Master Thesis

Governance of Complex Spatial Developments

Building Freeways = Building Consensus

An international-comparative study of the development of two freeway extension projects in The Netherlands and Australia

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Preface

This thesis is my final academic document. Writing it has not been an easy task; several times I had a writer's block and (therefore) it took me more than a year to write it all down properly. Ironically, the idea for this thesis - a comparative study on a road management issue between The Netherlands and Australia - came fairly quick.

This idea came to my mind when I was on holidays in Australia in 2002. I was sitting in a car, which was driving on a freeway close to Melbourne, and all of a sudden we had to slow down because of road works. To my surprise these road works stretched for about 20 kilometres! So this meant that, in this vast country, everybody had to drive slowly (60 kph instead of 100 kph) for about 20 kilometres.

In my home country, The Netherlands, I had (and still have) never seen road works that stretched for 20 kilometres. In a way this astonishment formed the basis of this thesis, because I was then sure that I wanted to write my thesis about differences in a road management issue between Australia and The Netherlands.

To transform my idea into reality I contacted VicRoads in July 2003 and I exchanged my thoughts with the General Manager of RSM, mister Bruce van Every. Fortunately he gave me the opportunity to do a three-month work experience at VicRoads from February until May 2004. During my work experience in Australia I studied the Eastern Freeway Extension-project.

This freeway extension project had strong similarities with a freeway extension project in The Netherlands, namely the A4 Delft-Schiedam-project. So I contacted mister Wim Hoevers, who works at Rijkswaterstaat Directie Zuid-Holland. Fortunately he accepted my proposal to do a short work experience at Rijkswaterstaat and so an international comparative study became really possible. My work experience at Rijkswaterstaat took place in June 2004.

After this short historical overview, which provided some background information on this thesis and its writer, I would now like to thank some people who made this thesis possible (either directly or indirectly).

I would like to thank everyone at VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat for their kind and enthusiastic cooperation, and especially Bruce van Every and Wim Hoevers for their confidence in me. Additionally I would like to thank all representatives of the other organisations who have helped me to collect the necessary empirical data for this thesis.

I would never have been able to write this thesis without the excellent supervision of dr. Sandra van Thiel. I would like to thank her very much for all her efforts. I would also like to thank dr. Erik-Hans Klijn for his contribution and of course everyone else of the Erasmus University Rotterdam who contributed to my graduation over the years.

Last but not least I would like to thank my family and friends for their unconditional support. Mum, dad, Patricia, ome Jan and aunt Monica thanks for supporting me and making my graduation possible. And especially I would like to thank my oma Luyendijk for all her love and inspiration. Unfortunately she cannot enjoy my graduation but I am sure that she would be very proud of me.

Hans Heukels
Barendrecht, August 2005

Executive Summary

Developing a freeway extension project in The Netherlands is not an easy task. One reason for this could be that The Netherlands is a relatively small and densely populated country. Therefore space is scarce and as a consequence there are often multiple spatial claims to a specific spatial area. One could speculate that in a country where space is not scarce multiple spatial claims will not arise because it can be expected that multiple spatial claims for a specific spatial area are unnecessary because there are sufficient alternative locations available.

A country that can serve as a good example here is Australia. Australia is about 100 times the size of The Netherlands, but in relative terms it does not have many more inhabitants than The Netherlands (roughly 20 million people compared to 16 million people in The Netherlands). So it could be expected that there is no need to have multiple spatial claims to a specific spatial area. According to this logic, developing a freeway extension project in Australia should be much easier than developing a freeway extension project in The Netherlands.

Such a presumption – that a freeway extension project in Australia should be developed easier than a freeway extension project in The Netherlands – however cannot only be based on the fact that there is much more space available in Australia than in The Netherlands, but also on the fact that in Australia the government is organised in a much more hierarchical way than in The Netherlands. Because of this difference in political and administrative context it could also be expected that a freeway extension project will be developed easier in Australia than in The Netherlands.

Actually however, freeway extension projects in Australia are not developed quicker than freeway extension projects in The Netherlands. There are two cases (one in Australia: the EFE-project, and one in The Netherlands: the A4DS-project) that demonstrate that a freeway extension can take a long time to be completely developed from the first official plans until the complete construction of the freeway extension.

According to Mrs Jorritsma, who was the Dutch Minister for Transport from 1994 until 1998, the most important factor of delay consists of the interactions between governments, in particular the interaction between different levels of government. It was interesting to find out how these interactions could be improved in such a way that freeway extension projects can be developed quicker in the future. De Jong (1998: 22) thinks that consensus is vital for a quick development of major infrastructure projects (this includes a freeway extension project). He thinks that a lack of consensus originates from a lack of consultation with local governments, pressure groups and citizens. Woltjer (2000: 4) has similar thoughts. He says that: “Recent experiences in The Netherlands with the preparation of […] new motorways […] show that social processes and consensus play an extremely important role in realising new infrastructure projects”. So according to these two scientists the development of a freeway extension project and consensus are related to each other. But the statements of De Jong (1998) and Woltjer (2000) may have only been valid for the Dutch context. It could be possible that in the Australian context this relationship was different from the Dutch relationship. Therefore I intended to compare how the initiator of a freeway extension project in The Netherlands and its counterpart in Victoria, Australia deal with this relationship.

In this study I compared how the Dutch organisation (Rijkswaterstaat) and the Australian (Victorian) organisation (VicRoads) acted in this respect. Moreover it was interesting to see if VicRoads acted differently than Rijkswaterstaat. This could be expected because the context in which VicRoads is embedded was different from the context in which Rijkswaterstaat is embedded.

The goal of this thesis was: *To compare how VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat manage the interactions with other governmental organisations (at different levels of government) during the development of a freeway extension project and the consensus building efforts they make during these interactions.*

The main research question was: *How and to which extent do the actions of VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat differ from each other, with respect to their role, task and position to build consensus between different levels of government in the development of freeway extension projects?*

The main theoretical elements in this thesis were institutional context and consensus building. The constructed analytical framework was largely based on Scharpf's actor-centered institutionalism. His theory focused on institutions and purposive behaviour of actors, and made it possible to connect the institutional context with consensus building. The theory about consensus building was mainly based on the work of Susskind & Cruickshank.

The methods used in this thesis were based on international-comparative and case study research. The applied data collecting techniques were document analysis, interviews and observations.

The A4DS-project is about the development of a freeway extension from Kruithuisweg in Delft to Kethelplein in Schiedam. The main reason for the development of the A4DS is, according to Rijkswaterstaat, to reduce congestion between Rotterdam and The Hague in order to maintain good mobility in this area.

In 2001 a special steering group, called *Integrale Ontwikkeling tussen Delft en Schiedam* (IODS) published a report in which the development of the A4DS would be made possible by local governments as long as the development of the A4DS would be integrated into a larger spatial plan for the entire Midden-Delfland area. IODS was and still is the institutionalised form of the consensus building process in the A4DS-project.

The Eastern Freeway Extension is an extension of the existing Eastern Freeway. The EFE begins at Springvale Road, Nunawading and ends at Ringwood Street, Ringwood. According to the Premier of Victoria the freeway extension will improve road safety and reduce traffic congestion on surrounding roads to and from the Eastern suburbs. The first section, from Springvale Road, Nunawading to Park Road, Mitcham has actually been constructed today. This section was part of the first contract of the Eastern Freeway Extension and it was less than 1 kilometre in length.

The CAG was an advisory group to VicRoads by providing input to issues that required a community view. It was established to guarantee community involvement. Its task was to provide input to issues that require a community view and to provide a forum for information sharing. The CAG was the institutionalised form of the consensus building process in the EFE-project.

The comparison of the two cases, based on the research questions, led to the following conclusions:

- VicRoads' and Rijkswaterstaat's role in freeway extension projects was primarily that of an initiator.
- The key actors that participated in the consensus building processes of the freeway extension projects were, in both cases, all local governments.
- Because of the existence of mutual dependencies between actors, it seemed impossible to reach a decision without the use of some form of consensus building.
- Theoretically, VicRoads followed all steps of consensus building almost literally; all six steps can be identified in the Australian case. The only exception in this case was that VicRoads (or any other actor participating in the CAG) did not propose any package-deals to the chairperson or the participants of the CAG.
- In theory, Rijkswaterstaat did not follow all six steps of consensus building. The first step, convening, was not organised by Rijkswaterstaat but by the Minister for Transport. The second step, clarifying responsibilities, was also not organised by Rijkswaterstaat, but by the Province of Zuid-Holland. The other steps were jointly organised in IODS, which is theoretically acceptable.

The analysis in this thesis showed that VicRoads acted more according to the theory of consensus building than Rijkswaterstaat did. It seems that, as a consequence, the consensus building process in which VicRoads was involved, was more successful than the one in which Rijkswaterstaat was involved (although this latter consensus building process is still continuing today).

Paradoxically, it seems that the institutional setting in which VicRoads is embedded resulted in a better consensus building process than the institutional setting Rijkswaterstaat is embedded in, although the latter context is more focused on consensus. This could be explained by differences in expectations from all the participating actors in the consensus building process. Perhaps the participants' expectations were too high in the Dutch case, based on their stronger institutional position than their Australian counterparts. This could explain the differences in actor attitudes in both cases and confirms that differences in the institutional context can lead to a different consensus building process.

In short can be concluded that the actions of VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat, in their attempt to build consensus between different levels of government for the development of freeway extension projects, differed significantly.

It seems that Woltjer and De Jong were right by relating the development of a freeway extension project and the amount of consensus with each other. This thesis showed that a high level of consensus building (especially in the Australian case) helps to prevent the development of a freeway extension project from stalling and may even accelerate the development of such a project. A relation between the successful development of a freeway extension project (in terms of actor-satisfaction) and the amount of consensus for this project can therefore be identified.

Because of this relationship an important prescription for a successful development of a freeway extension project could be described by the following equation:

Building Freeways = Building Consensus

1 Freeway extension projects and governmental interactions

1.1 The development of a freeway extension project in The Netherlands and in Australia

Developing a freeway extension project in The Netherlands is not an easy task. One reason for this could be that The Netherlands is a relatively small and densely populated country. Therefore space is scarce and as a consequence there are often multiple spatial claims to a specific spatial area. One could speculate that in a country where space is not scarce multiple spatial claims will not arise because it can be expected that multiple spatial claims for a specific spatial area are unnecessary because there are sufficient alternative locations available.

A country that can serve as a good example here is Australia. Australia is about 100 times the size of The Netherlands, but in relative terms it does not have many more inhabitants than The Netherlands (roughly 20 million people compared to 16 million people in The Netherlands). So it could be expected that there is no need to have multiple spatial claims to a specific spatial area. According to this logic, developing a freeway extension project in Australia should be much easier than developing a freeway extension project in The Netherlands.

Such a presumption – that a freeway extension project in Australia should be developed easier than a freeway extension project in The Netherlands – however cannot only be based on the fact that there is much more space available in Australia than in The Netherlands, but also on the fact that in Australia the government is organised in a much more hierarchical way than in The Netherlands. This can be explained by the fact that Australia was a colony of the United Kingdom and because of this they adopted the Westminster-model, which has strong hierarchical features (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000: 202). Because of this difference in political and administrative context it could also be expected that a freeway extension project will be developed easier in Australia than in The Netherlands.

Actually however, freeway extension projects in Australia are not developed quicker than freeway extension projects in The Netherlands. There are two cases (one in Australia and one in The Netherlands) that show that a freeway extension can take a long time to be completely developed from the first official plans until the complete construction of the freeway extension.

The Australian case is the Eastern Freeway Extension-project (or EFE-project) in Melbourne, Victoria. In 1955 financial reservations had already been made for this project in the Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme (Department of Infrastructure, 2000: 14). The EFE-project has just recently been developed, in December 2004 to be precise (VicRoads, 2005). This means that the development of this project from the first official plans until the complete construction of the freeway extension took almost fifty years! (The EFE as a whole has not been completely developed yet. Chapter 4 will make this clear.)

The Dutch case A4 Delft-Schiedam-project (or A4DS-project) has a similar timescale. The first official plans for this project made by the Dutch government are from 1952 (IODS, 2005). Nowadays, in the year 2005, more than fifty years after the

original plans for the A4 freeway extension, the A4DS has still not been completely developed.

What both cases illustrate is that the development of a freeway extension project can take a very long time despite the big differences in geographic and political contexts. According to Mrs Jorritsma, who was the Dutch Minister for Transport from 1994 until 1998, the most important factor of delay consists of the interactions between governments, in particular the interaction between different levels of government (state, provincial and municipal government). The Minister even specifically referred to the A4DS-project in this context (Speech from the Minister for Transport, 1998).

It is interesting to find out how these interactions can be improved in such a way that freeway extension projects can be developed quicker in the future. De Jong (1998: 22) thinks that consensus is vital for a quick development of major infrastructure projects (this includes a freeway extension project). He thinks that a lack of consensus originates from a lack of consultation with local governments, pressure groups and citizens. Woltjer (2000: 4) has similar thoughts. He says that: "Recent experiences in The Netherlands with the preparation of […] new motorways […] show that social processes and consensus play an extremely important role in realising new infrastructure projects".

So according to these two scientists the development of a freeway extension project and consensus are related to each other. Moreover they say that it is almost impossible to develop a freeway extension project without consensus. Implicitly this means that consensus needs to be created; otherwise the development of the project will stall. But the statements of De Jong (1998) and Woltjer (2000) may only be valid for the Dutch context. It could be possible that in the Australian context this relationship is different from the Dutch relationship. Therefore I intend to compare how the initiator of a freeway extension project in The Netherlands and its counterpart in Victoria, Australia deal with this relationship.

1.2 Problem definition

1.2.1 Goal of this thesis

The contributions of Jorritsma, De Jong and Woltjer indicate that, in The Netherlands, there is a strong relation between the (quick) development of a freeway extension project, the interactions between different levels of government, and consensus. The governmental organisation responsible for the development of a freeway extension project shall have to deal with this relationship. In this study I will compare how the Dutch organisation (Rijkswaterstaat) and the Australian (Victorian) organisation (VicRoads) act in this respect.

Moreover it is interesting to see if VicRoads acts differently than Rijkswaterstaat. This can be expected because the context in which VicRoads is embedded is different from the context in which Rijkswaterstaat is embedded.

Therefore the goal of this thesis will be:

To compare how VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat manage the interactions with other governmental organisations (at different levels of government) during the development of a freeway extension project and the consensus building efforts they make during these interactions.

1.2.2 Main research questions

As speculated upon in the previous section one might expect that VicRoads will act differently than Rijkswaterstaat because they are embedded in different (political and administrative) contexts. However, it is interesting to learn in what way and to what extent these actions differ, and if indeed differences can be explained by differences in political and administrative context.

