewees indicate that the failure of a project is usually related to the people and the relationships between them, and to the delivery of project results²⁴. The strong focus on people suggests that good quality people and effective relationships between them, leading to a cohesive project network, is an important success factor. Most comments refer to project failure caused by problems in relationships. Examples that interviewees give include conflicts between consultants and practitioners; tensions resulting from mergers of project proposals; and the lack of links or ‘glue’ between the project participants.

Once the project team is in its place it will usually remain largely stable. Once a project is running the project participants have no alternative but work together. One interviewee mentions that it then has become ‘difficult to get upset with people’ (4-CH). The interviewees indicate that even if the project fails it does not mean that the project does not reach the official finish line. Projects always seem to deliver something. The interviewees mentioned that the Commission never seems to stop a project if it performs badly²⁵. The success and failure factors for projects will be further analysed in section 5.5.

5.4 Project life cycle

5.4.1 Proposal preparation phase

There are conflicting views on the question of whether, in general, it is difficult or not to become involved as a project partner in a proposal during the proposal preparation and

²⁴ Concerning this last point, problems with delivery of project results might also be linked to people, i.e. the quality of project network members and the relationships between them. This could be evidence of the importance of persons and personal relationships for project networks.

²⁵ The reason might be that the ‘costs’ of an early project end are considered to be too high, for both the Commission (for example in terms of providing a well-founded justification, the necessary administrative procedure and the potential risk of criticism) and the project participants (for example in terms of their image and the loss of relationships inside the project network).

consortium building phase. About half the interviewees who explicitly commented on this issue indicate that it is difficult to get involved, the other half indicate that it is not difficult.

The views can be summarised as follows:

• it is not difficult to get involved	9
• it is difficult to get involved	11
• no (clear) opinion	9
Total	29

To get an insight into the characteristics of the respondents which expressed these views, an analysis at subgroup level has been undertaken to see if there is a possible influence related on the interviewees' role, field of involvement or geographic area. The analysis by subgroup presents a picture that is generally in line with the overall picture. However, the users mention relatively more often that it is difficult to get involved than the others. Analysis by area of involvement suggests that interviewees from the mobility management field find it less difficult to get involved than the interviewees from the urban road user charging field. The views of the interviewees from the New Member States are in line with the general picture.

Table 5.4 provides an overview of the comments on the selection of project partners. Many interviewees stress that it is very difficult to get invited for the first time to participate in a consortium. One interviewee (18-PR) mentioned that this is an even bigger problem for people from New Member States. It is recommended not to be selective for the first participation, as this first time is more to learn and establish a network. Once a network of relationships has been built up then the chances of being invited again increase. Personal relationships seem to be the key for being invited to join a consortium.

- the first time it's very difficult to get involved (10x)
- you need many contacts to build up a network, then it gets easier (5x)
- it was a consultant that helped us to get involved (4x)
- we get many invitations and have to be selective (4x, of which 3x by interviewee from a New Member State)
- you are chosen because of persons, not because of the organisation (3x)
- we take the needs of the market as a starting point, not our own interests (2x)

Table 5.4: recurring comments on the selection of partners during the consortium building phase (with number of times mentioned)

The interviewees indicate that, in general, project participants are chosen because of persons, not because of their organisations²⁶. Trust is an important element in the consortium building process²⁷. One interviewee (4-CH) described this process as: ‘a few people who know each other well, who have trust in each other, come together. They form the core of the consortium’. The interviewees mention that the rest of the partners (outside the core) are selected on the following basis:

- they are known and trusted, or
- they have good references, or
- they have ‘sold’ themselves successfully.

Organisations from New Member States who are experienced in project participation, and who have built up a good name²⁸, seem to receive many invitations to participate in project proposals. The interviewees from the ‘old’ Member States indicate that it is quite difficult to find good partners from the New Member States, to get them actively involved and committed to the project. One barrier that was mentioned by interviewees from the ‘old’ Member States is that partners from New Member States seem to feel inferior. Another

²⁶ This could be evidence of the importance of persons and personal relationships for project networks.

²⁷ Note the reference to trust.

²⁸ This could be an indirect reference to the fact that the persons involved have gained trust.

barrier mentioned is the non-availability of matching funding. A third barrier that was mentioned is that organisations from New Member States lack the knowledge on how to get involved in the proposal preparation processes.

The interviewees consider the application procedure, i.e. the process of proposal preparation, submission and evaluation, as complex or difficult. The most often mentioned reasons are related to administrative aspects. The administrative rules and procedures are difficult, not stable between programmes and take a lot of time. Other reasons that are mentioned more than once are the difficulty to understand ‘European’ terminology and language; the EU policy contexts that get increasingly complicated; the short deadlines; and the need to invest considerable resources in the preparation of a project proposal. Public administrations might be deterred by the administrative burden. The application procedure is seen as intimidating for newcomers.

Summarising, the interviewees’ comments indicate that the application procedure is:

• complex or difficult	18
• not or not so complex or difficult	4
• no (clear) answer	5
Total	27

However, the views on the application procedure are not only negative. The interviewees indicate that there are EU programmes that cause fewer problems than others. They also mention that proposal preparation can be learned by doing it. Some interviewees stress that the application process is fair and open. A comment that came back a number of times is that the importance of consultants as expert proposal writers is increasing because of the complexity of the procedure. Of the eight interviewees that expressed a view on the question whether, in general, the application procedure deters people and organisations from participating, seven indicate that this is indeed the case²⁹.

²⁹ It should be kept in mind that the interviewees have participated in EU-supported projects. They could be considered as a self selecting sample.

5.4.2 Project running and completion

Once a project is running then the project consortium/network remains largely stable. Sometimes project partners change. One reason for this is that they are not performing well. Another reason is a specific initiative taken by the European Commission to add a partner. New partners usually seem to receive small roles inside the project network. The persons that are involved can also change without the organisation changing, for example because of a job change. One interviewee mentioned that if the coordinator is able to get a good spirit in the consortium then everybody wants to stay on board (29-US).

The final phase of the project is oriented towards the delivery of the results, including the preparation of a final project report. Usually the work related to this phase is significant and done by a limited number of project partners. This is usually the group that wants to continue to work together in a new project. Many project partners do not seem interested in the dissemination of the project results and in knowing the results of other partners.

The interviewees indicate that ideas for a possible subsequent project are discussed during the final phase. Project partners that did not contribute well are usually left out of this discussion. The interested group might write an outline of their ideas about the next project in the final project report. There seems to be a common understanding that they will have to wait for a future funding opportunity. One interviewee mentioned an example where the project network continued with a subsequent project which was funded with own resources. This was seen as an example of a project network seeing the network as of value in itself.

Once a project has ended, and the project partners have obtained their individual benefits from the project, some project dissemination actions might continue but the project network and collective knowledge usually seems to be lost. When commenting on the question what remains after a project, the interviewees refer most to the fact that they maintain a network of professional and personal contacts³⁰. This network can be considered as a platform for

³⁰ Note that they do not refer to knowledge or information but focus on the network structures.

future information exchange and a ‘partner pool’ for future proposals. The interviewees indicate that what remains after a project can be a ‘common basis’ for future cooperation³¹.

5.5 Success and risk factors related to project participation

5.5.1 Success factors (in general)

As figure 5.6 indicates, the most important success factors related to the participation in an EU-funded project are good coordination and administrative procedures, sufficient resources, the right individuals³² and a good, cohesive project network. There is a range of other success factors that are considered of lower importance.

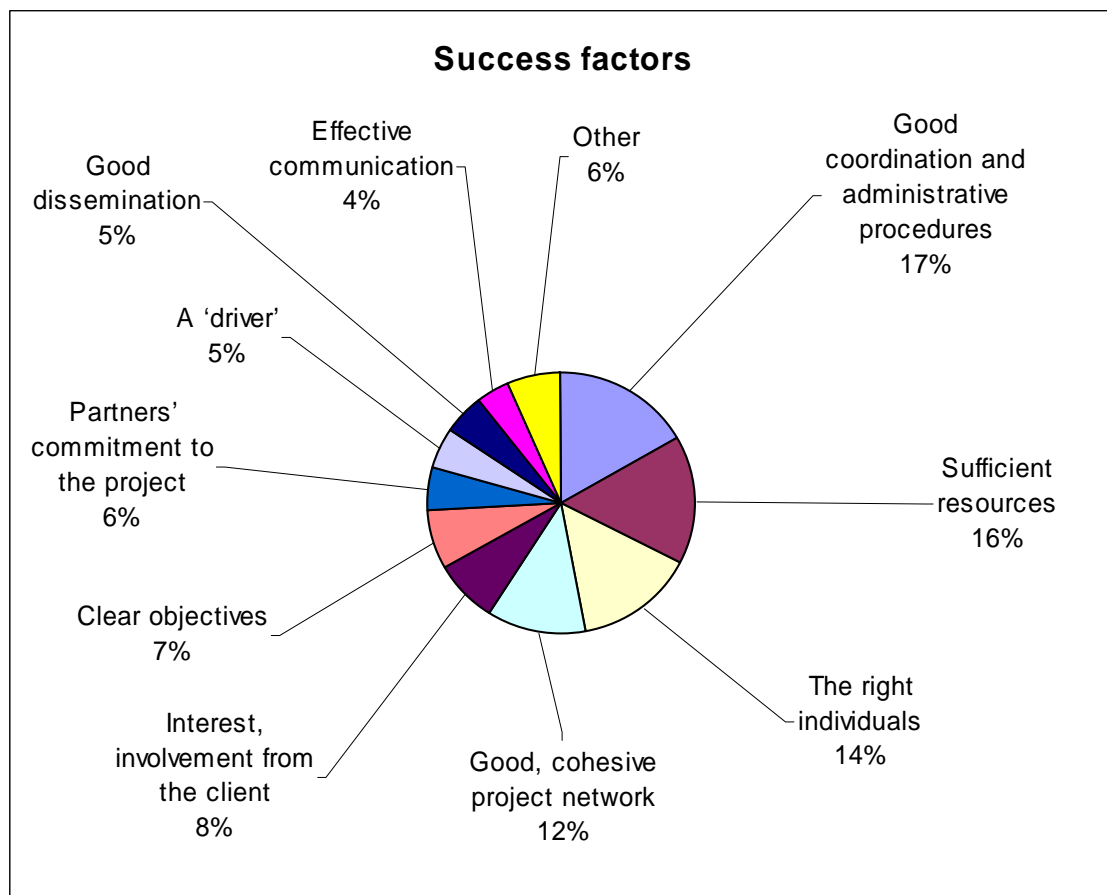


Figure 5.6: success factors related to project participation

³¹ The reference to a ‘common basis’ might refer to the fact that there is trust between partners.

³² Note the importance that is given to the ‘right individuals’ and the project network.

The most important success factor for the champions is clearly a good, cohesive project network, the second most important success factor is good coordination and administrative procedures, and the right individuals are the third most important success factor. For decision takers and for producers, the first and second most important success factors are both good coordination and administrative procedures and sufficient resources. For the producers, the right individuals are also the second most important success factor. For users, interest from the client and the right individuals are the most important success factors. This group also attaches high importance to good coordination and administrative procedures and sufficient resources.

Analysis by area of involvement indicates that for the interviewees from the mobility management field the most important success factor is good coordination and administrative procedures. This group also attaches high importance to a good, cohesive project network and to sufficient resources. Analysis for the urban road user charging field does not provide a clear picture. The interviewees from the New Member States mention as the most importance success factors good coordination and administrative procedures; sufficient resources; and the right individuals.

5.5.2 Risk factors (in general)

The interviewees have commented more on success factors than on risk factors related to project participation. The comments on risk factors (see figure 5.7) suggest that the biggest risk, and this risk stands out clearly compared with the other risks identified, is risk of a lack of focus. This applies both to the project network as a whole and to its individual project partners. The second most important risk identified is the participant risk, i.e. the wrong individuals are involved in the project network³³. The interviewees identify a range of other risks.

³³ Note that the interviewees do not refer to the ‘wrong’ organisations here but they clearly point at individual persons as a risk factor.



Figure 5.7: risk factors related to project participation

The most important risk factor for the champions and the users is the focus risk, the champions also attach high importance to the participant risks. It is difficult to make a judgement for the other subgroups, i.e. the decision takers and the producers. Analysis by area of involvement indicates that for the interviewees from the mobility management field, the most important risk factors are both financial/payment risks and the focus risks. There is not a clear picture for the urban road user charging field. Also analysis for the New Member States interviewees does not provide a clear picture.

Despite the difference in terminology, the identified risk factors are largely similar to the success factors. However, it should be noted that the order of importance differs, and there is one success factor that did not come out clearly as a risk factor. This is the most often mentioned success factor, i.e. good coordination and administrative procedures. There is also one risk factor that did not come out clearly as a success factor. This is the political risk which is of medium importance.

5.5.3 Language and cultural differences

Language is the means for oral and written communication inside the project networks. On the basis of the comments made by the interviewees it becomes clear that the use of language in this specific context has two aspects. The first aspect is practical language knowledge, i.e. the knowledge of vocabulary and terminology. The second aspect is understanding, i.e. the understanding of the meaning of words, definitions and concepts. The use of language also has an internal and an external dimension. The internal dimension refers to communication inside the project network. The external dimension relates to communication with parties outside the project network, for example for information collection or for dissemination activities.

Over half of the interviewees that commented on the language issue have mentioned implicitly or explicitly that English, or a ‘project language based on English’, is the basis for communication inside project networks. Several interviewees mentioned that the language issue can also be a reason for persons or organisations to decide not to participate in project networks³⁴.

The large majority of interviewees mentions that language is a problem/issue. There is no difference in opinion on this issue between native English speakers and others. On the question of whether language is a problem/issue inside the project network the views are mixed, with slightly more interviewees indicating that it is a problem/issue than that is not a problem.

³⁴ This means that language capacities could be an (implicit) selection criterion during the proposal preparation phase, because persons with insufficient English language capacities will not be contacted as potential partner, they are unable to sufficiently comprehend the invitation which they have received or they are unable to contribute to the proposal preparation process. One interviewee referred to this as ‘failure in equity’.

The views of the interviewees can be summarised as follows:

• language is a problem inside the project network	25
• language is not a problem inside the project network	3
Total	28

Table 5.5 presents an overview of examples of the type of language problems/issues that were mentioned by the interviewees, with the internal or external dimension indicated.

<p><u>Internal</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• translation and interpretation bring extra costs• people are afraid to write or make presentations• it is a challenge to get native English speakers to speak slow and good English• there is a lack of language capabilities, especially among the older generation, and good young people move job quickly• there are misunderstandings on definitions, concepts <p><u>External</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• dissemination, i.e. reaching out to Europe with the project results, is difficult, especially for the New Member States• it is difficult to get users and practitioners to speak with each other
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Table 5.5: examples of the type of language problems/issues

One interviewee (2-CH) highlighted that ‘without overcoming the language barrier you cannot develop trust’ inside the project network³⁵. Another interviewee (21-PR) stressed the importance of having a ‘common language’ inside the project network, because without this common language ‘there is no direct communication’. A third interviewee (17-PR) referred to an ‘own project language’ which he described as ‘a language that’s built up and there is a vocabulary, but it is around the nature of the project’.

³⁵ This is further evidence of the importance of trust.

The language issue seems to be unevenly spread across Europe. The interviewees suggest that the biggest problems exist in countries like Germany, Italy, Spain and France, and the New Member States. Two interviewees referred to the difference between language knowledge and language understanding. One mentioned that ‘words can be translated, concepts behind them not’, the other one mentioned that ‘terms that people use in their country or for doing something is quite different (..)’.

Almost all interviewees which have expressed a view on the question of whether English native speakers have a benefit or advantage in project participation, have indicated that this is indeed the case. Examples of benefits or advantages are: easier communication inside the project network; all working papers are already in English; and it is easier for them to prepare project proposals. Having a native English speaker in the consortium is considered positive by the other project partners as it saves the consortium ‘energy’ because this partner can do English language quality checks of reports.

There were three interviewees that have indicated that native English speakers do not have a benefit. All three come from the United Kingdom. All three mentioned that there has been a benefit in the past but that this benefit nowadays does not exist anymore. The reasons that they gave for the disappearance of the language benefit are that everybody speaks English nowadays, and that the European Commission has given feedback on avoiding the dominance of organisations from the United Kingdom in projects.

Judging from the amount and clarity of the feedback given by the interviewees, language issues/problems seem to be more important than cultural differences inside project networks. The majority of the interviewees that commented on cultural differences indicated that they are indeed an issue/problem. However, none of the interviewees gave the impression that cultural differences are a big issue/problem. Cultural differences seem manageable as long as participants are ‘open-minded’. Some interviewees who indicate that cultural differences are a problem at the same time mention positive aspects related to such differences.

