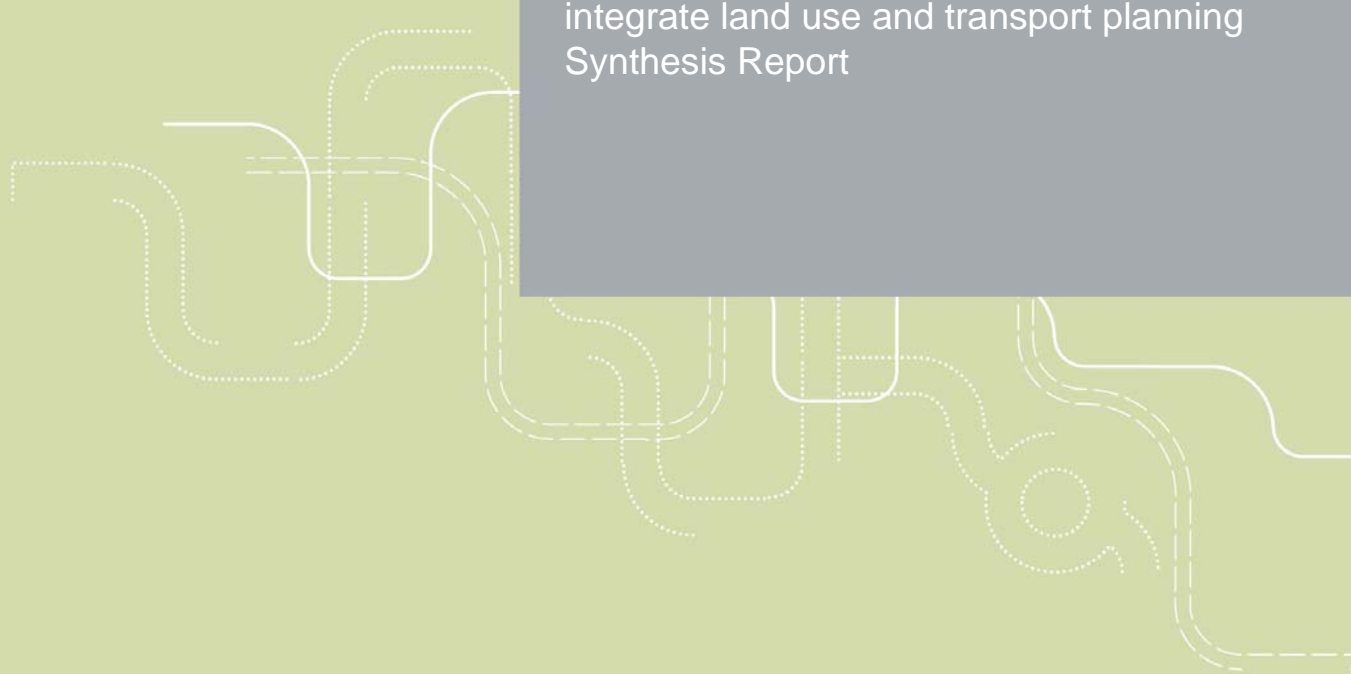


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TØI report 958A/2008

**tøi** Institute of Transport Economics  
Norwegian Centre for Transport Research



Regional governance as a way to  
integrate land use and transport planning  
Synthesis Report





# **Regional governance as a way to integrate land use and transport planning. Synthesis Report**

Tore Leite

Merethe Dotterud Leiren

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**Summary:**

The report synthesises the findings of a research project on the relationship between regional governance and an integrated land use and transport policy. It compares the three city regions Kristiansand, Funen and Hanover which organise land use and transport planning in different ways. The report describes the three cases' goals and achievements within land use and transport policy, and discusses reasons for their different degrees of goal achievement. The conclusion is that a stronger regional level may contribute to reducing the gap between national goals and local implementation of an integrated land use and transport policy.

**Tittel:** En samordnet areal- og transportpolitikk gjennom regional samstyrning? Synteserapport

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Rapporten er en synteserapport innen forskningsprosjektet om regional styring for en samordnet areal- og transportpolitikk. De tre byregionene Kristiansand, Fyn og Hannover sammenlignes. Areal- og transportplanleggingen er organisert på ulike måter i de tre byregionene. I rapporten beskrives deres mål og måloppnåelse innenfor areal- og transportpolitikk. Grunner til ulike måloppnåelse diskuteres. Konklusjonen er at et styrket regionalt nivå i Norge kan bidra til å redusere avstanden mellom statlige mål og lokal iverksettning av samordnet areal- og transportplanlegging.

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# Preface

This report is a synthesis report of the project “Towards an Integrated Spatial Development and Transport Policy: Regional Governance in a Fragmented Sector” which is financed by the The Research Council of Norway. It is part of the research programme “Democracy, Coordination and Regionality (DEMOSREG)”. The synthesis report is based on the documentation report “Integrating Land Use and Transport Planning: Does Regional Governance Matter? Documentation Report” (TØI report 959/2008). The background for the project is the gap between national goals for integration of land use and transport policy, and what is actually implemented at lower levels in order to avoid urban sprawl, reduce the use of car and increase the public transport share. The project looks at the role of regional coordination in achieving integrated land use and transport planning.

Dr. Tore Leite is the project leader of this project. He has written the four first chapters in this report together with Researcher Merethe Dotterud Leiren and Chief Research Sociologist Oddgeir Osland. Chapter five and six were mainly written by Leite. Head of Department Arvid Strand has been in charge of the quality assessment of the report. Secretary Camilla Olsson has provided secretarial support.

Oslo, December 2008  
Institute of Transport Economics

*Lasse Fridstrøm*  
Managing Director

*Arvid Strand*  
Head of Department



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# 1 Introduction

The goals of *integrated land use and transport policy* are (a) to counter dispersion in urban areas by allowing settlement and industry to develop in certain areas. Together the policy areas may reduce demand for transportation. In example, when schools, health care centres and shops are localised close to each other errands at all these centres may be undertaken with one travel. The policy is also meant (b) to facilitate and support sustainable modes of transport and efficient transport services. This means a high share of walking, bicycling and public transport.

Integrated land use and transport policy is one area that shall contribute to an environmental urban development. It is emphasised in national policy documents and political plans (Miljøverndepartementet 1993), but experiences so far are that the policy is difficult to implement (Nielsen et al 2000; Spangen 1995). One explanation is that the institutional framework of the traditional Norwegian model of land use and transport policy provides barriers to combine different measures necessary for implementation. In this model municipalities are responsible for spatial planning, parking policy and road pricing; different entities and levels are responsible for infrastructure; and public transport services are in the hands of the counties or, when it comes to railway, the national government. This makes integration of the areas complex. Land use and transport policy is characterised by fragmentation which limits cooperation (Nielsen et al 2000). Hence, the aims of decreasing the need of travelling and easing the access to public transport are not satisfactory reached. In the literature regional governance is proposed as a prosperous path to reduce the gap between intentions and reality in land use and transport policy (Bratzel 1999; Benz & Fürst 2003; Lehm Brock et al 2005).

This report looks at three cases which have organised their land use and transport policy differently, and describes their goal attainment. The aim is to find better ways of organising land use and transport policy for achieving higher integration of the two policies, thereby reaching the goals for a more sustainable policy. In the report we argue that enforced regional governance is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for closing the gap between national policy goals and local implementation of an integrated land use and transport policy (such as urban concentration versus urban sprawl, reduced car use and improved public transport). Regional governance schemes face several challenges in achieving a more sustainable land use and transport planning: *First*, the regional level is dependent on sufficient demand and support from national policy level and on consistent policy instruments. *Second*, historical patterns of settlement may constrain the possible choices at hand. *Third*, the path dependency of institutions at both local and regional level may hamper changes in planning. *Fourth*, the

range of competencies at regional level may be too limited to “make a difference” (Leiren and Leite 2008; Leite et al 2008).