Because of this, and the goal of this thesis, the main research question will be:

How and to which extent do the actions of VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat differ from each other, with respect to their role, task and position to build consensus between different levels of government in the development of freeway extension projects?

In order to answer this main research question it is necessary to describe the sub-questions that will help answering the main research question. These questions contain both theoretical and empirical elements. The sub-questions will now be presented:

1 What role, task and position do VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat have in freeway extension projects?

By answering this question (1) it can be made clear what type of organisation VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat are in terms of their position, functions and powers.

2 Which governmental actors are involved in freeway extension projects besides VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat?

The answer to this question (2) will help identify which other actors are involved in a freeway extension project, emphasising on governmental actors only.

3 How can consensus be built in freeway extension projects?

The answer to this question (3) is mainly theoretical and will therefore be answered in chapter 2.

4a How can and does VicRoads build consensus between governmental organisations for a freeway extension project?

4b How can and does Rijkswaterstaat build consensus between governmental organisations for a freeway extension project?

The answers to these two questions (4a and 4b) provide information that can be used for the comparison between VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat.

5 How can the consensus building efforts of VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat be compared with each other?

The answer to this question (5) combines the answers to questions 4a and 4b, and structures the answer to the main research question.

By combining the answers to all the sub-questions it should be possible to answer the main research question of this thesis.

1.2.3 Scientific relevance

This thesis can make a contribution to the Dutch literature of the science of Public Administration because it will provide insight into the Australian administration (Victorian to be precise) where it concerns the Transport sector and the interaction between different levels of government, as they exist in Victoria, Australia. Therefore this thesis can add an Australian dimension to other international-comparative studies such as the study from De Jong (1998).

Furthermore this thesis can sharpen or confront the ideas that exist about Australia, the Australian political system and its administration, and the Australian society. Also the Australian case could be helpful in identifying different approaches to particular problems that also exist in the Dutch case. This means that theory of Public Administration can be put to test in these (peculiar) cases to solve administration problems.

Besides this comparison between The Netherlands and Australia on a system level, this thesis also makes it possible to make a comparison between two complex and extraordinary projects: the EFE-project and the A4DS-project. These projects can both be typified as unique in their home country (more about this in chapter 4).

1.3 Overview of this thesis

In the next chapter the theoretical elements of the sub-questions will be answered by making use of relevant scientific literature. The answers will be combined into an analytical framework.

In chapter 3 a methodological overview is presented including the operationalisation of the theoretical concepts as described in chapter 2.

In chapter 4 the collected empirical data will be presented and analysed in terms of the analytical framework. In this chapter the empirical elements of the sub-questions will be answered.

In the final chapter the answers to all research questions will be summarised in order to answer the main research question. In this chapter a reflection will also be presented. This reflection contains a link to the goal of this thesis and to the thesis as a whole (the usefulness of the presented problem definition, theory, methodology, and empirical data).

2 Institutional context and consensus building

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter the theoretical elements of the sub-questions will be clarified. The main theoretical elements in the sub-questions are (institutional) context and consensus building.

As sub-question 1 already indicates, different roles, tasks and positions are to be expected in different contexts. Therefore theory about institutional context and behaviour has to be discussed. Scharpf's (1997) actor-centered institutionalism can be helpful in this respect because it combines institutional context with behaviour of actors.

Sub-question 3 introduces the concept of consensus building. Because there is always an institutional context present (in this thesis mainly the political and administrative context), consensus building does not take place in a vacuum. Therefore a suitable theory about consensus building will be (made) compatible with theory about institutional context in this thesis.

As a result an integrated analytical framework will be constructed, consisting of theory about consensus building and theory about institutional context and behaviour of actors.

I will now begin discussing Scharpf's (1997) actor-centered institutionalism in order to provide a context for consensus building.

2.2 Institutional context and behaviour of actors

2.2.1 Actor-centered institutionalism

Actor-centered institutionalism (ACI) tries to combine actor-centered and institution-centered approaches in an integrated framework. ACI proceeds from the assumption that social phenomena are to be explained as the outcome of interaction among intentional actors (being individual, collective or corporate actors) but that these interactions are structured, and the outcomes shaped, by the characteristics of the institutional settings within which they occur (Scharpf, 1997: 1).

ACI acknowledges that actors respond differently to external threats, constraints and opportunities because they may differ in their intrinsic perception and preferences but also because their perceptions and preferences are very much shaped by the specific institutional setting within which they interact. It also emphasises the influence of institutions on the perceptions, preferences, and capabilities of individual and corporate actors and on the modes of their interaction (Scharpf, 1997: 37-38).

So, according to Scharpf, the behaviour of actors involved in a freeway extension project does not only depend on their own perceptions and preferences but

also, and perhaps even more importantly, it depends on the specific institutional setting because this institutional setting constrains the way in which these actors interact, influencing the possible perceptions and preferences actors can have. Institutions not only facilitate and constrain a range of choices, but they also define how the involved actors will evaluate the outcomes achieved through such choices, and they will thus determine the preferences of these actors with regard to the feasible options. In short, the games that are in fact being played in processes are to a large extent defined by institutions. In essence, this makes social behaviour understandable and predictable (Scharpf, 1997: 39-40).

It now seems that if the institutional setting is known, much is then also known about the actors, their options, perceptions and preferences. However there are two important remarks. The first remark is that institutions vary cross-nationally and intertemporarily. This means that institutions will not be universal but rather limited by time and place. The second remark is that although institutions constitute composite actors, create and constrain options, and shape perceptions and preferences, they cannot influence choices and outcomes in a deterministic sense. Institutionalised rules for instance, even if they are completely effective, will rarely prescribe one, and only one, course of action. Instead, by rejecting some and permitting other actions, they will define repertoires of more or less acceptable courses of action that will leave considerable scope for the strategic and tactical choices of purposeful actors.

Moreover, actors who are willing to pay the price of sanctions may even violate binding rules. More generally, the influence of institutions on perceptions and preferences, and hence on intentions, can never be complete. Thus a knowledge of institutions can tell much about the options, perceptions, and preferences of given actors, but it certainly cannot tell everything about them (Scharpf, 1997: 41-42).

Scharpf (1997: 38) defines institutions as systems of rules that structure the courses of actions that a set of actors may choose. In this definition not only formal legal rules are included but also (informal) social norms that actors will generally respect and whose violation will be sanctioned by loss of reputation, social disproval, withdrawal of cooperation and rewards, or even exclusion. It is almost impossible to give a complete overview of all formal legal rules (or formal institutions), but the main ones (in the context of this thesis) are public international law, national constitutional law, election law, parliamentary procedure, administrative law and administrative procedure. The same applies for all informal social norms (or informal institutions), but the main ones are rules, norms, conventions and expectations.

2.2.2 The basic explanatory framework of purposive behaviour of actors

I now like to present the basic explanatory framework that will help to understand the purposive behaviour of actors. The main focus in this framework is interactions between actors. This framework is based on Scharpf's framework (1997: 44), but it is altered for a better fit with the problem definition in this thesis. It contains the following elements:

- Institutional Setting
- Decisions
- Actors
- Networks

- Modes of Interaction
- Outcomes

The features of these elements and their relationships with each other are presented in the figure below (figure 2.1):

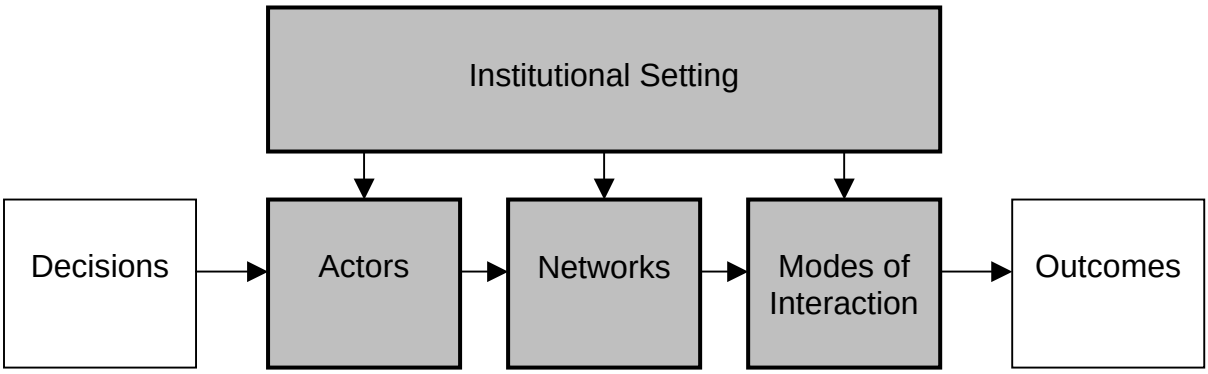


Figure 2.1 “The basic explanatory framework”

The next sections will discuss the “grey” elements. In these sections both the theoretical aspects and the implications for this research will be discussed.

2.2.3 Institutional setting

In Scharpf’s terms the institutional setting can be described as the collection of all systems of rules that structure the courses of actions that a set of actors may choose. In other words it can be described as the collection of formal and informal rules influencing actors’ behaviour.

In this thesis two different institutional settings will be object of study: one is the Dutch institutional context and the other is the Australian institutional context. According to Lijphart (1984: 216) the Dutch institutional context can be characterised as a consensus democracy. This means that spreading and sharing of power between different institutions is common (Lijphart, 1999: 33-34). The Australian institutional context on the other hand can be characterised as a majoritarian democracy (Lijphart, 1984: 5). In this institutional context power is concentrated and centralised within a limited number of institutions (Vergunst, 2004: 33).

Because of these important differences in institutional contexts, different outcomes in the development of freeway extension projects can be expected (see figure 2.1). Therefore the most important features of the Dutch and the Australian institutional context will now be presented.

2.2.3.1 The consensus model of The Netherlands: the decentralised unitary-state and the polder-model

The administrative system in The Netherlands is called the decentralised unitary-state. This concept sounds paradoxical: decentralisation and centralisation at the same time. The only way to really understand this concept is by understanding the Dutch history.

A few centuries ago The Netherlands, as it exists today, did not exist. In those days the current provinces were more or less sovereign territories. Because of external threats many of these provinces decided to cooperate with each other, but they did not give up all of their sovereignty. It was not before 1848 (a few years after the reign of Napoleon) that The Netherlands, as it exists today with a fairly dominant level of central government, was formed. So from an administrative point of view, this overview indicates that the sovereignty of provinces, and also municipalities, has gradually shifted to the central government. But their sovereignty, especially on territorial claims, still exists. This balance of power, between the central government and the decentralised governments, implies the need for negotiation between these different levels of government. This structural feature of the Dutch state – the spreading and sharing of power between different levels of government – makes The Netherlands a typical consensus democracy.

According to Hendriks & Toonen (2001: 4) the rules of play in the Dutch consensus democracy are consensus, compromise and consultation (the three C's of Dutch politics). These three C's can be explained by the structure (the decentralised unitary-state) and the culture of Dutch public administration (the polder-model). The Dutch democracy has been frequently praised for its capacity to organise a support base (consensus) for policy, for bringing antagonists into a mode of dialogue and for developing creative deals in the process. From an international perspective this model is so unique that it has its own, typically Dutch, name: *het poldermodel* (the polder-model).

The polder-model is a form of interaction or negotiation that tries to reach consensus for a project or policy between political and social actors who are having conflicts in values or interests (Weggeman, 2003: 20). In contrast to the concept of the decentralised unitary-state, the polder-model is a cultural concept. It is a more informal concept that stresses the importance of equality between actors, regardless of formally existing hierarchical relations between them.

2.2.3.2 The majoritarian model in Australia

The Commonwealth of Australia was founded in 1900 by the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900. This Constitution was in fact an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, seated in Westminster (Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900, Preamble). This shows the direct link between Australia and the United Kingdom or Westminster.

The Constitution does not mention local government, only the State and Commonwealth (national) government. This means that dealings at local level are officially not to be recognised. There is even no definition or explanation in the Constitution of how State and Commonwealth government should interact. In other words, processes of governance are not clearly set out in the Constitution (Schortinghuis, 1999: 9).

The State government has its own Constitution, which defines its role and responsibilities as well as defines local government. The State is responsible for the setting up of local government as a level of government. The powers of local government are delegated to local government by the State parliament and therefore local government forms the arms of the State administration (Schortinghuis, 1999: 14).

2.2.4 Actors

Actors in the basic explanatory framework can be characterised by specific capabilities, specific perceptions and specific preferences (the latter two combined can be called orientations). The complex concept “preferences” can be disaggregated into four simpler components, namely “interests”, “norms”, “identities” and “interaction orientations” (Scharpf, 1997: 63).

Capabilities must be defined relative to specific outcomes. This term is meant to describe all resources that allow an actor to influence an outcome in certain respects and to a certain degree. These include personal properties, like intelligence, or human and social capital; and physical resources, such as money, land, or privileged access to information. What matters most are the resources that are created by institutional rules defining competencies and granting or limiting rights of participation, of veto, or of autonomous decision in certain aspects of given processes.

Actors are further characterised by their specific action orientations. These characteristic perceptions and preferences may be relatively stable (as is assumed in rational-choice theories), or they may be changeable through learning and persuasion. At any rate, they will be activated and specified by the stimulus provided by a particular problem or issue, and they will refer to the desirable or undesirable nature of the status quo, to the causes of a perceived problem, to the efficacy and desirability of perceived courses of action, and to the outcomes associated with these. These orientations are also influenced by the institutional setting (as in figure 2.1) (Scharpf, 1997: 43-44).

In other words, the orientations of actors depend on their institutional role. Therefore it is possible that in one institutional context the action resources of actors differ from action resources in another institutional context. This could mean that some actors are involved in a freeway extension project in one context but are not involved in another context. This observation means that, in line with the basic explanatory framework, the selection of participating actors can influence their mode of interaction. This may imply that consensus building, as a mode of interaction, can only take place in one specific institutional context. The next sections will elaborate on this matter.

Actors that are involved in a freeway extension project are not only individuals acting on their own behalf but are, moreover (Scharpf, 1997: 52), individuals acting in the interest of a larger group or an organisation. Therefore it is empirically meaningful to treat aggregates of individuals as composite actors and to explain policy outcomes in terms of their preferences and strategy choices.

The term “composite actor” will be reserved to “networks” in which the “intent” of intentional action refers to the joint effect of coordinated action expected by the participating individuals. In other words, the use of actor-theoretic concepts above the individual level presupposes that the individuals involved intend to create a joint product or to achieve a common purpose. So in this research the term “composite actor” is only applicable for a group of actors who want to develop a freeway extension project together.