People who indicate that cultural differences are a problem refer mainly to partners from ‘southern countries’ and the New Member States. One comment that is made several times is that there are different working cultures and practices, leading to meetings not starting according to plan or delays in the project planning. Another comment that came back more than once is that translations (for example of a questionnaire) require extra attention because language needs to be seen in its cultural context. Interviewees that indicated that cultural differences are not a problem/issue provided arguments such as: the differences are a benefit, a source of fun, joy to the project; they help partners to appreciate other professional or research cultures; and they can lead to surprising project results.

5.6 Conclusions from the interviews

This chapter includes the results of the first part of the empirical research: the personal interviews. It presents observations on how EU-supported projects in the field of urban transport were a key element in the EU’s portfolio of actions during the study period. It includes evidence on policy decisions that have been influenced by information gathered through projects. The insights into urban transport policy transfer and the role of people, organisations and networks, will help to answer the questions as to whether and how the policy network and policy transfer concepts can be applied to EU-supported projects. The information on success factors related to the functioning and outcome of projects will contribute to an understanding of the optimisation of the conditions for policy transfer. These issues will be further elaborated below.

EU-supported projects have provided access to ideas from across Europe. Interviewees indicate that most exchanges between project participants concern practical policy solutions and tools. The second most important topic is project preparation, management, administration and financial procedures. Of lower importance are context information, policy making approaches, scientific knowledge and urban transport strategies. Almost all interviewees mention at least one concrete example where information gathered through a project has influenced a policy decision at the local, regional, national or EU levels. Two

thirds of the examples mentioned are local. Three-quarters of decisions that are influenced are of a practical, operational nature. About the other quarter are of a strategic, policy-related nature. Policy transfer through project networks can take place in both formal settings and in informal settings. Different transfer media have been identified.

The interviewees indicate that the main personal reason to take part in EU-supported projects is to learn and improve their professional profile. The second and third most important reasons are to build up and work with a professional network of experienced and reliable people, and to be able to see the state of the art elsewhere. Project involvement seems to be strongly linked to the wishes of individual persons and has less to do with the strategy or goals of their organisations. The key driving role played by individuals emerged at several instances in the interview analysis. When the interviewees were asked to indicate why their organisation is involved in EU-supported projects, they indicate as the three most important reasons: projects facilitate learning from what others do; because of the interests of individuals; and to obtain funding.

Interviewees want to be part of a project network for one main reason: networks facilitate the exchange of information between project participants. Other important reasons mentioned are that networks provide access to information; to people and to the EU project scene; and that they help to carry out research. The interviewees indicate that any failure of a project is related to the people and the relationships between them, and to the delivery of the project results. The importance of trust between project participants was reiterated at several instances in the interviews. Trust seems to have two dimensions: personal trust (emotional, trust leading to openness) and professional trust (linked to project contributions: quality and reliability).

The most important success factors related to participation in an EU-funded project are good coordination and administrative procedures, sufficient resources, the right individuals and a good, cohesive project network. The most important risk factor is the risk of losing focus, and this can be transformed into a success factor by having a clear focus. These

factors are relevant for the identification of factors that contribute to the optimisation of conditions for policy transfer.

The proposal preparation and application stage is a critical phase in the establishment of a project network, which could be considered as the design phase of the 'transfer platform' in terms of hardware (membership, management structures, responsibilities) and software (common understanding, management procedures, language). The large majority of interviewees mention that language is an important general issue for project networks. Language capacities are an (implicit) selection criterion during 'common basis' during the proposal preparation phase where the consortium members are selected. Once a project is running then the membership of a project network remains largely stable. Most interviewees consider the EU project application process as being complex or difficult. However, the picture is not only negative. The interviewees indicate that there are EU programmes that cause fewer problems than others.

CHAPTER 6 – RESULTS FROM THE CASE STUDIES

In the end, the critical factor is not whether knowledge comes through measurement or some other source. What matters is that the knowledge is verifiable and accurate and that we use it to make the right decisions.

M. Witzel

6.1 Introduction

This chapter on case studies presents the results of a detailed analysis of how policy transfer in EU-supported urban transport projects works in practice, based on a series of projects in two fields: urban road user charging and mobility management. Starting point for the case studies are the following three initial conclusions from the interview analysis:

1. project involvement seems to be more linked with the wish of individual persons and less with the strategy of their organisation;
2. policy relevant knowledge is transferred through EU-supported urban transport projects and it influences policy decisions at the local, regional, national or EU level. This could point at policy transfer; and
3. policy transfer happens via ‘connected individuals’ inside project networks. They develop trust-relationships.

Based upon the initial conclusions the following specific research questions have been defined for the case study analysis:

- why do links between projects and key individuals develop?
- how have policy framework conditions and operational policy decisions been influenced?
- what is the extent of policy transfer and how can it be facilitated?
- how stable are project networks and how do project links develop?

The first two specific research questions can be more appropriately dealt with within the case studies on urban road user charging and mobility management, while the second two specific research questions can be more appropriately dealt with across the case studies. For the second two specific research questions the analysis will incorporate supporting information from the full group of interviewees on policy transfer, networks and project links. This information will be presented as additional evidence at the end of this chapter.

The case studies will build upon the insights on policy transfer, and the context in which this happens, which were reported on in the previous chapters. The case study format will help to get a better understanding of how processes work, how and why human relationships play a role and how policy decisions are influenced. To ensure a maximum validity and reliability of the results, information from different sources will be combined. The case study analysis will incorporate contextual information, for example in the form of details on historical developments and policy frameworks.

The reason why two case study fields have been chosen is that stronger and richer conclusions may be expected compared to a single case. In addition, two different case study fields allow for comparisons between them. And because the contexts of the case study fields are to some extent different, where common conclusions are reached, the validity and reliability of the results will be higher.

The base material for the case studies comes from written and electronic information sources. In addition, a subgroup of the interviewees has answered specific case study-related questions. The information collected from this subgroup has been used throughout the case studies. For the urban road user charging field, this subgroup consists of 5 persons. For the mobility management field, the subgroup consists of 9 persons. In both cases, they represent the roles of champion, political/financial decision taker, producer/deliverer and user/multiplier.

Finally, some words on the general characteristics of the projects in both case study fields. The usual project length is three years with slight variations above and below this. The

average number of partners per project is largely the same for both fields, around 10. The lowest and highest numbers of partners involved in the projects were 2 and 30.

Due to a lack in availability of public information on total project costs and the EU contribution, the financial aspects of the projects cannot be analysed in either field. For the eight projects for which information on costs and EU contribution has been found, the total costs vary between €580.000 and €2.5 Million. The EU contribution to these costs varies between 40% and 70% of the total project costs. The level of co-funding depends on the funding rules of the programme, the type of project partners and the type of activity. Usually academic and research organisations receive a higher rate of co-funding, and activities with a research character receive a higher rate of co-funding than activities with a demonstration character.

6.2 Case study 1: urban road user charging

6.2.1 Historical overview of urban road user charging

There are different definitions of road user charging and it is also referred to by other terms, for example road use pricing, road pricing or congestion pricing. In a summary prepared by the PORTAL project (2003), road user charging is defined as ‘the means by which road users are charged for use of a particular piece of road infrastructure. The incentive for charging for its use may be purely with the aim of revenue generation or to manage traffic congestion’. However, a third aim of urban road user charging can be the management of environmental problems, as is demonstrated by schemes implemented in Italian cities.

Pricing the use of road infrastructure can take place on the basis of time, place and/or travel distance. In the specific urban context, it is important to keep in mind that road user charging is one element of a wider set of financial instruments that can be used to give incentives and disincentives to travellers. This wider set of instruments can be referred to as urban transport pricing or urban pricing. It can, besides urban road user charging, include public transport pricing and parking pricing.

The CURACAO project mentions on its internet site³⁶ that urban road user charging is uniquely capable of addressing several problems related to urban travel and at the same time is uniquely difficult to implement. This difficulty of implementation is confirmed by Jones (1998). The cities which have implemented urban road user charging have all achieved a change in travel patterns which cannot be achieved by any other currently applied transport policy instrument.

An overview of urban road user charging projects and their results can be found in the Written Materials on Pricing prepared by the PORTAL project (2003). Sikow-Magny (2003) has provided an overview of the conclusions from a range of projects in the field of transport pricing that have been co-funded by the EU. An internet site dedicated to urban transport pricing internet³⁷ provides links to the project deliverables of some of the projects in the field of urban road user charging that have been financially supported by the EU.

From a historical perspective, the interest in EU-supported research and development activities related to road user charging in the early 1990s originated in the application of new intelligent technologies to transport (DRIVE programme, managed as part of the RTD Framework Programme by the Directorate-General for Information Society, DG INFSO). An interviewee mentioned that, at the same time, there was an increased interest in involving the private sector in funding the development of the TEN-T road transport network, an emergence of theoretical studies based on transport economics and a lobby by the urban public transport sector (23-US).

The first two transport policy-oriented projects on urban road user charging that were supported by the RTD Framework Programme were CONCERT-P and TRANSPRICE. CONCERT-P, together with its technology-oriented sister project CONCERT that was supported by the Transport Telematics Applications Programme of DG INFSO, demonstrated the potential of different demand management tools, such as pricing, integrated payment with smart cards and access control. In Bristol the local CONCERT

³⁶ www.curacaoproject.eu. Accessed 1 November 2009.

³⁷ www.transport-pricing.net. Accessed 1 November 2009.

project was known as ELGAR and it received co-funding from the government of the United Kingdom. TRANSPRICE tested integrated, cross-modal pricing and financing regimes for urban transport in a number of cities with demonstrations and modelling.

The objective of the PROGRESS project was to ‘demonstrate and evaluate the effectiveness and acceptance of integrated urban transport pricing schemes to achieve transport goals and raise revenue’. The project sites were Bristol, Copenhagen, Edinburgh, Genoa, Gothenburg, Helsinki, Rome and Trondheim. The cities of Bristol, Edinburgh, Genoa and Rome had clear aspirations in the field of urban road user charging, while the political basis for the existing charging scheme in Trondheim had to be renewed during the project’s lifetime. The PROGRESS cities were assisted by a group of experts through the CUPID Thematic Network.

When reviewing the projects included in this assessment two distinctive features become clear. First, CONCERT-P and TRANSPRICE, the first two projects, followed a cross-modal approach and looked at urban pricing as part of integrated policy. The projects that followed had a clear focus on urban road user charging. At the end of the period analysed, when a number of European cities were considering or preparing for the implementation of urban road user charging, the broader approach returned. One interviewee mentioned that, when the integrated CIVITAS-VIVALDI project started off, everybody was thinking that road user charging would continue as one of the key themes in one of the main CIVITAS-VIVALDI cities. But during the project the priority given to urban road user charging was reduced after the political landscape in this city changed (10-DT).

Second, an interviewee indicated that, as opposed to discussions at the EU level where the European Commission supported debate on the internalisation of externals costs from transport which was inspired by economic theory, the projects on road user charging in urban areas were more practical, with theory playing an accompanying role rather than a driving role (7-AR). This could mean that the EU level debate on internalisation of external costs has not had a significant influence on the implementation of urban road user charging because it did not address the practical needs of cities.

One interviewee highlighted that urban road user charging is a project field where there has been a very strong and highly visible involvement of local authorities (7-CH). When commenting on the type of actors, other interviewees refer to a mix of local and regional authorities, technological partners, consultants, academics and companies specialised in dissemination, marketing and communication having been involved in urban road user charging projects (9-DT, 10-DT). One interviewee mentioned that academics were very pleased to see that there was a group of cities that were talking about urban road user charging and also that some consultants were very engaged with this field (10-DT).

6.2.2 Overview and description of projects

The basis for the case study analysis is the 10 projects in table 6.1 that dealt with urban road user charging. The funding for these projects has been awarded through a competitive grant awarding procedure or programme organised by the European Commission. Further details on the projects and the organisations that were involved are included in Annex 8.

Project	Lifetime	Funding source	Number of partners
CONCERT-P	1996 – 1998	RTD Framework Programme	9
TRANSPRICE	1996 – 1998	RTD Framework Programme	17
AFFORD	1998 – 1999	RTD Framework Programme	9
CAPRI	1998 – 1999	RTD Framework Programme	6
EUROPRICE 1	1999 – 2000	Direct EC grant	8
PRIMA	1999 – 2000	RTD Framework Programme	8
PRESS	1999 – 2001	SAVE	8
CUPID	2000 – 2004	RTD Framework Programme	6
PROGRESS	2000 – 2004	RTD Framework Programme	27
EUROPRICE 2	2001 – 2002	Direct EC grant	7

Table 6.1: key characteristics of analysed urban road user charging projects

For urban road user charging, the average number of partners per project is 10.5. When the projects with the highest number of partners and the lowest number of partners are excluded³⁸, the average number of partners per project is 9.4.

Table 6.2. gives an overview of the nationalities of the organisations that are involved in the projects. The information is provided for two periods, with the cut off in about the middle of the total period covered. This will allow for comparing the differences in progress over time. The time periods are also roughly in line with the analysis of the framework conditions. In the case of urban road user charging, period 1 includes the projects that started in the years 1996 and 1998, and period 2 the projects that started in the years 1999, 2000 and 2001. The column ‘All participants’ covers the nationalities of all project participants, irrespective of their role (so this includes the project coordinators). The column ‘Coordinators only’ lists the nationalities of the project coordinators.

Period 1				Period 2			
All participants		Coordinators only		All participants		Coordinators only	
UK	11	UK	2	UK	18	UK	4
IT	5	ES	1	IT	15	IT	1
DE	4	IT	1	FI	8	SE	1
ES	4			SE	6		
FR	4			DK	5		
GR	4			NO	4		
AT	2			FR	3		
FI	2			BE	1		
BE	1			CH	1		
IE	1			DE	1		
NO	1			ES	1		
SE	1			NL	1		
				PT	1		

Table 6.2: overview of participation by country in urban road user charging projects

³⁸ In the case of urban road user charging there are two projects that have a lowest number of 6 partners. In the calculation, both cases of 6 have been excluded.

The United Kingdom is clearly the most active country in the field of urban road user charging during both periods, both in terms of all participants and the coordinators. Italy is clearly in second place during both periods. When participation is compared between the two periods, then it appears that interest from Germany (DE), Spain (ES) and Greece (GR) has gone down while interest from Scandinavia, i.e. from Finland (FI), Sweden (SE), Norway (NO) and Denmark (DK), has gone up.

6.2.3 Project networks: links between projects and key individuals

The interviewees make clear references to links between projects and between project partners. In the field of urban road user charging, one interviewee stated that there is a clear continuity in the transport pricing projects (7-CH). Another interviewee referred to the continuity of his organisation's own involvement. He stated that in the first urban road user charging project the city received a grant of €10.000, in the second project a grant of €300.000 and afterwards it got involved in a demonstration project under the CIVITAS Initiative where it received a grant of €3.5 Million.

The basis for the following analysis is details on the ten projects, and the organisations involved in them, which are presented in Annex 8. The projects ran over the period 1996 – 2004 and involved 105 project partners. In total, 71 different organisations were involved. This means that 34 of the 71 different organisations were involved more than once. The continuity rate is 48%, which means that the renewal rate (turn over of organisations that have participated only once) is 52%.

The 71 different organisations can be split down as follows:

- 20 are consultancies;
- 19 are universities or research organisations;
- 18 are local governments or local government bodies;
- 8 are regional or national governments or government bodies;

- 6 have another nature, such as public transport operators, associations, professional bodies or industry.

As can be seen the project participants are about a quarter local governments or local government bodies, about a quarter universities or research organisations, and about a quarter consultancies.

The organisations that were most active are:

- Bristol City Council, Genoa City Council and the University of Leeds are all involved in 4 out of 10 projects;
- Norwegian Public Roads Administration (PRA), Technical University Dresden, ISIS (Italy), Edinburgh City Council and the (former) STA mobility agency in Rome, all involved in 3 out of 10 projects.

This means that, of the most active organisations, about half are local governments or local government bodies.

After the first two projects, CONCERT-P and TRANSPRICE, all the following projects had at least one partner which was or is involved in at least one previous or parallel ongoing project. It is interesting to note that nearly two-thirds of the project participants in the big PROGRESS project were involved in at least one previous or parallel project.

During the interviews, the interviewees mentioned the persons listed in table e6.3 that they consider having played a leading role in the case study field³⁹. In the cases where they have been involved in a project that is part of the case studies, the name of the organisation where he or she was working at the time of the project has been added.

³⁹ Only those names (references) are included that could be undoubtedly identified. No guesses have been made in case of half (only first names) or unclear names.

Name(s)	Organisation involved in projects
David Begg, Mark Lazarowitz, Andrew Burns	Edinburgh City
Maurizio Tomassini	STA Rome
Vito Contoursi, Arcangelo Merella	Genoa City
Helen Holland, Richard Rawlinson, Barbara Davies	Bristol City
'University of Dresden staff'	Technical University Dresden
'The Norwegians'	Norwegian Public Roads Adm.?
Ken Livingstone	-- (not involved)

Table 6.3: names of persons having played a leading role in urban road user charging mentioned by interviewees

These persons are to a large extent politicians and high level officials working in local governments. This demonstrates that urban road user charging is a political issue. In most cases different names were mentioned together, which could be an indication of the fact that the interviewees think in terms of 'teams'.

