Making Sense of Integrated Planning

Challenges to Urban and Transport Planning Processes in Sweden

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Abstract

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Challenges to urban and transport planning processes in Sweden

The shaping of spatial structures at the urban, regional and national levels involves numerous kinds of actors and planning activities. In recent years, calls for cross-sectoral coordination and integrated planning approaches echo extensively across different fields of planning. However, experiences from planning situations around Sweden and elsewhere reveal great challenges to such ambitions. This thesis explores key conditions for an integrated approach to urban and transport planning, focusing on the relationships between public professional actors and agencies involved in the interface between urban and transport planning and strategy making, at the local and national level in Sweden. The theoretical framework is based on communicative planning theory and theories on sensemaking.

The empirical material emanates from the project The Livable City, a collaboration project between three Swedish municipalities and national authorities responsible for transport and urban planning in Sweden. The aim of The Livable City was to develop knowledge about integrated planning of the built environment and transport systems and to develop integrated processes for coordination of different interests, demands and needs. Case studies were conducted, based on document studies, interviews and observations.

The results from this study illustrate various aspects of how plans and strategies in a multiperspective environment need to make sense to actors with different perspectives on what planning is all about. A sensemaking perspective on planning suggests that plans and strategies to promote an integrated approach to planning will always be partial and selective despite ambitions for these to be comprehensive or holistic. Commitment, reification and participation have in the cases proven to be useful concepts to understand the sensemaking aspect of planning practice. Interactive processes may inform the shaping of perspectives and can therefore be an element in efforts to promote integrated approaches to urban and transport planning, although the extent to which this may be achieved is highly dependent on contextual conditions and will vary from case to case.

Keywords: urban planning, transport planning, integrated planning, communicative planning, sensemaking, perspectives, coordination
Acknowledgements

I have spent years reading and writing about the concept of ‘meaning’. In fact, this thesis is imbued with discussions about meaning. Ironically then, coming to the point where I want to say thank you to the people who made it possible for me to do this, I find myself lacking the words to express what has really meant something. I will give it a try here, but I hope that my appreciation has also shone through in situations where I have had the benefit of interacting with you.

It is very clear to me that I would not have been halfway to completing this thesis if I had not received help, support and clever comments from my supervisors, Göran Cars, Karolina Isaksson and Maria Håkansson. The three of you have complemented each other in a way that has been very valuable for me. In the best of all worlds, all PhD students would have a combination of supervisors like I have had! Thank you Göran, for guiding me into this whole field of research, and for backing me up in that sticky interface between research and planning practice that characterised the first half of my time as a PhD student. My gratitude to Karolina and Maria for their help and support in the final stages of completing this thesis is far beyond what I can possibly describe. I hope you have sensed my appreciation along the way!

In addition to my supervisors, several persons have contributed to the development of my research. Great thanks to Anne Jensen for giving me well-aimed and highly constructive comments at my final seminar, and to Gunnar Forsberg for an encouraging discussion as I defended my licentiate thesis. I am also grateful for the discussions I have had with Abdul Khakee, who had a decisive role in my decisions on how to structure the research after completing my licentiate thesis. Thank you also to Hans Lind who did the internal quality examination for KTH, and to Mary McAfee, Kiera Chapman and Dina Nash for assisting me with language editing of the texts in this thesis.

My acknowledgements also extend to all those practitioners I have had the opportunity and pleasure to meet and converse with during the course of my research. In particular, I am thankful to those whom I have interviewed, for sharing their interesting and intelligent reflections with me. Special thanks go to the members of the working group of the project ‘The Livable City’ from 2006-2008 (Den Goda Stadens arbetsutskott), which I followed closely during the first half of this research project, in particular Torbjörn Suneson, Mathias Wärnghjelm and Anki Ingelström at the Swedish Transport Administration, from where the funding for my research was derived.

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To my colleagues at the Division of Urban and Regional Studies I want to say thank you for making it such a great place to work! Of all the ideas I have had in the past five years, the good ones had their geographical origin at the coffee machine in the kitchen at DKV 30, 1st floor. At seminars and meetings, several of you have given me valuable inputs on my research, and have continuously made me rethink much of what I have taken for granted. For these reasons and for the good company, I am glad to have been part of a really nice PhD community.

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Among the persons who have inspired me through this research journey, I would also like to send my gratitude to the participants at the symbolic interactionist Couch Stone Symposium 2010 in Little Rock, USA, in particular David Altheide and John Johnson, for giving me valuable insights into how meaning can be researched and understood. I have also found much inspiration in the numerous discussions with my friend Per Wilhelmsson about all kinds of issues relating to the subject of my writing.

Above all, I am grateful for the fantastic support I have received from my family. The moral and practical support from my parents, Jaja and Claes, is just priceless! Thanks to Britta and Lars for their help and hospitality, and to Matika, Aykut and the lovely cousins Eldinor and Jessica for giving me an additional reason to look forward to the summers.

Anna, I realize how much you have had to put up with during the most intensive periods of this writing process. You have shown tremendous patience and encouragement, despite my absence at these times, and given me the mental strength and relief I have needed in the face of deadlines and times of pressure. Thank you for being there for me! You make it all worthwhile! And Elvin, Vilma and Malte, my three small but rapidly growing companions, who give true meaning to every new day of my life. You give me the inspiration to do the best I can. You keep me reminded of what really matters. And you always greet me with the same abundance of affection. You are just the best, and have my unconditional admiration, respect and love. Thank you!

Stockholm, November 2011
List of papers included in the thesis

Paper 1.

Paper 2.

Paper 3.

Paper 4.

List of papers included in the thesis

Paper 1.

Paper 2.

Paper 3.

Paper 4.
Abbreviations

CBA: Cost Benefit Analysis
NBHBP: National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (Boverket)
OIA: Overall Impact Assessment (Samlad effektbedömning)
SALAR: Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (Sveriges kommuner och landsting, SKL)
SRA: Swedish Rail Administration (Banverket)
SRoA: Swedish Road Administration (Vägverket)
STA: Swedish Transport Administration (Trafikverket)
1 Introduction

The shaping of spatial structures at the urban, regional and national levels involves numerous kinds of planning activities. Essentially all planning efforts from governments at all administrative levels have some form of spatial implications, whether directly, e.g. through physical location, or indirectly through an influence on forces that slowly or dramatically, intentionally or unintentionally, transform space. Different planning activities will therefore inevitably have to confront each other as they materialise in the spatial reality of society: “It is in space (…) that each idea of ‘value’ acquires or loses its distinctiveness through confrontation with the other values and ideas that it encounters there” argued Lefebvre (1991, p. 416), pinpointing the significance of considering the spatial impacts of any measure taken and indicating a need for cross-sectoral coordination of planning activities.

In recent years, recognition of these interdependencies has characterised much of the planning debate in Sweden and elsewhere. Calls for cross-sectoral coordination and integrated planning approaches echo extensively across different fields of planning. One prominent example is the relationship between urban and transport planning, two sectors with a very direct spatial interface in the urban environment that are attracting increasing attention among public planning agencies and planning researchers. Consequently, the coordination between transport planning and urban planning is widely acknowledged as a crucial ambition for governments at all administrative levels (STA, 2011a). However, practical experiences from planning situations around Sweden and elsewhere reveal great challenges to such ambitions.

Following the basic argument of the literature on “the shift from government to governance” (Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003), the spatial structuring of society is of necessity influenced by actors representing different professions, interests and sectors. Innes & Booher (2003), for instance, write that “for the most part in complex and controversial cases of regional resource management, infrastructure planning, growth management and the like [...] few players are sufficiently autonomous and powerful to ignore other players” (pp. 41-42). Consequently, the potential for coordination, or integration, between urban and transport planning is dependent on the perspectives of different groups and actors involved in planning processes. This thesis explores key conditions for an integrated approach to urban and transport planning, focusing on the relationships between public professional actors and agencies involved in the interface between urban and transport planning and strategy making at the local and national level in Sweden.

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The introductory chapter of this cover essay provides some conceptual clarifications, as well as a background to the research topic, and outlines the aim and focus of the study. The main theoretical framework and concepts applied in the analysis are outlined in Chapter 2, and the methodological approach is described in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, Papers 1-4 are summarised, and some wider implications of the results are discussed in Chapter 5.

1.1 Planning, integration and coordination

The literature on the conceptual definition of planning is vast. Aspects that have been acknowledged as central to the concept of planning include an orientation to the future (Friedman, 1987), and a concern with the linking of knowledge to action (Friedman, 1987). Much of the planning literature also emphasises the spatial dimension of the planning concept (Taylor, 2005), either from a political angle (e.g. Perry, 1995; Hillier, 2003), or with the focus on capacity building among stakeholders related to specific places, e.g. Healey (2010), who sees planning as an activity associated with “imaging place futures and developing programmes to shape future place development” (p. 2). In order to distinguish planning from any other activity or practice influencing the spatial structure of society, Mintzberg (1994) stresses the procedural aspect of planning, seeing planning as a “formalized procedure to produce an articulated result, in the form of an integrated system of decisions” (p. 12).

The concept of strategy-making (or spatial strategy-making) bears much resemblance to the notion of planning. It is, for instance, also often associated with the guidance of behaviour (van der Heijden, 1996) and can thereby also be seen as future-orientated, although the retrospective aspect of strategy formation has been emphasised by e.g. Mintzberg (1994) and Healey (2007). Healey (2007) and Albrechts (2004) characterise strategies as selective in order to mobilise attention to specific efforts and measures. From such a perspective, a central aspect of the development of strategies is the “framing activities of stakeholders to help achieve shared concerns about spatial changes” (Albrechts, 2004, p. 748).

In this view, strategies have an orientation to facilitating actions and commitment to the implementation of plans (Fredriksson, 2011), while acknowledging the uncertainty of contextual changes.

For the purposes of this thesis, a precise distinction between planning and strategy-making is not of great importance. The activities and practices on which she analyses focus are of different kinds, sometimes best labelled planning, sometimes better labelled strategy-making. However, these activities share some central elements, which binds them together in a way that makes them meaningful to consider as objects of study in a wider framework. They are all carried out under the responsibility of formal public agencies, and are thereby formalised to...
some degree. They also share an orientation towards the future, and they all have an essentially spatial dimension.

The planning literature suggests a variety of dimensions of integration and coordination, indicating a disparate picture of what integrated or coordinated planning is all about. For instance, Banister & Givoni (2010) among others emphasise the difference between policy integration and integrated transport, distinguishing between the relationships between modes of transport as opposed to those between fields of policy. Following a similar line of argument, Hall (2005) proposes an integration ladder suggesting a sliding scale from narrow “physical and operational integration of public transport” to a wider “integration of policy measures” (p. 322). Furthermore, while integration may refer to the “joining up” of different public policy domains and their associated actors within a given territorial area” (Kidd, 2007, p. 164), it may also apply to other dimensions, such as the interrelationship between territorial units, e.g. local and national administrative levels, or the organisational relationship between different parts of a strategy-making process, e.g. “the alignment of related delivery mechanisms” (Kidd, 2007, p. 166) in different initiatives or programmes.

A concept closely related to integration is coordination. According to Stead & Meijers (2009), “a major difference between policy integration and policy coordination is that the latter aims to adjust sectoral policies in order to make them mutually enforcing and consistent. Contrarily, policy integration results in one joint policy for the sectors involved.” (p. 322). While policy coordination is seen as the effort to align actions from different sources in a common direction towards a shared goal, policy integration is the state in which this alignment is achieved and where the efforts to align are replaced by a comprehensive effort to achieve the goal. As a categorisation of the intertwining of planning activities, integration is thus a more far-reaching concept than coordination, which is seen as a necessary condition for integration in this view.

When I use the term integrated approach to urban and transport planning in this thesis, I refer to the extent to which publicly mandated efforts to influence the spatial structures of society, and urban areas in particular, are characterised by considerations of the interlinkages between the perspectives of those responsible for urban development and transportation. These efforts may be reified as explicit statements of intentions in formal plans, but may also be the property of more informal collaboration networks among actors responsible for different kinds of planning activities. I consider integrated planning to be the process through which such considerations are made in practice.

With the risk of the term ‘integrated’ being associated with an end state rather than an approach, the term ‘integrative’ (as used by e.g. Holden, 2008) may have been an alternative. However, in the planning literature on integration, the term ‘integrative’ is more established than ‘integrated’, and since I clarify the difference between an integrated approach to planning and integrated planning, I regard my choice of terminology to be adequate.

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Although the theme of this thesis is formulated in terms of integration, the issue of coordination is also relevant in many of the sections where integration is the key topic. Consequently, this thesis spans both integration and coordination and, despite the conceptual difference between the two, they are discussed as aspects of similar problems.

1.2 Integration and coordination in context
This section provides a condensed overview of how the issue of integration and cross-sectoral coordination has been treated and discussed in the Swedish public debate and in relevant research, starting with a brief look at the background to the topic.