Thus to be able to answer sub-questions 1 and 2, I need to identify those actors who on a certain level have the same goal(s), and when I have acquired this information I have found the composite actor that can be identified for a particular

freeway extension project. As the next section will show, the concept of networks can be useful in this attempt.

2.2.5 Networks

Policy networks form the context in which policy processes take place, e.g. the development of a freeway extension project. These networks make it possible to analyse the relationship between context and process in policy making (Kickert et al., 1997: 14). In other words, it connects the institutional setting with the modes of interaction (see figure 2.1).

The policy network approach focuses on institutional factors in the game or interaction process, such as the interdependencies between actors, their relationships and the rules that guide their interactions. It also tries to focus on the institutional arrangements that make up the network (Kickert et al., 1997: 46-47).

Networks can be defined as more or less stable patterns of social relations between interdependent actors. These networks form the context in which policy processes (in this thesis two consensus building processes that are present during the development of a freeway extension projects) take place. The concept of networks is thus useful to analyse the relationship between context and process (Klijn, 1994: 1). This last sentence particularly shows the importance of this concept in this thesis and corresponds with figure 2.1.

According to Klijn (1994: 15-18) networks have three main characteristics: dependency, variety of actors (and goals), and relations.

Mutual dependency between actors is the main feature of networks. This dependency exists because actors need other actors' resources to achieve their goals. These interdependencies cause interactions between actors, which create and sustain relation patterns. This can be the result of a more or less joint interest in a specific policy sector (in this thesis the development of freeway extension projects).

Furthermore networks consist of a wide variety of actors who all have their own goals and strategies. The result of interaction between these actors (through a certain mode of interaction) leads to certain outcomes (see figure 2.1).

Consequently these interdependencies and interactions create patterns of relations. These patterns of relations can be described in terms of frequency, directness and centrality of communication and interactions. It is hereby assumed that an actor who occupies a central position in the network is in a better position to reach his goals because he has more information, is better able to activate other actors and can mobilize better resources. These patterns of relations entail a focus on institutionalisation; if actors interact with each other for a long period they create rules, which regulate their behaviour and resource division, which influence their strategic options (Klijn, 1994: 17-18). This means that relation patterns are characterised by regularities in behaviour caused by the existence of rules and resource divisions. Networks thus provide a context for the mode of interaction between actors.

2.2.6 Modes of interaction

Modes of interaction describe the actual interactions between actors in a certain network. They are shaped by institutional rules regulating their use. However, the

actual character of interactions is not only determined by specific rules defining formal steps or procedures. It is also affected by the larger institutional setting within which these interactions take place (see figure 2.1). This limits the variety of institutional arrangements that permit a specific mode of interaction to be employed.

Scharpf (1997: 46-47) describes four different modes of interaction using the descriptors “unilateral action”, “negotiated agreement”, “majority vote”, and “hierarchical direction”. It is assumed that modes of interaction differ in their demands on the institutional capacity for conflict resolution and that institutional structures differ in their capacity to support different modes of interaction. Thus unilateral action could occur in the absence of any institutional structure, negotiations depend on structures assuring the binding character of agreements, and decisions by majority vote or by hierarchical direction depend on much more specific and demanding institutional arrangements. This suggests the idea of a possibility frontier, where the institutional setting constrains the modes of interaction that can be employed. Hierarchical settings are able to support all varieties of modes of interaction, whereas a self-organising network could support neither the exercise of hierarchical authority nor decisions taken by majority vote.

These modes of interaction correspond with network strategies used in network management. Network management can be regarded as a form of coordination of strategies of actors with different goals with regard to a certain problem or policy measure within an existing framework of interorganisational relations (or networks). These strategies can be applied at two levels: the game level and the network level. Also these strategies can have two different aims: influence the interactions between actors or influence the perceptions of actors (Kickert et al., 1997: 168-169). An overview of these strategies for network management are presented in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1 “Strategies for network management” (Kickert et al., 1997: 170)

	Game level	**Network level**
Strategies aimed at perceptions of actors	Convenanting Influencing perceptions Bargaining Development of common language Prevention/introduction of ideas Furtherance of reflection	Reframing Changing formal policy
Strategies aimed at the interactions between actors	Selective (de-)activating Arranging Organising confrontations Development of procedures Furtherance of facilitation, brokerage, mediation and arbitration	Network (de-)activating Constitutional reform: changing rules and resources (De-)coupling games Changing incentives Changing internal structure and position of actors Changing relations Management by chaos

The main reason for these distinctions is simple: not all strategies are equally effective in every situation. The appropriate strategy is not easy to select because it depends greatly on the complexity of the interactions and the perceptions of actors. The most important selection criteria should be the fit between the nature of the problems and the blockages that occur in the interactions (Kickert et al., 1997: 169: 170). This difficulty in selecting an appropriate mode (or modes) of interaction is even more complicated because there is a possibility that modes of interaction will change their character, and their capacity for the resolution of problems, from one structural setting to another. This also allows different modes of interaction at the same time (Scharpf, 1997: 46-47).

In the next section I will continue to describe the mode “negotiated agreement” only, because this is the mode of interaction that, according to Scharpf (1997: 143), exists in infrastructure policy projects (thus also in the development of freeway extension projects).

2.2.7 Negotiated agreement

Negotiated agreement is a mode of interaction where actors, to some extent, act together. The interactions that take place between them are typical for a cooperative game in which all players will, to some extent, choose their strategies depending on each other’s strategies. The extent depends on the mode of negotiation, which depends on the salience of distribution and the salience of production.

A specific form of negotiated agreement is consensus building. Consensus building is a process of seeking unanimous agreement (Susskind et al., 1999: 6). It involves a good-faith effort to meet the interests of all stakeholders. Consensus has been reached when everyone is satisfied with whatever is proposed after every effort has been made to meet the interests of all stake-holding parties.

Interests are what each participant in a group process seeks to achieve. Interests are not the same as positions or demands. Demands and positions are what people say they must have, but interests are the underlying reasons, needs, or values that explain why they take the positions they do. Interests can change in light of new information or a deeper understanding of a problem. They often reflect deeply held beliefs (Susskind et al., 1999: 6).

Building consensus is not easy. Blocking power of local governments, pressure groups and citizens often obstruct a quick development of a freeway. A response to this problem could be changing legal procedures in order to strengthen the position of the central or state government and to restrict possibilities for objection and appeal by citizens and pressure groups. In The Netherlands, nimby-legislation and the *Tracéwet* are products of this response (Koppenjan & Rijnveld, 1997).

However, there are great risks involved in these forms of legislation; it might cause a ‘speed paradox’ (Aarts et al., 1995). Decentralised governments can now frustrate a major infrastructure project by promising to cooperate but in fact doing the opposite, by saying one thing and doing another thing. The procedures that are codified in this legislation result in maximum delays and an unforeseeable verdict from the administrative judge, so it is not even certain that the central or state government will prevail. According to Koppenjan & Rijnveld (1997) the best (rational) thing for the central or state government to do, is to confront the decentralised governments by starting conflicts, because this will shorten legal procedures and can avoid interference by the administrative judge.

It is clear that those who have faith in this kind of legislation are risking serious delays and are also risking frustrated relations between different levels of governments. It can be argued that it is preferable to try to avoid these things to happen. Therefore it is much better to find a way that deals with mutual dependencies, which are always present at major infrastructure projects, in a constructive way. Consensus building is thus an essential “tool” to develop major infrastructure projects (Koppenjan & Rijnveld, 1997).

2.3 Consensus building

2.3.1 The consensus approach in short

In complex regional spatial conflicts “the government” is forced to acknowledge that it does not have a monopoly of the public domain. In these situations it is hardly ever possible that the government itself acts as a monolith; different organisations representing different parts of the government are involved. The varieties of interests that are present in the process can easily cause deadlocks. These deadlocks can lead to non-decision making; actors deliberately choose not to act at all. To be able to prevent this non-decision making, new work forms should be found. The consensus approach can offer such new work forms (Glasbergen & Van der Veen, 1992). Consensus building is the most “popular” work form of this approach (Susskind et al., 1999).

In the consensus approach there is equal attention for both content-related and process-related aspects (Edelenbos, 1998). Especially the attention for process-related aspects is different from other approaches and is thus considered to be important in this approach. By using a well-considered and structured workform, it seems to be possible to bring and keep different actors with different interests at the negotiation table, trying to reach a “win-win situation”. If there is a win-win situation at hand, then this will enforce the effectiveness of a project. Moreover, in case of a win-win situation all participating actors benefit from an effective and efficient implementation. So this should help to reduce the chance of an “implementation gap” (Glasbergen & Van der Veen, 1992).

On the other hand, this approach also makes it possible to reach a consensus without solving the problem entirely; it prevents non-decision making. Reaching consensus can be specifically difficult for interacting governmental organisations; different governmental organisations stand for different values and interests. This means that they will have to negotiate with each other and therefore concessions will most likely have to be made (Glasbergen & Van der Veen, 1992; Kickert et al., 1997: 178-179).

The consensus approach introduces a form of modern public administration with some drawbacks. Although it cannot replace the decision-making that takes place in a specific sector or facet, it can be used as a supplement. In particular when there is no perspective for another effective work form, the consensus approach will bring this perspective. Without the use of the consensus approach many problem-solving efforts will stagnate (Glasbergen & Van der Veen, 1992).

2.3.2 Features of the consensus approach

The consensus approach has the following features:

- All parties are considered to be equal during the negotiations. For this reason legal instruments will not be used to force some participating actors to prefer a certain solution during the process of negotiation.
- All parties have to benefit from the negotiations at the end. Creating a consensus about the solution of the problem is therefore the main goal of this process.
- All participating actors will be coordinating all phases of the decision-making process together (from the initiation phase until the construction phase).
- It is presumed that the process will contain certain logical, succeeding phases.
- The process of negotiation will take place in a careful, well-considered, well-structured and well-managed way.

A starting point from the consensus approach is that complex spatial problems can only be solved if the directly involved actors mutually try to find a solution for the problem. Therefore it should be stimulated to create a situation in which all involved actors feel that negotiating can be beneficial to them in the end.

A problem that arises here is that in principle all actors want to safeguard their own interests. If they can safeguard these interests by not participating in the negotiations, then, in theory, they will not participate (in terms of ACI: actors will follow their own specific preferences). In terms of the consensus approach this phenomenon is called a BATNA of an actor. BATNA stands for “best alternative to a negotiated agreement”. So an actor will only participate in negotiations when he thinks that he can achieve the most (in terms of safeguarding his interests) by negotiating with other actors. In other words, the BATNA’s determine whether actors participate in a negotiation effort, and continue to participate in it, or not. According to the consensus approach it is possible to structure the process of negotiation in such a way that the BATNA’s change, and so it becomes beneficial for all actors to stay at the negotiation table in order to find a solution for the problem (Glasbergen & Van der Veen, 1992).

2.3.3 Phases of the consensus approach

Susskind and Cruikshank (1987) distinguish three phases in the consensus approach: the pre-negotiation phase, the negotiation phase, and the post-negotiation phase.

During the first phase (the pre-negotiation phase) directly involved actors need to be activated to find a solution for the existing problem. The following three aspects should be considered in this phase.

First, one of the involved actors needs to feel responsible enough to take the initiative for a mutual solution-finding effort, and becomes the initiator of the process. In most circumstances this will be a public actor that is primarily responsible for finding a solution for the problem, based on its tasks and powers. In terms of network management this actor is called “the network manager” (Kickert et al., 1997: 168).

Second, the initiator needs to stimulate other involved actors to participate in a process of negotiation. Here it is important that as many actors as possible, who

consider this problem (partly) their own, can participate, at least in the initial stage of the process. In a later stage it is possible to reduce the amount of actors by selecting representatives of the participating actors. In terms of strategies for network management this is called selective (de)activating. The goal here is to commit as many actors as possible to the negotiation process that needs to be held in some kind of new organisational form. This strategy is called arranging in terms of network management (Kickert et al., 1997: 108-110).

In the theory about consensus building it seems imperative that relevant actors should be involved in the project planning as soon as possible. This is important because many options are still open in the early stages of the project planning. An important dilemma is that the need for consultation increases in later stages when plans become more and more concrete (Pel & Verbart, 1997: 11).

Third, “process rules” and an agenda need to be defined. Process rules are all procedural rules that refer to aspects such as press, meetings and attendants. The agenda determines which topics, problems, conflicts and interests will be discussed and are negotiable. Therefore it is important that all actors feel comfortable and agree with it. Composing an agenda can be a demanding exercise because of this. So in essence the agenda determines whether or not actors feel that they can benefit from the negotiations. Therefore the number of items should be as high as possible, as long as it contributes to the creation of win-win situations. Finally, both process rules and the agenda will be written down, and distributed among the actors as a document (Glasbergen & Van der Veen, 1992).

During the second phase (the negotiation phase) the options for problem solving need to be introduced. Concerns or disagreements should be expressed in a constructive manner (Susskind et al., 1999: 44). At the start of this phase all participants need to be aware of the need for compromise. A specific difficulty in this stage of the process is that actors focus on standpoints rather than interests. This makes negotiating more difficult, because it is more difficult to negotiate about standpoints than about interests.

In order to try to make the negotiations easier, package-deals should be introduced (Glasbergen & Van der Veen, 1992; Susskind et al., 1999: 332). A package-deal is a combination of problems and solutions that can be accepted or rejected as a whole. This package-deal should contain all interests of all participating actors and additionally it should contain (one or more) win-win situations for all participants. Finally, this package-deal should be the basis of a written statement or document.

Although consensus does not have to be reached yet in this stage of the negotiation process, it is an important condition for the success of the negotiation process that, instead of discussing conflicting interests, parallel interests are also being discussed. It is important that all actors approach each other’s interests with an open mind and deal with any conflicts of interest in a professional way. Only then it is really possible to create win-win situations.

During the third and final phase (the post-negotiation phase) the (ratified) package-deal needs to be implemented. Three aspects play an important role here.

First it is necessary to formalise the informal agreement between the participating actors. In concrete terms this means that the agreement will be written down in some sort of plan or contract. Second all parties should monitor the implementation of the plan. Third the participating actors have to think about the

possibility to change some agreements while they are being implemented. Various reasons, such as different insights or unforeseen events, can be a valid reason for this. Therefore the involved actors need to create a context for possible renegotiations.

The next section will give an overview of the general principles of a consensus building process.