6.2.4 Development of urban road user charging framework conditions in selected countries

The development of national framework conditions for urban road user charging has been summarized in table 6.4. This overview below shows how the policy frameworks have developed in a selected group of countries during the period covered by the case studies. The information is taken from the CUPID project's International state of the art review report (2000) and from Deliverable 2: State of the art review compiled by the CURACAO project (2007). The information was interpreted on the basis of the authors' personal assessment and judgement. The reason that certain countries are not included in the table is that the sources did not provide information for them.

The table shows that there is in some cases a stable situation and in other cases an erratic development of the framework conditions. One interviewee (23-US) indicated that, as local governments are usually not interested in implementing what they consider to be a highly risky measure, national legal frameworks have generally not been adapted to include urban road user charging. Stable progress between 1996 and 2007 is only visible in two countries: Italy (hybrid combination of access control and urban road user charging in the form of an access fee) and Sweden. Six countries have reached the stage where urban road user charging is, in limited specific cases, in stable operation. ‘Urban’ toll tunnels/bridges/roads have been implemented in four of these countries (France, Ireland, Norway and the United Kingdom). Italy (Rome), the United Kingdom (London) and Sweden (Stockholm) have introduced more comprehensive urban road user charging schemes.

As the table indicates, EU-supported projects have contributed to national studies, trials and debate. However, the involvement of cities such as Bristol, Edinburgh, Genoa, Dublin and Copenhagen in EU-supported projects has not been sufficient to enable scheme implementation, even though Bristol acted as coordinator of the EUROPRICE, PROGRESS and CIVITAS-VIVALDI projects.

Country	Stage 1996	Status 1996	Stage 2001	Status 2001	Stage 2007	Status 2007
Denmark	?	-- (no information provided)	3	government commission set up, ITS research, trial in Copenhagen (PROGRESS)	1	Copenhagen complains about lack of national framework and government support
Finland	3	different proposals for Helsinki	2-3	renewed academic and political interest	(1)	interest seems to have disappeared
France	4 – 5	three ‘urban’ toll roads/ tunnels in operation	5	failed schemes in Lyon and Toulouse, study on future financing launched	5	no progress beyond situation 2001
Germany	2	Mobilpass trial in Stuttgart finished, no follow up	1	political acceptability is very low	1 (3)	some debate, political acceptability remains very low

Greece	2	study and trial in Athens (TRANSPRICE)	?	-- (no information provided)	?	-- (no information provided)
Ireland	5	two 'urban' toll roads/bridges in operation, studies and trials on smart payment (CONCERT-P)	5 (2)	study on cordon pricing in Dublin	5 (1)	no progress beyond situation 2001
Italy	?	-- (no information provided)	2-3	plans to turn Rome access control into hybrid pricing scheme, Genoa demonstration (PROGRESS)	5 (4)	Rome hybrid scheme implemented, Genoa plans abandoned, scheme in Milano planned
Netherlands	3	debate on national scheme	3	debate on different national scheme, cities with own plans	3	debate on again a different national scheme
Norway	5	toll schemes in operation in three cities	5	further refinement of Trondheim scheme considered	5	-- (no information provided)
Sweden	3	local schemes discussed for Stockholm and Göteborg as well as a national scheme	3 (2)	plans for national framework, targeted field trials and attitudinal research (PROGRESS)	5	Stockholm scheme implemented in form of 'trial' in 2005, positive referendum on continuation
Switzerland	2	research on scheme in Bern	3	local schemes considered but all plans failed, expert group on future financing	?	-- (no information provided)
United Kingdom	5 (2)	some 'urban' toll tunnels/bridges, studies and trials on smart payment (for example Bristol in CONCERT-P)	5 (4)	new local schemes considered or implemented in various cities (including Bristol and Edinburgh in PROGRESS)	5 (3)	London scheme implemented, plans for various other cities failed

Table 6.4: national framework conditions for urban road user charging

Key

Stages of development:

- 1: No consideration, debate or studies
- 2: Academic studies and small scale trials
- 3: Scheme feasibility studies and political debate
- 4: Schemes in preparation
- 5: Schemes implemented and in stable operation
- ? = Status unknown

Figures between brackets refer to a tentative estimation.

6.2.5 Examples of specific decisions influenced

A general analysis of the examples of policy decisions that have been influenced through the participation in an EU-supported project is included in section 5.2.2. The interviewees have mentioned only limited concrete examples of policy decisions in the field of urban road user charging that have been influenced by a project. This might reflect the lack of implementation of urban road user charging schemes but it might also be explained by the fact that the question on influenced policy decisions was asked only in general terms and did not specifically address the two case study fields.

One interviewee referred to a technical systems test of an access control system in 1998, in the framework of the CAPITALS project supported by DG INFSO through the Transport Telematics Applications Programme. The interviewee explained that the municipality decided to get involved in the PROGRESS project because it realised that there were also acceptability, citizens' awareness and organisational challenges at stake (20-PR). A second interviewee argued that, without the (EU co-funded) city-led efforts in the field of urban road user charging, the city of Stockholm would not have been able to successfully introduce its scheme (10-DT).

Another interviewee indicated that since the late 1990s, with the increasing focus on demonstration activities and the launching of the CIVITAS Initiative, there was another attempt at the EU level to move from theory into practice. But for urban road user charging this did not succeed. CIVITAS cities, even if they had included some kind of pilot project on road user of charging in their project, never implemented those measures (23-US).

Different interviewees indicated that, in the field of urban road user charging, the role of the European Commission has been to facilitate, to support, or to get the ball rolling, and that this has been effectively done (7-CH, 20-PR). However, another interviewee stated that the European Commission probably made a mistake by thinking that the cities it was engaged with were likely to quickly bring in urban road user charging schemes (10-DT). In the end, this did not happen to the extent that was expected.

One interviewee explained this by the fact that the cities were probably in advance of their own national governments and the European Commission (10-DT). They formed a close network and did things together (10-DT). But they made insufficient links with their national governments and they did not ask the European Commission and the European Parliament to confirm their full support to the cities (10-DT). Another interviewee stressed that national support to justify the approach and national legislation are very important (9-DT). Obviously, local initiative and EU support needs to be matched with national support.

6.3 Case study 2: mobility management

6.3.1 Historical overview of mobility management

Several interviewees indicate that mobility management was initiated in the Netherlands in the early 1990s (13-DT, 19-PR). At that time, there was a strong awareness about problems of mobility, congestion and environmental issues. The idea came to the Netherlands from the United States of America (19-PR). In those early years, the Netherlands was seen as a driving force behind the development of mobility management at the European level (13-DT).

This is confirmed by the fact that this country played a key role in the establishment of the European Platform on Mobility Management (EPOMM) and the European Conference on Mobility Management (ECOMM), and that the coordinator of the MOMENTUM project was from the Netherlands. Then, from the Netherlands, the concept moved to early adopters in Belgium and the United Kingdom (19-PR).

Different interviewees mention their first mobility management projects began in the years 1992, 1993 or 1994 (18-PR, 2-CH, 19-PR). The first important EU-funded projects in this field were MOMENTUM and MOSAIC. Several interviewees refer to the long discussions in these projects about a European definition of mobility management. The reason was that this definition should also be useable at national level (2-CH, 13-DT, 28-US).

Interviewees indicate that the EU-funded projects MOMENTUM, MOSAIC, MOST and TAPESTRY form the initial development phase of mobility management in Europe (6-CH, 19-PR). One interviewee highlighted that 'derived projects', such as ICARO, INPHORMM and CAMPARIE, had some of the same partners (19-PR). These projects were funded by the EU's RTD Framework Programme and have, as a spin off, resulted in a lot of smaller demonstration projects funded by programmes such as SAVE, LIFE and INTERREG (19-PR, 6-CH). An overview of the projects and the results is included in the 'Written materials on mobility management' prepared by the PORTAL project (2002).

The first European definition of mobility management was jointly prepared by the MOMENTUM and MOSAIC project consortia (1999, p.15): 'Mobility management is primarily a demand-orientated approach to passenger and freight transport that involves new partnerships and a set of tools to support and encourage change of attitude and behaviour towards sustainable modes of transport. These tools are usually based on information, communication, organisation, co-ordination, and require promotion.'. Since this first definition, discussions have continued within the European mobility management community on the European definition of mobility management. The MOST project consortium (2003) used the same definition as the one developed by the MOMENTUM and MOSAIC project consortia.

In their presentation on 15 years of mobility management in Europe at ECOMM 2007, Kramer and Posch (2007) refer to different new European definitions, including one which is referred to as 'ECOMM 2002 Update': mobility management (MM) 'facilitates the interaction between the demand side ('partnership domains' ...) and the supply side, in a cooperative sustainable policy and planning process. MM facilitates effective coordination of partners and makes use of appropriate managerial, communicative and promotional tools.'. At the same time separate national definitions started to appear. In Sweden, mobility management was defined as soft measures to influence travel before it starts (Kramer and Posch, 2007).

As indicated earlier, mobility management finds its roots in the United States of America where it is usually referred to as Transportation Demand Management or Travel Demand Management (TDM). It developed in response to the oil crisis in 1972/1973 and the energy crisis in the late 1970s. Originally, TDM was aimed at promoting alternatives to single-occupancy commuting trips in order to save energy. Over time, the benefits of TDM for congestion-relief and the environment have come more to the forefront.

On its internet site, the U.S. Department of Transportation currently defines TDM from a congestion management perspective⁴⁰: 'Managing both the 'growth of' and periodic 'shifts in' traffic demand are necessary elements of managing traffic congestion. If traffic demand is not managed, the performance of the transportation system will be adversely affected. Managing traffic demand today is about providing travellers, regardless of whether they drive alone, with travel choices, such as work location, route, time, and mode.'.

In 2005, the International Energy Agency (OECD/IEA, 2005) endorsed mobility management-type measures as a means to reduce energy consumption in case of a disruption in oil supply. In her analysis of the practical application of TDM strategies at local level in response to oil supply disruptions, Leotta (2007) indicates that the same TDM strategies can also be used to help reduce emissions. Rye (2002, pp. 287-298) concludes

⁴⁰ Internet page introducing Travel Demand Management produced by the U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highways Administration, Office of Operations.
<http://ops.fhwa.dot.gov/tdm/index.htm>. Accessed on 30 October 2009.

that there is evidence that company-based mobility management plans have an effect at the site level, and potential for a system-wide effect.

An interesting role in the spread of mobility management in Europe has been played by EPOMM. This is a network of national or regional governments that are engaged in mobility management. The EPOMM internet site indicates that the main aims of EPOMM⁴¹ are to promote and further develop mobility management in Europe and to support information exchange and learning. The Dutch Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water Management was responsible for organising the first ECOMM in Amsterdam in April 1997. EPOMM has organised an annual conference ever since.

The formal establishment of EPOMM was initiated by the European Commission. In October 1998 the European Commission invited⁴² ‘interested bodies and persons to submit proposals for the establishment of a European platform on mobility management (EPOMM)’. A number of Member States had approached the European Commission and had requested the Commission to provide financial support for the establishment of EPOMM. The Commission gave a grant covering up to 33% of its costs during the first three year period of operations. One interviewee mentioned that during the stage where EPOMM was co-funded by the European Commission, Member States were happy to be on board. But once the co-funding ended, only four Member States stayed involved (18-PR).

One interviewee indicated that a good mixture of ‘consultants, academics and practitioners’⁴³, has been involved in the development and spread of mobility management (3-CH). The consultants have been referred to as a special type of consultant with a thinking that is more close to university thinking (3-CH). Also all kinds of authorities are involved (13-DT). Some national governments are seen as more proactive than others. The Dutch government is seen as particularly proactive (19-PR), as mentioned before.

⁴¹ www.epomm.eu. Accessed on 30 October 2009.

⁴² <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:1998:306:0013:0014:EN:PDF>
Accessed on 30 October 2009.

⁴³ ‘Practitioners’ probably refers to public officials.

6.3.2 Overview and description of projects

The basis for analysis is sixteen projects in the field mobility management listed in table 6.5⁴⁴. The funding for these projects has been awarded through a competitive grant awarding procedure or programme organised by the European Commission. Further details on the projects and the organisations that were involved in them are included in Annex 9.

Project	Lifetime	Funding source	Number of partners
MOMENTUM	1996 – 1998	RTD Framework Programme	14
MOSAIC	1996 – 1998	RTD Framework Programme	5
INPHORMM	1996 – 1998	RTD Framework Programme	8
IMPACT	1996 – 1998	SAVE	3
ICARO	1997 – 1999	RTD Framework Programme	13
CAMPARIE	1997 – 1999	RTD Framework Programme	14
TOMY	1997 – 1999	Direct EC grant	2
PROSITRANS	1998 – 2000	SAVE	6
TOOLBOX	1998 – 2000	SAVE	6
SUN	1999 – 2001	SAVE	4
ELMO	1999 – 2001	SAVE	4
MOST	2000 – 2002	RTD Framework Programme	30
TAPESTRY	2000 – 2003	RTD Framework Programme	23
SMASH-EVENTS	2001 – 2004	LIFE	8
EMOTIONS	2002 – 2004	SAVE	5
EMMA	2003 – 2005	SAVE	6

Table 6.5: key characteristics of analysed mobility management projects

⁴⁴ The OPTIMUM and OPTIMUM2 projects, funded by the INTERREG programme, are not included in this analysis. The INTERREG programme focuses on regional cooperation and has its own grant award procedure by a coordinating body outside of the European Commission. The project partners are usually governments or government-related (only). The LIFE funded Mobile Together Differently and the SAVE funded Way to Go projects are also not included. Mobile Together Differently has only one partner: the Belgian city of Hasselt. The Way to Go project has only three Irish partners. Both cases are not relevant here as we focus on learning in an international context.

The average number of partners per project is 9.4. When the projects with the highest number of partners and the lowest number of partners are excluded, the average number of partners per project is 8.5. Compared with the results for urban road user charging reported in section 6.2.2, this leads to the conclusion that the average number of partners per project is largely the same for the urban road user charging and mobility management fields, with the average number for urban road user charging perhaps being slightly higher.

Table 6.6 presents an overview of the nationalities of the organisations that are involved in the projects. As for urban road user charging, the information is provided for two periods, with the cut off in about the middle of the total period covered. This will allow for an assessment of the differences in involvement between the two periods. In the case of mobility management, period 1 includes the projects that started in the years 1996, 1997 and 1998, and period 2 the projects that started in the years 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2003. The column ‘All participants’ covers the nationalities of all project participants, irrespective of their role (so this includes the project coordinators). The column ‘Coordinators only’ lists the nationalities of the project coordinators.

Period 1				Period 2			
All participants		Coordinators only		All participants		Coordinators only	
UK	12	AT	3	AT	13	AT	3
AT	9	BE	2	DE	9	BE	1
BE	9	DE	1	ES	8	IT	1
DE	9	GR	1	BE	7	PT	1
FR	5	NL	1	FR	7	UK	1
IT	5	UK	1	IT	7		
NL	5			UK	7		
ES	4			NL	4		
GR	4			PT	4		
CH	2			RO	4		
SE	2			SE	4		
CZ	1			GR	3		
PT	1			CZ	2		
FI	1			CH	1		
MO	1			IE	1		

Table 6.6: overview of participation by country in mobility management projects

Austria (AT) seems the most active country in the field of mobility management. When comparing the two periods, the involvement of participants from Austria has further increased. The same trend is visible for participation from Spain (ES), France (FR), Italy (IT), Portugal (PT), Romania (RO) and Sweden (SE). The initially very high participation from the United Kingdom has gone down. The same is to some extent true for Belgium (BE).

6.3.3 Project networks: links between projects and key individuals

The interviewees indicated that the building up of a European network of specialists in the field of mobility management started with the MOMENTUM and MOSAIC projects, but these projects built already on contacts that existed since approximately 1992 (19-PR, 18-PR, 3-CH). Since then, the network has been growing constantly. One interviewee indicated that there is a core of about twenty people, who are well known and who try to prepare, or are being asked to join proposals (3-CH). Some people have been there since the beginning (3-CH). Only very few people have left (19-PR).

The sixteen projects that were analysed ran over the period 1996 – 2005. In total, the projects involve 151 project partners. A detailed assessment indicates that 93 different organisations are involved. This means that 58 of these 93 organisations are involved more than once. The continuity rate is 62%, which means that the renewal rate (turn over of organisations that have participated only once) is 38%. Compared to the urban road user charging field, the continuity rate is higher.

The 93 different organisations can be split down as follows:

- 22 are local governments or local government bodies;
- 16 are regional or national governments or government bodies;
- 8 are universities or research organisations;

- 31 are consultancies;
- 16 have another nature, such as public transport operators, associations, professional bodies or industry.

The project participants are about one-third consultancies and about one-fourth local governments or local government bodies.