## 1.1 Background: fragmentation of land use planning and transport policy

The background is the observed fragmentation of land use and transport policy in the traditional Norwegian model, and the gap between national goals – and to a certain extent also local goals – for integration between these sectors and the local implementation of the goals. Several studies (Spangen 1995; Nielsen et al 2000; Moen & Strand 2000; Langeland 2002) reveal a considerable gap between Norwegian national goals for integration of land use and transport policy and what has *de facto* been achieved.

In a study of European cities, Bratzel (1999) argues that the gap between goals and outcome are partly due to institutional barriers. The vertical and horizontal segmentation in the transport sector may explain why coordination of land use and transport policy is hard to implement. Other researchers (Nielsen et al 2000; Lehmbrock et al 2005:200-203) suggest that there is a need for organisational reform in order to reduce conflict of interests and fragmentation of the institutional goals.

In order to find out whether different organisational structures of land use and transport policy at regional level may result in a higher goal achievement than what is the case in Norway, this report describes three alternative cases. These are the Kristiansand region, the former county of Funen<sup>1</sup> and the Hanover region. They designate different models of “regional governance.” While the Kristiansand region is a pilot in which municipalities cooperate with the regional level, the Hanover region and the Funen region have a stronger regional level with a long tradition and larger administration. The role of the region in the planning process is institutionalised to a higher degree in the German and Danish case than in the Norwegian case.

We find that regional governance does matter for goal achievement. However, making the level stronger is not a sufficient condition for closing the gap between national policy goals and local implementation of an integrated land use and transport policy.

The roadmap is as follows: First, the methods will be described, and regional governance and goal achievement – or lack thereof – will be defined. The second chapter briefly presents the cases’ organisation (i.e. governance structures at regional level) of land use and transport policy. The third chapter describes the three cases’ goals of an integrated land use and transport policy and their goal achievement. The fourth chapter explains the differences by coalition theory and regional governance theory. The fifth chapter asks the question: what can Norwegian regional levels learn from the cases? Finally, a conclusion follows.

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<sup>1</sup> Due to a reform which was introduced on January 1st 2007, the Danish county as it is referred to in this paper is the “old” county model.

## **1.2 Regional governance**

In this report regional governance is used as a term which describes the role of the regional level in political administrative systems and its available policy instruments. It says something about the authority of the regional level – its competence and responsibilities. The three cases, the Kristiansand region, the Funen region and the Hanover region, represent three different models of how institutions are organised at regional level; they are three different models of “regional governance.”

Governance is often used to describe situations in which central and local authorities loose or delegate parts of their traditional monopoly of governing to private actors and networks. Kooiman describes the development of governing as a “new pattern” of interaction between the government and society, in which network based coordination mechanisms replace a traditional hierarchical government. Kooiman (1994:1) sees this as a second trend along with the shift towards strengthening the private sector through privatising public services.

Some scholars (Rhodes 1997) define governance as “governing without government” and adopts a narrow definition of network governance. Governance becomes an alternative to hierarchy and market. Inter-organisational networks that are partly autonomous and consists of mutually dependent public, private, and non-governmental organisations, confronts traditional government decision.

Others (Scharpf 2000) argue that the government may choose to govern through networks by participating in them, defining the frames, or mixing hierarchy, market and network. Guy Peters (2007:2) understands governance broadly. His assumption is that networks are embedded in a broader institutional environment.

In this study we understand regional governance within this tradition. The study of regional governance includes hierarchy, network and market. We focus on the role of an enhanced regional level in this coordination scheme, where the regional coordination may affect governance of land use and transport policy. We have further defined regional governance with respect to the Norwegian context, and thus, described three different models for strengthening the regional level in the Norwegian political-administrative system (Benz & Fürst 2003).

## **1.3 Goals and results**

Goals in this report refer to goals defined in planning documents such as national transport plans, regional plans, action programmes and policy documents. In this context results refer to decisions and measures that the regions have introduced or implemented in order to reach the goals. As already mentioned, there tends to be a lack of goal achievement of integrated land use and transport planning. This lack may be called a gap between goals and results. The size of the gap depends on the degree of goal achievement.

The gap between goals and results may be interpreted and examined differently: Firstly, it may be interpreted as a gap between intentions and principles of sustainable development and what is implemented, e.g. restrictive measures on car use and centralisation of residential areas and retail trade locations may be

necessary in order to reduce the demand for car use. Are such measures and planning introduced?

Secondly, the gap may be interpreted and examined in terms of possible gap between locally and nationally defined policy goals and practice. Regional policy goals may be ambiguous, or even contradictory, to national environmental goals. This report includes both interpretations, when looking at different institutional structures at regional level, and discussing how they may contribute to reach an integrated land use and transport planning.

Two aspects of an integrated land use and transport planning will be distinguished: (a) the procedural aspect which refers to the planning and policy process, i.e. to what extent transport and land use plans and decisions are coordinated, and (b) the substantial aspect, i.e. what concrete measures (investments, restriction, locations) are introduced. Key variables of integrated land use and transport planning are the following:

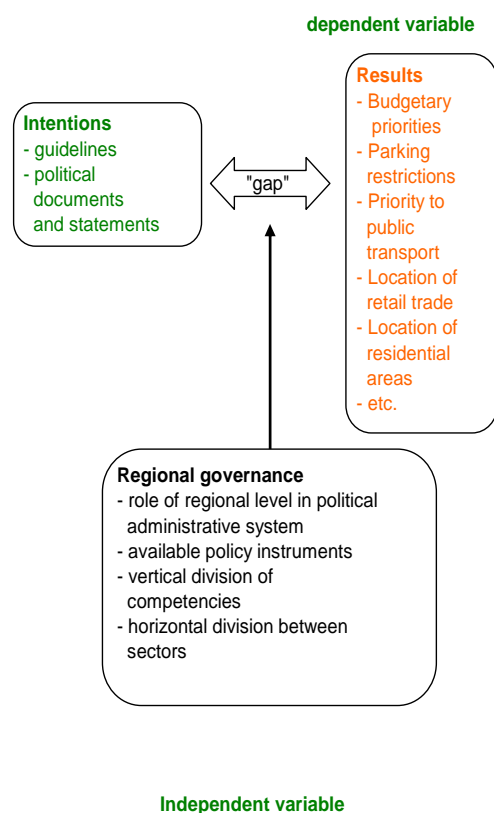
- Procedural: integration of land use and transport planning, i.e. of land use policy, road policy, parking policy, public transport policy
- Substantial: different land use policy measures (location of retail trade and residential areas), public transport (budget, priorities, supply), road policy (budget, priorities, increased capacity), degree of restrictive measures for car use (parking policy, road pricing)

## **1.4 Research design and methods**

This report is a synthesis of a larger report (Leite et al 2008) which compares the three cases, and of a report (Zibell et al 2008) on governing through regional planning in the Hanover region. The information in these reports is based on interviews, mainly with representatives of the administration working with land use and transport policies at regional level, and document studies of plans, action programmes etc.

A number of aspects may influence the gap between intentions and results. Regional governance is one such aspect. It refers to variations in the power of the regional level in the political-administrative system, the regional level's available policy instruments, and vertical and horizontal division of competencies. Figure 1.1 illustrates this project's dependent and independent variables. The dependent variable of land use and transport policy is related to both intentions and results. The independent variables are related to the variation in the power of the regional level.

Figure 1. 1: Research Design



The collection of information from the three regions has been carried out by different researchers, and to a certain extent by different research institutes. As a result, our findings are not strictly scientific, but explorative. This is also due to the fact that this report includes no discussion on transferability of findings of the three cases, nor does it discuss other criteria than "regional governance" in the choice of cases.