2.3.4 The design of consensus building and its appropriateness

As already mentioned in section 2.3.1, consensus building is a concrete work form of the consensus approach. Consensus building can be used to make decisions in a wide variety of circumstances and settings. Because consensus building can be applied in so many different contexts and can involve such a diversity of issues and people, the actual approach must be tailored to fit the unique circumstances of each situation. There is no single consensus building strategy that will work in all cases. Every process should be guided by general principles but they will differ with regard to the ground rules used. Therefore it is important that a consensus building process is appropriate for a given situation (Susskind et al., 1999: 61-62).

This appropriateness involves choices such as who will initiate the consensus building process, which various factors need to be considered important, what contextual issues must be assessed, and which steps must be taken to structure a specific process.

2.3.4.1 Participants in consensus building efforts

A basic tenet of consensus building is that those involved in discussions must have a sense of ownership of the process. At a minimum, therefore, stakeholders need to be consulted early, understand why a process is structured in a particular way, and feel that it is fair. Ideally, participants will work together to design a process. This is called the development of procedures in terms of network management (Kickert et al., 1997: 89-90).

Actors initiate a consensus building process when they contact stakeholders or contact a mediator or facilitator to determine parties' willingness to work together to solve a problem. Process initiators are frequently people in positions of leadership, either from one of the groups directly affected by a problem or from an organisation or person that holds a general interest in the issue. In general, all stakeholders should see the person or organisation that initiates a consensus building process as credible (Susskind et al., 1999: 62-63).

Koppenjan and Rijnveld (1997) distinguish four types of consensus, all based on actor positions: consensus between project partners, political consensus, consensus at decentralised levels of government and societal consensus. These four types have different importance on the macro, meso and micro level. This thesis focuses on the meso level within a freeway extension project. Therefore, and in line with the research questions, the object of study in this thesis is consensus between different levels of government, in terms of Koppenjan & Rijnveld (1997), consensus at decentralised levels of government. The other three types of consensus are merely

indirectly important in this thesis, in other words they are part of the institutional context. As a consequence only consensus at decentralised levels will now be discussed further.

The central or state government (depending on the structure of government as in Hague & Harrop, 2001: 202-217) is dependent on other levels of government while implementing a major infrastructure project. The amount of administrative consensus building in a project depends partly on the perceived costs and benefits by local governments. This perception is partly influenced by the way local governments are involved in the project. When local governments are not involved in the project, there is a big chance that local goals are being ignored or even obstructed. If this is the case, local governments will surely try to obstruct the project. The attitude of local governments can also be influenced by citizens, local pressure groups or political parties that urge the local governments to obstruct the project, or also possible, to become an advocate of the project (Koppenjan & Rijnveld, 1997).

2.3.4.2 Internal factors that influence the success of consensus building

Factors that are considered important for a consensus building process are the nature of the issues, the types of relationships that exist among actors (the network characteristics), and any procedural constraints that may exist (Susskind et al., 1999: 66-69).

Consensus decisions are appropriate when the solution to a problem is not immediately clear to all affected parties or when people disagree on the best solution or decision. For consensus building to work, parties need to agree on a definition of the problem, at least in a broad sense, and have some belief that solutions exist or can be developed. If a problem involves numerous sub-issues, parties will need to categorise those issues in a meaningful way or consider dropping some issues to make the process manageable.

In some cases, an issue may be suited to resolution using a consensus building process, but one or more key stakeholders may refuse to participate. These stakeholders may believe that another strategy, such as a lawsuit or an administrative appeal, will better meet their interests. In this situation, a mediator or facilitator can help those actors to change their minds, hoping that they will participate in the consensus building process after all. Stakeholders may also decide they do not want to come to the table because they distrust or dislike other participants. Again a mediator or facilitator can try to convince those actors that they should be willing to negotiate. Stakeholders might also be reluctant to participate in a consensus building process because they lack familiarity with this type of process. Again a mediator or facilitator can try to inform these actors about previous successes of this type of process, hoping that eventually they will participate. These forms of facilitation and mediation also exist in network management theory: furtherance of facilitation, brokerage, mediation and arbitration (see figure 2.2).

If however every effort has been made to secure full participation in these circumstances, and stakeholders representing the complete range of interests on a topic still do not agree to come to the table, a consensus building process should probably not go forward (Susskind et al., 1999: 66-69).

2.3.4.3 External factors that influence the success of consensus building

Contextual issues that influence a consensus building process include social and cultural factors, legal issues, political dynamics, economic factors, and the history of the situation (in one term: the institutional context) (Susskind et al., 1999: 70).

An important socio-cultural factor in this type of process is organisational culture. When multiple organisations are involved and their respective organisational cultures differ, it is important to acknowledge the specific needs of each group to prevent misunderstandings. Organisational culture also influences the degree of formality required in the process. Another socio-cultural factor that should be mentioned is language. If participants do not all speak the same language, there is a great chance of misinterpretations that can cause problems in the process (Susskind et al., 1999: 70-72).

Many consensus-building processes address topics that involve legal issues or relate to existing laws. For instance, government agencies are subject to rules and regulations governing how they make decisions and interact with the public. Therefore facilitators should make sure that all participants are fully aware of relevant legislation. In terms of Scharpf: all participants should know the institutional rules. A facilitator should also determine whether any pending legal actions would affect discussions. Also participants should be aware of whether any stakeholder is currently engaged in or considering litigation against another stakeholder. Both factors are an influence to the timing of the consensus building process (Susskind et al., 1999: 72-73).

Problems and issues taken up during a consensus building effort seldom stand in isolation. If a consensus building process is part of a larger decision-making effort, participants will need to pay attention to the political dimension. This means that the scheduling of other activities should be synchronised so that decisions are delivered in a timely fashion. If the process is related, but not formally connected, to other (formal political) decision-making efforts, participants will need to clarify how the outcomes of the two processes can be best complement each other. It is also important, in organising a consensus building process, to know how receptive key leaders are toward the process. If a process is endorsed by key figures in the public sector, stakeholders may be more willing to participate in it. Conversely, when leaders are sceptical or even hostile toward a consensus building effort, stakeholders may be reluctant to participate, and any agreement reached may be difficult to implement (Susskind et al., 1999: 73-74).

The overall economic climate may also affect stakeholders' willingness to participate in discussions. If the economy is robust, the pressure to resolve an issue may not be as strong as in harder times. But the opposite may also be true. Good economic times may provide the incentive for stakeholders to take part, because they feel more generous and accommodating (Susskind et al., 1999: 74-75).

If stakeholders have previously tried to address an issue collaboratively and were unsuccessful, it is important to know why the effort failed. Past failures can namely reveal specific barriers that may need to be overcome if parties are to agree to participate in a new consensus building effort. It is also important to consider whether any changes have recently occurred in the social, political or economic climate surrounding an issue (Susskind et al., 1999: 75).

2.3.5 Consensus building techniques and strategies

To structure an appropriate consensus building process, the involved actors must:

- Define the problem
- Determine a feasible goal or outcome
- Select a general approach to reaching agreement
- Identify process steps
- Consider other process components and activities
- Identify participants
- Clarify additional roles
- Agree on logistics

Susskind et al. (1999: 20) identify five steps in the consensus building process (convening, clarifying responsibilities, deliberating, deciding, and implementing agreements) that should make it possible for the involved actors to structure a consensus building process appropriately. These steps also correspond with the three phases of consensus building identified by Susskind & Cruikshank (1987) (pre-negotiation phase, negotiation phase and post-negotiation phase).

Additionally, Susskind et al. (1999) make a distinction between ad hoc consensus building and permanent group or organisation consensus building. Because it is to be expected that the actors involved in the freeway extension project are organisations or permanent groups, only this form of consensus building will be investigated.

In the case of permanent group or organisation consensus building a sixth step (organisational learning) needs to be emphasised. Permanent groups and organisations are likely to have well-established decision-making procedures. This can be an advantage in that less time should be needed to reach agreement on how the group should operate. At the same time, resistance to change may be a new source of difficulty (Susskind et al., 1999: 35). In other words, decision-making procedures in permanent groups and organisations can be fairly quick, but they have a tendency to be inflexible.

According to Susskind et al. (1999: 36-55) consensus building involving permanent groups or organisations can be reached by following the now presented steps:

Phase 1: Pre-negotiation phase

Step 1: Convening (bringing actors together)

- Starting up the negotiations
- Selecting the appropriate participants

Step 2: Clarifying responsibilities (roles and ground rules)

- Setting up an agenda and rules of behaviour (process rules)
- Joint fact-finding

Phase 2: Negotiation phase

Step 3: Deliberating (discussion and balancing of interests)

- Introducing alternatives for win-win situations
- Creating an integral approach to the problem (package-deal)
- Creating a (written) document

Step 4: Deciding (negotiation and voting)

- Committing parties to each other by arrangement

Phase 3: Post-negotiation phase

Step 5: Implementing agreements (taking responsibility and act)

- Ratifying the document by constituencies
- Formalising the informal arrangement
- Monitoring

Step 6: Organisational learning and development (evaluation)

- Creating a context for renegotiations

This “scheme” can be used to study the role of VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat in the two cases and to answer sub-questions 3, 4a and 4b.

2.3.6 Reflection on consensus building

The consensus approach makes it clear that, because of the existence of mutual dependencies between actors, it seems impossible to reach a decision without the use of some form of consensus building; other effective strategies seem to be absent. Consensus building does not only have an instrumental motive. Projects that are being developed by some form of consensus building will reach a higher level of quality because there is a wider variety of ideas, values and knowledge to choose from (Koppenjan & Rijnveld, 1997).

However, consensus building does not mean that every actor can take part in a discussion at any time or that choices are not being made. Individual interests should not obstruct collective interests. The crucial element of consensus building is that it should be embedded in a well-structured process. Van Dam et al. (1996) mention the integration of the formal decision-making process with the more informal process of consensus building as a solution.

2.4 The integrated analytical framework

Now that the theoretical framework is constructed in such a way that all sub-questions can be answered, it is necessary for the analysis to merge it into a single analytical framework. This can be done by integrating the basic explanatory framework of purposive behaviour of actors (section 2.2) with the consensus building scheme (section 2.3) because they both cover all sub-questions.

The integrated analytical framework is presented in figure 2.2:

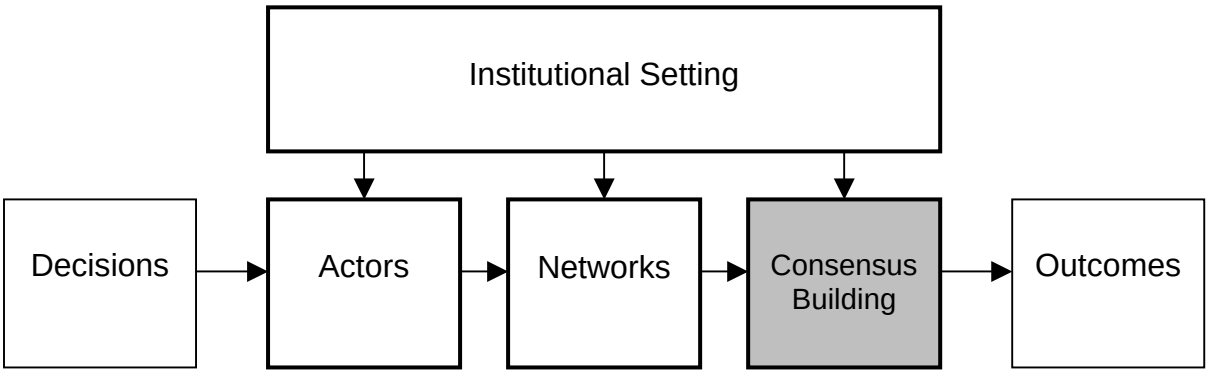


Figure 2.2 “The integrated analytical framework”

The integrated analytical framework shows that the institutional setting directly (and indirectly via the selection of actors and the network characteristics) influences the consensus building process. Section 2.3.4.3 described this direct relationship in more specific terms.

In the integrated analytical framework modes of interaction (as presented in figure 2.1) is substituted by consensus building. Consensus building itself is presented in figure 2.3:

Consensus Building					
Pre-negotiation Phase		*Negotiation Phase*		*Post-negotiation Phase*	
Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	Step 5	Step 6
Convening	Clarifying responsibilities	Deliberating	Deciding	Implementing agreements	Organisational learning and development

Figure 2.3 “The features of consensus building”

It should now be possible to study the two cases and to try to find an answer to the research questions presented in chapter 1.

3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter the methodological aspects of this research will be discussed. The next section (3.2) will describe the scientific approach, methods and data collecting techniques that shall be used in this research. Section 3.3 will hereby specifically focus on the case selection criteria. Finally, section 3.4 will present the operationalisation of the main concepts in this research.

3.2 Scientific approach, methods and data collecting techniques

3.2.1 Scientific approach: a subjective-structuralistic approach

The theoretical material described in chapter 2 can best be typified as subjective-structuralistic (a combination of the interpretative approach and structuralism). This means that it focuses mainly on the level of a social system, such as an organisation and its network, whereby the organisation and its network are perceived as socially constructed entities (Hakvoort, 1996: 49).

This approach is the basis for an institutional analysis where the socially constructed organisation influences the actions and behaviour of the composing parts (individual social actors). Differences between (parts of) societies are considered to be not only social-structural but also, and maybe moreover, to be cultural. An important concept is that a specific and historically unique constructed situation is present. Society is transformable in this approach. The transformation of society and the problems of choice that this transformation entails are considered to be the core business of a social scientist in this approach.

Scharpf's institutional analysis is a clear example of this approach. In his analysis the interaction of a large number of different organisations that are part of a political system is the focus of research. Scharpf shows that the participating actors themselves have to come to mutual agreements in order to determine their own future. In his analysis Scharpf values both the empirical and the normative aspects of analysis. In other words, he values description as well as recommendation. Additionally his approach can be considered normative because he does not only try to analyse and criticise policy in terms of the actors' goals but also tries to analyse and criticise policy in terms of a scientific model for good policy (Hakvoort, 1996: 49-50).

3.2.2 Methods: international-comparative research and case study research

"International-comparative research comprises studies in which countries, or parts or aspects of countries, are explicitly used as a unit of analysis, and in which these findings are being compared with one another (Korsten et al., 1995: 14)."

International-comparative research can generate knowledge about specific domestic problems. In this thesis the domestic problem would be the delays in freeway extension projects. In this case it can be very instructive and useful to know if and, if so, how other countries are coping with this problem. The next quote will illustrate this:

"Identifying the differences among various national approaches to a given […] problem can assist in the specification of the structural, institutional and cultural constraints [of this problem] […] (Korsten et al., 1995: 34)."

In other words, researchers and professionals (in this thesis mainly civil servants and politicians) can learn from other countries' experiences with similar problems (Korsten et al., 1995: 34, 67).