The organisations that are most active in the analysed projects are:

- FGM-AMOR is involved in 13 out of 16 projects;
- Langzaam Verkeer and Traject are involved in 6 out of 16 projects;
- ILS is involved in 5 out of 16 projects;
- Ökoinstitut and University of Westminster are involved in 4 out of 16 projects;
- and NEA, Institut Wallon, ET&P and CERTU are involved in 3 out of 16 projects.

This means that, of the most active organisations, half are consultancies. The high involvement of FGM-AMOR is particularly noticeable.

After the first two projects, MOMENTUM and MOSAIC, all the following projects had at least one partner that is involved in at least one previous or parallel project. It is interesting to note that the big MOST and TAPESTRY projects consist of one-third and two-third of partners, respectively, that were involved in at least one previous or parallel ongoing project.

During the interviews, the interviewees mentioned various names of persons that they consider having played a leading role in the case study field (see table 6.7)⁴⁵. In cases where individuals have been involved in more than one project that is part of the case studies, the name of the organisation where they were working at the time of the project has been added.

⁴⁵ Only those names are included that could be undoubtedly identified. No guesses have been made in case of half (only first names) or unclear names.

Name(s)	Organisation
Peter van Sevenant	Langzaam Verkeer
Karl Reiter	FGM-AMOR
Heinz Klewe, Herbert Kemming, Guido Müller	ILS
Conrad Wagner	Prognos
Peter Hoffmann	Stadtwerke Wuppertal
Peter Güller	Synergo
Peter Jones	University of Westminster
Tom Rye	-- (not involved)
John Whitelegg	-- (not involved)
David Begg	-- (not involved)
Vito Contoursi	-- (not involved)
Maurizio Tomassini	STA Rome
Eric Sampson	-- (not involved)
Michael McDonald	-- (not involved)
David Jeffreys	-- (not involved)
Michael Glotz-Richter	Bremen City

Table 6.7: names of persons having played a leading role in mobility management mentioned by interviewees

These persons come from a broad background and include high level officials working in administrations, academic researchers and consultants. In contrast to the field of urban road user charging, the interviewees seem to think here more in terms of ‘individuals’. When, for both urban road user charging and mobility management, the persons that played a leading role and their organisations are compared with the organisations that are most active (see also section 6.2.3), there seems to be a coherence. This could indicate that these persons have a strong influence on their organisations’ involvement, supporting the observation that project involvement is strongly linked with the wish of individuals. It

could also mean that organisations put persons that played a leading role in the forefront and use them to promote the organisations' ideas inside project networks.

6.3.4 Development of mobility management framework conditions in selected countries

The analysis in table 6.8 shows the development of policy frameworks in a selected group of countries during the decade covered by the case studies. The information has been collected from three different independent sources and was combined using the authors' personal assessment and judgement. For countries that are not included this is because these sources have not provided information. The categorisation of the stages of development and the information on the development stage and status for the year 1996 originates from the first European state of the art overview on mobility management prepared jointly by the MOMENTUM and MOSAIC projects (1996). Information on development from 1996 to 2001 originates in the deliverable 'The framework for mobility management across Europe' prepared by the MOST project (2003, p.63). Information for the year 2007 is based on the author's assessment of details included in a presentation by Kramer and Posch (2007).

The table shows that, in most of the countries that were analysed, there is a clear progress in the development of the framework conditions. This is a different picture compared to the urban road user charging field, where only two countries showed a clear stable progress. Between 1996 and 2007 the number of countries that has reached the stage where mobility management has become a long-term process, reflected by a full institutionalisation of mobility management, widespread initiatives and the establishment of knowledge networks, has increased from one to six.

Country	Stage 1996	Status 1996	Develop- ment 1996-2001	Stage 2007	Status 2007
Austria	3	infancy status, non-governmental activities	O	4	no national policy, many pilot projects, financial incentives (Klima:aktiv)
Belgium (Flanders)	3-4	regional competence, transport plans	◆ ◆	3-5	scattered picture, Flanders very active (example: mobility covenants)
France	1-2	limited presence, focus on major infrastructure	◆ ◆	4-5	Institutionalised through obligatory sustainable urban transport plans, national information system under development
Germany	4	young topic, pilot status, broad vision	◆	4	many bottom up initiatives, fragmented policy
Italy	1(3)	early stage, local examples	◆ ◆ ◆	4-5	-- (no information provided)
Netherlands	4-5	well developed, organisational framework, incentives	◆ ◆	5	institutionalised and widespread, knowledge networks, public-private agreements, many local and regional initiatives
Portugal	1-2	early stage, lack of discussion	O	3	local pilot projects
Spain	1(3)	evolving framework, integration of modes	◆	3	many local pilot projects, training and conferences
Sweden	2-3	sustainable transport policy, political backing, concept new	◆ ◆	5	institutionalised and widespread, national 'sustainable travel' programme, national evaluation tool (SUMO)
Switzerland	2-3	integrated approach non-existent, bottom-up development, progressive public transport	◆ ◆	4	no national policy but supporting legislation and initiatives, knowledge network
United Kingdom	3	policy discussion, local activities	◆ ◆ ◆	5	institutionalised and widespread, knowledge networks, targets, guidance, evaluation, financial incentives

Table 6.8: national framework conditions for mobility management

Key

Stages of development:	Development 1996-2001	
1: Improving alternatives	◆◆◆	rapid development
2: Encouraging less car use	◆◆	steady development
3: Mobility management in its infancy	◆	slow development
4: Mobility management as a project	○	little development
5: Mobility management as long-term process		

Figures between brackets refer to a tentative estimation.

6.3.5 Examples of specific decisions influenced

A general analysis of the examples of policy decisions that have been influenced is included in section 5.2.2. As was the case for the urban road user charging field, the interviewees have mentioned only limited specific examples of policy decisions that were influenced by the projects. This might be explained by the fact that the question on influenced policy decisions was asked only in general terms and did not specifically address the case study fields.

One interviewee referred to a direct link between a project and a regulation of the Brussels Region which makes mobility plans for big events compulsory. They used materials from the SMASH-EVENTS project (19-PR). The internet site www.mobilitymanagement.be from Belgium, which was set up in the framework of a European project, and policy developments in Flanders were given as other examples (19-PR, 13-DT).

The evaluation methodology developed by the MOST project, the so called MOST-MET, has been reworked into a Swedish version called SUMO. SUMO has become the standard evaluation tool for each mobility management or road safety project that is funded by the Swedish Road Administration. This means that there are hundreds of Swedish cases that have been evaluated using SUMO (3-CH). Some of the measures which were part of the ICARO project have become permanent measures. In addition, on the basis of the project results and after some years, interviewee 28-US mentioned that the competent national

authorities had produced guidance documents on carpool lanes in the United Kingdom (Department for Transport, 2006) and Austria (FSV, 2006).

For the mobility management field, several interviewees stressed the important role which the European Commission has played in the recognition and the significant take up of mobility management in Europe. Interviewees have mentioned that the framework in which the mobility management discipline could grow was established by the European Commission (19-PR). The presence of a Director in the European Commission (Mr. Wim Blonk) at the early ECOMM conferences, and him stressing the important potential of mobility management, has been important (3-CH). The Commission also made individual governments aware of mobility management (19-PR). This was considered as particularly important for the early applications such as company mobility management and event-related mobility management.

6.4 Supporting insights from the interviews on policy transfer, networks and project links

The two case studies do not provide full answers to all four specific research questions that were defined for the case study analysis. However, the gaps can be covered by some specific information from the interviews that has not been reported until now. In addition, the information from the two case studies can be supported and contextualised by comments from the interviewees. For example, the interviewees have commented on the extent to which policy transfer takes place and on strategies to maximise policy transfer. The interviewees have also provided insights on the stability of the membership of project networks and on the links between projects. This section is partly a further elaboration of section 5.3 of the interview analysis.

6.4.1 The nature of policy transfer and how it can be facilitated

Policy transfer can cover a full ‘continuum’, ranging from inspiration to direct copying. The interviewees suggest that transfer is usually closer to inspiration than to direct copying. One interviewee described the process of inspiration as follows: ‘usually you take a technical solution and look at it as technically functioning and then you look at local conditions and you try to develop a solution there’ (27-US). Another interviewee commented on direct copying by indicating that ‘it almost happened by accident’ (5-CH).

The interviewees provided several explanations of why direct copying does not happen very often. One explanation could be that the dynamics and inertias in countries as well as the institutional and policy frameworks prevent immediate transposition of experience from one country to another. Other explanations mentioned are that people do not want to be seen as copying and the fact that terminologies and concepts differ between countries (see also section 5.5.3 on language and cultural differences).

The interviewees suggest that information used in policy transfer is analysed (or ‘filtered’) by the person who collects and processes it. Newcomers could be encouraged to learn how to analyse information. Information in policy transfer can be collected systematically or by ‘cherry picking’. The collected information can be used immediately but it can also be ‘stored’ and ‘built up’ for later use. This leads to the conclusion that policy transfer has three dimensions: intensity (from inspiration to copying), geography (across borders) and time (information used in the short term and in longer term). As example of the longer term dimension one interviewee referred to building up one’s ‘library’ and the fact that it may take five to ten years before one’s ‘repertoire’ is big enough to be an agent of change (8-CH).

Of particular interest is the question of how policy transfer can be maximised in order to create policy change, should this be an objective. One interviewee stated that ‘... research agenda’s are partly used for real research, partly used to keep the internal research markets going but also used to create change ...’ (18-PR).

Interviewees indicate different means that can be used to facilitate or even maximise policy transfer. These can be grouped into three categories: setting up the right structures; providing the right information; and getting the right people involved. A clear organisational structure, such as an EU project structure with work packages and work package leaders, is considered as a good framework for learning and information exchange. The organisation of policy transfer can be encouraged or facilitated by making it a management task for a project coordinator or work package leader. The interviewees identify two important roles in policy transfer: the role of the information provider and the role of the information gatherer.

The interviewees suggest that individuals that are not a member of the project network can still become involved in the project and in policy transfer. These individuals can come from inside an organisation that takes part in the project or from outside such organisations (i.e. complete outsiders). The interviewees consider that it is a positive thing when others get involved, because it allows more people to learn and exchange. Extending the project network in this way can be stimulated by making sure that it is contractually possible, that funding is available, that people can become involved in practical things and by emotionally ‘touching them’. The project itself can also be a stimulating factor for others to become involved. One interviewee stated that ‘If you’ve got a good project everybody wants a piece of the action’ (17-PR).

6.4.2 Stability of project networks and project links

Project participants seem to have a natural desire for stability when working together, in other words they show a risk averse behaviour when selecting project partners. As one interviewee stated: ‘You want to deliver good results, so you want to work with partners that you trust’ (5-CH). The interviewees have mentioned different factors to explain stability in project networks, in other words: why certain partners work together for subsequent projects.

One explanation is policy-related. Partners might have an interest to progress a policy agenda in a certain area. Individuals or organisations therefore decide to work together over a longer time to push a certain policy topic forward, by being actively involved in the policy making process as stakeholder and by producing policy-relevant results that can directly feed into the policy making process. The European Commission can facilitate this stability through subsequent calls. Another explanation is process related. Project partners might want to work again with partners who provide good quality and well-timed input to the project and its results.

However, it was also mentioned that it is important that networks do not get locked in. A risk of the development of monopolies in certain domains was identified. Such monopolies were considered to have a negative impact on research, innovation, knowledge development and best practice sharing because they could lead to lack of new inputs, a lack of new ideas. One interviewee referred to the need for a ‘continuous revolution’ in the networks, which he described as a need to be alert, a need for mechanisms to knock on doors, a need for new people, a need for new topics combined with a vibrant leadership.

The interviewees also identified factors that explain instability in project networks. Networks change because of changing priorities in the participating organisations, leading to shifts in resources. Networks can also change because people change jobs, because of group dynamics (for example conflicts) or because the Commission encourages the take up of new partners. It can also happen that the project agenda for a certain domain is finished. This can lead to the establishment of a new, permanent structure providing network-continuity or to an opposite development, i.e. network-disintegration.

Key individuals play two very important roles inside the networks. They have also been referred to as part of the network infrastructure. The first key role is that of the ‘grandfather’ (8-CH). Grandfathers are the nodes in the networks, they act as information hubs, sources of knowledge and ensure stability in difficult times (8-CH). The second key role is that of the engine, also referred to as motor or workhorse. The motors are the driving

forces in a certain domain from the beginning. They carry over the corporate memory related to the domain and they keep innovation going.

Interviewees suggested that, inside a project consortium, there is a core group of project network members which moves from project to project and which remains largely stable. This core group consists of individual persons and seems to be only to some extent related to the organisations where these persons work. The core group seems to be modest in size. One interviewee indicated that four out of ten project network members moved to the next project, including the coordinator. Another interviewee referred to the core group as 'four or five partners that we trust'.

The core group leads and drives the project. The core group plays an important role in the project, as its members seem to do the largest part of the work. The interviewees sometimes describe the core group by naming specific persons. They were referred to as the champions inside the project and it was mentioned that that the group of non-champions is bigger than the group of champions. Two interviewees indicated that it is the core group that thinks about the follow up to the project.

The members of a core group have more experience in a certain domain, and through their membership of a core group they continue to collect new experiences. The interviewees indicate that the members of the core group stay together because they are like-minded individuals and trust each other. Concerning the length of the continuity in the existence of the core group, one interviewee mentioned that he has contacted the same people for the last 10 years.

The interview results do not clarify whether the involvement of key individuals, many of whom know each other already, deters others, who might be crucial to policy transfer, from participating in projects. Nor do they clarify whether the right people are involved in projects in sufficient numbers to optimise policy transfer. For example, as indicated in the case studies, during the period covered by the study there was a relatively high number of consultancies involved in consortia compared to public authorities.

The Commission influenced the balance between different types of project participants in later programmes through the design of the CIVITAS Initiative, where proposals had to be ‘city-led’. It is obvious that only organisations that are responsible for policy design and deployment of solutions can ensure a successful finalisation of a policy transfer process. In the case of urban transport, and depending on the topic, this may include regional and national governments.

As indicated earlier, there are relationships or links between projects. The interviewees indicate that these links between projects can be sequential (i.e. links between projects that follow each other) or parallel (i.e. links between projects that run in parallel). Most interviewees refer to sequential links. However, when parallel links are mentioned this is often done in combination with references to sequential links. Of the interviewees that indicate that links or relationships between projects exist:

- 16 interviewees mention sequential project links;
- 4 interviewees mention parallel project links;
- 3 interviewees mention personal links (key individuals).

The interviewees provide four possible explanations for relationships between projects. The first explanation is the existence of personal links. These result from the capacities of certain key individuals, the role of information node that certain individuals play (i.e. you cannot avoid them) or the interest of an individual or organisation to work on a certain topic over a longer time (to continue to develop expertise, to remain in the forefront).

The second explanation is that the European Commission establishes relationships between projects through the design of its work programmes and subsequent calls for proposals. The third explanation that a project series can develop is because the projects follow the policy life cycle (for example: pricing, internalisation of external costs). The fourth explanation is that, for example for scientific reasons or to facilitate information exchange, projects themselves decide to cluster themselves and establish links.

One interviewee (27-US) indicated that, to maximise success, in the case of sequential project links the subsequent project consortia should include the driving partners, the corporate memory and maintain the corporate identity. Another interviewee (7-CH) suggested that redundancy between projects is not necessarily a bad thing in research.

6.5 Conclusions from the case studies

The case studies on urban road user charging and mobility management, combined with supporting insights from the interviews, help to provide a better understanding of how policy transfer in EU-supported urban transport projects works in practice and how conditions for policy transfer can be optimised. Four specific research questions were examined using the case studies. They address the reasons why links between projects and key individuals develop; how policy framework conditions and operational policy decisions have been influenced; the extent of policy transfer and how it can be influenced; and how stability of project networks and project links can be explained. The case studies have been undertaken using different sources of information with the aim of identifying convergences in evidence. The following conclusions can be drawn.

The case studies provide evidence on the reasons why links between projects and key individuals develop. The reason is that a largely stable core group of people moves from one project to another project. For the projects that were analysed, the size of this core group seems to be in the range of 5 to 6 out of every 10 partners. Project participation is more related to the individual person's wishes and less to their organisation's strategy. Links between projects are mainly sequential, but parallel links can also exist. Other reasons for project links developing are that the European Commission's work programmes establish links between projects; that a series of projects develop because they follow the policy life cycle; or that projects decide to cluster themselves and establish links.

The interviewees mentioned specific examples of framework conditions and operational policy decisions that were influenced by EU-supported projects, in both case study fields. A

striking example is the support that the EU has provided to the preparation of the urban road user charging trial in Stockholm. There seems to be a link between the project participants' nationality and the progress made in enhancing national framework conditions in both case study fields. This points to a possible link between involvement in EU-supported projects and national and urban policy development. However, this does not establish causation: whether project involvement has influenced policy development, or if policy development has influenced project involvement.