The information is gathered from literature and documents, and 26 expert interviews with stakeholders at the regional level in the three city regions. The expert interviews were carried out as open, semi-structured interviews. The method used in the interviews has enabled an open view on coordination outputs and conditions in the specific cases interviewed.<sup>2</sup> However, the findings should be interpreted in the light of the specific contexts of the regions, and should not result in generalisations.

<sup>2</sup> As suggested by Merton & Kendall, (1984).

## 2 Similarities and variations in regional governance

In the following, we briefly summarise similarities and differences of the regional governance structures in the Kristiansand region, the Funen region and the Hanover region. The observations are three distinct models of regional governance: the contractual model of the Kristiansand region, the county model of the former Funen and the regional model of the Hanover region.

**The regional governance structure in the Kristiansand region** may be viewed in the context of the general governance structure in land use and transport policy in Norway. Traditionally, the National Road Administration, a state agency with regional offices, has a dominant role in Norwegian transport planning and implementation. It has also been dominant in terms of administrative resources, and in national and regional infrastructure planning and investments. The Ministry of Environment is responsible for Planning and building act at a national level. Since the 1970s, when the Ministry of Environment was established, initiatives have been taken in order to strengthen land use planning and the environmental aspects in national planning and political decision making. These initiatives has been addressed both towards the counties and the municipalities. The county level is responsible for controlling and approving land use projects. The counties are also responsible for local public transport. The County governor as a regional state level, mainly through the right to object on local decisions which do not follow national planning requirements. Although attempts have been made to strengthen land use planning and national goals (e.g. through regional planning and County governor's objections) municipalities hold a strong position in land use planning and policy. They are also responsible for parking policies.

This division of responsibility has been seen as one of the reasons for lack of integration of policy areas. Norwegian researchers (Nielsen et al 2000) have concluded that land use and transport policy is characterised by fragmentation which limits cooperation. Hence, the aims of decreasing the need for travelling and easing the access to public transport are not satisfactory reached. It also explains the lack of political priorities of reducing growth in car use, and trying to alter modal split in favour of public transport.

The ATP programme<sup>3</sup> which is an organisational pilot, was introduced in order to enhance such priorities. A new organisation was established with partly increased

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<sup>3</sup> ATP is short for the Land use and transport project – or Area and Transport Project – in the Kristiansand region. Like in the Documentation report, we use the word “programme” rather than “project” in this report. The reason is to avoid confusion with other projects, e.g. projects carried out within ATP.

road competencies, a new administration to support the programme, inclusion of city and smaller municipalities in the ATP committee through the participation of politicians. The decision making in the ATP programme is characterised by increased intra-organisational coordination through cooperation, discussions and compromise.

However, important elements of the conventional Norwegian model of land use and transport policies, were not changed in the programme: national roads are still a state responsibility, and financed through state budgets; the municipalities are still in control of land use and parking policy. Moreover, a new funding scheme for public transport services, the Public Reward Fund, was introduced. In practice this fund was an increased subsidy from the national government for public transport .

**The regional model of governance as applied in Denmark** until December 31<sup>st</sup> 2006, was based on the standard hierarchic planning governance model that allocated high competences for transport planning and spatial development to the directly elected county council. The responsibility for railways and the two motorways across Funen, however, was a responsibility of the national transport authorities. The counties in Denmark had stronger competencies than the current county level in Norway and were among other areas responsible for regional planning, regional public transport (not local public transport) and county roads.

The policy instruments to influence an integrated land use and transport planning were largely in the hand of the Funen County. Particularly the regional plans and the road investments plan gave the regional level a formal instrument. The regional public transport service was also planned and administrated by the county, i.e. through the administrative responsibility for the bus operator *FynBus*. The counties in Denmark had, as in the Norwegian counties, an elected council and their own administration, and they were responsible for regional planning, public transport, regional roads and land use plans for future development.

The regional planning institute defines the major conditions for the spatial development in the region and is binding for the municipalities. The local spatial development had to be in accordance with the guidelines in this plan. The Road administration of the Funen County was responsible for road planning on the basis of a regional road infrastructure plan. The county was thus responsible for investments on all roads but the two national trunk roads/motorways that cross the Funen-Island. The county level was also in charge of tendering and purchasing public transport.

To sum up, the hierarchical regional model in Funen had larger competencies than the ATP committee in the Kristiansand region. The findings indicate however, that although the region formally had a strong position in localisation policies, the municipalities influenced the decision-making at regional level to a large extent.

**The Region of Hanover** is both an administrative level and an association for inter-municipal cooperation. The Region of Hanover is a parliamentary system with a formalised administrative level. The region has the status of a local government with a directly elected parliament and a region committee. The administration has about 1900 employees and consists of four divisions. The

Region of Hanover has both administrative and political competences on several policy areas such as planning, environment, waste, education etc.

The region has vast competences on spatial planning and transport policy and the region are in charge of regional land use plans and regional plan for public transport. The region is in charge of all public transport on road and rail in the region including tendering and investment for infrastructure. The region has also founded an infrastructure manager for public rail transport as part of a regional corporation. The region has further ownership interest in all the regional transport companies. The Region of Hanover is not only responsible for the regional planning but is also responsible for the spatial assessments and the approval of preparatory land use plans that is usually in the competencies of the *Länder*. For the smaller municipalities in the region the Region of Hanover is acting as building control authority.

Some competences are external to the regional level. The regional level cannot decide on restrictive measures for car use, such as parking policy (municipal responsibility) and road pricing (federal responsibility).

The decision making process in localization policy, i.e. of large shopping malls, regulation of residential development in rural areas, is based on dialogue with stakeholders such as municipalities and professionals.



## **3 Integration of land use and transport policy – goals and results**

### **3.1 Goals for a sustainable land use and transport planning**

The number of land use and transport competencies at regional level is larger in the Hanover region and the Funen region, than in the Kristiansand region. The ATP committee is responsible for the mandate agreed upon in the inter-municipality contract. The overall goal of the ATP programme is to meet the transport challenge of the region and to integrate environmental considerations and transport services in a more efficient and sustainable manner (ATP 2004; ATP 2008-2009). This mandate includes transport related measures such as improving public transport and restricting parking facilities. The ATP programme also aims at developing a common superior land use plan for the period 2009-2050 to provide for sustainable development and balanced growth in the region (Arealprosjektet 2007)

The former county of Funen (Fyns amt 2005) and the region of Hanover (Region Hannover 2005) were in charge of the overall policy development of several policy areas, including spatial development and transport policy issues. However, in all regions the municipalities were in charge of restrictive measures to reduce automobile transport that are important to achieve national and regional goals for reducing the growth in car usage. In this section we will describe the goals and results relevant for the regional level.

Common for all the three observations is that they generally aim for an environmental urban structure, decreased physical dispersion of land use, reduced car dependency, and accessibility of service centres for people without access to a car. The following table shows their goals for the different categories location of residential areas, location of retail trade, public transport services, roads (increased capacity), and restrictive measures for automobile use.

The table 3.1 shows that the observations have goals of locating residential areas along public transport services. While the German observation aims at a decentralisation of concentrated conurbations which are linked together by rail, the Funen region has a more liberal planning goal as it maintains a decentralised localization of the population following the region's historical residential pattern. In other words, when it comes to localization of residential areas, the Kristiansand and the Funen regions have goals of decreased physical dispersion of land use and reduced car dependency, in the latter region supported by conurbations linked together by rail. The goals in the Funen region are more ambiguous in environmental terms, as residential areas are rather widespread.

Goals on localization of retail trade is characterised by designation to urban development zones, promotion of retail service in town centres, and protection of green areas for all the three regions.