This thesis is about the international comparison of the consensus building process of two freeway extension projects, one in The Netherlands and one in Australia. Because this study is about identifying differences and similarities between the interactions of actors in two freeway extension projects in two different countries, the functioning and the roles of governmental organisations, and the relationships between them will be studied. Therefore this study can be classified as a study of "comparative government". Because this study compares two different countries, it can thus be sub-classified as an "area study". In this sub-type multi-disciplinary research questions are being explored and related to each other (Korsten et al., 1995: 19-20).

Case study research is the most used method in international-comparative research (Hague & Harrop, 2001: 71). Using case study research in a comparative approach means that one or a few countries will be intensively scrutinised. The object is to provide a detailed account of one or a few examples falling into a wider category. The focus is on how the factors at work interact to form a particular configuration or conjuncture.

A case is an instance of a more general category. To conduct a case study is therefore to investigate something that has significance beyond its boundaries. A project turns into a case study only when it becomes clear what the study is a case of. In other words, a single case can offer a detailed illustration of a theme of wider interest. Thus cases are deliberately chosen, or can at least be written up, as examples of broader phenomena. Because case studies locate their findings in a wider context, they are tools of comparative research, even though only one example is examined.

In the absence of overarching theory, case studies are the building blocks from which we construct our understanding of the world (Yin, 1994). We usually proceed by comparing cases rather than by making deductions from first principles. In consequence, much comparative research takes the form not of relating cases to abstract theory, but simply of drawing analogies between the cases themselves. This should make modest generalisations possible (Hakvoort, 1996: 91).

Case studies are a strategy for selecting a topic more than a technique for conducting research. In practice they are multi-method, using the range of techniques in the social scientist's toolkit: reading the academic literature, examining secondary documents, searching for primary material and ideally conducting interviews with participants and other observers. With these tools case studies aim to provide a description that is both rounded and detailed, in other words: is as complete as possible.

3.2.3 Difficulties with international-comparative research and case study research

According to Korsten et al. (1995: 96-99) specific methodological difficulties exist for international-comparative research and case study research. These difficulties arise because by comparing cases from different countries the complexity and the number of dimensions increase.

Korsten et al. (1995, 29-30) identify (potential) problems with international-comparative research. One important problem is that the countries themselves are not part of the comparative study, but the cases are. This can lead to misinterpretation of social phenomena in the cases. Another problem is that the conclusions and recommendations based on international-comparative research can often not be generalised. This is understandable though, because most of these studies are primarily descriptive in nature and are limited in numbers.

These problems have consequences for the validity and the generalisibility of this research (Korsten et al., 1995: 97-99). Because of this I will operationalise the main concepts in this thesis as neutral as possible. Additionally I have already described the main features of the Dutch and Australian institutional contexts in the theoretical chapter, and I will describe the specific road management institutional contexts of The Netherlands and Australia in the empirical chapter. I will also take a precaution in drawing generalisible conclusions in the final chapter. These precautions should safeguard the validity and generalisibility of this research.

There are also some similar difficulties with case study research. In essence there are two ways in which cases can generate wider significance. Either a case can be useful because it is representative or else it can be selected because it is deviant or unusual in some way (Hague & Harrop, 2001: 72). This study is based on the second aspect of significance and can therefore be considered as scientifically useful.

In comparative research researchers will often use their own country as a representative case and, in the case of "deviant case study research", will use another country as a deviant case. Deviant case study research therefore helps to understand differences between countries. While deviant cases always attract interest, the danger is that they become over-studied; the exceptional is always more exotic than the typical. In other words, there is a tendency to focus on the differences between countries and to neglect the similarities between them (Hague & Harrop, 2001: 71-72). This implies that I should be cautious in drawing definite conclusions in the final chapter; I will need to have multiple sources of evidence to be able to conclude a strong difference between the Dutch case and the Australian case.

3.2.4 Data collecting techniques: document analysis, interviews and observations

To be able to answer the research questions data collection is crucial. There are several techniques to collect data. In general there are two different categories. One focuses on behaviour, actions, perceptions and communication of individuals, the other focuses on documents such as laws, papers, plans, budget and etcetera.

The data collecting techniques that are used in the science of public administration are mainly qualitative orientated instead of quantitative orientated. The interpretative scientific approach definitely uses mainly qualitative data collecting techniques because in this approach it is essential that researchers see the objects like the social actors do. Therefore it is crucial that researchers directly examine the empirical world. That is why case study research is a preferable method in this approach (Hakvoort, 1996: 127-128).

According to Yin (1994) the method of case study research contains the following data collecting techniques: document analysis, secondary analysis, interviews, direct observation, participatory observation and physical artefacts. He recommends three principles for data collecting: use more than one source as evidence, create a case study database, and deduct in a logical order. The most important note is that is that, by definition, in case study research more than one data collecting technique should be used. This feature is also known as triangulation (Hakvoort, 1996: 132-133).

3.2.5 Data collecting techniques used in this thesis

This thesis, which describes a study with a subjective-structuralistic approach, and international-comparative and case study methods, needs data collecting techniques that make it possible to collect the data necessary to answer the research questions.

Data collecting techniques in this thesis are interviews, observations and document analysis. Interviews and observations are first hand data collecting techniques, whereas document analysis is a secondary data collecting technique. In the first situation the researcher himself is fully responsible for the methodological aspects of the data collecting process, whereas in the second situation the researcher is more dependent on the methodology used by others (Hakvoort, 1996: 133).

Interviews are held to obtain as much information as possible about certain perceptions, opinions, judgements, convictions and memories of respondents (the questioned individuals). The main goal hereby is to obtain a person's point of view on a specific situation. The topics of these (focused) interviews are primarily topics that cannot be (easily) empirically found elsewhere. Focused interviews are especially suitable for explorative orientated research, such as the research described in this thesis. These interviews serve several purposes: a supportive function during the (orientation phase of the) research, the possibility of verification of already collected empirical data and the supplementation of already collected empirical data (Hakvoort, 1996: 134, 138).

Observation is a data collecting technique where the researcher carefully and attentively watches at social phenomena aiming to understand these phenomena as good as possible. The main advantage of conducting observations is that the researcher himself can observe the actors and the social phenomena with his own eyes, making him less depended on the information that is provided to him by the

actors (“he can see things with his own eyes now”). An important disadvantage is that the studied social phenomena do not take place, or take place differently, when the researcher is observing (Hakvoort, 1996: 139-140).

A specific, and mostly used, form of observation is participatory observation. In participatory observation the researcher “becomes” one of the studied actors to be able to study their activities and interactions in a more or less systematically order.
Participatory observation is especially useful when there is not much known of the social phenomena, when there are important differences between insiders and outsiders of a social system, when the social phenomena seem obscure form an outsider’s point of view, and when the social phenomena are hidden. Participatory observation is mostly used by researchers using the interpretative approach and is especially suitable for explorative orientated research, such as the research described in this thesis (Hakvoort, 1996: 141-142).

Document analysis is a data collecting technique for objective, systematically and quantitatively descriptions of the manifest content of communications. The term manifest means that only the literal content of a text may be used. An interpretation of the message behind the factual text is not allowed. Documents that can be used for data collection are newspapers, books, magazines, reports, papers, letters and etcetera. Important hereby is that the researcher focuses on the features, producers, receivers and effects of the text to be able to understand as much as possible of the purpose of the selected documents. Document analysis is, just as the other described data collecting techniques, also suitable for explorative orientated research, such as the research described in this thesis (Hakvoort, 1996: 144-148).
In order to find an answer to the research questions I have done multiple interviews, (participatory) observations and document analysis in The Netherlands and in Australia.

In The Netherlands I have done interviews with two representatives from Rijkswaterstaat Directorate Zuid-Holland. The mostly asked questions to these representatives can be found in Appendix A. Furthermore, I have used secondary literature that was based on interviews with relevant actors in this case. I have not done any (participatory) observations in The Netherlands (I was not allowed to attend) but I have liased with people who were working for the A4DS-project at Rijkswaterstaat Directorate Zuid-Holland. I have also collected and analysed documents that are related to the A4DS-project itself or its (institutional) context at Rijkswaterstaat Directorate Zuid-Holland.

In Australia I have done interviews with representatives of VicRoads Head Office, VicRoads Eastern Freeway Project Office, the Department of Infrastructure, the City of Manningham, the City of Maroondah and the City of Whitehorse. The mostly asked questions to these representatives can be found in Appendix A. Besides interviews I have also done one observation at a CAG-meeting on March 16, 2003 and I have done participatory observations at VicRoads Head Office and at VicRoads Eastern Freeway Project Office (I have attended four meetings at VicRoads Head Office and I have liased with people who were working for the EFE-project). And last but not least, I have collected and analysed documents that are related to the EFE-project itself or its (institutional) context at VicRoads Head Office, VicRoads Eastern Freeway Project Office, the Department of Infrastructure, the City of Manningham, the City of Maroondah and the City of Whitehorse.

3.3 Case selection

As comparative cases for this research I have selected one project in The Netherlands and one project in Australia that share some relevant features for the purpose of this thesis.

In The Netherlands the selected project is the A4DS-project. This project is located in the province of Zuid-Holland, roughly between The Hague and Rotterdam, and is about the development of a freeway extension of a few kilometres.

In Australia the selected project is the EFE-project, from Springvale Road to Ringwood. This project is located in the state of Victoria, about 25 kilometres east of the city of Melbourne. More details of this project will be presented in chapter 4.

Beside the fact that both projects comprise the development of a freeway extension in an urban area, the main reason for this selection is that both projects cross several municipalities. In the context of the governance of complex spatial developments, this seems an important feature of both projects.

Another important feature of these two projects is that they both originate from plans of the 1950s. This seems peculiar in the context of this research and therefore it is interesting to see if there is more to learn about the details of their time paths; the events that took place in the projects from the beginning till present day. As mentioned in chapter 1, these two cases both illustrate that freeway extension projects can take a long time to be completely developed. By analysing these two cases I hope to find a link between governmental interactions and delays in freeway extension projects.

Finally, I would like to stress that it is very difficult – if not impossible – to select two perfectly matching cases. Besides practical difficulties, such as the availability of information and the phase of the project, every freeway extension project has complex and unique features, in terms of its (institutional) context and its participants with various interests. This makes comparing two (or more) different freeway extension projects with each other a difficult task.

3.4 Operationalisation

In this section the concepts presented in chapter 2 will be operationalised. The concepts will be operationalised as specifically as possible for the purpose of this research.

3.4.1 The institutional setting

To be able to describe and understand the relationship between the institutional context and the consensus building process, I need to focus on elements that are part of the institutional setting. The institutional setting is the collection of institutions that facilitate and constrain the social behaviour of actors participating in a freeway extension project. These institutions “exist” as systems of rules that structure the courses of actions that a set of actors may choose in a freeway extension project. These systems of rules can be categorised as formal and informal.

Formal rules are legally binding rules and are always written down. Informal rules are social rules and can but do not have to be written down per se. Formal rules can be operationalised as laws, contracts, policy documents and other written documents that have a legal nature. Informal rules can be operationalised as written or unwritten norms, conventions and expectations that exist between the actors participating in a freeway extension project and that affect their behaviour.

3.4.2 Decisions and outcomes

Decisions can be operationalised as binding choices making the development of the freeway extension project inevitable. These choices are political choices and tend to solve one or more problems, e.g. traffic and/or economic issues. Formal cabinet decisions are a good example here.

Outcomes are the results of the consensus building process that is embedded in the development of the freeway extension project. These results are formed by the interactions between the participating actors in this consensus building process. These outcomes should solve the initial problem(s) in such a way that all participating actors are satisfied.

This means that the outcomes are not just project outputs; in other words the intrinsic quality of the freeway such as the costs of the project, the quality of construction and the (potential) reduction of traffic congestion. Moreover the outcomes are the subjective appraisals of the participating actors of these intrinsic qualities of the freeway, which are strongly linked with the level of actor-satisfaction during the consensus building process as a whole. Therefore outcomes can best be observed in the evaluation phase of the consensus building process.

Outcomes can thus be operationalised as the aggregated level of actor-satisfaction, preferably in the evaluation phase of the consensus building process.

3.4.3 Actors

Actors are characterised by specific capabilities, specific perceptions and specific preferences. In order to understand the actors' behaviour I need to collect data that describes these three terms.

The term "specific capabilities" is meant to describe all resources that allow an actor to influence an outcome in certain respects and to a certain degree. These include personal (or organisational) properties, like intelligence, or human and social capital; and physical resources, such as money, land, or privileged access to information. Specific perceptions and preferences will be activated and specified by the stimulus provided by a particular problem or issue, and they will refer to the desirable or undesirable nature of the status quo, to the causes of a perceived problem, to the efficacy and desirability of perceived courses of action, and to the outcomes associated with these. Interests, norms, identities and interaction orientations are the disaggregated components of these perceptions and preferences; these components together form specific perceptions and preferences.

Furthermore actors are not only individuals acting on their own behalf but are, moreover, individuals acting in the interest of a larger group or an organisation. Therefore it is empirically meaningful to treat aggregates of individuals as composite

actors. The term “composite actor” is only applicable for a group of actors who want to develop a freeway extension project together. This means that I need to identify governmental organisations that are participating in the consensus building process of the freeway extension project. These governmental organisations exist at different levels of government: national or commonwealth level, state level, provincial level (in The Netherlands only), and local or municipal level.

By identifying the actors participating in the freeway extension project, I know which actors should be participating in the consensus building process together with Rijkswaterstaat and VicRoads.

3.4.4 Networks

Networks are more or less stable patterns of social relations between interdependent actors. Networks form the context in which consensus building processes take place. Therefore the features of this context should be known to understand the consensus building processes. Network characteristics such as interdependencies, variety of actors (and goals) and relations should then be known.

Interdependencies can be indicated by focusing on actors’ resources, such as financial and legal resources, e.g. budget (money) and legal powers based on legislation (competency).

Variety of actors (and goals) is indicated by concrete goals and strategies; what do actors want and how do they want to achieve it.

Relations can be operationalised in terms of frequency, directness and centrality of communication; how many times do actors communicate with each other, what do they actually tell each other, and what is the position of the actors in the network.

These network characteristics imply that I have to look for information (using documents, interviews and observations) about budgets of participating actors (e.g. annual reports), legal competencies of participating actors (e.g. acts), goals of participating actors (e.g. policy documents), strategies of participating actors (e.g. minutes of meetings), frequency of communication (e.g. minutes of meetings), directness of communication (e.g. minutes of meetings) and centrality of communication (e.g. archive of letters, faxes and minutes of meetings; with whom did Rijkswaterstaat and VicRoads communicate).