Three issues may have influenced the take up of urban road user charging and mobility management policies: (1) synchronicity in the policy debate among the stakeholders involved (including between the different levels of government); (2) the presence of policy and knowledge support (for example, in the form of a project network); and (3) the political risk that is attached to their implementation. Concerning the extent of policy transfer through projects, it can be concluded that cases of direct copying are rare. Information used in policy transfer is analysed (or 'filtered') by the person who collects and processes it. The interviewees mention several means to facilitate or even maximise policy transfer. They can be grouped into three categories:

- setting up the right structures;
- providing the right information; and
- getting the right people involved.

Project participants seem to have a natural desire for stability over time when working together; in other words, they show risk-averse behaviour when selecting project partners. Personal trust-relationships play an important role in this context. The interviewees have mentioned different factors to explain stability in project networks. One reason is that partners might have a personal interest to progress a policy agenda in a certain area. Another explanation is that project partners might want to work again with partners who provide good quality and well-timed contributions.

CHAPTER 7 – CONCLUSIONS

*At best,
logic is just a way to justify conclusions we have already reached unconsciously.*
Ch. Jacobs

7.1 Introduction

This final chapter of the thesis presents the overall conclusions. Section 7.2 provides an overview of the integrative conclusions that cover and combine the results of the different elements of the research. Based largely upon the analysis of the empirical results, in combination with the results of the review of literature and historical information, conclusions on each of the four research questions that were identified at the end of chapter 1 will be drawn.

The first research question provides the context for the study and focuses on the role of urban transport in EU policy during the study period. The conclusions provide contextual information and background knowledge for the other three research questions. The following topics will be covered. What is the impact of the EU on local government and how has the EU changed the relationship between the different levels of government? What was the role of urban transport in EU transport policy and other relevant policy fields? How was the subsidiarity principle applied in urban transport: as a ‘gatekeeper’ or to define the ‘operation mode’⁴⁶?

The second research question looks at whether EU-supported projects in the field of urban transport have influenced policy decisions at local, regional, national and EU levels. In cases where decisions have been influenced, a more in-depth analysis will be provided on how this has worked in practice and to what extent there has been an impact.

⁴⁶ See chapter 3 for an explanation of these concepts.

The third research question addresses the policy network concept and the possibility to apply this concept to EU supported projects in the field of urban transport. It covers the following topics. Can the concept of policy networks be applied to EU funded projects in the field of urban transport? How does networking or collaboration through EU-supported urban transport projects function? Can the concept of policy transfer be applied to EU funded projects in the field of urban transport? If the concept of policy transfer can be applied, how does policy transfer in EU-supported urban transport projects function? What role do organisations and what role do people play?

The fourth research question looks at how the conditions for policy transfer in the field of urban transport can be optimised. To answer this research question, the following topics will be addressed. Under what conditions does policy transfer happen successfully? How can information exchange be optimised? Why do stable project networks and project links develop? How can project participation be better balanced?

Policy recommendations and recommendations for further research are presented in section 7.3.

7.2 Integrative conclusions on urban transport policy transfer

7.2.1 The role of urban transport in EU policy

What is the impact of the EU on local government and how has the EU changed the relationship between the different levels of government?

The European Commission actively fosters the formation of transnational networks to match or mirror its concerns - if one assumes that policy-related transport RTD activities reflect the EU's policy concerns. Policy networks and policy transfer can be linked to Europeanisation. The north-south dichotomy does not exist for local and regional authorities participating in the project networks that have been analysed. The study results show that the ambition to Europeanise is one of the reasons for organisations from New

Member States to participate in EU projects. These conclusions confirm similar observations in the literature review, including scholars' arguments that the north-south dichotomy does not account for Europeanisation.

As a consequence of increased activity of the EU in the field of urban transport, subnational authorities have gained influence on EU policy-making. Local and regional authorities take part in networking activities and the exchange of ideas and information. Local, regional and national actors seem to use EU-supported projects as a means to promote a certain issue at the EU level and so influence EU policy. This shows not only that the EU uses projects to achieve objectives at the subnational level, but also that actors at subnational level use EU-supported projects to achieve objectives at the EU level. These conclusions are in line with findings on Europeanisation and multi-level governance presented in the literature review.

The study results provide indications concerning the changing role of national governments in the field of policy-related transport RTD activities, when interviewees indicate that the EU is in the lead and not national RTD strategies. The study results identify the European Commission as facilitating, supporting and trying to get the ball rolling in the field of urban road user charging - although with limited success. For mobility management, the analysis offers indications that the framework in which this discipline has grown was fostered by the European Commission. These examples confirm the observations on the 'hollowing out' of national governments' influence presented in the literature review.

What was the role of urban transport in EU transport policy and other relevant policy fields?

Policy responsibility in the field of transport is shared between the EU and Member States. Scholars indicate that EU transport policy initially focussed on the Single Market and infrastructure networks. In 1992, the first Transport White Paper introduced a more holistic approach, also paying attention to social and environmental aspects. Starting with the first Transport White Paper, urban transport has been included in every major document on EU transport policy. But the European Commission has always stressed the importance of the

subsidiarity principle. Over time, the attention it has given to urban transport appears to have slowly increased. But not only transport policy pays attention to urban transport. It is also addressed by other sectorial policies at EU level.

Of special interest for this thesis is the EU's use of the RTD Framework Programmes for policy-related RTD activities in the field of urban transport. The study results not only provide evidence of projects that have influenced policy decisions, but also of projects that have contributed to the development and consolidation of knowledge; that have allowed project network members to obtain new competences; and of projects that have provided recommendations for further study and research.

How was the subsidiarity principle applied in urban transport: as a 'gatekeeper' or to define the 'mode of operation'?

The study results lead to the conclusion that, in the field of urban transport, the subsidiarity principle has been used by national governments to define the 'operation mode' rather than to help national governments function as a 'gatekeeper' (or controller). Despite the subsidiarity principle, the EU has followed a subtle approach to establish an interaction with stakeholders at local and regional levels. It has used its funding instruments, such as the RTD Framework Programme, to finance activities that have an impact on urban transport policies at the local, regional and national levels. Funding of projects through the RTD Framework Programme can be considered as 'safe ground' in the subsidiarity debate.

Combined with the observation on the 'hollowing out' of national governments referred to earlier, this means that national governments can be seen as 'losers' of political influence on urban transport policy; and subnational governments and the EU as 'winners' of influence. It also means that, combined with the earlier observations on Europeanisation and multi-level governance, national governments can be seen as 'losers' in access to information and knowledge and subnational governments and the EU as 'winners' in gaining access to information. In both cases, these trends started in the first part of the 1990-ties.

The EU mode of operation in the field of urban transport was largely best practice based. For example, the Commission produced its first policy document on public passenger transport in 1995. This Green Paper on the Citizens' Network included many examples of best practice in urban transport. Examples from the case study fields demonstrate that the EU has used its funding instruments to progress an agenda in which projects that facilitated the exchange of best practice played an important role. This conclusion confirms findings presented in the literature review. What is best practice is, of course, closely related to the objectives that the best practice should help to achieve, so there is an (implicit) policy dimension related to this best practice based approach.

7.2.2 Influence of EU-supported projects in the field of urban transport on policy decisions

Almost all interviewees were able to mention at least one concrete example of where information gathered through a project has influenced a policy decision at local, regional, national or EU levels. The large majority of these cases were local. Roughly half of the decisions that were influenced are of a practical, operational nature. The other half are of a strategic, policy-related nature. It is remarkable that urban transport projects seem also to influence non-urban transport policy and legislation (e.g. air quality, policy on option generation and evaluation), even up to the EU-level. An overview of the influences that were mentioned is included in section 5.2.2.

However, it should be kept in mind that it is not clear from the results of this analysis whether the influence on policy – possibly resulting in policy decisions – came only from the ideas that were exchanged inside the project - pointing towards policy transfer - or if it also came from the EU-supported project as such (i.e. the project carried an 'EU-flag').

The research results confirm the hypothesis that there is a link between involvement in EU-supported projects and national policy frameworks. However, the strength of this link varies. For example, while Austrian participants have been very active, the national

framework conditions for mobility management in Austria have only progressed in a modest way. This conclusion does not explain causation: whether project involvement has influenced policy frameworks, or if the development of policy frameworks has influenced project involvement. In the case of the former, it would confirm the view of some scholars in the literature review that policy transfer can lead to policy change and, in these specific two fields, that the policy transfer took place in EU-supported project networks.

A lesson from the case studies is that the integration of a local project within an EU-supported project, combined with factors related to the internal functioning of the project network, is not a sufficient condition for success. Without take-up and implementation, which is usually determined by contextual factors outside the scope of the project, the policy transfer is not successful.

Policy change requires the development of a new political discourse and the establishment of a new policy context. The case studies identify three issues that seem to have influenced the success of a policy transfer process, in the form of take up in policy and implementation: (1) synchronicity in the policy debate among the stakeholders involved (including between the different levels of government); (2) the presence of policy and knowledge support; and (3) the political risk that is attached to possible implementation, including public opinion. This list may not be exhaustive. The EU may play a supportive role for the first two issues but is certainly not in the lead.

7.2.3 Application of the policy network concept and the policy transfer concept to EU projects in the field of urban transport

Can the policy network concept be applied to EU funded projects in the field of urban transport?

On the basis of the study results, it can be concluded that, in general, a project network is not the same as a policy network. However, the study results suggest that a project network

can act as policy transfer network, and hence as a policy network. Therefore, in these cases the policy network concept can be applied. For example, in the case of urban road user charging, interviewees refer to the cities forming a close network and doing things together. The interviewees indicate that project links develop because of a policy cycle and refer to the important role that contacts between politicians play. In addition, political reasons for project participation score relatively high in the field of urban road user charging.

How does networking or collaboration through EU-supported urban transport projects function?

The study results indicate that EU-supported projects can be seen as a form of transnational collaboration through networking, with a low to medium level of intensity, i.e. exchanging experience or testing/transferring approaches.

A specific form of a network that facilitates learning and exchanging experiences is a Community of Practice. The characteristics of the Community of Practice concept seem to be a good description of what happens in EU-supported project networks. The study results suggest that, in the case of EU-supported project networks in the field of urban transport, a similar distinction within groups can be made. The interviewees refer to a core group inside project networks that is modest in size, but much bigger than the 10 – 15% referred to in the case of Communities of Practice: there is a continuity of 50 – 60% in the organisations involved in successive projects. A major part of this continuity is provided by the core group.

The core group of project participants provides stability. This group consists of individuals and seems to be only to some extent related to the organisations where these persons work. The core group leads and drives the project and its members seem to do the largest part of the work. The interviewees indicate that the members of the core group stay together over a longer time period because they are like-minded individuals and trust each other. The core group members can play two important roles inside networks. The first role is that of the

‘grandfathers’, who act as information hubs, sources of knowledge. They ensure stability in difficult times. The second role is referred to as the role of an engine, motor or workhorse.

Can the policy transfer concept be applied to EU funded projects in the field of urban transport?

The study results indicate that project networks in the field of urban transport can act as platforms for policy transfer. This can be seen as a refinement of policy transfer theory or as a new ‘project network transfer theory’. Language difficulties and cultural differences are important, so network members need to be tolerant of uncertainty and ambiguity. This requires mutual trust and means that trust could be seen as an important precondition for successful policy transfer. Informal contacts with peers are considered a trustful and useful source of information. This confirms the results of the literature review.

How does policy transfer through EU-supported urban transport projects function?

The study results indicate that, usually, the transfer happens in the form of inspiration. Cases of direct copying are rare. The knowledge is often based upon best practice, as the interviewees’ references to ‘seeing the state of the art’ indicate. The interviewees mention that, in the framework of project networks, project participants can act in the role of both information provider and information gatherer. They can even change role within the same project, or over a longer period of time.

The results highlight that policy transfer in project networks can take place in both formal settings and informal settings. The policy transfer theory is not clear about the media used for policy transfer. Different media have been identified on the basis of the comments made in the interviews. In the case of formal settings, interviewees mention formal discussions during meetings, official written sources of information, conferences and workshops and site visits. In the case of informal settings, interviewees mention informal exchanges during meetings and outside of meetings, for example during social events. Individuals that are not a member of the project consortium can become involved in policy transfer.

The research suggests that policy transfer can have three dimensions: intensity (ranging from inspiration to copying); geography (across languages or geographical borders); and time (information can be used in the short term and in longer term). Examples of these three dimensions of policy transfer are provided in both case studies. Rome and Stockholm developed their own versions of an urban road user charging scheme taking into account earlier, foreign experiences. The Swedish SUMO evaluation tool was developed on the basis of the MOST-MET methodology. The results of the ICARO projects were used as a basis for the preparation of national guidance documents on carpool lanes in the United Kingdom and Austria. These were published six years after the end of the project.

What role do organisations and what role do people play?

The research offers indications that involvement in EU-supported projects is more linked with the interests of individuals and less with the wishes or strategy of organisations. The important role played by individuals emerged at several instances during the interviews. The interviewees mention that the main personal reason to take part in EU-supported projects is to learn and improve their professional profile. The second and third most important reasons are to build up and work with a professional network of experienced and reliable people, and to be able to see the state of the art elsewhere. The importance of personal interests also appears as the second most important reason for organisations to be involved in EU-supported projects.

7.2.4 Optimisation of the conditions for policy transfer in the field of urban transport

Under what conditions does policy transfer happen successfully?

Both success factors related to the functioning of the project and success factors related to the take-up in policy and implementation are relevant for policy transfer. Combining

different pieces of information from across the thesis, these factors can be summarised as follows. The author would like to stress that these observations may not be complete.

The research results point at six main factors related to the functioning of the project that influence its success: (1) setting up the right project structure, including coordination and administrative procedures; (2) establishing a good cohesive project network, resulting in trust-relationships; (3) getting the right individuals involved; (4) allocating the right tasks/roles to the right people; (5) effectively managing the risk of a lack of focus; and (6) ensuring sufficient resources.

However, policy transfer will only reach the stage of large scale ‘institutionalisation’ of new ideas if key outsiders, people which have not been involved in any way in the project, can be reached and inspired effectively through communication in formal and informal settings. Trust-relationships may play a role here.

The results of the study highlight the importance of trust in the project network. Trust plays a role while the project proposal is being prepared and the consortium established (using trusted personal contacts), while the project is running (to overcome difficulties and differences) and after the project ends (when personal and professional contacts with trusted individuals are maintained). The study results indicate that trust can have two dimensions: personal trust (emotional, trust leading to openness) and professional trust (linked to project contributions: quality and reliability). The study does not provide insights into which of the two dimensions is more important, or whether the role of trust is different for the different project participant groups (core group, active participants and ‘lurkers’).

It was already noted that the existence of trust seems to be a precondition for policy transfer to happen in projects. It takes time to build it up. This means that projects that run over a short time span are probably not very favourable for policy transfer. In addition, it means that long term trust relationships between people are an important backbone in a policy domain. They allow core groups to maintain a common knowledge and to take initiatives to successfully set up new project networks. The language used inside a project network helps

to develop identity and adds cohesion, and could therefore be seen as a facilitator for building up trust.

How can information exchange and learning be optimised?

By allocating the right tasks to the right people, information exchange and learning can be maximised. Sometimes individuals have in-depth knowledge, but this needs to be uncovered, ideally early in the project, so that he or she can become an information provider. Information gatherers should be facilitated and encouraged to analyse whether and how the information can be applied in their specific 'home-context'. Both the information providers and gatherers should keep possible language problems in mind.

The results suggest that the role of an information gatherer could usefully be institutionalised in his or her organisation. An information gatherer should have a certain expertise in the field, be prepared to play the information gatherer role and to share the information inside the organisation. In fact, this means that the information gatherer becomes an 'internal' information provider which also requires willingness and capacities. However, people cannot be forced to exchange, it should be something voluntary.

The interviewees indicate that good management of the project can ensure that information providers make the right information available in the right form through the right medium to the information gatherers. For example, project documents or deliverables can be structured in such a way that the learning elements are easily accessible. The topic of transfer should be concrete and well focussed, information should directly address and appeal to the information gatherers, and context information should be provided.

Why do stable project networks and project links develop?

The research results suggest that personal relationships, or the same persons participating, are one of the explanations for the fact that links between projects develop. These links are mainly sequential in time, but parallel links between projects can also exist. Project

participants have a desire for stability when working together. The interviewees indicate that the risk of instability in project networks should be avoided. In the case of the urban road user charging and the mobility management projects⁴⁷ that were analysed, the continuity rate of the organisations involved is in the range of 50 to 60% of the project partners. These conclusions confirm the views of scholars on the importance of network continuity presented in the literature review.

The study results point towards different factors that explain this stability and continuity in project networks. One reason is that, as mentioned before, that project partners might have an interest to progress a policy agenda in a certain area. Another explanation is that project partners might want to work again with partners who provide good quality and well-timed contributions. Other reasons for links between projects are that European Commission's work programmes establish such links, or that projects themselves decide voluntarily to cluster or link themselves for technical or scientific reasons.