Table 3.1. Goals in the regions of Kristiansand, Funen and Hanover

Category	Observation	Goals
Location of residential areas	K	Along public transport nodes (e.g. railway stations, along the bus service Metro)
	F	In existing urban zones, maintain a decentralised localisation of the population following the region's historical residential pattern
	H	Poly-centric development, decentralization of conurbations, settlement localised nearby the rail network
Location of retail trade	K	The common regional land use plan is not yet decided on
	F	In relation to the designated urban development zones, it shall promote retail service in small towns and townships
	H	Protect open landscape and green areas
Public transport services	K	Bus mobility and enhanced public transport services by creating a more efficient route structure with higher frequency on less routes; fares; design; material; new contracts with bus operators; new technology for information and ticketing
	F	Coordinated with the maintained historical decentralised localisation of the population
	H	Continuity of services
Roads (increased capacity)	K	Increased capacity of national roads
	F	Increased capacity of national roads
	H	No regional goal of increased capacity
Restrictive measures for car use	K	Change minimum requirements for parking to maximum requirements; limit free parking for employees among the project's partners and give compensation; increase parking fees in the city centre to the level of public transport fares for distances to outskirts areas; consider user payment in the Transport Package (not road pricing, but for road investments)
	F	No regional goal
	H	No regional goal

It should be added that one of the Kristiansand region's goals is to make a superior land use plan which will include among others a common regional plan for localisation of residential areas, and a common regional plan for industry localisation. The fact that the Kristiansand region has not yet a common binding land use plan illustrates that the plans in which the region's goals are formulated have different positions. While the regional land use plan in the Hanover region seems to be based on a higher degree of consensus among the politicians and the planners than the other observations, the Funen region's decisions are more politically contested, and the Kristiansand region's decisions is most politically contested.

In the Hanover and the Funen region the regional land use plans decides on where development can take place. This is to a lesser degree so in the Kristiansand region due to the following mechanism. The decision process on land use planning in Norway takes place in (a) the professional administration and (b) the political decision made in the planning committee of a municipal assembly. The regional arena (i.e. ATP committee and administrative project groups) mediates the discussion on localisation priorities. The municipalities, however, have the authority to decide on local land use plans. Local politicians who are not represented in the ATP committee may make decisions that undermine regional

priorities. This is what we mean when arguing that the regional interests to a higher degree is institutionalised in the Hanover, and the Funen region than in the Kristiansand region.

Moreover, all the three observations have goals for better public transport services. The Kristiansand region has concrete goals of increasing public transport passengers. The Funen region's goal is to provide for a coordinated public transport service along with the maintained historical localisation of the population (Fyns amt 2005). Also, the Hanover region aims for a continuation of today's public transport supply. All plans aim for decreased car use, but with the exception of some parking restrictions in the Kristiansand region and user payment for road investments, the three observations have no goals of introducing restrictive measures for car use at regional level.

Furthermore, both in the Funen and the Kristiansand region increased road capacity is a goal, whereas in Hanover road capacity is already extensive and not seen as a problem. A common trait is that there is a goal for reduced car use in all the three regions, but there is no aim for limiting increased road capacity or implement restrictive measures. This indicates a possible conflict between local goals and goals in accordance with sustainability principles. From a substantial and sustainable development point of view, there may be arguments against increased road capacity and for restrictive measures on car use. Although this is a statement that should be based on analyses, we make this assumption for the further discussion. This means that, when discussing gaps between intentions and results, we assume that a lack of restrictive measures and increase in road capacity is in accordance with local goals, but not with goals of sustainability.

### **3.2 Results: the tension between intentions and reality of planning still exists**

The following matrix shows the cases' results on different policy measures and the responsible entity. The main responsible entity is given in the table. This does not disregard the fact that the cases are in a multi-level governance system, but emphasises that the main responsibility of certain policy areas may remain outside the regional level.

Table 3.2. Results

Category	Substantial policy measures	Observation	Result/progress
Location of residential areas	Regulations on location of residential areas	K	Increased understanding for the necessity of an integrated land use and transport policy
		F	A detailed and strong regional plan prevents further urban sprawl, but allows also for continuation of dispersed rural villages
		H	A strong regional plan limits the development in rural areas that are not nearby the public transport network
Bicycle and pedestrian lanes	Investment priorities and regulations	K	Increased construction of pedestrian and bicycle lanes, also in rural areas
		F	Integrated in the regional plan. New bicycle lanes are located to arterial roads around the major urban areas
		H	Included in the regional plan and integrated with the public transport network
Location of retail trade	Regulations on location of retail trade	K	More car based shopping outside the city centre due to the extension of Soerlandsparken
		F	Conflicts among municipalities are internalised within the planning process. The region uses its power to limit new shopping centres from arising
		H	The regional retail plan limits the number and extent (i.e. square metres) of the project proposals. The region sometimes rejects private proposals supported by the municipalities
Public transport	Public transport supply (budget, priorities, frequencies)	K	Increased supply: new routes (e.g. routes with high average speed and few stops) and extended services at night. Funding of a regional public transport authority by the municipality of Kristiansand and the County of Vest-Agder
		F	The Road Administration is integrated with the regional Public Transport Administration, which is also the operator. Regional bus services were prioritised and actively funded by the county
		H	Integration coordinated at regional level
Roads	Road investments (budget, priorities, increased capacity)	K	Increased road capacity, soft measures, and park and ride solutions
		F	Road investment according to road investment plan, e.g. Road capacity extension such as new Ring road for Odens and South-connection Odens-Svendborg
		H	Not of significance
Restrictive measures for car use	Parking policies	K	Some minor steps have been taken in the city Kristiansand
		F	Not restrictive, but free parking
		H	No information
	Road pricing	K	The effects of introducing road pricing is investigated
		F	No information
		H	No information

In brief words, the aimed concentration of residential and retail location in the Kristiansand region has so far mainly taken place at the discursive level. The regional level in the German and Danish observations more strongly regulates residential as well as retail locations.

The cases' land use policy differs. The Funen and the Hanover regions have land use plans that seem to enhance long-term planning more than what is the case in the Kristiansand region. In the Danish and German observations the plans seem to play a more important role in the decision processes than in the Norwegian observation. We find e.g. that business interests which are contradictory to the land use plans of the Funen and the Hanover regions have been restricted, and

directed to locations in accordance with the regional plans. The role of the regional plan seems to be institutionalised to a higher degree than in the Kristiansand region – institutionalised meaning the extent to which a plan is binding and implemented. Moreover, the regional level in the Funen and the Hanover regions plays an important role as a mediator between state regulations and local preferences, thereby ensuring that local interests are also integrated, although not always followed.

All the observations have introduced positive measures such as improved public transport service and construction of pedestrian and bicycle lanes, but not restrictive measures on car use. Only in the Kristiansand region the ATP committee has decided to consider the possibility of introducing congestion charges. This is mainly due to the incentives of the Reward Fund which has been increased and closer linked to requirements for restrictive measures on car use. There is also a pronounced willingness to introduce parking restrictions as an instrument to be implemented in Kristiansand as part of the application for this extraordinary funding.

However, increased road capacity has been an important element of transport policy both in the Kristiansand and the Funen regions. In Hanover increased road capacity is not an expressed goal, most probably because the region already has an extensive road capacity. Comparing the cases on the results of residential locations and retail trade location, the main difference seems to be that a strong regional plan is institutionalised to a higher degree in the German than in the Danish case, which again is institutionalised to higher degree than in the Norwegian case. In 2009 when the land use project will be ended, the Kristiansand region may also have a stronger regional land use plan. However, it depends on whether the two participating counties will accept the common plan and implement it. When it comes to restrictive measures the Kristiansand region seems to be slightly better in achieving this goal, which may be more due to an external actor (i.e. the national authorities' Reward Fund) than the organisation of the regional level itself.