1.2.1 Integration in relation to urban and transport planning – a background
In recent times, the gradual emergence of a “sustainable mobility paradigm” (Banister, 2008) has lifted the issue of integration in relation to transportation planning onto the research agenda. Over the years, however, the integration of planning of urban areas and planning of transportation systems has been a topic of discussion to varying degrees. In a historical overview, Neuman & Smith (2010) describe the gradual parting of the two as a result of the development of planning from a narrowly technical to a broader activity with wider implications for society. Up until the 20th century, many efforts to structure cities had an infrastructure focus, but some decades into the 1900s, Neuman & Smith argue, the scope of urban planning expanded “beyond infrastructure and hygiene”, resulting in wider ambitions to “plan and govern urban space” (2010, p. 28). As the complexity of urban planning gradually increased, the need for specialisation contributed to the differentiation of the professional groups working with infrastructure and other aspect of urban planning, in turn enhancing the sectoral divides between different forms of planning.

After initially being primarily concerned with intraregional travel, transportation planning increasingly focused on the interregional level as the car permeated society. According to Breen et al. (2009), the expansion of the Interstate Highway system in America in the 1950s and 1960s led to a relative transfer of power over transportation planning from local planners to national or state highway engineers, implying a narrower focus on efficiency, traffic safety and congestion relief – a shift in focus which also affected the planning of transport in cities.

In Sweden, leading professionals in transport planning at that time were highly influenced by developments in America. Lundin (2008) traces the establishment of the car society in Sweden to the transfer of ideas from the American transport system in America in the 1950s and 1960s led to a relative transfer of power over transportation planning from local planners to national or state highway engineers, implying a narrower focus on efficiency, traffic safety and congestion relief – a shift in focus which also affected the planning of transport in cities.

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According to Andersson (2009), SCAFT were used as the official national planning community to the Swedish planning context. A linear view on technological development in the 1950s and 1960s, consistent with the hegemony of modernistic planning beginning in the 1930s (Andersson, 2009), gave rise to the idea that the car was here to stay and that alternative trends were not relevant to consider. Planning thus became regarded as apolitical, and a matter for officials rather than politicians. Looking at North America as the forefront of technological development, key Swedish transport planners, or experts, were highly influenced by the American development of cities built for mass motoring, according to Lundin (2008). The topical problems of congestion and traffic accidents were expected to be relieved if urban areas were adapted to the car as the norm for urban transportation. The formalisation of modernistic ideas of traffic differentiation and physical separation between the built environment and the transport system into rules and guidelines for transport and urban planning in a set of planning principles labelled SCAFT 1968, eventually came to permeate much of planning practice for decades to come (Hagson, 2004; Lundin, 2008).

According to Andersson (2009), SCAFT were used as the official national guidelines for urban development until the mid-1990s, when political consensus on the need to develop the transport system in ways that would not contribute to further fragmentation of the built environment resulted in a new transport policy. However, Hagson (2004) argued that the core principles of the SCAFT paradigm in the 1960s essentially continued to characterise national planning guidelines into the 2000s, lingering as “frozen ideologies” through the final decades of the 1900s.

Much of the current debate on urban planning is characterised by a critical view of the modernist ideas represented by SCAFT and its followers. For example, Söderlind (1998) argues that modernistic planning ideas have caused our societies to become socially fragmented, functionally monotonous, energy-consuming and transport-dependent. Other issues in this debate are the environmental impact of cities, where the spatial structure of cities has been suggested to have a great influence on the use of energy for transport (Holmberg, 2011), and the role of cities for economic development, where e.g. Engström (2008) argues that increased attention to the multifunctionality of urban cores is needed to facilitate the growth of knowledge-intensive industries.

A series of investigations and reports by government agencies in Sweden around the turn of the millennium emphasised the need to consider transportation planning and urban planning processes in a joint context. The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning2 (NBHBP), which is the government agency responsible for planning and urban development in Sweden, has had a prominent role in this debate, having published a number of reports highlighting what it considers to be shortcomings in the coordination between transport planning and other forms of urban planning (e.g. 2002; 2004; 2009; 2010). In “a campaign to

\[2\] Boverket in Swedish.

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inspire local politicians, planners, environmental experts and traffic engineers towards a joint and more holistic view on urban development" (NBHBP, 2004, p. 3), the agency articulates its official view on this issue in the following way: “Traffic planning and housing development should no longer apply to our towns, but should be replaced with town making, a form of town making in which traffic is one of the fundamental prerequisites contributing to a rich, living, and well-functioning-town. Do not even use these concepts!” (NBHBP, 2004, p. 20).

Considering that many of the officials involved in ‘town making’ see themselves as traffic planners, such a statement may seem somewhat provocative coming from the government agency responsible for urban development. Although hardly formulated, the core message of the quote could be interpreted in a more nuanced way, as an ambition to promote closer linkages between the activities centred on transportation and the activities with a primary focus on housing.

Such a perspective is far from unique among formal institutions responsible for urban development. In parallel to the NBHBP ‘campaign’, the former Swedish Road Administration (SRA), NBHBP, SALAR and a selection of municipalities to investigate the potential for an integrated perspective on transportation and urban development in a six-year project entitled The Livable City (STA, 2011a; see also Paper 1). Having resulted in more than 30 publications discussing the relationship between transport planning and urban planning, this project has been characterised by the ambition to highlight the need to upgrade “a coordinated policy of urban development” (STA, 2011a, p. 19) on the national and local political agenda.

Having studied the Swedish planning debate around the turn of the millennium, Tunström (2009) argues that the reactions against modernistic planning, as expressed by e.g. Söderlind (1998), NBHBP and other proponents of

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walking, cycling and the use of public transport, too much densification may result
land and water, covering the entire municipal territory
infrastructure, with which building permits need to be consistent. Each
binding detailed development plans for the built environment including
not legally binding, but should provide guidance for the use of land and water.

1.2.2 Formal system of land use and transport planning in
Sweden
Swedish land use planning, regulated in the Planning and Building Act (SFS
2010:900), is primarily a responsibility of the municipalities1. Leaning on a "local
planning monopoly"2 (Böhme, 2002), they have the formal mandate to govern land
use development processes within their own territory, as long as this does not
violate national regulations. The detailed land use is regulated through legally
binding detailed development plans for the built environment including
infrastructure, with which building permits need to be consistent. Each
municipality is obliged to have an up-to-date comprehensive plan for the use of
land and water, covering the entire municipal territory3, where the long term
development of the physical environment is outlined. A comprehensive plan is
not legally binding, but should provide guidance for the use of land and water.

Comprehensive plans are obliged to clarify how the municipalities consider
national interests regarding e.g. natural resources, cultural heritage, energy
production and transportation. In concrete terms, this means that land areas of
interest for future development of roads and railways cannot be developed for
other purposes.

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1 There is a formal planning instrument called regional land use plans, but these are not mandatory and are
only used outside the Stockholm and Gothenburg regions.
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specific areas in more detail, without going to the level of Detailed Development Plans.
Transport planning, is conducted by both municipalities and the Swedish Transport Administration\(^9\) (STA), who have the responsibility for different parts of the transport system. It is mainly regulated by the Swedish Road Act (SFS 1971:948), and Swedish Railway Act (SFS 2004:319), depending on the mode of transport. National road and railway planning was previously managed by the SRoA and the SRA, but since April 2010, the newly formed STA replaced the former two agencies.

Even though the responsibilities for urban land use planning and national transport planning reside with different organizations, and are guided by different sets of legislation, the two need to be formally coordinated when a road or railway is to be built or adjusted. Every project needs to be regulated through the municipal planning instruments as well. Thus, there is a continuous need for collaboration between the authorities responsible for urban land use and transport planning.

1.2.3 Planning principles and the management of conflicting perspectives

Swedish national policy objectives are commonly formulated within the frameworks of the relevant policy field or sector (Swedish Agency for Public Management, 2005). Unlike in countries where the national government and parliament formulates a spatial vision for the development of the country, there are no cross-sectoral guiding policies articulated in spatial terms in Sweden (Lindström, 2005). There have been attempts at agency level to promote wider spatial visions at the national level (e.g. NBHBP, 1995; NUTEK, 2006), but the role of the national government in the Swedish planning system has remained essentially sectorally defined, and consequently within “a national sector, planning is carried out by agencies aiming to meet the need for a certain type of service, and the spatial dimension often has a relatively low priority” (Cars & Hårsman, 2001, p. 94). As a consequence, official national policies are characterised by conflicting ideas of how spatial relationships should be handled by the national government (Dannebrog, 2009), at the expense of the coordination efforts between sectors (Lindström, 2005). A study of different national policy documents from the late 1990s concluded that the spatial implications of policies in different sectors even contradict each other (Ulén, et al., 2001), which illustrates the substantial challenge facing efforts to achieve cross-sectoral coordination.

The problem of how to manage goal conflicts has not only been debated as an issue between sectors, but also within the field of transport policy. A review of the transport policy goals in 2007 and 2008 raised the question of what guidance these goals actually provide for the long-term transportation planning process, in

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Even though the responsibilities for urban land use planning and national transport planning reside with different organizations, and are guided by different sets of legislation, the two need to be formally coordinated when a road or railway is to be built or adjusted. Every project needs to be regulated through the municipal planning instruments as well. Thus, there is a continuous need for collaboration between the authorities responsible for urban land use and transport planning.

1.2.3 Planning principles and the management of conflicting perspectives

Swedish national policy objectives are commonly formulated within the frameworks of the relevant policy field or sector (Swedish Agency for Public Management, 2005). Unlike in countries where the national government and parliament formulates a spatial vision for the development of the country, there are no cross-sectoral guiding policies articulated in spatial terms in Sweden (Lindström, 2005). There have been attempts at agency level to promote wider spatial visions at the national level (e.g. NBHBP, 1995; NUTEK, 2006), but the role of the national government in the Swedish planning system has remained essentially sectorally defined, and consequently within “a national sector, planning is carried out by agencies aiming to meet the need for a certain type of service, and the spatial dimension often has a relatively low priority” (Cars & Hårsman, 2001, p. 94). As a consequence, official national policies are characterised by conflicting ideas of how spatial relationships should be handled by the national government (Dannebrog, 2009), at the expense of the coordination efforts between sectors (Lindström, 2005). A study of different national policy documents from the late 1990s concluded that the spatial implications of policies in different sectors even contradict each other (Ulén, et al., 2001), which illustrates the substantial challenge facing efforts to achieve cross-sectoral coordination.

The problem of how to manage goal conflicts has not only been debated as an issue between sectors, but also within the field of transport policy. A review of the transport policy goals in 2007 and 2008 raised the question of what guidance these goals actually provide for the long-term transportation planning process, in

\(^9\) Trafikverket in Swedish.
A related discussion revolves around the role of economic efficiency as the guiding principle for transport planning. For many years Swedish transport policy-making and planning has been criticised for not taking cost-benefit analyses (CBA) sufficiently into consideration (Nilsson, 1991; Swedenborg, 2002), despite official exhortations for these to constitute an important element in transport planning procedures, for instance by including the economic efficiency in the transport policy goals. The Infrastructure Bill from 2001 has even been referred to as a “gigantic waste of resources” by leading scholars in the field (Swedenborg, 2002). However, CBA has gradually been given greater emphasis in transport policy over the past decade (Thorsson, 2011). In a recent study, Eliasson & Lundberg (2011) scrutinised the extent to which CBA influenced the actual investment decisions in the current national long-term investment plan in Sweden. Their analysis indicates that CBA has influenced the proposals of officials but not those of politicians. In particular, CBA has served as a “screening tool” for planners to avoid investments where the net benefits are expected to be negative.

1.2.4 The politics of coordination and planning

A central argument in the critique of the inconsistent usage of CBA in transport planning relates to the potential inconsistency between formal and actual planning procedures. For example, Nilsson (2002) argues that the government contradicts its own directives when it refrains from taking CBA into consideration, in addition to ignoring the work of its own agencies and, in the process, opening up the possibility for special interests to influence the planning process. However, the
idea that CBA should guide decisions in transport planning is also problematic. Elisson & Lundberg (2011) discuss the difficulties of including the planning context in quantified CBA and conclude that a reason for the limited influence of CBA on investment decisions may be “that they are not addressing ‘needs’ that are prioritized in the overall strategic planning of the regions” (p. 13). This point could be seen as a sharp critique of the very idea of CBA as the guiding principle, since ‘needs’ defined from a strategic planning context could be seen as a highly legitimate basis for prioritisation. An extension of the same argument is that too strict a reliance on CBA could be seen as an obstacle to integrated planning if it is not possible to include the planning context in the calculations, since integrated approaches to transport planning need to consider the planning context in which a specific project is situated. Having interviewed planners and politicians involved in transport planning, Thoresson (2011) illustrates how limited reliance on CBA for planning decisions is often justified by the argument that such analyses only capture a small part of what is relevant to consider in the decision-making process. In that sense, planning practice could be said to diverge from official guidelines for planning, but it also reflects more complex interrelationships between different kinds of knowledge and values that cannot be reduced to technical issues, and where other perspectives have a great role (Thoresson, 2011), thereby highlighting the political dimension of planning. As Fridstrom & Elvik (1997) put it in “If decisions were to be made based on the benefit-cost ratio alone, politicians would be redundant.” (p. 163).