Ideally, the EU funding system should be an open system that, at the same time, provides for continuity and stability. As explained before, one important means by which stability is provided inside the project network structure, i.e. the network of project networks, is through the core group in the project consortia.

The two case studies point to a low project participation rate from the twelve New Member States in the projects in both fields. This is despite the fact that, during the pre-accession period covered by the analysis, generally the funding programmes had been opened for participants from these countries. This low involvement might have several explanations. One could be the fact that the 'old' project network structure had not yet been extended towards the future New Member States. Other explanations could include the difficulty of understanding the process, administration and language related to the call for proposals, of the absence of interest, human capacities or ongoing research in a specific field, or a general lack of (access to) information.

⁴⁷ This continuity confirms the comment by Cairns et al. (2004) in the 'Smarter Choices' report that many of the EU-supported projects on travel awareness have overlapping membership.

How can project participation be better balanced?

For a project network to be able to successfully act as a transfer platform, it needs to have a well-balanced involvement of various types of participants. When looking at the different stages of a project life cycle, the results of this study do not offer a clear answer to the question of whether, in general, it is difficult or not to get involved during the preparation phase of a proposal. There is, however, a general consensus among the interviewees that it is very difficult to get invited for the first time. Once a person has built up a network of relationships, then the chances of being invited increases. Personal relationships seem to be the key pre-condition for being invited to join a consortium.

The interviewees consider the application process to be complex or difficult, and it seems that it does deter some people or organisations from participating. The most often mentioned reasons are related to administrative aspects. However, the picture is not only negative. There are EU programmes that cause fewer problems than others. The interviewees also mention that the proposal preparation process can be learned and that the selection process is fair and open. Once a project is running, then the project consortium remains largely stable. The final phase of the project is oriented towards the delivery of the results, including the preparation of a final project report.

7.3 Recommendations

7.3.1 Recommendations for policy makers

This section presents some main messages that are relevant for policy makers with an interest in maximising the policy impacts of EU-supported projects in the field of urban transport. It is based on section 7.2 and covers recommendations related to the facilitation of policy transfer and recommendations related to the functioning of projects so that they are in a position to act as platforms for policy transfer.

EU-funded projects can act as, and can be used as a platform for policy transfer. The study provides examples of resulting policy decisions at local, regional and national levels that have been influenced by projects, often based on 'best practice'. Usually, the transfer happens in the form of inspiration and this seems to be a realistic level of ambition for policy makers. Besides knowledge on technology and non-technology based solutions, transfer of knowledge related to project participation and project management can also take place. The results highlight that policy transfer in project networks can take place in both formal settings and informal settings. This should be kept in mind during the design of the project and when decisions are taken on project participation.

It is important that the project itself functions successfully in order to bring maximum benefits to policy makers. Without take-up and implementation, which is usually determined by factors outside the control of the project, policy transfer is not considered successful. Policy transfer will only reach the stage of large scale 'institutionalisation' of new ideas if key people who have not been involved can be reached and inspired effectively. The study provides indications of success factors for both aspects. When politicians are involved, they should be brought together in an attractive and trusted environment that facilitates information exchange in a time-efficient way.

Taking part in EU-supported projects can help individuals to learn and improve their professional profile. Benefits for organisations include the fact that EU-supported projects facilitate learning from what others do; satisfy the interests of individual staff members; and offer access to funding. For organisations from the New Member States, 'Europeanisation' of work procedures is a very important benefit for the organisation. This could all be used as 'sales arguments' for project involvement by organisations who want to become more European. However, the involvement in EU-supported projects is driven more by interests of individual persons and less by the wishes or strategies of organisations.

The existence of trust is a precondition for policy transfer in projects and it takes time to build up. Trust inside the project network is important in all phases of the project lifecycle. This means that a certain minimum project duration seems a precondition for policy

transfer to work. This is important for project design. Trust relationships among key individuals can then be kept alive through subsequent projects.

Project participants have a desire for stability when working together. One important means by which stability is provided is through the core group in a project consortia. For the two case studies, the continuity rate of the organisations involved is in the range of 50 to 60% of the project partners. This means that, for relationships to be maintained and the conditions for policy transfer to be optimised over time, the EU funding system should be an open system that, at the same time, offers room for continuity and stability.

7.3.2 Recommendations for further research

As a follow up to the study results, this section outlines three recommendations for further research.

First recommendation: improve the understanding of the importance of context information for policy transfer, policy networks and learning.

This study would have benefited from a standardised approach to describing the context for policy transfer, policy networks and learning. The importance of understanding and describing the (social, economic, institutional, legislative, etc.) context in which experiences take place has been mentioned in different sections of this thesis. Stead et al. (2008, pp.62-73) stress the importance of context in the case of policy transfer in the field of urban transport.

In their analysis of the success of eight transport innovations, Van den Bergh et al. (2007, pp.247-259) identify five categories of factors that contribute to the success or failure of a project: technological factors; administrative and legal factors; political and process related factors; socio-cultural and psychological factors; and economic factors. These factors could also be seen as indicators of context.

The CURACAO project indicates on its internet site⁴⁸ that transferability can be seen as a subset of generalisability. It applies to occasions where an attempt is made to generalise results to a context in which they were not studied. Dolowitz (2003, pp.101-108) mentions that context information is a necessary element in transferability analysis. Bennington and Harvey (1998, p.149) refer to networks and the process of transnational networking being located in a wider political and economic context. Bomberg (1998, p.180) advises that researchers should describe the context in which the networking takes place.

To progress research on the concepts of policy transfer, policy networks and learning, a better understanding of the importance of information on, and the power of, context is therefore necessary. There is no standardised approach to identify which elements of context are relevant and how to describe them. This applies both to the processes of policy transfer, networking and learning, as well as to the topics that are subject to transfer and learning. Understanding context is also important to judge the likely transferability of a result, conclusion or best practice.

Second recommendation: analyse how to optimise the promotion and exchange of best practice

Scholars disagree about the impact of good practice exchange. Vettoretto (2009, pp.1067-1083) suggests that it is not very clear if good practices have a positive impact, and Wolman and Page (2002, pp.477-501) are also critical about good practice dissemination. Bulkeley (2006, pp.1029–1044) does not agree and indicates that dissemination of best practice can lead to policy change in urban areas. She adds that best practice and dissemination can serve to reinforce norms in particular networks.

Arnkil (2005, p.5) mentions that the need to identify and disseminate good practice comes from the need to find new ways to promote change. He indicates that it is therefore important to remember that ‘practice’ is always local and contextual. Arnkil states that

⁴⁸ Undated text on the Knowledge Base-part of the project website.
<http://www.isis-it.net/curacao/index.asp?content=intras>. Accessed on 5 February 2010.

education or telling the people what to do does not work. What seems to work ‘somewhat’ is to engage in common, multifunctional problem-solving groups involving researchers, doers, managers, consultants, etc. Vettoretto (2009, pp.1067-1083) and Arnkil (2005, p.5) indicate that, within the wider framework of policy transfer, best practice must fit in a context. De Jong and Edelenbos (2007, pp.687-706) argue that best practice as such does not even exist. It always needs to be contextualised and institutionalised.

A systematic analysis could be undertaken on how to optimise the promotion and exchange of best practice. What tools and what media work best in what circumstances? What are the barriers to the take up of best practice? At a city-level, an assessment could be made of how policy transfer processes have impacted on the cities involved, both on their internal functioning (policy making, organisation) and externally (the local population, the involvement in European networking activities). What remains in the long term? How do cities that have participated in EU-supported projects that have facilitated best practice exchange differ from cities that have not been involved?

An issue that is related to the promotion and exchange of best practice through projects is trust. The study does not provide insights into which of the two dimensions of trust (personal trust and professional trust) is more important. Neither does it provide an answer to the question of whether the role of trust is different for the various groups of project participants (core group, active participants and ‘lurkers’). How can trust relationships be established with outsiders that have not participated in the project but who could be seen as a ‘distant group’ of final end-users policy transfer? Further research on these issues could usefully be undertaken.

Third recommendation: describe urban transport policy during the five years following the period covered by this study (i.e. 2005 – 2010) and study the impacts

Different scholars, such as Nijkamp and Vleugel (eds. Banister, Capello and Nijkamp, 1995, pp.3-29); Banister, Gérardin and Viegas (1999, pp.202-223); and White (2002, p.205), have given examples of the impacts of EU transport policy at the urban level. This

study has provided practical examples of those impacts during a ten-year period starting in 1995. It would be useful to describe the subsequent development of urban transport policy at the EU level during the five years following the period covered by this study (i.e. 2005 – 2010) and to study the impacts. The historical material in chapter 2 and the results of the empirical research could be used as a starting point.

During the period after 2005, which can be considered as a new phase in the development of urban transport policy at EU level, the Commission prepared and issued a Green Paper and an Action Plan on urban mobility. The European Parliament and the Committee of the Regions both played an important role in getting the Action Plan issued. The Action Plan was discussed and welcomed by the Transport Council. It formed the basis for a strong visibility of urban transport in a Commission Communication on long term trends in European transport and in the 2011 Transport White Paper (European Commission, 2011).

Further analysis could help to clarify how the subsidiarity principle was applied during this later period, if the Commissions' mode of operation was also largely best practice based or if the type of the Commission's initiatives changed, and if and how the Commission's earlier activities provided a basis for further action. How did the Commission's discourse related to urban transport change? How did policy transfer during this more active period continue: did it strengthen or weaken?

ANNEXES

Annex 1 – Overview of interviewed persons

Interviewees in alphabetic order:

Angel Aparicio, ES

Tony Ciaburro, UK

Vito Contoursi, IT

Mary Crass, INT

Ivo Cre, INT

Lucia Cristea, RO

Bart Desmedt, BE

Willy Diddens, NL

Florin Dragomir, RO

Liana Giorgi, AT

Michael Glotz-Richter, DE

Helen Holland, UK

Sylwia Klatka, PL

Friedemann Kunst, DE

Christer Ljungberg, SE

Mike McDonald, UK

Fabio Nussio, IT

Czaba Orosz, HU

Laurie Pickup, UK

Cleo Pouw, NL

Karl Reiter, AT

Andrea Ricci, IT

Siegfried Rupprecht, DE

Gerd Sammer, AT

Peter van Sevenant, BE

Lisa Sundel, SE

Andrea Soehnchen, INT

Jan Spousta, CZ

Frank van Vliet, NL

Maciej Warszawski, PL

Country of origin (in alphabetic order):

AT	Austria	BE	Belgium
CZ	Czech Republic	DE	Germany
ES	Spain	FR	France
HU	Hungary	IT	Italy
NL	The Netherlands	RO	Romania
SE	Sweden	UK	United Kingdom
INT	International or European organisation		

Interviewed persons – per group, in alphabetic order, clustered on basis of main role, anonymised

Inter- viewee	Organisation	Main role	Seco nd role	Type org.	Case study	Position at moment interview	Date interview	Comments
1-CH	Public transport operator	CH	DT	IN		Head of Department	27/03/06	From New Member State
2-CH	Municipality	CH	PR	LG	MM	Policy/project officer	05/02/07	
3-CH	Consultancy	CH	PR	CO	MM	Director	15/05/07	
4-CH	University	CH	PR	AC		Director (Prof.)	11/12/06	Has ties with industry
5-CH	Consultancy	CH	PR	CO		Director	10/05/06	
6-CH	Consultancy	CH	PR	CO	MM	Head of Department	20/12/06	
7-CH	Consultancy	CH	PR	CO	RUC	Director	29/11/06	
8-CH	Consultancy	CH	PR	CO		Director	16/01/07	
9-DT	Municipality	DT	PR	LG	RUC	Head of Department	06/06/07	
10-DT	Municipality	DT	CH	LG	RUC	Town councillor	11/12/06	
11-DT	Municipality	DT	PR	LG		Head of Department	22/02/07	
12-DT	University	DT	PR	AC		Assistant Prof.	31/08/07	From New Member State
13-DT	Municipality	DT		LG	MM	Head of Department	20/03/07	Has left 'project scene' some time ago
14-DT	Municipality	DT	CH	LG	MM	Head of Department	06/06/07	
15-DT	Municipality	DT		LG		Director	28/11/06	Has left 'project scene' some time ago
16-PR	Public transport operator	PR	IN	IN		Policy/project officer	27/03/06	From New Member State
17-PR	Regional government	PR	DT	OT	MM	Director	19/06/07	Has left 'project scene' some time ago
18-PR	City association	PR	US	OT	MM	Policy/project officer	18/12/06	
19-PR	Consultancy	PR		CO	MM	Director	20/03/07	
20-PR	Local mobility authority	PR		LG	RUC	Head of Department	07/06/07	
21-PR	Municipality	PR		LG		Policy/project officer	28/11/06	
22-PR	Municipality	PR		LG		Policy/project officer	27/07/07	From New Member State
23-US	National research centre	US	DT	OT	RUC	Director	03/06/07	
24-US	Inter-governmental association	US	CH	OT		Policy/project officer	09/06/07	Has ties with disabled community
25-US	National research centre	US		OT		Policy/project officer	28/11/06	
26-US	Consultancy	US		CO		Director	16/03/07	
27-US	Consultancy	US	PR	CO		Director	28/10/07	From new Member State
28-US	University	US	PR	AC	MM	Director (Prof.)	16/03/07	
29-US	Public transport association	US	PR	IN		Policy/project officer	21/03/07	Has ties with industry
30-US	National research centre	US		OT		Policy/project officer	09/09/07	From New Member State

Type of organisation/organisational structure:

Local government	LG
Academics/researchers	AC
Consultants	CO
Industry (incl. transport operators)	IN
Other	OT

Role:

Champion	CH
Political/financial decision taker	DT
Producer/deliverer	PR
User/multiplier	US

Case study:

Urban road user charging	RUC
Mobility management	MM

Notes:

- The organisation, role and position refer to the situation at the moment of the interview.
- Interviewee 23-US provided clarifications related to urban road user charging by e-mail on 11/03/2010 and not during the interview.

Annex 2 – Protocol for the interviews

Phase 1 Preparing for the interview

- While preparing for the interviews it is important for the interviewer to remember relevant theory. Try to link the theory as much as possible to the questions. Do not forget to approach this from a transport policy/research point of view.
- Formulate the questions in such a way that the answers help in answering the research questions but do not make them too specific. Use language that is understandable and comprehensible (keep in mind the language barrier!). Avoid questions that are long, double-barrelled (2 questions in one sentence), involve jargon, leading/directing questions, biased questions and threatening questions.
- Record details of the interviewee (name, age, gender, position, employment history, number of years involved, etc) because this information can be useful for contextualising people's answers.
- A good interviewer is knowledgeable, structuring, clear, gentle, sensitive, open, steering, critical, remembering, interpreting, balanced and ethically sensitive.
- The influence of the participant's position in the organisation on his assessment should be taken into account. So it is important to find out the nature of the involvement of the respondent.
- Check which questions are irrelevant for this interviewee, whether case study questions need to be asked, whether the questions should be asked in the present or in the past time.

Phase 2 During the interview

- Make sure that you stay within agreed timeslot. Interviews should last between 30 and 60 minutes and should end on time.

Phase 2.1 Introduction and objectives

- Thank you for participating in interview
- Introduction of interviewer
 - There is a risk that people tell me what I want to hear. Stress to interviewees my position as a university student and my new position in the Commission (not involved in projects anymore).
- Purpose of interview
 - Writing Thesis on ...
 - Focus on role of project networks ...
 - Position of this interview within the interview series

- No right or wrong answers
- Interested only in personal and not official opinions
- Confidentiality
- Request permission to record on tape and to make additional notes
- Emphasise that interviewee may interrupt

Phase 2.2 Introduction of the questions

- Explain the five blocks of questions:
 - Why organisations take part in EU-supported projects
 - Openness, development and continuity of project networks
(When relevant: with some questions specifically on urban road user charging / mobility management)
 - Transfer of ideas within project networks
 - Impacts of EU-supported projects
 - Possible barriers linked with EU projects
- Announce start recording

Phase 2.3 The interview itself

- Start collecting context information to break the ice:
 - Interviewer mentions date, place and introduces interviewee
 - Mention/ask current position interviewee
 - Interviewee explains history of personal and organisations' involvement in EU projects
 - Interviewee shares some personal experiences
- The questions, following the question list
- Closure – thank you, explain possible follow up by interviewee or interviewer.