### 3.3 Summary

In *substantial* terms, there are differences in particular when it comes to land-use policy and measures. It seems that that the Kristiansand and the Funen regions have not achieved as much as in the Hanover region regarding sustainable planning for the long-term. However, also in the Hanover region the land use policy are challenged by the inhabitant's preferences to ruralise (Zibell, Löb and Fürst 2008).

Also in *procedural* terms, the observations indicate that there is a stronger integration of key policy areas such as road, land use and public transport in the Hanover and to some extent also in the Funen region. In these regions, however, some key instruments of transport policy are not part of their competences. These are state road policy, parking policy (except for location) and the possibility to decide on introducing road pricing.

When it comes to gap between political goals and results, it seems that this gap is larger and more pronounced in the Kristiansand region than in the two other

regions, not the least in location policies. In the Danish and German regions there are smaller gaps between local goals and results. When addressing the gap between results and goals following from principles and notions of sustainable development, the pattern is similar when it comes to location policy and to some extent also public transport policy, leaving Kristiansand “behind.” However, looking at other key elements of a sustainable urban transport policy, measures that does not promote increased car use, such as restrictive measures and avoiding extensive increase in road capacity, the results are poor in all three regions.

How can these patterns – the similarities and differences in terms of introduction of plans and measures – be explained? In chapter 4 we address this question by, firstly, outlining the regional differences in terms of governance structures. Secondly, we present four different coalitions that influence the substantial formation of goals for an integrated land use and transport planning. Thirdly, we discuss regional governance as a structure.

## **4 Discussion: the role of regional governance**

### **4.1 How different are the regional governance models?**

In some important policy areas, there are clear similarities between the countries: Road policy in which increased capacity has been important measure in both Fyn and Kristiansand, whereas this has not been an issue in Hanover – the road capacity is already high in the German region. There are also similarities when it comes to restrictive measures on car use, such as road pricing and restrictive parking policies, this is not used measures in neither of the regions. In other words, a liberal road and car use policy is common for the regions, and the similarities on these variables could equally be explained by commonalities and not differences between the regions.

On some other areas, such as public transport and particularly elements of land use policies, we observe interregional variation. There has been a more stable and institutionalised public transport priority in Hanover than the other cases, and more so in Funen than in Kristiansand. However, in Kristiansand the subsidies to public transport has increased a lot over the last ten years, also prior to the ATP programme, and thereby the public transport services are enhanced.

Most clearly the regions' land use policy differs. So far no regulations on localization of residential areas have been decided on in the Kristiansand region, and this is too early to conclude on as the land use project's deadline is next year. In the Funen region further urban sprawl seems to be prevented, but there is a residential development in smaller villages is continuously tolerated, and the region has played a intermediary role between national authorities and local actors' preferences that is receptive to traditions and the acceptance of car based villages. In the Hanover region, on the other hand, residential projects are located in accordance with railway infrastructure.

The Hanover region played an active role in creating tools for localization and also engaged itself as an active mediator between commercial interests and professional planning requirements, and between the interests of the municipalities. Their role was rather professional, and was developed both through a communicative planning style and a will to use the regulative planning tools which were allocated at regional level. The localization of both new townships, and supplementary residential development in dispersed areas largely followed the principles decided by the region, but was modified by population density changes in new residential areas (Zibell, Löb and Fürst 2008).

The same pattern may be observed regarding regulations on localization of retail trade. Although there is a common pressure for more car based shopping centers outside the city centers, the practice has been more liberal in the Kristiansand region. In other words, the major question is to explain variation in land use

policy due to differences in regional governance, and commonalities in road and car use policies in terms of similarities.

The variation in land use policies may be interpreted as a result of variation in regional structures: The regional governments in the Hanover and the Funen region, with rather broad competencies and a key role in land use policy, have strong influence in land use policy, although they also play a role as mediators. In the Funen region, the effects in substantial terms are less profound, as they have a policy characterised by continuing to strengthen rather disperse rural villages. The role and strength of the regional level may explain why there seems to be a smaller gap between goals and results in these regions than in the Kristiansand region.

There seems to be a better integration of land use and public transport policies in the Hanover region than in the two others, when it comes to public transport. Variation on implemented measures among the cases is mainly on measures with impacts for the long run. When it comes to restrictive measures with short-term effects, none of the city regions have implemented restrictive measures of significance (congestion charges, reducing parking possibilities or road capacity). The municipalities are responsible for such measures. However, in the Kristiansand region the Public Reward Fund have created some incentives for the municipalities in the city region to implement restrictive measures.<sup>4</sup>

In this sense the regional governance of the three cases studied could be interpreted as a multi-level arena on which several actors meet for decision making and planning. Different coalitions meet at regional level, and regional governance and its structures frames the game in which coalitions form themselves and play. In the following advocacy coalitions will be described, in order to explain different preferences of the stakeholders that are involved in the land use and transport sectors.

## **4.2 Different coalitions for land use and transport planning**

An advocacy coalition approach (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith 1993) combines the concept of social and normative values with the realisation of (institutional) interests to explain policy output and policy changes. The policy formulation is, according to Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993), developed mostly in two or three different coalitions with a set of common belief systems. These coalitions cover a specific political area or policy subsystem. The coalitions do not only consist of the political decision makers, but all the stakeholders, journalist and professional experts that are influencing a policy area. Changes of understanding within these coalitions are viewed as policy learning. Their thesis is that political changes are results of external occurrences, and that the participating stakeholders and decision makers cannot influence these occurrences individually. Such external occurrences may be socio-economical and technological changes or changes of majority through political elections. Interaction, discourse or rhetorical arguments

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<sup>4</sup> This autumn a proposal for a congestion charge will be put forward and decided upon by the municipality of Kristiansand.



between different coalitions may, however, result in partial changes of the orientations in the institutions (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith 1993; Leite 2004).

There are two important questions when addressing the concept of advocacy coalitions: Firstly, the political question, what sort of advocacy coalitions exists in the areas one examines, and to what degree can the gap between at least environmentalist intentions and results be explained due to such lack of an environmentalist advocacy coalition? Secondly, what is the role of different governmental structures in defining the rules and, hence, the relative strength and power of these coalitions.

The *coalitions* consist of actors that may be individuals or organisations. They may be political parties, public administrations or entities (e.g. regional administration, Road Administration), companies (e.g. operators), and interest groups. The actors promote certain political strategies which consist of (1) a certain definition of a problem, and understanding of distance between wanted and *de facto* situation, (2) values and goals, and (3) understanding of what policy instruments are adequate for realising the values or goals (Osland and Leiren 2006).