The political dimension of coordination is central to the planning process, not just with regard to formal politics, but also to the more informal exertion of power over and through planning processes (Peters, 1998). A number of studies have contributed to an understanding of the profoundly political aspect of transport planning as an exercise of power over urban development and mobility (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Isaksson, 2001; Storbjörk, 2001; Jensen & Richardson, 2007), rather than a rational, holistic application of reason to facts. For instance, Fridstrom & Elvik’s (1998) analysis of transport planning in Aalborg, Denmark, shows how specific agendas of special interests constitute a considerable element of planning practice. Having studied parliamentary decision-making concerning roads and railways in Sweden in the beginning of the 2000s, Wockelberg (2004) revealed contradictory elements in the implementation of Swedish transport policy and argued that there is a gap between the formal and actual procedures of governing planning processes. According to Wockelberg, Members of Parliament frequently act in ways that diverge from the formally assigned role of the Parliament, as decided by the Parliament itself, for instance by appointing specific projects in the long-term investment plans when this should instead be done by the transport agencies (see also Nilsson, 2002), and by systematically promoting projects in the regions they represent instead of projects of national interest (Wockelberg, 2004).
The vulnerability of the formal planning system to special interests has been explicitly analysed, often from the perspective of political science, e.g., by Melin (2000; 2002) on policy level and Falkemark (1999) and Carlsson (2001) on project level. Whether good or bad, these studies illuminate the importance of politically charged processes besides the formal decision-making process. Based on a case study on the location of a regional airport in a sparsely populated northern part of Sweden, Pettersson (1995) concluded, in a discussion related to the role of special interests, that assessments of infrastructure investments need to be over-optimistic when those responsible for conducting the analyses are the same actors benefiting from the investment. This finding is consistent with observations worldwide, explained by Flyvbjerg (2007) in terms of “strategic misrepresentation”, i.e., the tendency for political-economic incentives to overestimate benefits and underestimate costs.

1.2.5 A changing landscape of transport planning institutions in Sweden

To a large extent motivated by the ambition to promote and facilitate coordination and integration of urban and transport planning, a number of government reports have investigated the problem of silo-like planning procedures in recent years, resulting in propositions for more far-reaching institutional changes. These include a new formal system for infrastructure planning in response to the perceived need for greater continuity in the investment planning process (Ministry of Enterprise, Energy and Communications, 2011), a transformed process for infrastructure planning in order to counteract inefficiencies in the existing planning process (Ministry of Enterprise, Energy and Communications, 2010), and the creation of the STA, a new multimodal agency replacing the former national road and railway agencies, to promote a more integrated planning perspective within the transport sector (Ministry of Enterprise, Energy and Communications, 2009).

Furthermore, the latest national planning process for infrastructure investments in Sweden (see Paper 4) has been characterised by an explicit articulation of the need for cross-sectoral coordination, both between different modes of transport and between transport and other sectors, such as land use. In the Infrastructure Bill from 2008, the Swedish government stressed the need for an intermodal approach to infrastructure planning and argued that continued development of the coordination between planning of transport, infrastructure and the built environment is an important element in the endeavour to achieve sustainable development (Swedish Government, 2008). Consequently, in 2010, the government adopted the first multimodal long-term transport investment plan (STA, 2011b). For the first time, the different modes of transport are included in the same document, signalling a commitment to develop the transport system...
from an integrated approach. The new agency, the STA, was launched at the same time.

In sum, the first decade of the 2000s has been characterised by changes to transport-related formal institutions in Sweden, based on an ambition to strengthen integration within the transport sector, and thereby indirectly also in relation to urban planning. Whether these formal changes to the planning institutions will result in a higher degree of coordination will have to be investigated ex post. In any case, the prospects for an integrated planning system are likely to depend on the ongoing processes of interaction between actors taking place within the new institutional settings. As Fine (1984) argued, "[o]rganizational life is not directed by an organizational chart but by the meanings of the social relations of the persons who inhabit roles in that formal hierarchy" (p. 256).

Indeed, a recent report from a collaborative project among key transport planning actors in the Stockholm region concluded that although changes in legislation may facilitate a more efficient planning system, the laws are seldom the main obstacles to the development of the planning processes. Instead, the report emphasised the need to manage informal obstacles to collaboration (SATSA, 2010), a lesson well highlighted in the planning literature (e.g. Asplund & Skantze, 2005; Håkansson, 2005b). Acknowledging potential variations in perspectives among actors involved in planning processes as regards what the challenges to planning are, what problems should be handled, the role and function of plans and strategies, etc. is therefore central to understanding the conditions for an integrated approach to urban and transport planning.

1.3 The significance of perspectives in planning

Focusing on the level of planning practice, the issue of how actors perceive things as meaningful emerges as crucial to understanding the conditions for cross-sectoral integration and coordination. Specifically related to transport planning, a number of case studies have documented differences in perspectives in the context of larger infrastructure investments, often focusing on how the perspectives of representatives of the national transport agencies differ greatly from those of representatives of the national transport agencies. For example, Berge (2008) discusses the relationship between different kinds of environmental interests in the railway project Bothnia Line along the coast of northern Sweden. Berge presents the Bothnia Line as an example of tension between different perspectives on environmental concerns, with local interest groups promoting the protection of biodiversity on one side, and planners representing efforts to counteract climate change on the other.

A related kind of problem is treated by Frisk (2008), who describes the planners’ view of Hallandsås, a ridge through which a railway tunnel is being constructed in southern Sweden, in terms of "an obstacle to regional, national and transnational from an integrated approach. The new agency, the STA, was launched at the same time.

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between professional perspectives can be highly problematic.

Several dimensions of the interface between professional perspectives in planning situations characterised by ambitions of integration are discussed by a range of authors in Asplund & Skantze (2005). For instance, Dovlén & Skantze (2005) show how practitioners from economic and ecological sectors describe their relationship to other professions in conflict-orientated terms such as competition and struggle. The authors argue that such conceptualisation of relationships between professional perspectives obstructs a deeper understanding of different perspectives on the roles and objectives of the planning process, emphasising the public interest and role of politics to varying degrees over the past 50 years. According to Hultén (2011), despite these variations a traditional technocratic perspective on Swedish transport (investment) planning is still widely seen as the template from which planning processes are expected to gain legitimacy. In planning practice, however, the legitimacy of any view may be contested and the interaction between professional perspectives may be highly problematic.

Several dimensions of the interface between professional perspectives in planning situations characterised by ambitions of integration are discussed by a range of authors in Asplund & Skantze (2005). For instance, Dovlén & Skantze (2005) show how practitioners from economic and ecological sectors describe their relationship to other professions in conflict-orientated terms such as competition and struggle. The authors argue that such conceptualisation of relationships between professional perspectives obstructs a deeper understanding of different perspectives. Håkansson (2005a) argues that planners and environmental officials are strongly shaped by their professional experiences and educational backgrounds, and that they often characterise each other in very simplified and standardised ways, with little understanding of each other’s professional perspectives. The significance of differences in perspectives between professional groups in planning processes is further explored by Håkansson (2003b) and Dovlén (2004).

Te Brömmelstroet & Bertolini (2008, 2010) emphasise the role of different kinds of knowledge and language among professionals, arguing that “differences in knowledge used in [land use and transport] planning are a substantive barrier which hinders integrated [land use and transport] strategy-making” (2010, p. 87).
According to Te Brömmelstroet & Bertolini (2008), transport planning is predominantly situated in a paradigm of instrumental rationality, to a large extent based on quantitative information, while land use planning is instead characterised by communicative rationality and more often based on qualitative information, giving rise to differences in both tacit and explicit knowledge. Consequently, while transport planners often focus on finding means to achieve given goals, the focus of land use planners “lies on confronting and bringing together multiple goals from multiple disciplines in inclusive strategies” (Te Brömmelstroet & Bertolini, 2008, p. 253).

In a similar strand of analysis, Tennøy (2010) discusses the importance of how planners frame the problem they are set to solve, based on studies of Norwegian transport planning processes. Contrasting between a traditional “predict and provide” perspective on transport planning and a view promoting “coordinated land use and transport planning for reduced road traffic”, she argues that both perspectives coexist in current transport planning practices and that a shift to the latter “requires integration of at least two disciplines or kinds of knowledge; land use planning and transport planning” (Tennøy, 2010, p. 221).

Arguments such as those presented above illuminate the importance of acknowledging differences in perspectives among groups and actors involved in planning processes when seeking to understand the conditions for cross-sectoral coordination and integration.

1.4 Aim and focus

It should be clear from the review of the literature presented above that the promotion of integrated planning is widely seen as an important condition for the future development of cities in Sweden. Similar ambitions exist in other countries, e.g. the UK (Hull, 2005), Germany (Szyliowicz, 2010), and the USA (Szyliowicz, 2010), as well as at the European level (Committee on Spatial Development, 1999). Frequent attempts to promote urban policy as an articulated area of focus for national governments reflect the same tendency. The “potent persuasiveness” of a potential model for integrated transport policy has given rise to widespread expectations about future planning practice (Szyliowicz, 2010, p. 85); but, as Givoni & Banister (2010) point out, “such a multifaceted concept is difficult to define and even harder to implement” (p. 6). With the discussion in the previous section in mind, the presence of different perspectives on urban and transport planning can be expected to contribute to this challenge.

Based on an acknowledgment of a multiperspective dimension of planning, the aim of this thesis is to explore key conditions for an integrated approach to urban and transport planning. The multiperspective approach requires specific attention to be paid to the particular aspect of how plans, strategies and collaborative efforts are...
perceived and made sense of by different professional public actors involved in planning processes. The focus is therefore not on integration in terms of physical structures or as an end state, but rather on integration as an approach to planning.

Accordingly, much of the thesis revolves around the interaction between actors in planning processes. In particular, there is a focus on how the presence of different perspectives among actors influences the conditions for an integrated approach to urban and transport planning. In extension, the focus is directed at how social interaction influences the development of perspectives and potential for shared understandings among actors representing different roles in planning processes.

The four papers constitute the backbone of the thesis and are combined under the umbrella of this cover essay. The cover essay is not a study on its own, but rather situates Papers 1-4 in a wider context and outlines the general aim, analytical framework and main findings of the papers. In addition, it extracts some broader implications of the research findings.

Paper 1 is an exploratory investigation of the problem area aiming to contribute to the knowledge on the conditions for integrated planning of transportation systems perceived and made sense of by different professional public actors involved in planning processes. The focus is therefore not on integration in terms of physical structures or as an end state, but rather on integration as an approach to planning.

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The theoretical influences on the analyses derive from theories centered on social interaction. From the planning literature, concepts and arguments from communicative planning theory had a prominent role, in particular the pragmatist aspects of these theories, i.e. the dimension of planning concerned with the close linkage between human understandings and action (Healey, 2009). Much of the literature on communicative planning theory has its focus on the linking, or bridging, of perspectives in joint conceptual frameworks for action. In order to understand perspectives more indepth, it proved useful to look more closely at theories about sensemaking and how meaning is created, as well as its consequences for practice. An important influence here has been literature associated with, and related to, symbolic interactionism, an intellectual tradition which, like communicative planning theory, has its roots in pragmatic philosophy (Ulmer & Wilson, 2003). The theoretical framework is outlined in chapter 2.

Papers 1-4 treat this issue in different ways. Taken together, they cover all three of the integration dimensions outlined by Kold (2007), i.e. sectoral, territorial and organisational integration, and offer different contributions to theory and practice. The most important practical implication of the papers is the potential to offer alternative insights into practices that may easily be taken for granted or assumed to be more fixed than they need be. The main theoretical contribution of this thesis is to further develop existing theoretical frameworks by applying them in new empirical contexts. These implications are further discussed in chapter 5.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

The four papers constitute the backbone of the thesis and are combined under the umbrella of this cover essay. The cover essay is not a study on its own, but rather situates Papers 1-4 in a wider context and outlines the general aim, analytical framework and main findings of the papers. In addition, it extracts some broader implications of the research findings.

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Paper 1 is an exploratory investigation of the problem area aiming to contribute to the knowledge on the conditions for integrated planning of transportation systems
and cities based on dialogue and collaboration. Papers 2-4 deepen the discussion from Paper 1 by addressing different aspects of the issue of coordination or integration. In particular, Paper 2 focuses on the relationship between plan and process, discussing how this relationship influences the conditions for integrated planning processes. Paper 3 examines the commitment of different actors to participate in collaborative processes aimed at promoting coordination. Finally, Paper 4 examines the various methods and approaches characteristic of transportation planning practices as conditions for integrated planning processes.
2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Dialogue and planning

This study is situated in a context of ideas associated with communicative planning theory. Building on a social constructionist epistemology, according to which “meanings are shaped by contexts, by purposes, by values and by power relations” (Healey, 2007, p. 27), communicative planning theory places social interaction, and the uniqueness of the contextual conditions for any planning situation, at the centre of planning practices (Healey, 2003). It is a tradition with intellectual roots in a critique of the planning paradigm based on instrumental rationality (Innes, 1995), and the general notion that “there is one answer and the task is to find it” (van der Heijden, 1996, p. 25).