Phase 3 After the interview

- Write down notes about how the interview went
- Prepare the analysis of the transcripts

Annex 3 - Question list

Introduction and objectives

- Thank you for participating in interview
- Introduction of interviewer
 - Stress my new position
- Purpose of interview
 - Writing Thesis on ...
 - Focus on role of project networks ...
 - Position of this interview within the interview series
- No right or wrong answers
- Interested only in personal and not official opinions
- Confidentiality
- Request permission to record on tape and to make additional notes
- Emphasise that interviewee may interrupt

List of questions

Introduction of the questions

- Explain the five blocks of questions:
 - Why organisations take part in EU-supported projects
 - Openness, development and continuity of project networks
(When relevant: with some questions specifically on urban pricing / mobility management)
 - Transfer of ideas within project networks
 - Impacts of EU-supported projects
 - Possible barriers linked with EU projects
- **Start recording**
- **Collect context information to break the ice**
 - Mention date, place and introduces interviewee
 - Mention/ask current position interviewee
 - Interviewee explains history of personal and organisations' involvement in EU projects
 - Interviewee shares some personal experiences

Question block 1 – why take part?

Question 1a: *Why does your (current) organisation gets involved in EU-supported projects?*

Possible sub-question - in case more than one: *What is good and what is bad about them?*

Possible sub-question: *Why does it stay involved?*

Question 1b: *What benefit or benefits do EU-supported projects bring to your organisation?*

Possible sub-question - in case more than one: *Can you rank them in priority?*

Question 2: *Why do you personally get involved in EU-supported projects?*

Or/and: *What benefit or benefits do EU-supported projects bring to you personally?*

Possible sub-question - in case more than one: *Can you rank them in priority?*

Question 3: *Have you yourself ever changed job while you were, or your organisation was involved in EU-supported projects? If yes, what was the impact on the involvement of your old and new department/organisation?*

Or/and: *Do you have any experiences with the impacts of other people changing job?*

Question block 2 – openness, development and continuity of project networks

Question 4: *Why is it important for you/your organisation to be part of a project consortium, a project network.*

Possible sub-question - in case the network objectives are considered very important: *How can the achievement of these networking objectives be better fostered?*

Possible sub-question: *have you seen cases where a network did not really develop or even fell apart?*

We'll now look at the lifecycle of a project-related consortium or network (so not of a project): proposal preparation, project running, finalisation and delivery phase, and after the project has ended.

Question 5: *How open is an EU project network in your view to integrating new partners during the proposal preparation phase?*

Possible sub-question: *How easy and through what mechanism(s) do new/outsider partners get involved?*

Possible sub-question: *How easy and through what mechanism(s) do partners from the new EU Member States and Accession Countries get involved?*

Possible sub-question: *What responsibilities do the new usually partners get?*

Question 6: *How open is an EU project network in your view to integrating new partners, as partner or as a follower, once a project is running?*

Possible sub-question: *How easy and through what mechanism(s) do new/outsider partners get involved?*

Possible sub-question: *How easy and through what mechanism(s) do partners from the new EU Member States and Accession Countries get involved?*

Possible sub-question: *What responsibilities do the new usually partners get?*

Question 7: *What happens in your view to an EU project network in the final phase of a project?*

Possible sub-question: *Do projects in your view end with collecting ideas and defining a follow up project to continue to work or keep the project network alive?*

Question 8: *What happens in your view to an EU project network after the end of a project?*

Possible sub-question: *Does the network fall apart into competitors or do one or more project partners continue to cooperate, either in EU projects or in commercial projects?*

Question 9: *Do you have the feeling that clusters of projects exist, i.e. are you aware of related projects, linked projects, that run in parallel or that follow each other in time?*

Possible sub-question: *How do these clusters evolve? (Over time, for example)*

Possible sub-question: *Do the people or organisations involved in these clusters also work together outside projects?*

Possible sub-question: *Do these clusters exist inside “umbrellas”, i.e. programmes, or do they develop between programmes?*

Question 10: *Does the membership, core group, and/or focus of EU project networks remain stable over time, or does the nature change over time?*

Possible sub-question: *Is there a difference in stability of membership and/or focus between more product and technology-driven projects and projects that are more service and best practice driven?*

At this point: possible questions linked with one of the case studies

- * Could you describe the history of research (or: projects) in this area and explain how, in your view, the research has (or: things have) evolved over time? Who has joined and who has left? Why? How would you describe project/network continuity?
- * What types of actors have been involved in this area of research?
- * Could you explain how you see the role of the Commission, Member States and other actors in this area of research (and/or: policy)?
- * Can you identify key individuals? What has been the role of these individuals in this area of research?

Question block 3 – transfer of ideas within project networks

Question 11: *Can you give examples of/What specific ideas, concepts or information, in your view, are being transferred inside a project network/between project partners?*

Possible sub-question: What is difficult, what is easy to transfer?

Possible sub-question: What media can be used for transfer?

Question 12: *To what extent does a transfer of ideas, concepts or information take place, i.e. how close does one stay to the original idea?*

Possible sub-question: How do you measure the strength of transfer?

Question 13: *What strategies and processes do people use to facilitate the transfer ideas, concepts or information from a specific setting or a partner to your/their environment?*

Possible sub-question: Is there an initiator of transfer? What role does he or she play?

Possible sub-question: How do you maximise transfer?

Question 14: *Do you know of examples of projects in which you were a partner where others from inside or outside your organisation became engaged in the transfer process?*

Possible sub-question: *When do they become engaged?*

Possible sub-question: *What motivates them to become engaged?*

Question 15: *Is there inside your organisation some form of evaluation of the ideas, concepts or information that has been gathered through projects?*

Question 16: *Do you know (from within your organisation) examples where ideas, concepts or information that you have gathered through EU projects has influenced policy decisions?*

Questions block 4 – impacts

Question 17: *What are, in your view, the impacts of EU-supported projects for your organisation?*

Possible sub-question: *When do these impacts occur?*

Possible sub-question: *How can they be identified and measured?*

Possible sub-question: *How can, in your view, these impacts be attributed to your project involvement?*

Question 18: *What are, in your view, the impacts of EU-supported projects in general?*

Possible sub-question: *When do these impacts occur?*

Possible sub-question: *How can they be identified and measured?*

Possible sub-question: *What are in your view success factors for maximizing impacts?*

Question 19: *Is there an interaction between your organisations' own RTD/policy strategies and your activities in EU-supported projects?*

Possible sub-question: *Do you see any parallel developments or interactions between RTD strategies in your country at national level and EU-supported projects or initiatives?*

Question 20: *How would you describe 'European added value' of ...*

Possible sub-question: *Can you give concrete examples of how the work of a project consortium has provided a European added value?*

Possible sub-question: *How would you measure this European added value?*

Question block 5 – possible barriers linked with EU projects

Question 21: *Could you give me your views on the complexity of application procedure?*

Possible sub-question: *Does it deter/prevent you or others to participate?*

Question 22: *Are language or cultural differences a problem during the preparation of or the operation of an EU-supported project.*

Possible sub-question: *Do you have personal experiences of communication problems that were caused by language or cultural problems inside an EU project network?*

Possible sub-question: *Do EU-supported projects favour project partners that have a native English mother tongue, or does it restrict them by increased competition on their home markets?*

Question 23: *Do you have a feeling that there is an influence of national government on your organisations'/countries' involvement in EU research?*

Question 24: *What are the success factors, and what are the risks, for a successful EU-supported project?*

Question 25: *Anything forgotten to ask/any question forgotten??*

Closure

- Thank you
- Invite interviewee to make contact in case of any further thoughts or reflections
- Possible follow up
- Be ware that some additional info might come after recording has stopped. Switch on the recorder again (ask!), forget about it or include notes in the report on interview but write in any case down what was decided.

Annex 4 - Numbered longlist of issues, topics, concepts

Longlist of codes identifying issues, topics, concept. Based on the question-list and interviews. This is the third draft list, based upon quick analysis of question list and interviews. This lists needs to be restructured. Note: a specific 'text reference' might be linked with different issues, topics, concepts.

Question block 1

- 1.10 Participation in projects – reasons for organisation to take part (collect/list reasons)
- 1.11 Participation in projects – reasons for organisation to take part (collect/list reasons)
– subfield: reasons for continuity
- 1.12 Participation in projects – benefits for organisation
- 1.20 Participation in projects – reasons for individual to take part (collect/list reasons)
- 1.21 Participation in projects – benefits for individual
- 1.30 Participation in projects – individual changed/left job or organisation?
- 1.31 Participation in projects – impacts of interviewee personal job changes
(participation linked with individual interests)
- 1.32 Participation in projects – experiences, impacts of other person job changes
(participation linked with individual interests)
- 1.33 Participation in projects – participation linked with individual interests
- 4.10 EU-supported projects – what is good or bad about them (collect/list reasons)
-> block 4

Question block 2

- 2.10 Networks – reasons/benefits to be part of it/them (see also 1.10, 1.20, 1.30, ...)
- 2.20 Networks – cases of/reasons for networks falling apart
- 2.21 Networks – success factors for a network – see also 1.80
- 2.22 Networks – network effects
- 2.30 Networks – openness during the proposal preparation phase

- 2.31 Networks – openness during the proposal preparation phase – subfield: New Member States
- 2.32 Networks – openness during the proposal preparation phase – subfield: responsibilities of new partners (incl. core, sideline)
- 2.40 Networks – openness once a project is running
- 2.41 Networks – openness once project is running – subfield: New Member States
- 2.42 Networks – openness once project is running – subfield: responsibilities of new partners
- 2.50 Networks – final project phase, definition next project
- 2.60 Networks – after project end
- 2.61 Networks – after project end – subfield: commercial follow up activities
- 2.61? Networks – after project end – subfield: personal contacts
- 2.70 Networks – clusters of networks/projects, links
- 2.71 Networks – clusters of networks/projects, links – subfield: evolvement
- 2.72 Networks – clusters of networks/projects, links – subfield: working together outside projects
- 2.73 Networks – clusters of networks/projects, links – subfield: level/boundaries of the network (within, between programmes)
- 2.80 Networks – stability over time – subfield: membership
- 2.81 Networks – stability over time – subfield: core group
- 2.82 Networks – stability over time – subfield: focus
- 2.83 Networks – stability over time – subfield: difference between technology oriented and policy oriented
- 2.84 Networks – stability over time – subfield: ageing of the network or core group
- 2.85 Networks – stability over time – subfield: knowledge (continuity)
- 2.90 Networks – trust
- 2.91 Networks – trust – subfield: evidence of trust

- 2.100 Networks – span (geographical, size, levels of government)
- 2.110 Networks – role of individual persons
- 2.120 Networks – role of specific stakeholders
- 2.130 Networks – subgroups/sub-networks/core group (see also 2.32)

Questions linked with case studies (mobility management - 10. -, pricing – 11.-)

- 10.10, 11.10 Case study – history of the research (projects) in the area
- 10.11, 11.11 Case study – history of the research (projects) in the area – subfield: (changes in) people and organisations
- 10.12, 11.12 Case study - history of the research (projects) in the area – subfield: continuity in projects/networks
- 10.13, 11.13 Case study - history of the research (projects) in the area – subfield: changes in perception, understanding
- 10.14, 11.14 Case study - history of the research (projects) in the area – subfield: examples of projects that have influenced policy (see also 3.60)
- 10.20, 11.20 Case study – type of actors involved in the area of research
- 10.30, 11.30 Case study – role of the Commission
- 10.31, 11.31 Case study – role of the Commission – subfield: funding
- 10.40, 11.40 Case study – role of Member States
- 10.50, 11.50 Case study – role of stakeholders other than the Commission and Member States
- 10.60, 11.60 Case study – identify key individuals
- 10.61, 11.61 Case study – identify key individuals – subfield: role of key individuals

Question block 3

- 3.10 Transfer of ideas – examples of ideas, concepts or information that is transferred inside a network (collect/list examples)

- 3.11 Transfer of ideas – examples of ideas, concepts or information that is transferred inside a network (collect/list examples) – subfield: what is easy, difficult to transfer
- 3.12 Transfer of ideas – examples of ideas, concepts or information that is transferred inside a network (collect/list examples) – subfield: media used for transfer
- 3.20 Transfer of ideas – extend of transfer (how close to original idea)
- 3.30 Transfer of ideas – strategies and processes
- 3.31 Transfer of ideas – strategies and processes – subfield: initiator, role
- 3.32 Transfer of ideas – strategies and processes – subfield: how to maximise/maximise transfer
- 3.40 Transfer of ideas – others becoming involved from inside organisation (not project partners)
- 3.41 Transfer of ideas – others becoming involved from inside organisation (not project partners) – subfield: when involved
- 3.42 Transfer of ideas – others becoming involved from inside organisation (not project partners) – subfield: motivation for others to become involved
- 3.45 Transfer of ideas – others becoming involved from outside organisation (not project partners)
- 3.46 Transfer of ideas – others becoming involved from outside organisation (not project partners) – subfield: when involved
- 3.47 Transfer of ideas – others becoming involved from outside organisation (not project partners) – subfield: motivation for others to become involved
- 3.50 EU-supported projects – evaluation of project involvement
- 3.51 EU-supported projects – evaluation of project involvement - subfield: evaluation of ideas, concepts, information gathered through projects
- 3.52 EU-supported projects – evaluation of project involvement - subfield: defining priorities
- 3.60 Transfer of ideas – evidence/examples of ideas, concepts or information that were gathered through projects have influenced policy decisions (important)
- 4.20 EU-supported projects – funding -> block 4

Question block 4

- 4.30 EU-supported projects – impacts/benefits for organisation (see 4.40, linked to 1.10 and 1.20)
- 4.31 EU-supported projects – impacts/benefits for organisation - subfield: timing of impacts
- 4.32 EU-supported projects – impacts/benefits for organisation - subfield: how impacts visible, when visible
- 4.33 EU-supported projects – impacts/benefits for organisation - subfield: how to link with project involvement
- 4.40 EU-supported projects – impacts/benefits in general (see 4.30, 1.10 and 1.20)
- 4.41 EU-supported projects – impacts/benefits in general - subfield: timing of impacts
- 4.42 EU-supported projects – impacts/benefits in general – subfield: how identified and measured
- 4.43 EU-supported projects – impacts/benefits in general – subfield: success factors for maximizing impacts
- 4.44 EU-supported projects – impacts/benefits for the individual
- 4.50 EU-supported projects – interaction between organisations’ RTD/policy strategies and involvement in projects (linked to how much is project involvement linked to individuals)
- 4.60 EU-supported projects – interaction between national RTD strategies and project involvement (see also 1.70)
- 4.70 EU-supported projects – European added value

Question block 5 (see block 1)

- 1.40 Participation in projects - complexity of application procedure
- 1.41 Participation in projects - complexity of application procedure - subfield: does it deter/prevent to participate?
- 1.50 Participation in projects – language differences a problem?
- 1.51 Participation in projects – language differences a problem? - subfield: favour for native English speakers?

- 1.60 Participation in projects – cultural differences a problem?
- 1.70 Participation in projects – influence Member State government on project participation
- 1.80 Participation in projects – success factors
- 1.90 Participation in projects – risk factors

Annex 5 – Summary of the feedback from four interviewees

Interviewee 5-CH provided extensive feedback and indicated that there interesting conclusions have been drawn, with which he largely agreed. The interviewee suggested to redraft the first two or three paragraphs to better clarify their contents and flash out the conclusions. The feedback supported the view that project membership is very successful for transferring knowledge to influence wider strategies and policy decisions beyond the scope of the project itself. The interviewee supported the conclusion that the primary reason for individual participation in projects is the professional profile, EU project participation can assist professional progression within an organisation. The work clearly underlines the importance of good personal skills related to project management of EU projects.

The interviewee highlighted that it is difficult to get into European projects, even when you are known as a person. This is the case when the person has changed job and works for a company that might have far greater expertise than the previous one, but is not known in the by the people who set up project consortia. This shows that personal relationships do not work if there are other ‘safe bets’ to than can be invited first. The interviewee agreed with the comments on the application process, indicated some doubts on the comments on the evaluation process and was surprised about the comment on national Government influence.

Interviewee 13-DT indicated that he had no substantial comments and that all relevant issues are well covered. The interviewee added the observation that the high amount of paper work during projects could have been stressed more. Apart of scientific reports and evaluation, project partners are confronted with a significant amount of administrative paper work with sometimes unclear operational rules.

Interviewee 23-US provided extensive feedback and mentioned that the conclusions were excellent. He mentioned that he was surprised that transfer of ‘scientific knowledge’ is so low in the ranking, considering that the funding comes from an RTD-budget. Exploring the reasons for this could be interesting. Perhaps it is because the programme has been focusing

a lot on demonstration and policy-making. The interviewee noted that no formal channels for policy transfer are mentioned. Policy transfer looks like a highly incidental issue, something which just ‘happens to occur’.

The interviewee supported the view that project involvement is strongly linked to the wish of individual persons, and raised the question if the ‘solidity’ and ‘endurance’ of European research in this area if organisations are not fully involved. He was surprised that other reasons of project failure are not mentioned, such as technological risks or lack of honouring the commitments made by decision makers. The interviewee suggested that, if mechanisms to replace bad performers in a consortium could be more easily implemented, probably people would be less reluctant to invite newcomers. He was surprised that some national governments are seen as having a positive influence on project participation.