The actors take different stands on increased road investments, whether this should be funded through tax money or toll roads, increased investments in infrastructure for public transport, and restrictive and/or positive measures for regulating demand for car use. Based on earlier analyses (Langmyhr 1997; Næss 2003) Osland and Leiren (2006) formulate hypotheses on how the actors place themselves because of their different values and understanding of appropriate measures in the Norwegian transport sector. They distinguish between the following coalitions:

- *The road coalition* prioritises road investments financed through taxes, wants a minimum public transport service, but is indifferent to spending more on public transport
- *The pragmatic accessibility coalition* prioritises road investments, accepts toll roads to fund new roads, is indifferent to public transport, and sceptical towards restrictive parking policy, against road pricing
- *The pragmatic public transport coalition* prioritises public transport services and wants to increase its funding for operation as well as infrastructure. It is indifferent to regulation of demand for car use (e.g. restrictive measures for car use which implies more resources for public transport)
- *The principle/fundamental environmental/public transport coalition* prioritises infrastructure and operation of public transport, wants less road investments and is willing to introduce restrictive car use measures

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) would categorise this as an institutional change or framework condition that may alter the influence and power of the different stakeholders. This change may change the coalition or power relationship between the advocacy coalitions. What external factors may be identified, factors that might explain the policy output, i.e. an integration between spatial and transport policy? Are there any occurrences which indicate whether new forms of regional

governance are adequate for explaining the policy gap? Or does lack of external situational factors explain the policy gap (Bratzel 1999)?<sup>5</sup>

When it comes to similarities of road and car use policy between regions of Kristiansand, Funen and Hanover (i.e. increased road capacity and lack of restrictive measures), this may be explained by similar factors external to the regional governance structure, such as the economy and the national policy system: First, ever since a free commodity car use was introduced, the dynamics of the market have been decisive for car ownership and use. Especially with the increased economic growth from 1960 and onwards, the car ownership and use in Norway as in Denmark and Germany has grown considerably. Second, in most of the last decades road building has been institutionalised as an important public goal, with support from a strong Road Administration in all the three countries. Third, in general the goal of increased road capacity has been promoted by most local coalitions, although some of the coalition partners have also supported the goal of reduced car use.

In the Kristiansand region the possibility of getting extraordinary funding (i.e. the Public Reward Fund) has moved actors from a more road based position towards the pragmatic accessibility coalition and the pragmatic public transport coalition. Only the latter coalition (the principle/fundamental environmental/public transport coalition) positions itself against increased road capacity. This means that in the Kristiansand region there will be a majority coalition in favour of road pricing and other restrictions on car use only in particular circumstances.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> In a study of conditions of success in sustainable urban transport policy, Bratzel argues that the changes “*only open due to strong and enduring forces originally form outside the local political system*” (Bratzel 1999:177). The output changes are measured as modal split in urban transport, and in regard to paradigm changes in political goals and change of instruments and their settings. Bratzel argues that the changes in urban transport policy of the cities Amsterdam, Groningen, Basel and Zurich started of in the late 1960s and in the beginning of the 1970s as strong and resistant public protest movements. In Groningen and Zurich the policies of the municipalities were changed by a clear political mandate through a new governing coalition, which gave a broad legitimacy for a reorientation of the transport policy. The policy windows described by Bratzel is regarded as a necessary but not sufficient condition for political change for implementing a sustainable transport policy (Bratzel 1999:186-1989).

<sup>6</sup> The position of the coalitions may and the significance of external factors may prove to be dependent on structural characteristics. When comparing the introduction of the trial of congestion charges in Stockholm with Norwegian toll roads, Osland and Leiren (2007) find the following structural differences: In Sweden the use of the revenue was earmarked for the local public transport system. Contrary, in Norway local public transport is funded by the counties, and regional actors compete for funding from the national budget for road infrastructure (i.e. national trunk roads). Implementation of user payment may result in extraordinary funding for infrastructure purposes. Also, in Sweden an absolute majority was necessary in order to decide on whether to introduce the congestion charges. In Norway, a considerable majority is necessary. While consensus-building is necessary in Norway, political conflict resulted in a decision for congestion charges in Sweden. The strategy of conflict was successful because the same coalition held the majority at both national and city level. In Norway, however, the need for local agreement creates a situation in which every coalition has a veto position in the decision making process.

To sum up, the positions of the coalitions may be stable unless external factors trigger changes. Furthermore, the governmental structures may be decisive in defining the rules and, thereby the relative strength and power of these coalitions. The coalition positions and the positions of different actors at regional level in the sectors are important for goal definition and achievement.

### **4.3 Governance for regional coordination**

Our departing point has been to see regional governance as an approach of strengthening coordination in multi-level systems. Kooiman describes the development of governance as a new patterns of interaction between the government and society, in which network based coordination mechanisms replace a traditional hierarchical government – and that these patterns may be observed in a wide variety of policy areas. Kooiman (1994:1) sees this as a second trend beside the shift towards strengthening the private sector through privatising public services. Rhodes describes governance as governing without government (Rhodes 1997). Traditional government decision is, thus, confronted with inter-organisational networks which are partly autonomous. The networks' actors are mutually dependent on each other and represent the public, private and non-governmental organisations.

Contrary to such interpretations which emphasise networks, we argue that these networks are embedded in a broader institutional environment (Peters 2007). When analysing regional governance, different transport and land use politico-administrative structures in terms of market, network and hierarchy should be included. Again the different coalitions that seek to influence land use and transport priorities are acting within this given “coordination mix.” On one hand, fragmentation may be a deliberative strategy in order to maintain or gain political power. On the other hand, the change towards an enforced regional level may be a strategy, in order to strengthen the power of coalitions or an administrative level. Furthermore, regional governance may be a strategy to improve local government towards both commercial or state actors.

In the Kristiansand case an interpretation of network governance replacing government does not seem to give an appropriate description of reality. First, regional and urban transport and land use policies have for decades been characterised by fragmentation and interplay between different organisations, loosely coupled in decision making processes, such as national road planning and regional land use. What is observed is not a development from government to governance, but merely a larger degree of coordination and formalisation within a fragmented and loosely coupled structure. Second, the network governance is in the shadow of two hierarchies: the bureaucracy of land use planning anchored in the ministry of environment from its establishment in 1972, and the bureaucracy of public roads, anchored in the Public Roads Administration. Moreover, it seems that the latter has a dominant position, not the least due to its control of economic resources through the state budget.

In our three observations the participants in regional governance have maintained their influence on land use and transport priorities. Private actors do not seem to have gained influence. We observe a strive for strengthening (Hanover) and

keeping a strong regional level (Funen) in order to frame lobbyism and proposals of private actors. In Hanover the regionalising of several policy areas, including transport and land use could be seen as a continuous development towards remaining hierarchy as the basis for regional coordination but with emphasis on communicative planning through network coordination across the administrative levels (Zibell, Löb and Fürst 2008).

Fimreite and Aars (2005) view the ATP programme as a traditional network of administrative bodies which results in an indirect democracy. They conclude that this reduces the policy decision power of the municipalities to a de-politicised arena that limits the local autonomy of the municipalities. Our findings, however, show that the influence of the municipalities towards private stakeholders or the county level have not been reduced. Although ATP does not alter formal land use decision authority, it might diminish the probability of objection among the participants.

The theoretical starting point of this project was to draw on new research approaches of governance, which focus upon political decision making as a network arrangement. This approach is based on research work on regional aspects of political governance in multi-level systems (Mayntz 1993; Kooiman 1994; Rhodes 1997). Then, we have introduced the advocacy coalition approach to describe the contextual arena of the stakeholders. But what is the role of different governmental structures in defining the rules and, hence, the relative strength and power of the advocacy coalitions?

Of the three observations, the significance of a new network of coordination is most clear in the Kristiansand pilot, in which the institutional roles of the participants of the inter-municipality arena were deliberate and well defined. In the observation of the Funen county network based coordination forms were not dominating. In regard to regional planning the county emphasised the dialogue with the municipalities. The network of municipalities and the county of Funen designated a strong local-regional level of policy making. The regional reform of 2007 in Denmark strengthened the competencies of the local authorities, as well as reduced the role of the larger regions in spatial planning. Some county representatives saw this as a consequence of the fact that the national level was worried about the strong role of the county level in spatial planning. The reform was not deliberate, according to the county representatives, but changed the role of regional level, and thereby the arena for network coordination at regional level.