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, communicative planning theory emerged as a post-positivist response to concerns about the possibility to separate planning from politics, and to a view of the planner as a value-neutral technical expert (Jones, 1995; Healey, 2010). Acknowledging that much of what planners actually do is far from the linear process, from defining a problem to implementing a plan, as assumed in the instrumentally rational approach (Forester, 1989), the planner is seen as an actor rather than a neutral observer and “a practical organizer of attention” (Sager, 1994, p. 34). The argumentative and deliberative aspects of planning are central to communicative planning theory, much influenced by the Habermasian notion of communicative rationality, and the idea of dialogue as a means to shape and develop institutional capacity for future actions. This position is well summarised in the following excerpt from Healey (1997):

“By critical reflection on the discourses which are brought to the public arena, it is possible to widen the understanding we have of how we experience issues, to see problems and make claims for policy attention. Through dialogue which reflects on the conditions for its own accomplishment, we can at least ‘open a conversation’ between our different cultural referents, and through this try to learn more about not just the claims we each are making, but why we think what we do and why we come to make our claims. In this way, we may be able not only to reach a better understanding of each other, but to find the bases for making public policy collaboratively. Through choosing an inclusionary dialogical style, political communities in a location may be able to generate the practices of reciprocal respect through which we can challenge the ‘competitive bubble’ into which many policy debates founder and build a relevant and stable consensus” (p. 67).

Communicative planning theory has had a major role in planning theory since it was first established, but has also been subjected to much criticism. The reliance on communicative rationality and the aim of achieving consensus as a foundation
for collective action has been argued to be idealistic, neglecting “the inevitable question of power” (Flyvbjerg, 2002), in particular the extent to which power is the context where certain kinds of knowledge are appreciated and regarded as correct. “In open confrontation, rationality yields to power”, argues Flyvbjerg (1998, p. 232), suggesting that reality is not defined in terms of rational arguments put forth in communicative processes, but rather through the exercise of power. As a result, consensus decision-making is necessarily characterised by some form or degree of exclusion (Hiller, 2003; Connell & Richardson, 2004). Power relations therefore also influence the degree to which certain perspectives emerge as dominant and become regarded as relevant. Despite often being organisationally located outside the realm of formal politics, planning is therefore inherently political (Bradley, 2009).

Much of the early literature on communicative planning stressed consensus-building in the development of institutional capacity (Innes, 1995; Healey, 1997). The idea of consensus as a desirable or even possible end in planning processes has been argued to have potentially negative consequences for the outcomes of communicative processes. Striving for consensus may lead to compromises in which important, but difficult, issues are avoided, and where agreements are made at early stages of a process at the expense of transparency at later stages (Skantze, 2005).

In response to some of the criticism that has been directed at communicative planning theory, Innes (2004) argues that consensus in terms of agreement has been overemphasised in the debate. While agreement may be the result of communicative processes, in many situations it is not. Instead, Innes (2004) argues, consensus-building processes may result in institutional capacity for collective action. In order to shift the focus away from consensus in terms of agreement as an end of deliberation, Niemeyer & Dryzek (2007) proposed a meta level of consensus to be an ideal outcome of communicative processes. Meta-consensus, in the words of Niemeyer & Dryzek (2007) is “agreement about the nature of the issue at hand, not necessarily on the actual outcome” (p. 500). Acknowledging the potential to reach meta-consensus, deliberation may well allow for conflicting views between adversaries to be played out, but based on mutual respect for the opinions of one another (Niemeyer & Dryzek, 2007).

In later years there has been less emphasis on consensus in the planning literature. There are now fewer references to Habermas than 15 years ago. Instead, increasing attention is being paid to the influence of pragmatism on the ideas in communicative planning theory. From a pragmatist perspective, knowledge does not have universal validity. Instead, what is regarded as relevant knowledge depends on what is useful in particular situations (Healey, 2009) or, in the words of Holden (2008), “the significance of a thought’s meaning is the conduct that thought is likely to produce” (p. 478). Accordingly, people act in response to how
they define the situations in which they find themselves, regardless of how this definition corresponds to actual facts, a notion mirrored in the literature on “framing” in planning (e.g. Innes, 1995; Healey, 2007), and the need for “a joint definition of the actual situation” (Albrechts, 2004, p. 754) as a basis for stakeholder involvement in solving policy problems.

The pragmatic nature of planning has been acknowledged by a number of scholars (e.g. Forester, 1989; 1999; Sager, 1994; Hoch, 2007b; 2009; Holden, 2008; Healey, 2009; 2010). From a pragmatist perspective, the communicative elements of social interaction in planning provide opportunities for learning by listening (Forester, 1999), but also by formulating one’s own point of view. As Hoch (2007a) stated: “We often imagine that the meaning of the planning effort flows downward from goal to policy. But reasoning practically uses planning to move in the other direction: We learn to articulate and clarify our purpose as we form a plan.” (p. 22)

From this perspective, planning can be seen as an emergent and continuous process of making sense (Forester, 1989). The notion of semsemaking has been applied in many academic fields – organisational analysis in particular (Weick, 1995) – and has been addressed in different ways by e.g. Forester (1989; 1999), Ramírez (1995), Asplund & Skantz (2005), and Håkansson (2005b). It is also closely related to the more frequently used concept of framing diverse ideas and knowledge into conceptual entities, in planning and strategy-making (Innes, 1995; Albrechts, 2004; Healey, 2007), or what Forester (1989) refers to as “shaping attention”. However, while the notion of framing revolves around the construction of meaning in a way that serves as a basis for collective action, sensemaking refers to the individual level and the construction of a coherent understanding of what is going on. Framing has a narrative character (Laws & Rein, 2003), and can be seen as a form of sensemaking (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991). Although closely related, the concepts of framing and sensemaking put the focus on different things:

“If framing focuses on _what_ meanings win out in symbolic contests, sensemaking shifts the focus to understanding _why_ such frame contests come into being in the first place” (Fiss & Hirsch, 2005).

Framing interpreted in this way involves influencing the ways others define and understand the situations in which they find themselves, which can be seen as a discursive exercise of power (Bradley, 2009). A power perspective on planning can therefore facilitate an in-depth understanding of the political dimensions of social processes (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Hillier, 2010; Connelly & Richardson, 2004). However, as indicated by Fiss & Hirsch (2005), since a focus on sensemaking directs attention to how actors make sense of the situations in which they find themselves (Forester, 1999; Asplund & Skantz 2005; Håkansson, 2005b), it may enable a
deeper understanding of the conditions for meaning to be created, and thereby factors that bound discursive processes. Although emphasising different things, the two perspectives – power and sensemaking – are not mutually exclusive. Power can be seen as the capacity to define a situation for oneself and others (Altheide, 2006) and is thus a constituent element in sensemaking processes. Contextual forces, such as the power relations of a social setting, feed into the sensemaking processes of individuals as a “symbolic other” (Fine, 1993) with which the individual interacts, and are thereby made manifest in the micro-practices of planning (Healey, 2010).

While this study primarily focuses on the sensemaking aspects of social interaction, the issue of power is also touched upon in several instances. However, the power dimension is not a major theme here. The following section therefore outlines a theory of sensemaking. Since planning theory has been more occupied with framing than with sensemaking, it proved useful to turn to other fields for theoretical perspectives and concepts, primarily theories related to symbolic interactionism. “The unofficial theory of sensemaking” (Weick, 1995, p. 41), Symbolic interactionism is a useful source of theoretical input because it contributes to an understanding of human action, assuming that “human beings act toward things on the basis of the meaning that the things have for them” (Blumer, 1969, p. 2). In this field, as in communicative planning theory, there are close intellectual (and historical) links to pragmatism (Ulmer & Wilson, 2003).

2.2 A sensemaking approach to planning
Sensemaking is understood here as the “ongoing retrospective development of plausible images that rationalize what people are doing” (Weick et al., 2005, p. 409), and involves the construction of meaning (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991), or rather the continuous regulation of meaning (Wenger, 1998). It is driven by plausibility rather than accuracy, and is focused on extracted cues, i.e. “simple, familiar structures that are seeds from which people develop a larger sense of what may be occurring” (Weick, 1995, p. 50), distinguishing it from the comprehensiveness of analyses and dialogue associated with instrumental and communicative rationality, respectively.

Communication and speech have a central role in sensemaking. It is a process which is always situated in a social context involving interaction with others. “One has to fit one’s own line of activity in some manner to the actions of others” (Blumer, 1969, p. 2). In this field, as in communicative planning theory, there are close intellectual (and historical) links to pragmatism (Ulmer & Wilson, 2003).

2.2 A sensemaking approach to planning
Sensemaking is understood here as the “ongoing retrospective development of plausible images that rationalize what people are doing” (Weick et al., 2005, p. 409), and involves the construction of meaning (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991), or rather the continuous regulation of meaning (Wenger, 1998). It is driven by plausibility rather than accuracy, and is focused on extracted cues, i.e. “simple, familiar structures that are seeds from which people develop a larger sense of what may be occurring” (Weick, 1995, p. 50), distinguishing it from the comprehensiveness of analyses and dialogue associated with instrumental and communicative rationality, respectively.

Communication and speech have a central role in sensemaking. It is a process which is always situated in a social context involving interaction with others. “One has to fit one’s own line of activity in some manner to the actions of others” (Blumer, 1969, p. 2). In this field, as in communicative planning theory, there are close intellectual (and historical) links to pragmatism (Ulmer & Wilson, 2003).
To conceptualise this interactive relationship between subjects and the world
(we refer to it as “the real world”) (Wenger, 1998, p. 55), it is important to
consider the role of participation and reification. Without reification, no meaning will ever be sufficiently fixed for us to grasp. Consequently, a view on planning as
sensemaking, and hence a retrospective activity, does not contradict the notion of
planning as future-orientated. However, it does pinpoint the core idea that future-oriented actions are based on how situations are defined. As Mintzberg (1994)
puts it, “[t]he real world inevitably involves some thinking ahead of time as well as
some adaptation en route” (p. 24).

2.2.1 Reification and participation
To conceptualise this interactive relationship between subjects and the world
around them in the process of constructing meaning, Wenger (1998) uses the
critical role of participation and reification to explain how things are made
meaningful (see Paper 2). In the interface between participation and reification,
meaning is created and adjusted in a continuous process of negotiation of
meaning (Wenger, 1998). The term participation in this context should not be
mistaken for the notion of “public participation”. Participation in the context of
negotiation of meaning is characterised by “the social experience of living in the
world (…) and active involvement in social enterprises” (Wenger, 1998, p. 55),
can thus be seen as engagement in certain practices, or “meaningful activity”
(Handley et al., 2006). Reification, on the other hand, refers to the process
through which we turn abstractions into “things”, providing shortcuts to
communication: “We project our meanings into the world and then we perceive
them as existing in the world, as having a reality of their own” (Wenger, 1998, p.
58).

Without reification, no meaning will ever be sufficiently fixed for us to grasp.
However, without participation, no object will carry any meaning at all and will
thereby not make sense to anyone. Plans, documents, maps, agreements, formal
organisation structures, titles and other forms of reification are always situated in a
context where the participation of actors may be similar or different from other
contexts. The meaning of the reified objects can therefore not be taken for
granted, but needs to be assessed in the light of the context in which they are
situated. Consequently, reification requires participation to make sense. For that
reason, “the micro-dynamics of social interaction are important arenas for the
formation of identities, knowledge generation and social learning, and for
mobilising transformative energy” (Healey, 2010, p. 7), and communicative
processes thus lie at the centre of the planning enterprise.

Applied to social processes, the duality between participation and reification
results in the view that a relationship between actors cannot be meaningfully
described as a formal chart of organisational units, roles and assignments, but
(Blimmer, 1969 cited in Weick, 1993, p. 40). It is therefore an ongoing process,
closely interlinked with actions, which “enable people to assess causal beliefs that
subsequently lead to new actions undertaken to test the newly asserted
relationships” (Weick et al., 2005, p. 416). Consequently, a view on planning as
sensemaking, and hence a retrospective activity, does not contradict the notion of
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described as a formal chart of organisational units, roles and assignments, but
rather in terms of the meanings of these formal structures to the actors involved
(Fine, 1984; Döös, 2008). This perspective has important implications for understanding the arrangement of planning processes. Formalised procedures for coordination or integration, such as signed agreements, contracts, and other artefacts, may produce different forms of commitment to stated goals (Meyer & Allen, 1991). But, acknowledging that commitment appears in response to what an actor perceives as meaningful (Stebbins, 1970), reliance on reifications for joint action may also risk turning the attention away from the participatory elements of meaning creation, reducing the whole process leading up to shared commitments to reification without participation. Paper 3 presents empirical indications of this.