By combining this information I should be able to describe the relation pattern of both Rijkswaterstaat and VicRoads.

3.4.5 Consensus building

Consensus building is a work form that tries to prevent non-decision making by searching for win-win situations using negotiations as a means. A consensus building process contains several elements (or steps) that altogether should make consensus-based decisions possible.

Convening is about bringing actors together. Important features of convening are: who was the initiator, which actors were or should have been contacted, when was the first meeting, how many meetings were there, what was discussed here, which actors were selected to continue the consensus building process, and who were the representatives of these actors. In practice I should look for documents (e.g. minutes of meetings) that say something about the presented features of convening.

Clarifying responsibilities is about defining roles and ground rules. Important features of clarifying responsibilities are: setting up an agenda and ground rules for the consensus building process together, selecting a facilitator or mediator together (optional), selecting a chair together and ratifying this process unanimously. In practice I should look for documents that contain a timetable, a statute and minutes of the consensus building process.

Deliberating is about discussion and balancing of interests. Important features of deliberating are: setting up a constructive discussion about the problem(s), separating inventing from committing, seeking expert advice, and writing down a draft document based on unanimity. In practice I should look for minutes of meetings, or interview participating actors, to find out if discussions between the participating actors were aimed at reaching agreement (creating win-win situations using package-deals). Also I should be able to find a draft document describing an agreement that is acceptable to all participants.

Deciding is about negotiation and voting. Important features of deciding are: keeping actors together by voting based on unanimity and writing down a final document, also based on unanimity. In practice I should look for a document that describes a final agreement between the participants. Also I should be able to find a document (e.g. minutes of a meeting) that describes the voting-procedure and the votes themselves. If I cannot collect these documents I should ask about such events.

Implementing agreements is about taking responsibility and acting. Important features of implementing agreements are: ratifying the final document by constituencies, formalising the informal agreement by implementing it in formal (legal) procedures and monitoring its implementation. In practice I should look for documents, or interview participating actors, to find out if all participating actors did ratify the final agreement by their constituents. I should also look for formal implementation of the final agreement that is reached between the participants; this means that formal (legal) decisions should correspond with the (informal) final agreement.

Organisational learning and development is about evaluation. Important features of organisational learning and development are: investing in organisational learning and investing in organisational development. This could be done by reflecting on the process and introduce training for the representatives. Therefore in practice I should look for documents, or interview participating actors, to find out if there is post-project communication between the participating actors aimed at reflection or training for future projects.

Now that the methodology is presented and the theoretical concepts are operationalised it should be possible to collect the empirical data for this research. The collected empirical data and its analysis will be presented in the next chapter.

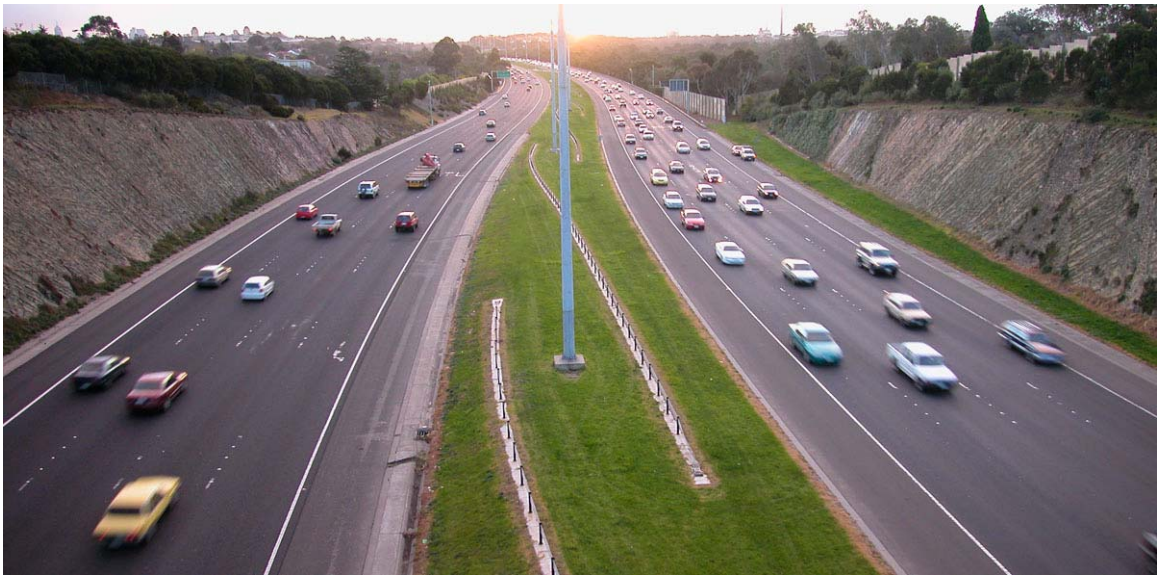
4 Two cases: the A4DS-project and the EFE-project

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the two selected cases, the A4DS-project and the EFE-project, will be described and the collected empirical data will be analysed. The cases will be presented sequentially and in terms of the analytical framework.

Because of practical reasons (mainly limited information and workload) I will focus on the recent part of the projects' timescales. In general this focus in time is on the last few years from now, but I will specify this for both cases in sections 4.2 and 4.3.

The first case that will be presented is the development of the A4 Delft-Schiedam (A4DS-project) in The Netherlands (section 4.2). The focus in section 4.2 will be on Rijkswaterstaat's actions in the A4DS-project.



Picture 2 "The Eastern Freeway in Melbourne, Australia" (www.wikipedia.org)

The second case is the development of the Eastern Freeway Extension, section Springvale Road to Ringwood (EFE-project), in Australia (section 4.3). The focus in section 4.3 will be on VicRoads' actions in the EFE-project.

Finally, in section 4.4 these two cases will be compared. This comparison of the two cases will provide answers to the research questions as presented in chapter 1. These answers will be summarised in the next, and final, chapter in order to draw conclusions and answer the main research questions.

4.2 Rijkswaterstaat and the A4DS-project

4.2.1 Rijkswaterstaat's role, task and position in a freeway extension project

This section will describe the role, task and position of Rijkswaterstaat in a freeway extension project in general terms. Next I will focus on the A4DS-project; I will describe Rijkswaterstaat's actions in the A4DS-project in terms of the analytical framework.

Rijkswaterstaat[1] (RWS) is responsible for the development and maintenance of roads in The Netherlands (Organiek Besluit Rijkswaterstaat, 1971, section 2c). Its legal basis is found in section 5 of the *Waterstaatswet 1900*.

RWS is part of the Ministry of Transport (see Appendix B); it is a Directorate-General (DG) of the Ministry of Transport (verkeerenwaterstaat, 2005). This makes RWS a department focused on the implementation of ministerial instructions regarding to the arterial road network in The Netherlands (Ondernemingsplan, 2004: 6). It is a decentralised organisation; besides the Head Office in The Hague there are 10 Regional Offices scattered around the country, called *Directies* (Ondernemingsplan, 2004: 7). The Regional Office that is relevant for the A4DS-project is the *Directie Zuid-Holland* (RWS-DZH).

The project team of RWS that deals with the A4DS-project is based at RWS-DZH in Rotterdam. The A4DS-project team gets its instructions from RWS-DZH, who receives these instructions from RWS Head Office (RWS-HO). The instructions RWS Head Office receive, come from another DG of the Ministry of Transport, namely from *Directorate-General Personenvervoer* (DGP) (see figure 4.1). This DG makes policies concerning the transportation of people (contrary to goods) in The Netherlands, thus including policies concerning freeway developments. The A4DS-project team is expected to implement all received instructions as precisely as possible (Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat, 2004: 15; Interview Projectmanager A4DS; Informants at RWS-DZH).

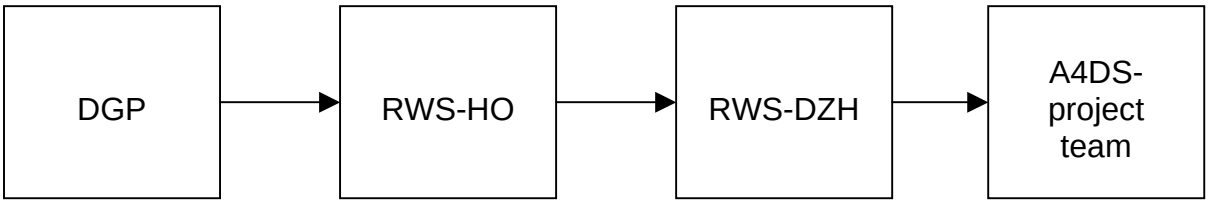


Figure 4.1 "Project instructions"

So, RWS is involved in a freeway extension project in The Netherlands and, in particular in the A4DS-project, based on several acts. In other words, in the Dutch institutional setting there are formal rules (laws and internal policy documents) that state that RWS, and in case of the A4DS-project RWS-DZH, is involved in the development of a freeway extension project, and thus in the development of the A4DS-project. Informal rules for RWS's involvement in the A4DS-project have not been identified yet. Perhaps the next sections can reveal these informal rules.

[1] Rijkswaterstaat's budget for 2005 is roughly €4,5 billion, using roughly 10,500 fte. About half of the budget is used for development, construction or maintenance of the arterial road network, which is roughly 3,250 kilometres long (Ondernemingsplan, 2004: 7-13).

In the next section (4.2.2) the A4DS-project will be introduced. In section 4.2.3 participating actors in A4DS-project and RWS's role in this project will be presented. In section 4.2.4 there will be a focus on RWS's actions in the A4DS-project in terms of consensus building. After the presentation of these sections it should be possible to describe RWS's role, task and position in the A4DS-project.

4.2.2 The A4DS-project: an introduction

The A4DS-project refers to the development of a freeway extension from Kruithuisweg in Delft to Kethelplein in Schiedam (see figure 4.2). The A4DS, to be precise, is the southern section of the complete A4 extension, which goes from The Hague, via Delft, to Schiedam. The northern section will not be discussed (marked "A4" above "Afr. Delft" in figure 4.2), unless there is a direct link with the southern section (the A4DS) or when the empirical data is applicable for both sections.

Figure 4.2 "Map of the A4DS" (MIT-projectenboek, 2005)

The main reason for the development of the A4DS is, according to Rijkswaterstaat, to reduce congestion between Rotterdam and The Hague in order to maintain good mobility in this area (Trajectnota/MER, Rijksweg 4, Delft-Schiedam, 1996: 13). The A4DS-project is (today) part of a governmental transport strategy called *Bereikbaarheidsoffensief Randstad* (BOR). BOR was initiated in 2000 and is based on an alliance of different levels of government (national, provincial and municipal governments) that aims to reduce traffic congestion in the densely populated western provinces of The Netherlands. All participating governmental organisations financially contribute to BOR. BOR was initiated and is still coordinated by the Minister for Transport (verkeerenwaterstaat, 2005; IODS, 2001: 7; MIT-projectenboek, 2002: 23).

The A4DS-project is further categorised as a “3a-project”, which means that there are insufficient financial means to completely develop the project. Therefore this project needs to be developed in an alternative way (thus not fully publicly financed), e.g. using a public-private partnership (PPP) construction and/or using an alternate creative design (MIT-projectenboek, 2002: 13, 23).

As chapter 1 already showed, the development of this project has not been an easy task for Rijkswaterstaat. The project suffered from an administrative deadlock for 35 years, mainly based on objections and obstructions from local governments and the Dutch parliament. Although the focus of this thesis is on the last few years of the A4DS-project (from 2001 until present day), I will now present a historical overview of the most important facts of the project to get a better grip on the case.

The first official document that contained the A4DS-project (although it had no official name then) was published by a committee chaired by the Province of Zuid-Holland in 1953. In this document the committee spoke of “a freeway west of Delft” (Hobma, 2000: 116). A few years later, in 1958, the Minister for Transport decided that this initiative would not become part of the *Rijkswegenplan 1958* (the national road development program) mainly because of the enormous financial implications and the regional character of the new road.

In 1964 the Council of Schiedam presented several development plans, which contained the extended A4. As a reaction, in 1965, the Minister for Transport decided to do a study on the extended A4, which was named *Rijksweg 19*. In 1968 the extended A4 became, for the first time, part of the national road development program (*Rijkswegenplan 1968*) (Hobma, 2000: 116).

In the same year preparations for the construction of *Rijksweg 19* commenced. The foundation of the new road (mainly sand) was constructed by Rijkswaterstaat on Schiedam territory, after the Schiedam Council had granted a construction permit. In 1972 Rijkswaterstaat commenced construction of the foundation in Midden-Delfland (the area between Delft and Schiedam) (Hobma, 2000: 117).

In the same year a number of councils started to object to the development of *Rijksweg 19*. These objections were based on environmental concerns such as the impacts on flora and fauna, and the expected increased noise level in the area. Because of these objections some councils pleaded for a reconsideration of the necessity of the new road, or at least a better fit of the new road to the environment. Besides administrative objections there were also political objections based on societal protests against *Rijksweg 19*. In 1975 a Member of Parliament brought a motion forward to stop all construction activities on *Rijksweg 19*. This motion was rejected and so the preparations for *Rijksweg 19* continued (Hobma, 2000: 117).

In 1975 the Council of Schipluiden presented a development plan, which also contained the extended A4. But in 1976 the Minister for Transport suspended construction works for Rijksweg 19 indefinitely. The minister was forced to make this decision after the *Tweede Kamer* (the Dutch lower house) had carried a motion to stop all construction activities on *Rijksweg 19*. Parallel to this motion the *Tweede Kamer* proposed a new act: *Reconstructiewet Midden-Delfland*. This act passed the *Eerste Kamer* (the Dutch upper house) in 1977 and it installed a committee for the reconstruction of Midden-Delfland: the Reconstructioncommittee (Hobma, 2000: 118).

At more or less the same time in 1977 the Dutch cabinet presented the *Structuurschema Verkeer en Vervoer (SVV)*. In this new national road development

program, the development of *Rijksweg 19* was considered to be absolutely necessary. In the same year the Council of Schiedam presented another development plan, which included the extended A4 (Hobma, 2000: 118).

In 1980 the majority of the Reconstructioncommittee decided that further development of *Rijksweg 19* was unacceptable. Later that year the *Tweede Kamer* carried a motion that permitted the construction of *Rijksweg 19* provided that the new road would be further developed in an environmental friendly way. Backed by this motion, the Minister for Transport requested the Reconstructioncommittee to acknowledge the further development of *Rijksweg 19* (in an environmental-friendly way). In 1982 the Reconstructioncommittee had developed terms by which further development of *Rijksweg 19* was constrained (Hobma, 2000: 118).