In the Hanover region we observe a region in which the organisational changes (the Greater Hanover region was established in 2001) did not alter the role of the regional decision level significantly. The changes in coordination mechanisms resulted as a change of planning style within the region – from a regulative regime towards a procedural cooperative planning regime. However, the hierarchical basis for regional governance was not at stake as the regional public administrators have been willing to use the coordination instruments at hand actively. Hence, the network elements in the Hanover region were funded on the understanding of the persons in charge of regional planning, who advocated a cooperative planning regime (Zibell, Löb & Fürst 2008). The municipalities were included in the developing and implementing the regional land use planning similarly to in a network. From a institutional point of view, the strong position of

the regional administration is the main characteristic of the Hanover region: network biased coordination mechanisms did not play a significant role.

When looking at land use and transport planning we observe variations of interaction which resembles network coordination. In the Kristiansand region we may speak of a new pattern of interaction between the traditional stakeholders, and this governance scheme may be called deliberate. Also, in this region, as in Norway in general, regional and urban transport and land use policies have for decades been characterised by fragmentation, interplay between different organisations, loosely coupled in decision making processes, such as national road planning and regional land use. What may be observed is merely a larger degree of formalisation. Moreover, two hierarchies shadow the network governance: the bureaucracy of land use planning anchored in the Ministry of environment (established in 1972), and the bureaucracy of public roads (part of the Public Roads Administration). As already mentioned, many would argue that the latter has a dominant position, not the least due to its control of economic resources through state budget.

## **5 Lessons to be learnt for land use and transport planning in Norway**

When we ask for lessons learned from the Danish and German case, we draw our attention on possible institutional conditions or constraint that may influence the integration of land use and transport in a Norwegian planning context such as the Kristiansand pilot.

Different lessons learnt will be discussed by showing two ways in which regional co-ordination in the Norwegian planning context could be strengthened (Leite and Leiren 2007). Then we will describe the observations of Kristiansand, Funen and Hanover as three alternative models of regional governance (Leite et al 2008; Zibell, Fürst and Loeb 2008). Finally, we will draw our conclusion on the role of the national state in achieving the goals of an integrated land use and transport policy. We argue, that if we want to achieve a more sustainable land use and transport policy, this could be done both by enforcing the regional level or by bringing the state back in.

### **5.1 Regional governance and delegation of responsibilities**

There are (at least) two possibilities of strengthening regional governance: decentralisation of national competencies and centralisation of local competencies to the regional level.

Increase the competencies of the regional level by including for example road administration and planning competencies of the County governor in the counties<sup>7</sup>. Furthermore, the regional level could be strengthened by making the regional plans of the counties juridical binding for planning in the municipalities. The proposed renewal of the Norwegian Plan and building act would strengthen the regional level in this sense, by enabling the counties to set out the frame conditions for municipality planning. The counties would then to some degree decide planning content at local level, such as specific localisation of residential and commercial areas. This would in a Norwegian context imply a centralisation of planning competencies from local to county level that would oppose the principles of local planning authority in a hierarchic manner, and come close to the former county model in Denmark. If the state level would actively follow up the national impetus of an integrated land use and transport planning, this would

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<sup>7</sup> This has been set up as a viable reform by the Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities (KS), the member association for municipalities, counties and public enterprises that are owned by municipalities or counties.

imply an even higher degree of centralisation, where the national level could actively secure the implementation of national planning goals for a sustainable land use planning. In this sense centralisation and decentralisation may be described as antagonisms.

Another direction would be to integrate the municipality in a regional planning model like the Kristiansand pilot. Ironically, this centralisation has similar effects to decentralisation as the municipalities become more powerful in regional planning and coordination. Another aspect is that the regional decision level does not include the policy opposition (Fimreite and Aars 2005). Further, the increased participation of the municipalities could also be at the expense of the county's influence capability as the county would be one of the participating stakeholders in the regional scheme. On the other hand this could also imply centralisation of planning competencies from the local to the regional level. That is the case when a regional plan is regarded as binding in planning decision processes. In this case the typical decentralisation effect and centralisation could be regarded as spouses.

The three observations studied in this project could be described as different variations of regional governance – understood as strengthening the regional decision level. In the following we will describe how these three models would perform in regard to the planning system in Norway that accounts for three levels: the municipalities, the counties and the state level. One obvious difference between the regional model of Kristiansand, Hanover and the county model of Funen is the size of the regional area (the Hanover region having approximately the size of the Oslo region). More importantly, the three regions could be described different in regard to centralisation. In the Kristiansand region we could say that the regional level is strengthened mainly through the centralisation of local authority to the ATP Committee, but state responsibilities have also been delegated to the transport project. The former county model of Funen seems to be more dominated by the centralisation of local authority to the county in land use planning. In Hanover, on the other hand, the state level has delegated important responsibilities to the regional level.

## **5.2 The regional level as a policy decision hub in land use planning**

In the regional model the regional level may serve as the central institution for land use planning as most of the major issues of spatial development are set down in the regional plan and followed up by a set of planning regulations and instruments. The state level, in Hanover the Land Niedersachsen, designates the major development areas, but the regional is in charge of all relevant instruments to influence localization of residential areas and retail trade. It has a high political legitimacy as the region is represented by elected mandates in the regional assembly and the administrative organisation is thus politically controlled.

Compared to the Norwegian planning institute several national competencies are in the hands of the regional level. Thus, the policy guidelines for a substantive integration of land use and transport planning is defined and laid down in the regional plan. In the Norwegian (and Danish) system these guidelines are decided on by the Ministry of Environment. Furthermore, the state authorities such as the

County governor are responsible for controlling that these guidelines are followed. The County governor has the possibility to object.<sup>8</sup> The Ministry of Environment decides on the objections in the end. Thus, the national authorities play an important role in controlling the planning decisions which are in conflict with national regulations and planning guidelines.

In the regional model, however, these planning instruments are largely in the hand of the regional entity – and the principle of an integrated land use and transport planning may be taken into account already in the decision phase of the land use plans. In the German federal system, law defines the role of the municipalities and the state level. The Hanover region holds several of the competencies that are normally in the hands of the state authority. Except for the designation of regional development centres, the Niedersachsen is not active in spatial planning concerning the Hanover region. Thus, the regional level is mainly independent as a planning authority, because the region is in charge of approving both preparatory and binding land use plans. In consequence the private proprietary developers and municipalities have to anticipate whether the proposal is in accordance with the regional plan or not – or start a dialogue with the regional administration on the planned project. As in Hanover the legitimacy of the regional planning level has been strong. This was largely due to an acceptance of the regional planning instruments as such, but also due to good dialogues with the municipalities. However, for the regional model to be efficient in achieving the goals for a sustainable development, these goals should be internalised in the political administrative system of the region. In Hanover there is a continuous consensus on the spatial vision of a polycentric development for the Hanover region that goes back to the 60s.

### **5.3 Strengthening of the county level**

In the county model the county level has strong planning competencies, and at the same time it is in charge of public transport and road investments. This may seem similar to the Norwegian planning model. A stronger county, however, implies a significant extension of the role of the regional administration in regard to regional land use planning. This was the case in the former County of Funen. In the county model the county is the hub in the region. The county coordinates the dialogue with each municipality through the planning process, and the municipalities have to deal with the county in regard to planning issues as an administrative entity and not as part of a network with other municipalities. The county may be described as a hub in regional coordination. To be a hub implies that the national level may influence the municipalities through the counties. National legislation on planning might be more actively and directly implemented in a county, and the county could be a mediator between national policy and policy instruments and local interests.

However, for the county model to be efficient in achieving sustainable goals, the national goals will have to be internalised in the county's autonomous political

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<sup>8</sup> In Kristiansand the objection on the proposed regulation plan of Ålefjær Brygge in Kristiansand could illustrate current actuality of the institute of objection (Kristiansand kommune 2008).



and administrative system. The substantial efficiency of this model will be dependent on an active and integrated national coordination and incentives that enable the implementation of strategies, e.g. in order to reduce use of car for transport and prioritise (i.e. fund and plan) public transport. This would be important for a county as a mediator: In the county model the municipality is in direct dialogue with the county on municipal planning priorities and strategies. The municipalities will be dependent on the county when following national environmental goals, local planning priorities and regional considerations. A county which is passive or reluctant towards national planning guidelines and incentives, however, may hamper local and regional initiatives. In such a situation the county would become a bottle-neck rather than a facilitator.