2.2.2 Perspectives and partiality

The duality between participation and reification offers a conceptual framework to understand the emergence of different perspectives among actors with different experiences. Berger & Luckmann (1966) summarise much of the theoretical underpinning for this thesis with the notion of sub-universes of meaning, arising from role specialisation “where role-specific knowledge becomes altogether esoteric as against the common stock of knowledge” (p. 102). Between groups, such as professional groups (Håkansson, 2005b), or communities of practice (Wenger, 1998), the processes of participation and reification are likely to differ, giving rise to different ways for things to make sense. “With the establishment of sub-universes of meaning a variety of perspectives on the total society emerges, each viewing the latter from the angle of the sub-universe” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 103), greatly complicating any ambition to integrate activities across sectoral boundaries.

Some interactive processes are, for instance, characterised by a scale that greatly reduces the opportunities for close participation. The lack of shared experience then increases the risk of widely different interpretations and meanings that are difficult for outsiders to understand. A planning context such as the Swedish national plan for infrastructure investment (Paper 4) is one example of such a large-scale process that unavoidably entails a considerable element of detachment between decision-makers and the local space where the investments materialize. Such a context will of necessity be highly dependent on reifications as prime carriers of meaning. However, participation is still a central ingredient, but the process involves a large number of actors situated in a wide variety of time- and space-specific circumstances. Participation will therefore vary in shape and scope, and the degree to which experiences of the process are shared will be unavoidably limited. Instead of sharing experiences, the different actors will have to depend on reifications that represent different things to different actors, depending on how each individual perceives these as relevant (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; van der Heijden, 1996). Or, in the words of Sjöström (1985) and Döös (2008), what one sees depends on the glasses one wears.
In extension to the above discussion, any plan or strategy will of necessity be selective (Healey, 2007) and exclusionary, and thereby political. However, the limits to complete sharing of understandings and interpretations do not mean that an integrated approach is not possible; they are merely an acknowledgment of “the impossibility of completeness” (Hillier, 2003, p. 38). An integrated approach may, more humbly, abdicate “the quest for certainty and finality in assembling knowledge” (Holden, 2008, p. 489), in contrast to striving for comprehensiveness or holism. A reliance on a planning approach being holistic rests on an assumption that the planning context can be completely described, which would only be possible in a “frozen world” (Hedrén, 1998).

This points to a highly political dimension of planning. Since planning is a selective activity, some issues, actors or possible outcomes will of necessity be excluded (Connolly & Richardson, 2004). Consequently, some interests will be favoured above others. In spatial terms, different areas (from small-scale urban districts to regions at a larger scale) will be affected in different ways. Depending on the definitions of situations on which plans are based, the selectivity may take different directions. From a constructionist perspective, there is no transcendental meaning or truth, and definitions of situations are therefore likely to be contested. For planners, this implies that awareness of the epistemic foundation for plans and strategies is an important element in any attempt to integrate planning activities across sectoral boundaries (Holden, 2008).

2.3 Managing differences in perspectives in planning

As argued above, a theory of sensemaking can contribute to an understanding of the conditions for meaning to be created and the emergence of perspectives. Much of communicative planning theory, on the other hand, focuses on how to bridge or manage differences in perspectives. In that sense, sensemaking theory can be regarded as a valuable complement to communicative planning theory. However, since sensemaking is closely related to framing (Laws & Rein, 2003, Fiss & Hirsch, 2005), sensemaking theory can also contribute to the latter discussion about how to manage differences in perspectives.

As a consequence of the partiality aspect of sensemaking, Weick (1995) points out that:

“[a]lthough people may not share meaning, they do share experience. […] So if people share anything, what they share are actions, activities, moments of conversation, and joint tasks, each of which they then make sense of using categories that are more idiosyncratic.” (Weick, 1995, p. 188).

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Despite the epistemological (and ideological) complications associated with consensus and shared meaning, the meta-consensus approach (Niemeyer & Dryzek, 2007) and the potential for mutual understanding about the conditions for coordinated action (Innes & Booher, 2003) may still motivate collaborative efforts. By introducing what Wenger (1998) refers to as *boundary objects*, i.e. reifications (e.g. documents, concepts and artefacts) that are shared between different communities, “around which communities of practice can organize their interconnections” (p. 105), the possibilities for sharing experiences may be enhanced. Likewise, the introduction of *brokering*, meaning “connections provided by people who can introduce elements of one practice into another” (Wenger, 1998, p. 105), may serve a similar function. Joint study visits, discussions materialising in jointly signed agreements and other ways of sharing a process can combine reification and participation, thereby contributing to the ways in which one actor makes sense of another’s actions, as a basis for capacity-building, although not necessarily resulting in consensus in terms of agreement.
3 Methodology

3.1 Abduction and the relationship between data and theory

Although each of Papers 1-4 in this thesis has a different focus and has evolved from different analytical angles, a common characteristic of the studies is that they are primarily empirically driven rather than theory driven. The theoretical framing of Papers 1-4 evolved and became more articulated as the studies proceeded, as described in section 3.4, but the initiatives for each paper were primarily based on empirically identified concerns in planning practice. In that sense, much of the thesis has an exploratory character.

An exploratory approach is not synonymous with an inductive approach. An inductive study in its purest form would build theory from empirical observations without the application of theory in advance. Such an approach would be objectivist, as reflected in the view of the founders of Grounded Theory, perhaps the most far-reaching ambition of inductive research:

“Theory based on data can usually not be completely refuted by more data or replaced by another theory. Since it is too intimately linked to data, it is destined to last despite its inevitable modification and reformulation” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 4).

Glaser & Strauss (1967) emphasise the theoretical sensitivity of the researcher, claiming that preconceived ideas about potential and possible explanatory factors or facts must be put aside. As soon as researchers adopt a theoretical approach that cannot be deduced from the empirical data, they lock themselves in conceptions that blunt their ability to sense what the data actually show.

The Grounded Theory approach has been criticised from several perspectives, and this criticism provokes important considerations for any research methodology based on an inductive approach. A common argument is that Grounded Theory belittles the significance of researchers’ own prior understandings (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 1994; Silverman, 2005), and the risk of researchers ignoring their own preconceptions and expectations (Gilham, 2000).

The objectivist aspect of Grounded Theory has been criticised from a social constructivist perspective as underestimating, or even rejecting, the possibility of alternative interpretations of social phenomena (Charmaz, 2000; Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007). Relying on the idea that empirical data can provide ‘clean’ truths appears to be hazardous if one also adheres to the view that all individuals, including researchers, are characterised by political, economic and other types of macro-structures that influence the ways they perceive and interpret the world (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 1994).

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Another form of criticism that has been directed at purely inductive research approaches, such as Grounded Theory, is that they underrate cumulative knowledge and utilisation of the knowledge that already exists in the scientific community or society as a whole (Silverman, 2005). Too much focus on empirical data may reduce the research activity to mere data collection with narrow descriptive results rather than theory with an analytical content (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 1994).

These critical remarks on strictly empirically driven research motives an acknowledgment of the importance of existing theory in the research process. According to Alvesson & Kärreman (2007), the purpose of research is not primarily to verify or falsify an existing theory, nor to build "The Irrefutable Theory" on the basis of empirical data according to the aspirations of Glaser & Strauss (1967). Instead, they regard theorising as a form of "disciplinary imagination" (Weick, 1989), where the empirical material serves as a basis for creating new ideas, while at the same time setting the frames for how this is done. Theory and data thus serve as dialogue partners to one another (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007). A central feature of research is therefore the problematisation of existing knowledge, and conclusions are drawn not through deduction or induction, but through abduction.

The term abduction may be interpreted in different ways. Alvesson & Kärreman (2007) use it to label the formulation of new theory in light of the gap between established theory and empirical observation. Johansson (2002) describes abduction as a way to construct a possible or probable description of past events based on limited empirical data, using archaeology as an example of a science where this is common. Though Alvesson & Kärreman (2007) and Johansson (2002) are examples of different usages of the concept of abduction, they share the core feature that some sort of explanatory statement is formulated based on observations made in the light of knowledge (empirical or theoretical) that already exists, a statement that contributes to a deeper, or new, understanding of what has been observed. Abduction is thus a process in which a possible explanation is constructed in response to a situation where an established conception (theory) and an observation (empirics) do not comply.

In contrast to a deductive approach, the point of departure of abduction is not a hypothesis that is tested on a data set. Rather, the point of departure is empirical material, and in that sense there are similarities with the inductive approach. However, while induction is dependent on an abundance of facts, abduction is based on incomplete facts, in combination with some form of more general conception (Johansson, 2002), which is applied to help explain or understand the observation. This is a key role for theory: "Theory is used (...) as a tool to give meaning to experiences and to provide reference points for learning" (Richardson

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In conclusion, theories and existing knowledge serve their main function by contributing to the understanding or explanation of empirical phenomena. The interplay between theory and empirical data can thus be seen as a form of sensemaking (Weick, 1989) which helps to produce new insights and to make things comprehensible.

3.2 The construction of empirical material
An implication of the abductive approach presented above is that data and theory are closely interlinked, in both directions. One could say that just as theory needs to be empirically grounded, the empirical material needs to be theoretically grounded, because any set of data has been created based on some underlying conception of what is relevant and interesting. In that sense, data gathering is not merely a process of collecting objective facts about the world for subsequent analysis, but rather the active construction of empirical material (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007).

3.2.1 A case study approach
Assuming that “people create and maintain meaningful worlds through dialectical processes of conferring meaning on their realities and acting within them” (Charmaz, 2000, p. 521), a methodological challenge when studying the relationship between sectors is to find suitable ways to get close to the “meaningful worlds” of the people involved in planning processes. Assuming that meaning is situated and negotiated in particular contexts, as discussed in chapter 2, it has been important to use a methodology which acknowledges the importance of contexts for the perspectives of actors involved in urban and transport planning processes.

Case studies is a methodology which is particularly suited for empirical inquiry of phenomena within their contexts, and when the boundary between phenomenon and context is fuzzy (Johansson, 2002; Yin, 2003). It enables the researcher to study human interaction in relation to its contextual conditions. A case study approach therefore enables an in-depth understanding of how and why something happens. However, a case is not always studied for its own sake. But by studying a particular case, a researcher may gain insights into wider issues and problems. In such situations, case studies are instrumental in the sense that they are conducted in order to understand something else (Stake, 1995).

In the context of this study, what I aim to explore is the problem concerning integration and coordination of urban and transport planning as introduced in...
chapter 1. The problem of integration is to a large degree a situated problem. The needs for integration arise in response to certain conditions in a specific spatial context. And the conditions for integration therefore vary from context to context. For these reasons, this study is based on case studies. The different cases are instrumental (Stake, 1995) in the wider exploration of the conditions for an integrated approach to urban and transport planning, and illustrate various aspects of this topic.

This study is driven by a qualitative approach, which implies that it does not aim to generate results that are generalisable in a statistical sense. Cases may reflect general phenomena, but “a sample of one or a sample of just a few is unlikely to be a strong representation of others” (Stake, 1995, p. 4). My research is primarily concerned with creating an understanding of complex situated planning processes, where contextual conditions make every case unique. To facilitate an in-depth understanding of this situatedness, it has been important to use a limited number of cases, allowing for analytical generalisation, i.e. “to expand and generalise theories” (Yin, 2003, p. 10). By presenting case studies, the thesis also offers the opportunity for others, practitioners and researchers, to relate the experiences conveyed here to their own repertoires of experiences from other cases, thereby facilitating what Stake (1995) has called naturalistic generalisations.

3.2.2 “The Livable City” as research context

The case studies have been conducted in a research context characterized by my initial role as an evaluator of the project The Livable City (STA, 2011a). The Livable City (see section 1.2.1, and paper 1 in particular) was a collaboration project involving the SRoA, the SRA, NBHBP, SALAR, and the municipalities Norrköping, Jonköping and Uppsala between 2005 and 2010, with the dual aim to “develop knowledge about integrated planning of the built environment and transport systems [and to] develop processes and solutions where different interests, demands and needs are handled in a coordinated way to achieve a long term sustainable development” (Tornberg & Cars, 2008, p.5, translated by author).

In operational terms, The Livable City consisted of a 24 selected urban development projects in the three municipalities, involving transport related issues. These projects constituted the backbone of The Livable City, and they were intended to contribute with conclusions from experiences of cross-sectoral collaboration within each individual project. The Livable City was headed by a group of “project owners”, consisting of the top leadership from the participating organizations. The persons in this group were the director-generals of the national agencies, and municipal commissioners from the majority and opposition parties from the three municipalities. There was also a more operational working group...
consisting of planning officials from the participating organizations, responsible for managing The Livable City as a project and coordinate the activities within its framework (STA, 2011a).

I was given the assignment to follow the project during its first phase\(^1\), 2006-2008, with the objective to identify aspects of the ongoing processes in The Livable City that could contribute to an increased understanding of the conditions for an integrated planning of cities and transport systems. While carrying out the evaluation during an approximate two-year period, I regularly attended meetings, especially with the working group, and the group of “project owners”, to whom I also presented tentative conclusions as they evolved during the course of the evaluation. I also attended meetings taking place within some of the 24 projects, although not as an active participant.