In the view of interviewee 23-US, the importance given to the ‘trust’ may reflect that European urban transport research is still at its infancy. In the view of the interviewee, after some years of creating mutual trust among researchers, they should move forward and become concerned with issues of scientific skills and know-how, the policy-making environment, etc to consolidate the community and to get more valuable results.

Interviewee 18-PR referred to the conclusions as interesting. He highlighted that it is rather confronting that personal interest is a driver for these processes. It would be better if local governments would for strategic reasons decide to be involved in projects. One of the reasons might be the fact that procedures are not clear and the chances of success of proposal submission are one to ten. This might even lead to a situation where an authority decides, that if a proposal is really of strategic value, it will not be submitted for EU funding. In the view of the interviewee, the absence of commercial reasons for project participation is remarkable and positive.

Annex 6 – Data for the analysis of theoretical saturation

Name interviewee (in order of the interviews)	Number of new codes	Number of additional new codes in interview compared to previous interview	Total number of additional new codes compared to previous interview
1. 1-CH	20	-	20
2. 16-PR	19	4	24
3. 5-CH	27	11	35
4. 15-DT	24	7	42
5. 21-PR	25	1	43
6. 25-US	13	2	45
7. 7-CH	23	4	49
8. 10-DT	19	2	51
9. 4-CH	33	4	55
10. 18-PR	25	2	57
11. 6-CH	37	2	59
12. 8-CH	35	4	63
13. 2-CH	29	1	64
14. 11-DT	15	0	64
15. 28-US	23	0	64
16. 26-US	21	1	65
17. 19-PR	26	0	65
18. 13-DT	22	0	65
19. 29-US	25	1	66
20. 3-CH	25	0	66
21. 23-US	20	0	66
22. 14-DT	26	0	66
23. 9-DT	24	0	66
24. 20-PR	26	0	66
25. 24-US	21	0	66
26. 17-PR	32	1	67
27. 22-PR	23	0	67
28. 12-DT	26	0	67
29. 30-US	28	0	67
30. 27-US	29	0	67

Annex 7 – Quantitative analysis of the interviews

Overview of quantitative information

Figure	Code during analysis	Issue	Number of persons that commented	Total number of comments
5.1	3.10	What is transferred	29	84
5.2	4.70	EU added value	30	67
5.3	1.20-2.21	Reasons for involvement - individuals	28	89
5.4	1.10	Reasons for involvement - organisations	29	159
5.5	2.10	Reasons to be part of network	25	57
5.6	1.80	Success factors	30	141
5.7	1.90	Risk factors	24	58

Overview of detailed answers

When looking at the detailed answers it should be kept in mind that interviewees may have more made than one comment on the same issue/topic. These comments have been counted separately. The underlining refers to the wording used in the graph.

Figure 5.1 - What is transferred?

Number of persons that commented: 29	
Number of comments: 84	
Ideas, approaches and concepts on ...	
<u>Practical policy solutions and tools</u> (technological and non-technological)	34
<u>Management, administration and financial procedures</u> , evaluation, how to write reports, project proposals	15
<u>Context information</u> on cultural backgrounds, institutional frameworks, legal frameworks, financial frameworks	9
<u>Policy making and planning approaches</u> , political processes, political involvement, public involvement, acceptability	9
<u>Scientific knowledge and research methodologies</u> , research knowledge, approaches	7
<u>Sustainable urban transport strategies</u> in general (strategic level), relationships between issues	5
<u>Other</u>	5
Total	84

Figure 5.2- European added value (how to define)

Number of persons that commented: 30 Number of comments: 67	
EU added value is ...	
<u>Access to ideas</u> : offering everybody access to the richness of ideas, best practices, policies across Europe	19
Helping to create European networks, working together, becoming or feeling European, <u>build a joint Europe</u> , making Europe a reality	16
<u>Putting (brains) capacities together</u> is more effective and efficient (sharing costs) to analyse problems, develop solutions	11
<u>Facilitate monitoring</u> : allowing the EU in its institutional responsibility of being a facilitator to analyse and progress thinking in its Member States	7
<u>Spreading best practice</u> and providing input to policy across the EU, including to EU policy	5
<u>Solutions for the whole EU</u> : working together on problems and solutions that are important for the (majority) of Member States or the whole EU (incl. legitimacy)	4
<u>Other</u>	5
Total	67

Figure 5.3 - Reasons to take part (for individual)

Number of persons that commented: 28 Number of comments: 89	
Projects ...	
Allow to <u>learn and grow</u> in experience, develop ideas, <u>improve the professional profile</u>	19
Allow to meet and work with good people, <u>extend the professional network</u>	13
Allow to travel, <u>see the realities, state of the art</u> elsewhere	11
Are <u>fun, interesting, inspiring</u>	8
Give an interesting <u>international dimension to one's work</u> , allow to meet EC staff, better understand EU level activities and developments	8
Allow to <u>be at the cutting edge</u> of developments, be in the spotlight	7
Allow to <u>exchange, share information, pick up new ideas</u>	6
Allow to <u>get to know nice people</u> and develop friendly relationships	6
Allow to be part of a team, <u>do things that one could have never done alone</u>	4
<u>Other</u>	7
Total	89

Figure 5.4 - Reasons to take part (for organisation)

Number of persons that commented: 29 Number of comments: 159	
Projects ...	
Allow to obtain, get access to knowledge, <u>learn from what others do</u> , get data and information, obtain inspiration (note: this is all <u>one way</u>)	29
Are in the <u>interests of individuals</u> , personal (staff) (development) interests, facilitate individual learning	25
Help to obtain funding (EU funding and local/regional co-funding), i.e. <u>financial interests</u>	21
Allow to <u>work together and share</u> : to work together with others, sharing risks, sharing costs, share experience, exchange, partnerships (note: this is all <u>two-way</u> , emphasis on network effects)	17
Allow to lobby, influence, establish links/partnerships, increase credibility of what we are doing, i.e. <u>political reasons</u>	14
Allow to <u>raise the profile</u> of the organisation	12
Allow to <u>benchmark</u> , compare with others, know the state of the art, see what others do/know	12
Allow to <u>make new professional contacts</u> , expand the network	12
Help to <u>drive innovation</u> , progress, develop (new) knowledge	8
Allow to contribute to, <u>link with EU policy</u> , EU development, the European ideal	7
<u>Other</u>	2
Total	159

Figure 5.5 - Reasons for person to be part of network

Number of persons that commented: 25 Number of comments: 57	
Being part of a project network ...	
<u>Facilitates exchange</u> , to be able to discuss issues, topics, to learn, to obtain advice	15
Allows to get access to information, knowledge	9
Gives <u>access to people</u> , allows to make contacts, link up with people, with colleagues, set up collaboration structures, personal relationships	8
Allows to get <u>access to project scene</u> , find partners (possible future projects, other existing projects, city networks)	7
To <u>do good research</u> together, to innovate, develop ideas, join up skills, exploit synergetic effects	7
Provides an encouraging <u>work environment</u> , it allows to develop personal networks, it allows people to step out of the working environment	4
Is good for your personal image, your name, your visibility, promoting your ideas	3
<u>Other</u>	4
Total	57

Figure 5.6 - Success factors related to project participation

Number of persons that commented: 30 Number of comments: 141	
The success of a project is influenced by ...	
<u>Good coordination and administrative procedures</u> , good management process and structure, room for exchanges, good work plan	24
<u>Sufficient resources</u> , capacities, competences, (money, people, time)	22
<u>The right individuals</u> , open partners with sufficient mandate from home, willing to share, learn, exchange	20
<u>Good, cohesive project network</u> , group, consortium, strong cohesion, networking, strong social network, openness, excitement, spirit, trust	17
<u>Interest, involvement from the client/clients</u> including the EC and a community around the project, links with stakeholders	11
<u>Clear objectives</u> , understanding what the project is about, what the needs are, how the project will make a difference	10
<u>Partners' commitment to the project</u> , transparent expectations	8
<u>A 'driver'</u> , champion, charismatic person	7
<u>Good dissemination plan</u> , activities, potential for uptake of results	7
<u>Effective communication</u> , sufficient language capabilities	6
<u>Other</u>	9
Total	141

Figure 5.7 - Risks factors related to project participation

Number of persons that commented: 24 Number of comments: 58	
Risks related to project participation	
<u>Focus risks</u> : "lock in" in ideas, too big differences in approaches, too big differences in focus, lack of innovation leading, no progress	18
<u>Participant risks</u> : wrong individuals participating leading to risks in developing and delivering results	10
<u>Organisational risks</u> : weak project network, lack of cohesion, weak project plan, weak management	6
<u>Political risks</u> : topic too risky, new political priorities	6
<u>Commitment risks</u> : people taking their commitments not serious, participants too much money driven	4
<u>Financial risks</u> : lack of co-funding, late grant payments	4
<u>Communication risks</u> : risks related to language and culture, misperceptions, misunderstandings	3
<u>Leadership risks</u> : depend too much on certain individuals, lack of leadership	3
<u>Other</u>	4
Total	58

Annex 8 - Overview of urban road user charging projects and the organisations involved

Organisation	CONCERT-P	TRANSPRICE	AFFORD	CAPRI	EUROPRICE1	PRIMA	PRESS	CUPID	PROGRESS	EUROPRICE2
BTSA	X									
ATC	X									
Lab. Fond. Gugl. Marconi	X									
Bristol City C	X				X				X	X
Mobilität und Verantwortung	X									
Dir. Dep. de L'Equipment	X									
CETE Med.	X					X				
RTr Marseillais	X									
PRA Norway	X				X				X	
Eurotrans		X		X						
Politecnic. Milano		X								
UPM Madrid		X	X							
ANY SMA		X								
Leeds City C		X								X
Ind. Liaison and Dev. Off.		X								
Univ. York		X	X							
Unipass		X								
Trinity College		X								
Comune di Como		X								
CRT Madrid		X								
OASA		X								
Univ. Leeds		X	X	X				X		
TU Graz		X								
Stadt Graz		X								
TU Dresden		X	X					X		
York City C		X								
FI Gov. Inst. for Econ. Res.			X							
LT Consultants			X							
Germ. Inst. for Transp. Econ.			X							
TRIAS			X							
Center Interdisc. Syst. Research			X							
KU Leuven				X						
ISIS (FR)				X						

Organisation	CONCERT-P	TRANSPRICE	AFFORD	CAPRI	EUROPRICE1	PRIMA	PRESS	CUPID	PROGRESS	EUROPRICE2
ISIS (IT)				X				X	X	
Uni Karlsruhe				X						
NI Roads Service					X					X
Copenhagen City					X				X	
Edinburgh City C					X				X	X
Genoa City					X		X		X	X
Leicester City C					X					
STA Roma					X				X	X
INREGIA						X				
Barcelona Regional						X				
BEATT						X				
CERTU						X				
Ecoplan						X				
KTH						X				
Synergo						X				
D'Appolonia							X		X	
Traficon							X		X	
Helsinki City							X		X	
Helsinki MCA							X		X	
FINNRA							X		X	
VBB VIAK/Transek							X		X	
Goteborg City							X		X	
Car Free Cities							X			
TTR								X	X	
SINTEF								X	X	
TIS								X		
PLS Ramboll									X	
DTU									X	
Danish Road Directorate									X	
Univ. of Westminster									X	
Napier Univ.									X	
Ian Catling Cons.									X	
R. Gordon Univ.									X	
AMT Genoa									X	
SeT Genoa									X	
ATAC Roma									X	
Univ. La Sapienza									X	
Amsterdam City										X

Annex 9 - Overview of mobility management projects and the organisations involved

Organisation	MOMENTUM	MOSAIC	INPHORMM	IMPACT	ICARO	CAMPARIE	TOMY	PROSITRANS	TOOLBOX	SUN	ELMO	MOST	TAPESTRY	SMASH	EMOTIONS	EMMA
NEA	X				X							X				
Langzaam Verkeer	X			X	X							X	X		X	
ILS	X							X		X		X				X
FGM-AMOR	X			X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Leicester City C	X															
Chalmers Univ.	X															
Via Verkehr	X															
Synergo	X															
Univ. Coimbra	X															
Leuven City	X															
Stadt Graz	X											X				
Institut Wallon	X							X				X				
TRADEMCO	X											X				
Corfu Dev. Corporation	X															
RWTH Aachen		X										X				
ISB																
TNO		X														
Univ. of Westminster		X	X									X	X			
IVV Aachen		X				X										
Nottingham City		X										X				
ET&P			X									X	X			
Socialdata			X										X			
TE Marknads Komm.			X										X			
Hampshire County C			X										X			
Hertfordshire County C			X										X			
Donostia S. Sebast. City			X													
ACT Venice			X													
Bescançon City				X												
Univ. BOKU					X											
Leeds City C					X				X							
UPM Madrid					X						X					

Organisation	MOMENTUM	MOSAIC	INPHORMM	IMPACT	ICARO	CAMPARIE	TOMY	PROSTRANS	TOOLBOX	SUN	ELMO	MOST	TAPESTRY	SMASH	EMOTIONS	EMMA
Highways Agency					X											
Univ. Leeds					X											
Traject – KOMIMO					X			X	X				X	X		X
DS Data Science					X											
TRIAS					X											
CETE Est					X											
CCAP					X											
Aristotle Univ. Thess.						X							X			
CETE Med.						X										
CRT Madrid						X										
Büro Herry						X										
TTR						X							X			
Chisinau City						X										
ZSG Sammer						X										
ATM Torino						X										
Transexpert						X										
Traficon						X										
Semitan						X							X			
Eurotrans						X										
TMT Pragma						X										
Stadtwerke Wuppertal							X									
ÖKO Institut								X		X				X	X	
TC&O								X	X							
Studio Ripamonti									X							
VIA Ber Ing									X					X		
SRA										X						
NOVEM											X					
AGEN											X					
Rotterdam City												X				
CERTU												X	X			X
Torino City												X	X			
Bremen City												X				
Navarra Reg. Gov.												X				
BCN Barcelona												X				
AEDA Athens												X				
Parque Tech Andalusia												X				
Prognos												X				

Organisation	MOMENTUM	MOSAIC	INPHORMM	IMPACT	ICARO	CAMPARIE	TOMY	PROSITRANS	TOOLBOX	SUN	ELMO	MOST	TAPESTRY	SMASH	EMOTIONS	EMMA
Prague publ. trans. Comp.												X				
Porto City												X				
Sintra City												X				
Surrey County C												X				
RATC Constanta												X	X			
LVB Leipzig												X				
Karlstad City												X				
Malaga City												X				
CDV Czech Rep.												X				
STA Rome												X				
ATAC Rome													X			
Fed. Nat. Tr. Publ. Loc.													X			
GSF Romania													X			
Vitoria-Gasteiz City													X			
URTP													X			
Interactions													X			
Gavle City													X			
TIS													X			
Stadt Weiz														X		
AWV Weiz														X		
Verkehrsverbund Styria														X		
Funkhaus Nuernberg														X		
DTV Consultants															X	
CTB Besançon															X	
Italian Ass. of Cities																X
Cambridgeshire CC																X

SOURCES OF THE QUOTES

The picture that Europeans have of Europe is usually a –sometimes unintended- projection of their own society. For the Germans Europe will become one big Germany, for the Poles one big Poland, and the Dutch will continue to see Europe as organised and compromise-willing as they themselves. Only this already leads to conflicts and misunderstandings.

From: Mak, G., (2004) *In Europa*, Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Atlas, p. 1107. Translated from Dutch by the author.

Transport is the blood circulation in an economy.

From: Nijkamp, P. and Vleugel, J., (1995) ‘Transport Infrastructure and European Union Developments’, in Banister, D., Capello, R., and Nijkamp, P. (Eds), *European Transport and Communications Networks, Policy evolution and change*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ch.1, pp.3–29.

Europe ...is the strangest political experiment in history, so it is logical that there is confusion.

From: Interview by Mark Leyendekker with Jeremy Rifkin, president of The Foundation of Economic Trends in Washington. NRC Handelsblad, 12/13 March 2005, p. 13. Translated from Dutch by the author.

Knowledge involves the head, the heart, and the hand; inquiry, interactions, and craft. Like a community, it involves identity, relationships, and competences; meaningfulness, belonging, and action.

From: Wenger, E.C., McDermott, R.A. and Snyder, W.M., (2002) *Cultivating communities of practice: a guide to managing knowledge*, Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press, p. 45.

Remember: complexity is your enemy. Any fool can make something complicated. It is hard to make something simple.

From: Branson, R., (2008) *Business stripped bare*. London: Virgin Books, p.166.

In the end, the critical factor is not whether knowledge comes through measurement or some other source. What matters is that the knowledge is verifiable and accurate and that we use it to make the right decisions.

From: Witzel, M., (2005) *The danger of mistaking the science of measuring as divine*. Financial Times, 3 August 2005.

At best, logic is just a way to justify conclusions we have already reached unconsciously.

From: Jacobs, Ch., (2009) *Management Rewired. Why Feedback Doesn't Work and Other Surprising Lessons from the Latest Brain Science*, New York: Portfolio, p.2.

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