In 1984 Rijkswaterstaat presented a report about the environmental-friendly development of *Rijksweg 19*, which concluded that this was possible. This report led to fierce opposition from the Councils of Delft, Schiedam and Vlaardingen. But despite the reactions from these three councils, the Reconstructioncommittee decided with a small majority to support Rijkswaterstaat's report and thus supported the development of *Rijksweg 19* (Hobma, 2000: 118-119).

At a parliamentary committee in 1985 a group of cooperating councils in the Westland area (the area west of Delft) pleaded for a quick development of the extended A4 to strengthen the regional economy. In 1986 the A4 Midden-Delfland (as *Rijksweg 19* was named then) became part of several regional plans of the Province of Zuid-Holland (provided that the new road would be developed in an environmental-friendly way). And in 1988 the Minister for Transport and the Reconstructioncomittee agreed on the norms that have to be met in order to develop the A4 Midden-Delfland, and especially the section of the A4DS (Hobma, 2000: 119).

In 1988 the Council of Schiedam presented an alternative plan. This plan introduced the idea of a public transport corridor at the same location where the A4DS was planned. But in 1989 the *Tweede Kamer* approved the continuation of the development of the A4 Midden-Delfland (provided that the new road would be developed in an environmental-friendly way) and so it was clear that the freeway extension would be constructed instead of a public transport corridor (Hobma, 2000: 119).

In 1990 the Dutch cabinet presented the *Tweede Structuurschema Verkeer en Vervoer*. In this national road development program the A4 Midden-Delfland (thus including the A4DS) was degraded from an arterial road to a sub-arterial road; the A4DS-project got a lower priority. This degradation originated from fierce public protests and, as a consequence, from a motion of the *Tweede Kamer* (Hobma, 2000: 119-120).

In 1991 the Council of Schiedam sent a letter to the Minister for Transport stating that the Council was not happy with the development of the A4DS as it was occurring. The Council of Schiedam stressed that more studies about environmental issues and alternatives (such as public transport) were needed (Hobma, 2000: 120).

In 1992 it became clear that the A4DS-project had to follow a *Tracéwetprocedure* and a *milieu-effectenrapportage (m.e.r.)*. These two procedures are based on the Tracéwet (Startnotitie A4DS, 2004: 7). The Tracéwet describes a legal procedure for major infrastructure projects in The Netherlands (Tracéwet, section 2). These two procedures were then due to a new European directive. In 1996 Rijkswaterstaat presented a report *Trajectnota/MER Rijksweg 4, Delft-Schiedam* in which the results of the Tracéwetprocedure and the m.e.r. were described (Bodderij, 2003: 39).

In 1998 the northern section of the A4 Midden-Delfland was finally constructed. That year the Minister for Transport wanted to reserve 430 million guilders (equivalent to €200 million) for the construction of the A4DS but the *Tweede Kamer* did not agree. Additionally the *Tweede Kamer* suggested that the A4DS-project could perhaps be developed using a PPP construction (Bodderij, 2003: 40).

In 2000 the Minister for Transport, the Province of Zuid-Holland, the councils of Rotterdam and The Hague, *Stadsgewest Haaglanden* (a cooperation of several municipalities situated close to The Hague, including Delft and Schipluiden) and *Stadsregio Rotterdam* (a cooperation of several municipalities situated close to Rotterdam, including Schiedam and Vlaardingen) agreed on the development of the A4DS. An important condition was however that private parties would also finance parts of the A4DS-project. A PPP construction for the A4DS-project therefore seemed inevitable (Bodderij, 2003: 40).

Later in the year 2000 the Minister for Transport reserved 250 million guilders (equivalent to €120 million) for the A4DS-project as the public part of the PPP (Bestuursovereenkomst bereikbaarheidsoffensief Haaglanden en Regio Rotterdam, 2000). This money could be spent on the construction of the A4DS itself and on the improvement of the Midden-Delfland area (spatial quality improvements; Bodderij, 2003: 40-41).

In 2001 a special steering group, called *Integrale Ontwikkeling tussen Delft en Schiedam* (IODS), chaired by the Province of Zuid-Holland, published a report in which the development of the A4DS would be made possible by local governments as long as the development of the A4DS would be integrated into a larger spatial plan for the entire Midden-Delfland area. This spatial plan would improve the overall quality of the Midden-Delfland area by protecting existing landscapes and by minimising the environmental impacts of the development of the A4DS (IODS, 2001).

Table 4.1 “Summary of the historical overview of the A4DS-project”

Year	Event
1953	First official record of the A4DS
1958	The A4DS was not considered to be of national importance by the Minister for Transport
1964	The Council of Schiedam was the first council to include the A4DS in development plans
1968	The A4DS was considered to be of national importance by the Minister for Transport for the first time
1972	RWS began construction of the foundations of the A4DS
1975	Construction of the A4DS was stopped by Parliament
1977	The Reconstructioncommittee was installed to provide an integral approach of the Midden-Delfland area The Cabinet presented the SVV, which stated clearly that the development of the A4DS was necessary
1984	A report of RWS, supported by the Reconstructioncommittee, made the development of the A4DS possible again, despite fierce opposition of Councils of Delft, Schiedam and Vlaardingen
1989	Construction of the A4DS was permitted again by Parliament
1992	A Tracéwetprocedure and m.e.r. were necessary to continue the development of the A4DS, the results were presented in 1996
1998	Northern section of A4 Midden-Delfland was completely constructed (“sister-project” of A4DS-project)
2000	The A4DS had to be further developed using a PPP construction
2001	The A4DS had to be further developed within IODS

This last initiative is the initiative on which the A4DS-project is still based today. In the next section I will focus on this last phase of the project, the “IODS phase”, which started in 2001 and is continuing today.

4.2.3 The IODS phase: from 2001 until now

In this section I will present the actors that are participating in the IODS phase of the A4DS-project.

4.2.3.1 Actors participating in IODS

IODS is a sub-alliance of several governmental organisations that should make the complete development of the A4DS-project possible. IODS is based on the BOR strategy. The goal of IODS is to agree on which terms the A4DS can be developed in an environmental friendly way; minimising impacts on flora and fauna, air quality and the expected increase of noise level in the area. The chair of IODS, the Province of Zuid-Holland (PZH), was appointed by the minister for Transport (IODS, 2001: 5).

The task of the steering group IODS was (and still is) to develop an integral development plan for the Midden-Delfland area. In this plan several spatial aspects such as agriculture, economy, urban development and transport have to be balanced to make the development of the A4DS really possible. In other words, without this plan the completion of the A4DS is uncertain (as the historical overview already pointed out). Thus this makes it essential for the complete development of the A4DS-project (IODS, 2001: 5).

The members of the steering group IODS are all part of the greater alliance that exists because of BOR. These participating actors are: the Province of Zuid-Holland (chair), Rijkswaterstaat, Stadsregio Rotterdam (S-Rot), Stadsgewest Haaglanden (S-Haag), and the municipalities of Schipluiden, Maasland, Delft, Pijnacker, Vlaardingen, and Schiedam. Because the A4DS will not cross Maasland and Pijnacker territory, these municipalities will not be further studied; they are not key players in this case.

Rijkswaterstaat’s role in this steering group (RWS-DZH to be precise) is to advise the group (when asked by the steering group) on road management and road construction issues (IODS, 2001: 65). RWS is capable to fulfil this role because it is the initiator of the A4DS-project and it has decades of freeway construction and management experience (Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat, 2004).

In Table 4.2 the main characteristics of the key actors in IODS are described. Besides I would like to repeat, as stated in section 4.2.1, that RWS is focused on the implementation of ministerial instructions regarding to the arterial road network. This means that RWS formally represents the Minister for Transport and it cannot (formally) make its own decisions regarding the A4DS-project (Informants at RWS-DZH). Therefore RWS’s preferences are the same as the Minister’s preferences.

Table 4.2 makes it clear that the only way to have a consensus in the development of the A4DS is to develop the A4DS in an environmental-friendly way. This can be explained by looking closely at the perceptions of the key actors. For example, not all key actors (especially the municipalities Delft, Vlaardingen and Schiedam) consider the development of the A4DS necessary to reduce traffic

Table 4.2 “Overview of the key actors participating in IODS”

Actors	Capabilities	Perceptions	Preferences
RWS(-DZH)	Initiator of A4DS-project; road management and road construction skills (Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat, 2004)	The A4DS is necessary to reduce traffic congestion between Rotterdam and The Hague (Hobma, 2000; Startnotitie A4DS, 2004)	Complete and quick development of the A4DS; development of the A4DS using a PPP construction (Bereikbaarheidsoffensief Regio Rotterdam, 2000; Bestuursovereenkomst Bereikbaarheidsoffensief Haaglanden, 2000)
PZH	Chair of IODS; can change provincial spatial development plan to make the A4DS legally possible (IODS, 2001; WRO)	The A4DS can only be developed if it is part of an integral plan for the Midden-Delfland area (IODS, 2001)	Development of A4DS only in an integral plan and environmentally friendly (IODS, 2001)
S-Rot	Coordinate interests of Schiedam and Vlaardingen with interests for the region of Rotterdam; can change regional spatial development plan (Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat, 1996; WRO)	The A4DS should be developed as part of an integral plan for the Midden-Delfland area; no specific demands (Berenschot, 2001)	Development of the A4DS using a PPP construction; publicly financed by the national government (Bereikbaarheidsoffensief Regio Rotterdam, 2000)
S-Haag	Coordinate interests of Schipluiden and Delft with interests for the region of The Hague; can change regional spatial development plan (Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat, 1996; WRO)	The A4DS is good for the region of The Hague; no specific demands (Berenschot, 2001)	Development of the A4DS using a PPP construction; publicly financed by the national government (Bestuursovereenkomst Bereikbaarheidsoffensief Haaglanden, 2000)
Schipluiden	Needs to change municipal spatial development plan to make the A4DS legally possible (WRO); landowner (Dutch Constitution)	The A4DS is an opportunity for economic development; balance between economy and environment is a necessary condition for the development of the A4DS (Hobma, 2000; Berenschot, 2001)	Development of A4DS only in an integral plan and environmentally friendly (IODS, 2001)
Delft	Needs to change municipal spatial development plan to make the A4DS legally possible (WRO); landowner (Dutch Constitution)	Only the most environmental-friendly construction alternative is possible (Berenschot, 2001)	No A4DS, but when unavoidable only in an integral plan and environmentally friendly (Berenschot, 2001; IODS, 2001)
Vlaardingen	Needs to change municipal spatial development plan to make the A4DS legally possible (WRO); landowner (Dutch Constitution)	Vlaardingen will only accept the A4DS if its citizens will not see, hear or smell its existence; Vlaardingen will not make a financial contribution (Berenschot, 2001)	No A4DS, but when unavoidable only in an integral plan and environmentally friendly (Berenschot, 2001; IODS, 2001)
Schiedam	Needs to change municipal spatial development plan to make the A4DS legally possible (WRO); landowner (Dutch Constitution)	The A4DS will increase the noise level in Schiedam, destroy flora and fauna, and isolate Schiedam (Hobma, 2000; Berenschot, 2001)	No A4DS, but when unavoidable only in an integral plan and environmentally friendly (Hobma, 2000; Berenschot, 2001; IODS, 2001)

congestion between Rotterdam and The Hague; or at least not all key actors acknowledge this. These actors are not convinced (yet) that the “advantage”, namely the reduction of traffic congestions, outweighs the “disadvantages”, such as an increase in noise level and pollution, and the destruction of flora and fauna.

Because of these differences in perceptions the key actors in IODS are not (yet) willing to coordinate their capabilities in order to make the development of the A4DS possible. More interactions between the key actors in IODS seem to be necessary to improve the general attitude of some key actors toward the A4DS-project, so they will be willing to take part in a joint operation to make the development of the A4DS possible.

To make the position of each key actor in IODS visible, it is useful to present the (currently existing) general attitudes of the participating actors towards the development of the A4DS, based on a confidential report from Berenschot (2001) and a report from the Copernicus Instituut (2002). This will help to explain the (possible) actor strategies as they appear in the IODS network (next section), and also to explain how RWS has (or should have) built consensus for the A4DS-project.

Table 4.3 “General attitude towards the A4DS in IODS”

Actors	General attitude towards the A4DS in IODS
RWS-DZH	++
PZH	+/-
S-Rot	+
S-Haag	++
Schipluiden	+
Delft	-
Vlaardingen	-
Schiedam	--

++ Very Positive, + Positive, +/- Neutral, - Negative, -- Very Negative

The scores in Table 4.3 are average scores based on Table 4.2 and the Berenschot and Copernicus Instituut reports. A negative or even very negative attitude against the A4DS does not necessarily mean that the actors with such an attitude will make the development of the A4DS impossible, but it does mean that the current status quo is not acceptable for them and therefore the IODS process has to be completed in a satisfactory way before these actors will make the development of the A4DS possible with their capabilities.

Table 4.3 makes it clear that municipalities of Delft, Vlaardingen and Schiedam have a negative or even very negative general attitude towards the A4DS. This can be explained by their perceptions as described in Table 4.2. Furthermore, Table 4.3 implies that RWS should concentrate its consensus building efforts on these three municipalities.

Striking is to see that PZH, the chair of IODS, has a neutral general attitude towards the A4DS. If the chair is not a strong advocate of the A4DS, one could really have its doubts on the effectiveness of IODS in terms of making the development of the A4DS possible. But at the same time a neutral chair is ideal, because one might expect that this should make the opponents of the A4DS feel more comfortable to cooperate, and therefore make them more willingly to take part in a joint operation to make the development of the A4DS possible.

Now that the actor characteristics in IODS are known, it is useful to try to understand why the key actors are involved in this steering group and, in particular, what the relations are between these actors and Rijkswaterstaat.

4.2.3.2 Network characteristics of the A4DS-project

The actors that are participating in IODS have formed a sub-alliance because each participating actor expects to safeguard his interests this way, or at least perceives it like this; this seems a logical explanation for the existence of this composite actor (Interview Projectmanager A4DS). Table 4.3 has however pointed out that not all actors support the development of the A4DS equally; some actors even oppose to it. It is now interesting to find out why these actors are cooperating with each other in IODS as they do. The answer should lie in the interdependencies between the actors, according to theory (see chapter 2).

The formal decision-making process for the development of the A4DS is based on the *Tracéwet* (Startnotitie A4DS, 2004: 7). This act describes a legal procedure for major infrastructure projects in The Netherlands, called the Tracéwetprocedure (Tracéwet, section 2). A detailed overview of the Tracéwetprocedure can be found in Appendix C.