3.2.3 Selected cases

My involvement in The Livable City gave me the possibility to get close to the projects I was studying, both in terms of meeting key persons whom I interviewed, and in terms of being able to participate at meetings as an observer. The case studies in Paper 1 initially involved all 24 preappointed urban development projects of The Livable City. These projects had very different characteristics, however. Due to the breadth of this initial set of cases, a process of focusing resulted in a more concentrated analysis of three cases, one in each of the three municipalities Norrköping, Jönköping and Uppsala. Based on the exploratory objective of Paper 1, the three cases were selected to represent different kinds of challenges to coordination, and different dimensions of integration (Kidd, 2007). The case from Norrköping covers an urban development project centered on a new light rail in the areas Liura, Hageby and Navestad. It involves issues of vertical coordination between national and local planning, but also the horizontal dimension, both between national agencies, and between local perspectives. The case from Uppsala is about the interaction between municipal offices in a process of transforming Råbyvägen from a “traffic route” into a “city street”. It reflects the horizontal dimension of integration, but also what Kidd (2007) refers to as organizational integration between different phases of a strategy-making process. This latter dimension is also the main focus in the case from Jönköping, where the organizational framework around the “Urban Development Vision”\(^2\) is discussed. The selection of these three cases was made in dialogue with the working group of The Livable City in order to ensure that the selected cases and topics to focus on were perceived as relevant from the perspective of practitioners.

\(^{1}\) The evaluation was conducted by me with support from professor Göran Cars, who has also been my main supervisor, and has been reported in Tornberg & Cars (2008).

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\(^{1}\) The evaluation was conducted by me with support from professor Göran Cars, who has also been my main supervisor, and has been reported in Tornberg & Cars (2008).

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Conclusions from the evaluation of The Livable City are discussed in Paper 1 which was completed after my work as an evaluator ended. Thus, after Paper 1 was finished, I did not have an active role in The Livable City, and continued the research without being involved in any form of planning practice. The character of the research therefore changed after Paper 1, and became more clearly oriented towards an indepth understanding of single cases, based on more specific theoretical frameworks regarding interaction between actors representing different perspectives, as opposed to wider explorations of multiple cases. Consequently, Paper 2 revisits the case from Uppsala in Paper 1 but frames it theoretically in a different way. Paper 3, focuses on one of the 24 projects from The Livable City that Paper 1 did not examine closely. It revolves around the interface between the national high speed rail project “Eastern Link” and urban development in Norrköping. The scale of this project made it central to much of the discussions about urban development in Norrköping. The paper focuses on the vertical relation between the municipality and the SRA in their efforts to promote the project. The discussions that took place among actors involved in The Livable City also raised the issue of how national transport planning is conducted, which later arose as the topic of Paper 4, which focuses on the preparation of the development of the Swedish National Plan for Transport Investments 2010-2021. Table 1 presents a list of the selected cases.

As a consequence of this, and the abductive approach, the role of theory has varied between the different case studies. While paper 1 was primarily empirically driven, papers 2, 3, and 4 have to a larger extent been framed from a theoretical point of departure. However, since these latter case studies also derived from the same context as paper 1, the study as a whole has its point of departure in the empirical context of The Livable City.

3.3 Methods
The main methods used have been document studies, interviews and observations. In this section I present and discuss more in detail how the empirical material has been collected and used. In 3.4 follows a chronological reflection on the evolution of the study.

3.3.1 Document studies
In every case of this study, documents have been an important empirical material. Compared to oral sources, documents are stable over time, making it possible to review them retrospectively. They can be exact and provide the researcher with details of events. In combination, sets of documents may also have broad

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Various kinds of documents have been used for different purposes. Table 1 gives an overview of the most important ones. Every case study has relied on documents for an introductory description of events, contexts, and situations of relevance for the research problem. In addition to their role as descriptive sources, they have also served as "clues worthy of further investigation" (Yin, 2003, p.87), as an entry to a wider set of questions to explore, but also providing me with names of persons to contact, sources to check, and reports for further information.

Formal studies of topics similar to my own research (e.g. governmental reports and consultancy reports) have given me insights into different characteristics of the issues I have studied, while written reports of events (e.g. minutes of meetings and protocols) have been used to facilitate interpretation of interactive events that I myself did not have access to, e.g. political board meetings. Such documents have enabled corroboration of other sources, e.g. to confirm whether certain events have happened, or which persons were involved in particular projects (Yin, 2003). In some cases, administrative documents (e.g. plans, policy statements, and formalized agreements) have been central parts of the study objects as such. This is perhaps most obvious in paper 4, where the Infrastructure Bill from 2008 (Swedish Government, 2008) was central to an understanding of the national transport policy.

However, for a number of reasons, the value of documents as empirical material has limitations. A document is a reification, and thereby simplification, of meanings associated with something else, such as discussions, series of events, intentions, and interests (Wenger, 1998). Furthermore, "meaning does not reside in a text but in the writing and reading of it" (Hodder, 2000, p.784), and every document is produced for specific purposes (Yin, 2003). To understand the meanings of central documents, interviews and observations have therefore been necessary as complements to documents.

### 3.3.2 Interviews

Although the combination of methods used varied from paper to paper, interviews have generally been the most important source of information. In contrast to many documents, interviews provide an opportunity to develop insights into a diversity of opinions, meanings, and experiences, as opposed to the truth or its general opinion (Dann, 2005). Interviews can also reveal meanings of documents, as they are perceived by their writers and readers (Kvale, 2007).
The main type of interview used throughout Papers 1-4 has been semistructured interviews around certain themes, such as the relation between a municipality and a national transport agency, internal cooperation within a particular organization, or the role of formal documents in communication with between organizations. The treatment of these themes has generally been characterized by some degree of funnelling, involving “an initial focus on general issues, followed by a gradual movement towards personal matters and issues specific to the informant” (Dunn, 2005, p.85). In that sense, these interviews are best regarded as “guided conversations rather than structured queries” (Yin, 2003, p.89).

The informants have generally contributed with different perspectives, highlighting different aspects of the researched issues. Each interview has therefore had its own trajectory. The use of semistructured interviews made it possible for me to continuously, during the interviews, check my interpretations with the informants, thereby validating tentative conclusions and assessments of what to regard as relevant, as they evolved through the interview processes (Kvale, 2007). In some cases, this interactive aspect of the interviews also made me adjust or reformulate the research problem and aim from its initial formulation, in order to better fit the new information and my emerging knowledge about a topic. Shorter telephone interviews were conducted as a follow-up where appropriate, when new questions arose after the interviews.

Having finished the interviews, I generally spent some time writing down my instant reflections on how the interview proceeded. Examples of such reflections are my general impression of the interview situation, e.g. whether it was calm or stressful, whether the informant seemed interested and engaged in the topic, and whether I perceived the informant to be sincere and honest in his or her statements. Such conditions may matter for the reliability of the interviewees statements. The semistructured interviews were recorded in most cases and subsequently transcribed in total or partially, depending on my perception of the importance of each particular interview, and the time available. The process of transcribing commonly triggered a series of reflections which were continuously noted as memos (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) which subsequently informed the analyses and discussions in Papers 1-4.

In total, approximately 50 informants have contributed to the empirical material through oral communication and interviews. The informants were mainly officials.
which they speak sincerely, considering the reactions of the others in the room. A conceptual distinction may be made between direct and participant observations. The meetings proceeded without me taking part in the discussions. The informants have consistently been kept anonymous, in order to encourage as sincere and honest reflections as possible from them.

3.3.3 Observations

Observations enabled me to study interactive situations in real time. In contrast to interviews, observations take place in the context of interaction, as it occurs (Kearns, 2005). These kinds of situations give little room for retrospective rationalizations among the actors studied. On the other hand, this also implies that there is less room for the persons involved to reflect on the interactive process they are involved in. Furthermore, the face-to-face interaction among the participants in project meetings has a directness which may influence the degree to which they speak sincerely, considering the reactions of the others in the room.

A conceptual distinction may be made between direct and participant observations (Yin, 2003). Direct observations at meetings involve being “a fly on the wall” in the meeting room. The researcher is present, but does not participate in the interactive activities. Participant observation, on the other hand, involves active participation in the events that are being studied, e.g. as a member of a group or a moderator of a discussion. In practice, a clearcut distinction between direct and participant observation is not possible, and “ultimately all observation is participant observation” (Kearns, 2005, p.192). However, there are degrees of involvement and the participatory element may be significant or not.

In the present study, observation has been used as a method in the case studies presented in Papers 1, 2, and 3 (see Table 1). Participating at meetings made it possible for me to take note of how people interactively reacted and responded to statements in face-to-face situations. These observations were made possible as a direct consequence of my role as an evaluator of The Livable City, as described above. Although I did have a participatory role, presenting tentative conclusions from the ongoing evaluation, at meetings with the working group and the “project owners”, the degree of my own involvement at meetings in the concrete projects I followed was low. I listened to the discussions and took notes, without recording. The meetings proceeded without me taking part in the discussions.

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Table 1. Main sources of empirical material in the papers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Documents</th>
<th>Interviews</th>
<th>Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paper 1</strong></td>
<td>- Urban development centered on a new light rail in Norrköping.</td>
<td>Municipal plans, cooperation agreements, declarations of intents, policy guidelines, protocols from municipal board meetings and consultation meetings.</td>
<td>Project meetings involving municipal officials, and officials from the SRA and the SRoA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Transformation of Råbyvägen from a “traffic route” into a “city street” in Uppsala.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Organisational framework of the Urban Development Vision in Jönköping.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paper 2</strong></td>
<td>- Transformation of Råbyvägen from a “traffic route” into a “city street” in Uppsala.</td>
<td>The comprehensive plan. Detailed development planning documents. The traffic plan.</td>
<td>Project meetings involving officials from the City Planning Office, the Streets and Traffic Office, and the Executive Office in Uppsala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paper 3</strong></td>
<td>- The Eastern Link and urban development in Norrköping.</td>
<td>Agreement between Norrköping municipality and the SRA.</td>
<td>Project meetings involving officials from Norrköping municipality, the SRA and the SRoA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Municipal plans. The railway investigation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paper 4</strong></td>
<td>- The development of the Swedish National Plan for Transport Investments 2010-2021.</td>
<td>The infrastructure bill, governmental directives to the SRA and SRoA to develop the national plan. Regional systems analyses, overall impact assessments.</td>
<td>An official at the central level of the STA, and officials at regional branches of the STA.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3.3.4 Alternative methods considered

The qualitative character of the study has been acknowledged throughout the research process. Some forms of surveys could possibly have provided some insights into the scope of certain issues and problems, but the emphasis on the interactive elements of planning processes has made me prioritize the methods described here. The emphasis on social interaction has made it crucial to focus on persons involved in planning processes, and the relation between them. Furthermore, most of the cases have been ongoing. It has therefore been important to choose methods that enabled me to follow the actors involved in the cases as they evolved.

Alternative methods have, however, been considered during the course of research. The beginning of this study was therefore characterized by a search for appropriate methods to capture the interactive dimension of ongoing planning processes. At an early stage of the case studies presented in Paper 1, attempts, initiated by project leaders of The Livable City, were made to have key actors writing diaries during shorter periods of the processes they were involved in. This resulted in a few but fragmented notes from some of the actors, and did not serve the purpose it was intended to, mainly because of the busy schedules of the prospective informants. Furthermore, in an attempt to follow the course of events in a large number of cases in the same early stage, efforts were made to make frequent structured phone interviews in order to enable the portraying of the cases as they unfolded. For the same reasons the diaries did not work, this also proved to be difficult to manage in practice, and was subsequently abandoned.

3.4 Evolution of the four papers

A certain chronological dimension may or may not be apparent in the sequence of the four papers. Paper 1 had an exploratory character and has, as described in section 3.2.3, served as a gateway into the topics explored in Papers 2, 3 and 4. The case studies in Paper 1 gave rise to a number of issues for further research, but it was also an important influence in shaping the theoretical perspectives that have come to dominate in Papers 2, 3 and 4. Having worked closely with practitioners during an approximately two-year period, my main concern at that time was the role of dialogue and communicative processes in cross-sectoral planning situations. There is thus an emphasis on communicative processes and consequently communicative planning theory (Healey, 2007) in Paper 1. In particular, I discuss the prospects for meta-consensus (Niemeyer & Dryzek, 2007), and different dimensions of the effectiveness of communicative processes (Costină & Richardson, 2008). However while concluding those discussions, I found it relevant to go deeper into understanding differences in perspectives.

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Having seen, empirically, the differences in how different actors perceived things as meaningful, this led me to focus more attention on the concept of meaning. This particular concept (meaning) is most explicitly explored in Paper 2, where the case study of Råbyvägen in Uppsala provided an interesting empirical basis for a discussion around the role of formal documents in the construction of meaning. Inspired by Wenger’s (1998) studies on communities of practice, the conceptual pair of participation and reification provided a relevant framework for analysing how meaning is constructed in the intersection of these two processes. Having attended a series of meetings involving the main actors of the case as an observer, different interpretations of core concepts and different views on the meaning of planning guidelines emerged. Individual interviews and conversations with the participants in the process gave additional depth to these conclusions.