## **5.4 Strengthening of the municipalities through regional coordination**

The functional model of the ATP programme in the Kristiansand region is an institutional arrangement which may avoid these pitfalls. A regional level composed by municipalities, counties and the regional Road Administration may seem a viable organisation in order to include both local and regional planning considerations, and reduce fragmentation and disintegration. Specific municipal interests and priorities are not directed bilaterally to the county or region, but addressed in a common decision arena. In the Norwegian planning system this may have different effects: On one hand, this could imply that the municipalities improve their influence on regional planning, and at the same time keep their formal decision power on land use and transport priorities through veto power. The influence of the original regional level of the county, and to some extent the County governor, would be mediated through the municipalities and not the other way around. The collective of municipalities could grow strong. This could make it harder to influence land use priorities through national guidelines and incentives. On the other hand, local autonomy would remain, and at the same time the national authority would have a new regional entity as target group for national policy. Both the Ministry of environment and the Ministry of transport and communications could directly communicate with the municipalities through the regional governance arena.

However, the functional model of the Kristiansand pilot raises two important questions: First, should binding land use priorities at regional level be introduced, in order to create an efficient regional level for achieving goals of sustainability? The future process of the ATP land use project will be of great interest. A local veto right may be regarded as necessary, in order to maintain local planning autonomy. However, the development of a regional land use plan may be efficient in restricting municipalities in making decisions in conflict with regional interests or national goals. An inter-municipality agreement based on common understanding, consensus and veto rights may be too weak to deal with large goal conflicts and development priorities.

Second, would we see the development of a fourth level? Fimreite and Aars (2005) call the ATP programme as a fourth level of administration. When discussing the consequences of a permanent fourth level, they argue that this level

will enjoy a high degree of independence and lack of control by the municipalities and counties. According to them, the lack of accountability implies a democratic deficit.<sup>9</sup> The representatives do not have a regional constituency. They are, however, elected in municipalities and counties whose interests they represent. They are indirectly elected, and in order to be re-elected, the politicians will have to bring the interest of their electorates to the new regional level, and balance this with the common regional interest. A new regional level will not be independent unless it overrules the local, or to some extent the county level or the County governor. Compared to the regional and county model described above, the municipality would be more actively integrated in this new regional level. However, would the democratic legitimacy for such an empowered regional level be sufficient? The local representatives would partly represent their political parties and partly their municipalities.

To sum up, the functional model may not be efficient in achieving goal attainment of integration of land use and transport planning, because the regional assembly of municipalities may not want to implement the necessary measures, or because of lack of democratic legitimacy. Perhaps the national level should be brought back in?

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<sup>9</sup> In an evaluation of the ATP programme Langeland (2006) finds that several of the actors in the regional cooperation argue that there is a democratic deficit. Their opinion is based on the fact that the small municipalities only have one representative each in the ATP committee, while Kristiansand has 6 representatives. At the same time they accept that Kristiansand as a city and with the largest population is more heavily represented.

## **6 Conclusion: Bringing the state and the county back in?**

The starting point of this project has been the observed fragmentation of land use and transport policy in Norway, and the gap between national goals for an integrated land use and transport planning and the local implementation of these goals. The main aim of the project has been to discuss how a strengthened regional level may contribute to a better integration of land use and transport planning. The research project looked at three city regions: the Kristiansand region, the former county of Funen and the Hanover region. They designate different models of regional coordination in three different planning systems. The study shows that regional governance does matter, but regional governance is not a sufficient condition for closing the gap between national policy goals and local implementation of an integrated land use and transport policy. How may our findings contribute to the pilot of the Kristiansand region and more widely the Norwegian planning context?

The regions in a multi-level system may be independent administrative decision levels which operate within a given legal framework. They have some political legitimacy through representation and inter-institutional agreements. In Norway regional governance, as represented by the counties, is an integrated part of the national political administrative system. As described above the dilemma of the national level may be twofold: First, the national state aim at maintaining local autonomy through self governance, and thereby enforcing “living local societies.” Second, the sub-national level is crucial for implementation of national goals and, thus, has to be framed in a multi-level setting. This dilemma is complicated as the national level is fragmented and gives ambiguous goals such as improved flow of cars through increased road capacity, but also reduction of emissions. Crucial issues that have to be decided on are the priority of road versus public transport, national road investments, and funding priorities of road investments versus public transport services.

Recommendations for integration of land use and transport planning in a Norwegian context should for this reason be made on the background of the specific institutional conditions in Norway: First, the division of competencies between the two ministries of transport and environment and the regulations, policy documents, authorities and regional bodies within these sectors, should be taken into account. Second, the discussion on a wider regional reform with delegation of vast competencies at the regional level has been abandoned. Furthermore, the political will of reducing the number or enlarging the size of the municipalities is represented by a minority. Thus, the institutional changes would be carried out within the polity system of a unitary state with three administrative levels.

The regional cooperation, the ATP programme in the Kristiansand region, seems to be an efficient arena for creating trust among the municipalities and discussing

restrictive measures such as road pricing, although restrictive measures are unpopular among citizens. It is a trial which was triggered by carrots: The national level initiated the Public Reward Fund and the administrative pilot in order to achieve voluntary implementation of restrictive measures. In other words, it was triggered by the national level.

However, the observations from the Funen and Hanover regions show that the regional level may influence the direction and content of especially land use. In planning the regional organisation may be a level which achieves goals e.g. by mediating between the state and municipality level. It might be an advantage because it may be difficult for the state level to follow-up or control the numerous municipalities. In a Norwegian context a renewal of the Plan and building act may contribute to a strengthened county that may contribute to this.

In the regional cooperation model of the ATP municipalities are included in regional planning. However, there would be a need for a clarification of the role of the counties and the County governor. One viable option for the mid-sized Norwegian regions such as the Kristiansand region may be to strengthen the county as regional level, and at the same time increase the inclusion of the municipalities in deciding upon the regional planning issues. This could be done by designating the regional land use plan as an inter-municipal coordination process. The administrative units (like the ATP project secretariat) could be designated as a part of the county administration. The county as a permanent institution could be in charge of implementing the regional plan. The county could get increased competencies when the municipalities decide on their land use plans. Also, an inclusion of the regional Road Administration as part of the county administration could empower the regional competencies in the field of land use and transport policy.

Achievement of policy instruments that aim at e.g. limiting urban sprawl, requires either a clear and continuous policy commitment, as seen in the Hanover region, or national policy. In order to achieve a more sustainable land use and transport policy, it might be necessary to bring the state back in. A coordination dialogue could either take place as a direct dialogue between the state level and the county, or mediated through the County governor.

The observations in the Hanover and Funen regions have shown that a stronger regional level does not imply that restrictive measures is likely to be imposed – or that the municipalities implement restrictive measures in order to achieve national goals. National incentives or regulations seem necessary in order to implement restrictive measures which are supposed to contribute to national goal achievements, such as reduced greenhouse gas emissions.

To sum up, a strong national level which gives incentives and communicates with both the regional and the municipality level are necessary in order to achieve an integration of land use and transport policy. If not, the aim of countering the fragmentation of land use and transport planning may come short already at the outset. The local policy may suffer from ambiguous national goals and incentives. In such a situation there is no wonder that the municipalities choose to run with the hare (improve public transport) and hunt with the hounds (allow urban sprawl and road capacity increase).

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