One dimension which up until then had been less well studied in the empirical context of my research (although frequently touched upon in Paper 1) was the relationship between national and local planning. The cooperative efforts of Nörköping and the SRA around the plans for a high speed rail link and the development of central Nörköping became a suitable case study for Paper 3. Just as the case of Råbyvägen in Uppsala in Paper 2 displayed a gap between perspectives among representatives of different municipal bodies, the national and local planning actors in Nörköping seemed to express different levels of commitment to their cooperative activities. The previous attention to meaning as a core concept provided a useful theoretical input to the discussion about different forms of commitment (Meyer & Allen, 1991), emphasizing commitment in terms of the perception of the different actors in the planning process.

Turning even more explicitly to the national level, but still in the light of the relationship between the national and local levels, Paper 4 discusses different elements of the process leading up to the final proposal of the National Plan for Transport Investments 2010-2021 in Sweden, using a theoretical perspective closely related to those in the previous papers. By focusing on the roles and functions of certain key documents in the process of preparing for selection of proposed investments to the national government, Paper 4 explores how transport planning practices can be analyzed from a sensemaking perspective (Weick, 1995). Consequently, the study is based on interviews and document studies. In particular, the study is structured around the story of one of the central planners at the STA with a leading role in the prioritisation process, in order to illustrate the process from a sensemaking perspective. This story is corroborated and augmented with empirical material from additional interviews and document studies (Yin, 2003), supplementing this core interview.

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4 Summary of the papers

4.1 Paper 1
Licentiate thesis, published and defended at a public seminar at the Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm, 2009-04-06.

Title: Trafik- och stadsplanering som en integrerad process? Om perspektiv och kommunikativa processer i stadsutvecklingen (Urban planning and transportation planning through an integrated process? On perspectives and communicative processes in urban development). (In Swedish.)

Paper 1 examines the discussions about cross-sectoral planning taking place in an urban development project carried out in cooperation between national and local planning agencies, in order to illuminate the circumstances enhancing or obstructing the potential for integrated planning processes. The aim is to contribute knowledge of the conditions for integrated planning of transportation systems and cities based on dialogue and collaboration. By analysing three cases included in the project, central challenges for cross-sectoral coordination are identified and used as a basis for a discussion on the potential for consensus-based planning processes.

With reference to communicative planning theory and the experiences from the case studies, Paper 1 discusses the possibilities of handling the multitude of perspectives inherent in planning processes. It argues that communicative processes can play a role in sharpening the awareness about the procedural problems that need to be addressed in a planning process. Rather than emphasising consensus in terms of agreement on solutions, the paper stresses the circumstances making it possible to reach agreement at all, focusing on the understanding of the problem and how the process should be arranged to solve it. Although agreement on solutions may well be the result of communicative processes, there is also a value in the relationships between actors that are built up through such processes, a resource to draw upon in future situations. Increased understanding of each other's motives and conditions to act is therefore seen as the main benefit from this kind of communicative processes.

Keywords: urban development, cross-sectoral coordination, transport planning, urban planning, communicative planning theory, holistic perspective, perspectives, consensus
4.2 Paper 2

Title: Integration of land use and transportation planning under the canopy of a holistic plan? An argument for process around plans

Paper 2 examines a recent planning project in Sweden, highlighting the problem of orientating the transformation of a street space around a general strategy expressed in a comprehensive plan. The aim is to deepen understanding of the conditions for integration of land use planning and transportation planning, by focusing on the relationship between plans and planning processes. Framed by theories about how meaning is negotiated through a dual process of reification and participation, Paper 2 scrutinises the meaning of a strategy once given formal status in the comprehensive plan, as it is to be applied and situated in the context of a particular street.

The case study shows how two municipal offices, whose participation in the preparation of the plan differed, put different emphasis on the role of the comprehensive plan, thus giving it different status. As the strategy moved into a phase of materialisation, the two offices consequently had different views on how to develop the street. The main conclusion of Paper 2 is that the meaning of a plan will vary depending on the ways the plan is situated in the everyday flow of events and participatory contexts characteristic of any actor. Thus, it is suggested that an integrative strategy for urban development and infrastructure cannot rely solely on plans, contracts, formal documents or other forms of reification. The participation of those concerned in the process of formulating planning goals into such reifications is essential.

Keywords: comprehensive planning, communicative planning, cross-sectoral coordination, negotiation of meaning, perspectives

4.3 Paper 3
Forthcoming in Planning Theory and Practice.

Title: Committed to Coordination? How Different Forms of Commitment Complicate the Coordination of National and Urban Planning

Paper 3 focuses on the coordination of national infrastructure planning and municipal urban planning in Sweden. A case study of a current planning project, where a planned high speed railway meets the centre of a medium-sized city, serves as a basis for a discussion about the commitment of the main parties to cooperate for coordinated planning. The aim is to analyse and discuss alternative
views on what it means to be committed to a planning project involving actors
from organisations representing different administrative levels and sectors.

With the help of theories on commitment, primarily used in organisational
analysis, Paper 3 reveals a gap in terms of the commitment signalled to joint
efforts, and thus also the expectations of their respective counterpart. Depending
on the definition of commitment, both parties can be seen as highly committed,
but while the railway agency has its commitment orientated primarily towards the
transport system as such, i.e. the content of the cooperation, the concern of the
municipality is more about commitment to the continuity of the cooperative
efforts, i.e. the process of cooperating. Paper 3 concludes by suggesting that while
strong commitment to the substantial content of a project may be crucial to
physical transformation, the content of a plan is often not clear in advance, but
has to be outlined as the process proceeds. Commitment to a joint process may
relieve a cooperative project of premature or even unrealistic commitments to
physical measures, because it injects confidence into the expectations of the
parties involved. By being continuously updated on the position and intentions of
the other party, surprises over unexpected courses of action may be replaced by
readiness to handle changing conditions.

Keywords: commitment, coordination, collaboration, transport planning, urban
planning

4.4 Paper 4
Submitted to Transportation.

Title: Sensemaking in Swedish national transport planning

In the academic literature, transport planning has been analysed and discussed
from a variety of perspectives. Whereas different theoretical perspectives often
represent demarcated academic strands, transport planners involved in planning
practices rely on different kinds of knowledge and procedures to make sense of
the situations in which they find themselves, on which their subsequent actions
are based. The overall aims of Paper 4 is to explore how transport planning
practices can be analysed from a sensemaking perspective, a perspective which has
not had a salient role in the transport planning literature.

Paper 4 empirically focuses on the development of the current Swedish National
Plan for Transport Investments, describing the preparatory phases of the
prioritization process. It shows how the different elements of the process have
contributed to the ways planners have made sense of various regional contexts
and the political guidelines for the process. A conclusion of Paper 4 is that a
sensemaking perspective opens up the potential for alternative ways to frame
particular spatial contexts or situations, and the scope for different approaches is widened. An implication of such a conclusion is that the political dimension of the planning process could be made more explicit. It is therefore suggested that a more prominent role for political visions as tools for sensegiving in the planning process could strengthen the degree to which outcomes of planning processes are grounded in political commitments to approved plans, as well as the democratic legitimacy of these processes.

Keywords: transport investments, planning practice, sensemaking, sensegiving

4.5 Overall summary

Papers 1-4 individually offer different lessons regarding key conditions for an integrated approach to urban and transport planning. Paper 1 illustrates the facilitating role in integrated planning of increased understanding of the conditions for different parties to cooperate and to get involved in collaborative planning situations. Paper 2 invites practitioners to reflect on alternative interpretations of plans, strategies, documents, etc. that may be taken for granted. Paper 3 illuminates the actual variations in the commitment of parties involved in collaborative projects, thereby offering practitioners the opportunity to critically assess their expectations on mutual involvement in projects dependent on cooperation with others, and raises questions regarding the possibilities for institutional changes in order to facilitate a different kind of cooperation. By offering a sensemaking perspective on transport planning practice, Paper 4 highlights the possibility of using a wider variety of instruments in transport planning, including a more prominent role for political visions, in addition to traditional transport planning tools and procedures.

From the perspective of theory, the experiences from the case studies in Paper 1 add theoretical depth to the existing literature on communicative planning by highlighting the ways communicative processes facilitated or failed to facilitate mutual understanding among actors. Paper 2 further deepens the understanding of how differences in perspectives arise, by applying concepts from theories about negotiation of meaning on the role of formal documents in collaborative planning processes. Paper 3 offers a nuanced perspective on commitment to joint planning efforts by introducing a theoretical discussion from organisational analysis to planning theory about the concept of commitment. Finally, the main theoretical contribution of Paper 4 is the proposition that the role of transport planning tools and procedures associated with different theoretical perspectives may be jointly understood in terms of sensemaking, thereby offering a pragmatist perspective on transport planning.

Table 2 provides a summarising overview of Papers 1-4. More general conclusions and implications of these findings are discussed in the next chapter.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Main methods</th>
<th>Core theoretical concepts</th>
<th>Core references</th>
<th>Main concern</th>
<th>Main contribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paper 3</td>
<td>Interviews, observations, studies</td>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>Meyer &amp; Allen (1991)</td>
<td>Explores the conditions for coordination based on a jointly declared intention.</td>
<td>Discusses how the commitment of different actors to joint strategies and other formal agreements may take on different forms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper 4</td>
<td>Interviews, document studies</td>
<td>Sensemaking</td>
<td>Weick (1995)</td>
<td>Explores transport planning from the perspective of how planners make sense of different elements of a planning process.</td>
<td>Discusses the conditions for coordination in a process characterized by a scale that does not enable close interaction between the central actors.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 Conditions for an integrated approach to urban and transport planning

The experiences from some of the studied cases suggest that communicative processes may contribute to a shared understanding of problems, or “meta-consensus” (Niemeyer & Dryzek, 2007). In contrast to consensus in terms of agreement on certain physical solutions, the meta-consensus perspective denotes the potential for actors to agree on a common understanding about the prerequisites for planning. For instance, as shown in Paper 1, increased understanding about the conditions for the SRA to participate in discussions about urban development in Norrköping was one of the main benefits of the communicative processes taking place in the city of Norrköping. Conversely, awareness about the consequences of being distant from the local discussions grew among the participants involved in these processes at the SRA. The cooperative process to which the municipality of Norrköping was shown to be committed in Paper 3 served a similar function as a common ground for coordinated action at an early stage of the process. The case from Uppsala in Paper 1 is an example of a process where the prospects for consensus were small, but where the parties involved could agree on the need to move the discussion to the level of formal politics, thereby jointly acknowledging the inherently political dimension of the project.

Papers 1-4 all shed light on the situatedness of the conditions for an integrated approach to urban and transport planning. Every case displays its own trajectory of events and circumstances. Some case studies show great difficulties for communicative processes to be established. Reaching cross-sectoral agreement about the physical transformation of an urban area may be difficult because different trajectories of participation and reification (Wenger, 1998) give rise to sub-universes of meaning (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and, consequently, different perspectives of the main actors in a planning process, as illustrated in the

5 Conditions for an integrated approach to urban and transport planning

The aim of this study is to explore key conditions for an integrated approach to urban and transport planning. Having examined different projects and contexts involving urban planning and transport planning perspectives and discussing the relationships between these, some more general conclusions may be drawn from the analyses described in Papers 1-4. Communicative planning theory offers a conceptual framework for the management of different sectoral activities and different perspectives on planning (Innes, 1995; Healey, 1997). However, the potential of these theories to actually accomplish this aim in real life planning situations has been widely debated and questioned (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Hillier, 2003; Connelly & Richardson, 2008). Papers 1-4 inform these issues in different ways.

5.1 The situatedness of communicative processes

Communicative processes may contribute to a shared understanding of problems, or “meta-consensus” (Niemeyer & Dryzek, 2007). In contrast to consensus in terms of agreement on certain physical solutions, the meta-consensus perspective denotes the potential for actors to agree on a common understanding about the prerequisites for planning. For instance, as shown in Paper 1, increased understanding about the conditions for the SRA to participate in discussions about urban development in Norrköping was one of the main benefits of the communicative processes taking place in the city of Norrköping. Conversely, awareness about the consequences of being distant from the local discussions grew among the participants involved in these processes at the SRA. The cooperative process to which the municipality of Norrköping was shown to be committed in Paper 3 served a similar function as a common ground for coordinated action at an early stage of the process. The case from Uppsala in Paper 1 is an example of a process where the prospects for consensus were small, but where the parties involved could agree on the need to move the discussion to the level of formal politics, thereby jointly acknowledging the inherently political dimension of the project.

Papers 1-4 all shed light on the situatedness of the conditions for an integrated approach to urban and transport planning. Every case displays its own trajectory of events and circumstances. Some case studies show great difficulties for communicative processes to be established. Reaching cross-sectoral agreement about the physical transformation of an urban area may be difficult because different trajectories of participation and reification (Wenger, 1998) give rise to sub-universes of meaning (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and, consequently, different perspectives of the main actors in a planning process, as illustrated in the
Uppsala case in Paper 2. Similarly, the way in which a planning process is organised and structured may also be contested, as exemplified by the case from Jönköping in Paper 1, as a consequence of different parties having their attention directed at different dimensions of the effectiveness of a planning process (Connelly & Richardson, 2008), wearing different “glasses” (Döös, 2008). As shown by the two cases in Norrköping, described in Papers 1 and 3, even processes characterised by formal agreements and consensus may be difficult to advance in practice due to differences in attitudes, approaches or commitment (Meier & Allen, 1991) by the actors involved. Furthermore, the discussion about the national plan for transport investments in Paper 4 suggests that the outcome of such a large-scale planning process is not a calculated result of optimal solutions. Instead, the outcome of the planning process depends on how planners make sense of the problems and objectives they are set to handle. This implies a reliance on particular combinations of participation and reification, in that case a set of documents and dialogue forums, providing extracted cues for planners to make sense of. Alternative interpretations of these problems and objectives could be expected to have resulted in a different set of proposals for action (Holden, 2006).

Furthermore, different dimensions of distance appear to matter for the degree to which communication is based primarily on participation or reification (Wenger, 1998). Organisational distance between decision-makers (politicians) and officials may have consequences for the degree of flexibility in the stance an organisation adopts towards the formal context of a particular project, as indicated by the different approaches by the municipality and the SRA in Papers 1 and 3. Epistemic distance between professional groups (Te Brömmelstroet & Bertolini, 2008) may influence the extent to which these groups can make sense of each other’s repertoires of words, routines, tools, and ways of doing things (Wenger, 1998), as illustrated by the relations between the municipal offices in Paper 2. Spatial distance between the location of the agency responsible and a concrete project may also matter for the directness of interaction, and whether two parties are consociates involved in face-to-face interaction, or mere contemporaries knowing each other “by hearsay” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 46), as illustrated by the importance of scale in Paper 4 and the different approaches to urban development of the SRoA and the SRA (Papers 1 and 3).

The examples of the different approaches to urban development of the SRoA and the SRA (Papers 1 and 3) also highlight the potential importance of the technical characteristics of the systems over which an actor is responsible. The physical relationship between national and local roads places urban transport within a domain captured by the “glasses” (Döös, 2008) of the SRoA in a way that differs from that of the SRA. A similar discussion applies to the Streets and Traffic Office and the City Planning Office and in Uppsala, being responsible for different spatial entities (flows in networks and to structures in a place). These
issues point to the aspect of \textit{nästan} (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), and how "signals from the outside world are filtered in the cognitive system" (van der Heijden, 1996, p. 55) of actors depending on the focus of their attention (Doi, 2008).

Considering the widespread ambitions to promote integrated planning processes, as outlined in 1.2, an implication of this conclusion is the need to frame integration challenges in ways that are perceived as relevant by the key actors, i.e. the integration challenges need to fall within the sight of these actors' perspectives. These challenges have to make sense to the professional groups and organisational units responsible for urban planning and transport planning. This may require institutional changes, e.g. by expressing political guidelines in different ways to change the orientation of the commitment of operational units of an organisation, or to create incentives for cooperation (Sager & Ravlum, 2004). It may also require interactive processes that give meaning to boundary objects (Wenger, 1998) such as cooperation agreements, strategy-formulations, and joint projects (e.g. The Livable City).

5.2 Giving sense to integrated approaches

Papers 1-4 reveal several examples of how plans and strategies for urban development have emerged through a process of framing ongoing events and individual plans retrospectively into conceptual entities (Mintzberg, 1994; Healey, 2007). The conceptualisation of a set of infrastructure investments in the Norrköping Package (mentioned in Paper 4), as a strategy to develop Norrköping as a logistics node, and the urban development around the new light rail in Norrköping (Paper 1) can be understood in terms of gradually emerged strategies for urban development. Framed as strategies, they give sense to a number of subsequent projects that combined transform the city in the direction of explicit strategies. Other examples include the framing of the urban regeneration projects such as the Urban Development Vision in Jönköping, as described in Paper 1. Gradually, a number of individual projects acted to motivate each other and the Urban Development Vision gave sense to the parts together. The discussion in Paper 4 about the development of the Swedish National Plan for Transport Investments similarly reflects a process through which transport-related challenges around the country were gradually framed to get a 'clearer sense' of the complex spatial relationships that needed to be handled in the national planning process.

Framing processes, such as the examples above, are highly interactive. Framing involves influencing the ways others make sense of and understand their situations, in order to build capacity for "solving policy problems on the basis of a joint definition of the actual situation" (Albrechts, 2004, p. 754). Sensemaking is an ongoing negotiation of meaning (Wenger, 1998), which involves continuous assessments of what others are doing and how actions are responded to (Weick, 1995) such as cooperation agreements, strategy-formulations, and joint projects (e.g. The Livable City).

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As hinted here, a sensegiving perspective on the planner also has implications for the role of politics in planning. Giving sense to specific interpretations of reality, i.e. framing ongoing events, practices and development efforts into conceptual entities, implies influencing the ways others define their situations and is thereby an exercise of power (Altheide, 2006). Sensegiving and framing are therefore highly political activities, although not necessarily handled in the arena of formal politics. Frames are selective (Albrechts, 2004; Healey, 2007) and are therefore characterised by exclusion (Hiller, 2003; Connelly & Richardson, 2004).

In situations characterised by competing interests, efforts to coordinate policies or plans are equally political, with representatives of some perspectives or sectors being more influential than others (Peters, 1998). This raises questions about legitimacy. Who is the legitimate carrier of the “glasses” (Duism, 2009) that define the situation? Although the notion of legitimacy is problematic and may be highly situated (Connelly et al., 2006), it could be argued that in the context of formal democratic institutions, the legitimate source of such a judgment must be a decision made in the realm of formal politics. This line of reasoning does not automatically extend to an argument for more political involvement in everyday planning practices. It can, however, be seen as an argument for a more explicit role for political visions as a general guiding principle for planning and strategy-making.
To the extent that conceptual frames for collective action are weak, as exemplified by the vagueness of the political vision for the national transport system (Paper 4), or unbalanced, as in the case of Uppsala (Paper 2), the decision-makers responsible, whether local politicians or national government, will potentially have to be held accountable for the consequences of not having made the political more explicit. The dual nature of the SRA in Paper 3 can be seen as an example of such a consequence.

5.3 Acknowledging different kinds of knowledge and approaches in planning

If planning can be understood in terms of sensemaking, guided by plausibility rather than accuracy, focusing on extracted cues rather than comprehensive analysis (Weick, 1995), how come so much of the formal planning system is structured through instrumentally rationalistic models (e.g. traffic forecasts and CBA), and communicatively rationalistic procedures claiming to be based on holistic considerations to different perspectives, and at the same time extensively standardised as if it were possible to reduce the complex realities handled in the planning process to simple reifications? From a sensemaking perspective such rationalistic procedures are tools for planners and decision-makers to make sense of complex realities (see Paper 4). As Weick et al. (2005) put it: “As the search for meanings continues, people may describe their activities as the pursuit of accuracy to get it right. However, that description is important mostly because it sustains motivation. People may get better stories, but they will never get the story.” (p. 415, emphasis in original).

There is thus a very pragmatic dimension to procedures and methods associated with rationalistic planning approaches. The persuasive power of sophisticated models and well formulated arguments contribute to the plausibility of images of reality with which they are consistent. However, from a pragmatist perspective, there is no single true story about reality. Alternative assumptions alter the results of models, and alternative situational definitions can change the relevance of arguments. In extension, as argued by e.g. Blumer (1969) and Weick (1995), alternative stories can be expected to give rise to different courses of action. The knowledge planners base their situational definitions on will influence how they treat the interface between cities and transport systems. To promote an integrated approach to urban and transport planning, this implies that “more attention needs to be paid to the consequences of adopting a particular version of the truth than to its ability to be proven true for all time” (Holden, 2008, p. 479).

This perspective opens up the possibility to consider alternative kinds of knowledge (and methods to produce knowledge), and rationales for planning in situations characterized by a need for cross-sectorial integration, as discussed in...
The same argument could apply to the use of overall impact assessments (OIAs) in a context of different scenarios, linking results more clearly to sets of “reasonably plausible, but structurally different futures” (van der Heijden, 1996, p. 29), thereby facilitating dialogue around the consequences of basic underlying assumptions. From the perspective of the transport planners in Uppsala described in Paper 2, to take one example, the idea of removing a lane of traffic does not make much sense in light of traffic forecasts indicating an increase in traffic volumes. A different scenario for the future of Uppsala would induce alternative assumptions as inputs to the traffic forecast. Such alternative assumptions may not have been considered realistic, but they could have facilitated deliberation (Forester, 1999) about the plausibility of a narrower street.

CBA can be discussed in a similar way. In many project assessments, CBA results in a figure indicating whether the net present value of an investment is positive or negative. However, CBA is based on a wide range of assumptions that may easily turn out to be altered in reality. Furthermore, the complexity of CBA is beyond the comprehension of most people, including many persons involved in planning, as indicated by several of the persons interviewed during the progress of this thesis. The result of CBA is a reification that conveys a message. Without dialogue (participation) on what the value really stands for and how it could be understood, there is a great risk of such a method resulting in priorities that do not match policy goals very well. Presentations of CBA results could be supplemented with a participatory element that would add meaning to them. A more frequent usage of intervals or ranges of CBA results could encourage such a communicative element, seeing them as “tools in communicative planning processes” (Timms, 2008, p. 408).

The same argument could apply to the use of overall impact assessments (OIAs) as tools in the prioritisation process for national infrastructure investments, as discussed in Paper 4. Those documents commonly conclude with a judgment about the expected net value of a certain investment, but they are seldom phrased in a way that recognises the possibility of alternative futures. Instead, certain contextual conditions are defined as prerequisites for the assessments. One way to develop the OIAs could therefore be to elaborate on potential impacts of other projects being implemented or not, thereby acknowledging alternative scenarios.

On the other hand, traffic forecasts, CBA and OIAs all need to balance theoretical and empirical “soundness” with communicative “plainness” (Bertolini et al., 2005) in order to account for both the complexity of reality and the need for comprehensibility. Increasing the use of scenarios would also increase the risk of the analyses becoming too complex and difficult to make sense of, thereby losing their pragmatic function as decision support tools. However, and more fundamentally, introducing a wider range of methods and rationales for planning Paper 4. Traffic forecasts, for instance, could be framed more explicitly in a context of different scenarios, linking results more clearly to sets of “reasonably plausible, but structurally different futures” (van der Heijden, 1996, p. 29), thereby facilitating dialogue around the consequences of basic underlying assumptions. From the perspective of the transport planners in Uppsala described in Paper 2, to take one example, the idea of removing a lane of traffic does not make much sense in light of traffic forecasts indicating an increase in traffic volumes. A different scenario for the future of Uppsala would induce alternative assumptions as inputs to the traffic forecast. Such alternative assumptions may not have been considered realistic, but they could have facilitated deliberation (Forester, 1999) about the plausibility of a narrower street.

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could influence the conditions to coordinate urban and transport planning processes.

5.4 Making sense of integrated planning

In this thesis I set out to explore the conditions for an integrated approach to urban and transport planning. By now it seems fair to conclude that at a very fundamental level, planning processes involving different sectors, organisations, administrative levels, etc. are characterised by different perspectives as a consequence of individuals and professional groups having different experiences, being involved in different situations characterised by different institutional contexts. These differences have a profound influence on the possibility to develop shared understandings of problems, goals, needs and other components of planning challenges.

For plans and strategies to be effective in a multiperspective environment, they need to make sense to actors with different perspectives on what planning is all about. A sensemaking perspective on planning suggests that plans and strategies to promote an integrated approach to planning will always be partial and selective, despite ambitions for these to be comprehensive or holistic. However, this does not mean that attempts to promote integrated approaches are obsolete. Increasing synergies and fewer goal conflicts through a higher degree of integration and coordination between urban and transport planning may still be a realistic and viable policy objective, but it calls for a humble stance towards the “certainty and finality” (Holden, 2008) of suggested measures, since there always will be alternative ways to do things. Interactive processes may inform the shaping of perspectives and can therefore be an element in efforts to promote integrated approaches to transport and urban planning, although the extent to which this may be achieved is highly dependent on contextual conditions and will vary from case to case.

Communicative planning theory represents one school of thought, along with symbolic interactionism, pragmatism and many others, that puts the interaction of people at the centre of how to understand social processes. As such, communicative planning theory, in combination with theories about sensemaking, serves as a point of entry to understanding how people involved in planning make sense of the situations in which they find themselves, thereby helping us understand much of what planning is in practice. The situatedness of any real-life planning problem calls for caution in terms of suggesting any one specific model for planning. Instead, planning practice needs to be informed by knowledge of different kinds and from many fields, including explicit ‘know-what’ as well as implicit ‘know-how’ and knowledge based on systematised rationalistic procedures as well as knowledge based on practical experience (Healey, 2007), in a combination that must vary from case to case. From this point of view,
communicative planning theory, along with other theoretical frameworks centred on social interaction, helps us understand planning practice, but does not necessarily offer a model for how planning should be practised. By framing these issues, this study represents a step towards making sense of what integrated planning can be all about.
6 References


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