The Tracéwet (section 20, sub 3) gives the Minister for Transport the power to force other governmental organisations to cooperate in order to coordinate the development of the project. These other governmental organisations can then be forced to comply. Section 25 of the Tracéwet gives stakeholders (in this case all actors except RWS) the opportunity to appeal against project related decisions at the *Raad van State* (RvS). The RvS is a Council of State and it is the administrative court of appeal for major infrastructure projects (Raad van State, 2005).

Section 22 of the Tracéwet links this act with another act: the *WRO*. This act describes the spatial planning powers of national, provincial and municipal government. However, the WRO is not necessarily based on hierarchy. National spatial development plans do not per se overrule municipal spatial development plans; they only do so in specific circumstances, as described in the WRO (Van Buuren et al., 2002: 9; WRO).

Table 4.4 will show the interdependencies between the actors participating in IODS based on the formal decision-making process (the Tracéwetprocedure).

IODS itself is not based on a legal procedure; it is therefore part of the informal decision-making process for the development of the A4DS. The steering group IODS was installed by the Minister for Transport to advise on terms that will make complete development of the A4DS possible; IODS focuses mainly on details (IODS, 2001: 5). According to the RWS Projectmanager A4DS, IODS was mainly installed as a strategic intervention by the Minister for Transport to get out of the administrative deadlock in the A4DS-project. In other words, IODS can be considered as an instrument that would build more consensus for the development of the A4DS (Interview Projectmanager A4DS).

According to the RWS Projectmanager A4DS the formal positions of the participating actors in IODS strongly determine their position in IODS (Interview Projectmanager A4DS). The members of IODS indeed recognise that the IODS

Table 4.4 “Overview of network characteristics”

Actors	Interdependencies	Strategies	Relations (Interactions)
RWS(-DZH)	Needs land from municipalities, depends on planning cooperation from PZH and municipalities (Dutch Constitution; WRO)	Commitment to the IODS process in order to develop the A4DS (Adviescommissie IODS, 2004)	IODS-meetings (4 times a year); bilateral contact with PZH: chair of IODS (Interview Projectmanager A4DS)
PZH	Money from the Minister for Transport for a spatial quality improvement of the Midden-Delfland area; Can be forced by the Cabinet to change provincial spatial development plan (WRO, section 6)	Commitment to the IODS process in order to develop the Midden-Delfland area; improvement of spatial quality (Adviescommissie IODS, 2004; Copernicus Instituut, 2002: 44)	IODS-meetings (4 times a year); central position in network as chair of IODS (Interview Projectmanager A4DS; Copernicus Instituut, 2002: 44)
S-Rot	Money from the Minister for Transport for a spatial quality improvement of the Midden-Delfland; Can be forced by the Cabinet to change regional spatial development plan (WRO, section 36k)	Commitment to IODS process to develop an environmental-friendly constructed A4DS (Diepens en Okkema, 2003)	IODS-meetings (4 times a year) (IODS, 2005)
S-Haag	Money from the Minister for Transport for spatial quality improvement of the Midden-Delfland; Can be forced by the Cabinet to change regional spatial development plan (WRO, section 36k)	Commitment to the IODS process to completely develop the A4DS (Diepens en Okkema, 2003)	IODS-meetings (4 times a year) (IODS, 2005)
Schipluiden	Money from the Minister for Transport for a spatial quality improvement of the Midden-Delfland; Can be forced by the Cabinet to change municipal spatial development plan (WRO, section 37)	Commitment to the IODS process to develop an environmental-friendly constructed A4DS as an opportunity for economic development (Diepens en Okkema, 2003)	IODS-meetings (4 times a year) (IODS, 2005)
Delft	Money from the Minister for Transport for a spatial quality improvement of the Midden-Delfland; Can be forced by the Cabinet to change municipal spatial development plan (WRO, section 37)	Commitment to the IODS process as long as the spatial quality improvement for the Midden-Delfland area will accompany an environmental-friendly constructed A4DS (College van Delft, 2001)	IODS-meetings (4 times a year) (IODS, 2005)
Vlaardingen	Money from the Minister for Transport for a spatial quality improvement of the Midden-Delfland; Can be forced by the Cabinet to change municipal spatial development plan (WRO, section 37)	To prevent an unacceptable development of the A4DS it is better to participate in IODS than to stay out of the decision-making process (Diepens en Okkema, 2003; Interview Projectmanager A4DS)	IODS-meetings (4 times a year) (IODS, 2005)
Schiedam	Money from the Minister for Transport for a spatial quality improvement of the Midden-Delfland; Can be forced by the Cabinet to change municipal spatial development plan (WRO, section 37)	To prevent an unacceptable development of the A4DS it is better to participate in IODS than to stay out of the decision-making process (Diepens en Okkema, 2003; Interview Projectmanager A4DS)	IODS-meetings (4 times a year) (IODS, 2005)

process has to link up with the formal Tracéwetprocedure to be effective (Adviescommissie IODS, 2003).

Table 4.4 provides an overview of the interdependencies between the participating actors in IODS, their strategies and relations with each other. This table shows that the key actors in IODS are mutually dependent on each other's capabilities; each actor has resources another actor needs to make the development of the A4DS possible.

RWS is dependent on PZH and the municipalities because they have to incorporate the A4DS in their spatial planning schemes to make the development of the A4DS legally possible. Additionally, RWS needs the cooperation of the municipalities to acquire the land on which the A4DS will be constructed.

The other actors are dependent on RWS because this actor, as a representative of the Minister for Transport, can financially contribute to the construction of the A4DS itself and the improvement of surrounding roads; PZH, the "united municipalities" of Rotterdam and The Hague, and the individual municipalities do not have sufficient financial means of their own to maintain or upgrade their road network themselves. Fierce opposition against RWS (and therefore the Minister for Transport) could lead to financial "repercussions" in the future. This informal consequence is possibly part of the explanation for especially Vlaardingen's and Schiedam's strategy in IODS.

The overall strategy of the actors in IODS is to make the development of the A4DS possible providing it is embedded in an integral plan to improve the spatial quality of the Midden-Delfland area. This means that the A4DS has to be developed in an environmental-friendly way; meaning that the environmental impacts of the A4DS have to be compensated and mitigated.

Vlaardingen and Schiedam seem to have the highest demands when it comes to compensation and mitigation of the environmental impacts. This is mainly because on their territory the A4DS will be constructed very close to residential areas (as figure 4.2 illustrates; the light grey areas are residential areas).

The interactions in the A4DS-project are mainly taking place through the IODS-meetings. But between RWS and PZH there is also a bilateral relation. It is also likely that there are bilateral relations between PZH (the chair) and the ("united") municipalities, because PZH has a central position in IODS. However, I have not collected empirical data supporting this.

Now that the interdependencies, strategies and interactions are known it is interesting to analyse Rijkswaterstaat's consensus building efforts in this decision-making process.

4.2.4 Consensus building in the A4DS-project

In this section I will try to identify if and how Rijkswaterstaat has implemented the six steps of consensus building (as presented in section 2.3.5) in order to provide an answer to sub-question 4b.

Table 4.5 “Overview of consensus building”

Consensus building	
Convening	PZH brought actors together (on behalf of the Minister for Transport); all actors participating in BOR (Zuid-Holland) were invited to participate in IODS and all actors continued participating in IODS (IODS, 2001: 5-13); the first meeting was in the first few months of 2001 (Esselbrugge, 2003: 94); IODS-meetings were 4 times a year on average (IODS, 2005; Interview Projectmanager A4DS); ideas about the future of the Midden-Delfland area in terms of agriculture, economy, urban development and transport were discussed (IODS, 2001: 5); the representatives were: for RWS-DZH the Director of Traffic and Transport, for PZH the Deputy for mobility, for S-Rot the Officer for Traffic and Transport, for S-Haag the Officer for Traffic and Transport, for Schipluiden the mayor and one alderman, for Delft two aldermen, for Vlaardingen one alderman, and for Schiedam one alderman (IODS, 2001: 12-13)
Clarifying responsibilities	Agenda issues are agriculture, economy, urban development and transport in the Midden-Delfland area until the A4DS is completely developed
Deliberating	There has been a constructive discussion within IODS since 2001 (IODS, 2005); a draft document based on unanimity was written down roughly a month before the report of the IODS steering group (2001) was ratified (IODS, 2001); package-deals were made in the IODS process (Interview Projectmanager A4DS)
Deciding	The report of the IODS steering group presented in 2001 (a final document) was written based on unanimity (IODS, 2001); further negotiations are still continuing today
Implementing agreements	Constituencies ratified the report of the IODS steering group (2001) before it was presented (IODS, 2001: 13); the process of implementation is still continuing today
Organisational learning and development	In 2002 RWS instructed the Copernicus Instituut to write a reflective study on regional cooperation, partly based on the case of the A4DS-project (Copernicus Instituut, 2002); the IODS process is still continuing today so there is not much data available yet

Table 4.5 gives an overview of the consensus building characteristics in the A4DS-project, and in particular in IODS. It shows that PZH was the convenor of IODS, but it did so on behalf of the Minister for Transport. This indicates that the Minister for Transport is (still) pulling the strings in the A4DS-project, although the consensus building initiative has shifted to PZH.

The first IODS-meeting, chaired by PZH, was in the first few months of 2001. The meetings were held (and are still being held) on a quarterly basis and discussed was (and still is) the future of the Midden-Delfland area. The main issues that have been constructively discussed so far are: agriculture, economy, urban development and transport.

The members of IODS set up an agenda, although it was not written down as a timetable. This agenda intended to discuss the main issues agriculture, economy, urban development and transport, and to make joint propositions to safeguard or improve these issues in the Midden-Delfland area (IODS, 2001: 5). A list of explicit process rules has not been set up, but it was clear that the A4DS-project itself was not an issue to be discussed outside the context of IODS, but only as part of an integral plan to develop the Midden-Delfland area. Additionally, consensus had to be maintained at all times, at least when a collective decision was made, because this was the main core value of the steering group (IODS, 2001; Interview Projectmanager A4DS).

According to the RWS Projectmanager of the A4DS-project package-deals were made in IODS. This means that a combination of problems and solutions, that can be accepted or rejected as a whole, were proposed at IODS-meetings. However, the negotiation phase has not been totally completed yet; discussions about the main issues for the Midden-Delfland area are still continuing today.

The implementation of agreements is therefore mainly based on the unanimous report of IODS presented 2001. In this report they agreed to develop a “quality program” that aims to protect current qualities and develop potential qualities of the Midden-Delfland area, and to embed the future A4DS carefully in the Midden-Delfland area. This program contains several (minor) projects, excluding the A4DS-project, which should guarantee the spatial quality of the Midden-Delfland area (IODS, 2001: 21-31). There are two reasons for the exclusion of the A4DS-project, one is that the A4DS-project has to be developed following a legal procedure; the Tracéwetprocedure, the other is that without the exclusion of the A4DS-project in the IODS quality program there would not have been unanimity and therefore there would not have been a consensus; the Councils of Delft, Vlaardingen and Schiedam would not have supported this (IODS, 2001: 15; Interview Projectmanager A4DS; College van Delft, 2001).

RWS did try to improve its organisational learning and development skills, but this was already in 2002. Because the IODS process is still continuing today there is not much data available yet to verify if the other participating actors in IODS have tried to improve their organisational learning and development skills, based on the outcomes (so far) of the A4DS-project.

The steps presented in Table 4.5 were not always taken in a chronological order. The constructive discussion for instance is presented in the step “deliberating”, which is chronologically before the step “implementing agreements”, but this data covers the time period from 2001 until present day.

4.2.5 Summary of the A4DS-project

In this section I will summarise the most important and most interesting findings of the case of the A4DS-project. At the same time I will draw some conclusions that will help to answer the main research questions. These results are also presented in Table 4.6.

RWS is formally responsible for freeway extension projects in The Netherlands. This responsibility is based on the Waterstaatswet 1900 and Organiek Besluit Rijkswaterstaat 1971. RWS is part of the Ministry of Transport. RWS is focused on the implementation of ministerial instructions. Therefore RWS can (formally) only act if it receives instructions from the Minister for Transport (in practice, and when it concerns freeways, often the Minister's representative within the Ministry for Transport: DGP).

Clear now is that RWS is the formal initiator of freeway extension projects, including the A4DS-project. The A4DS-project itself has to be legally developed according to the Tracéwetprocedure. This formal procedure describes all steps that have to be taken to develop any freeway extension project, thus also in the case of the A4DS-project. This formal procedure, which involves many actors, including the Dutch Parliament, provides the Minister for Transport a lot of power to develop a freeway extension project, providing the Minister consults the affected province and municipalities. This consultation is however not based on equality, making a consensus difficult to achieve (as well as in theory as in practice). This explains the long administrative deadlock the A4DS-project suffered from.

Therefore the emergence of IODS seems desirable. A more informal decision-making procedure could improve consensus building for the A4DS-project. But in practice not everything has gone smoothly since 2001, despite the introduction of IODS. For instance, provincial, regional and municipal actors in this case were not willing to make a (substantial) financial contribution to the A4DS-project (Interview Projectmanager A4DS). This indicates that other actors than RWS are not willing to pay for the A4DS, nor its compensating and mitigating activities. Besides opportunistic behaviour of these actors, this phenomenon could be explained by a lack of consensus between the key actors.

It does seem that, from the moment IODS was introduced, consensus between the key actors in the A4DS-project was being built again. However, today not all key actors are really supporting the A4DS-project; the municipalities of Delft, Vlaardingen and Schiedam are merely tolerating the A4DS-project as long as it will be developed within the integral plan for the Midden-Delfland area. This lack of support might be based on Rijkswaterstaat's lack of consensus building efforts in the past (during the administrative deadlock). Esselbrugge (2003: 109) for instance concludes that RWS systematically failed to connect the interactions between the participating actors in the A4DS-project. In other words, RWS hardly made any effort to build consensus between the participating actors. Only since PZH took over the initiative consensus between all participating actors was actually being built.

However it does seem that RWS, since 2002, has started to recognise that it should develop its consensus building skills. The study *Partner in de Regio (2002)* illustrates this.

Table 4.6 “Summary of the A4DS-project”

	Rijkswaterstaat
Institutional Setting	Responsible for the development of roads (of national importance); part of the Ministry of Transport; Tracéwetprocedure
Actor characteristics	PZH, S-Rot, S-Haag, the municipalities of Schipluiden, Delft, Vlaardingen, and Schiedam
Network characteristics	RWS is formally dependent on the cooperation of PZH and the territorial involved municipalities for land use and planning approvals; PZH and the municipalities are dependent on RWS’ financial contribution for compensating and mitigating activities surrounding the freeway
Consensus building	IODS
- Convening	IODS-meetings were held 4 times a year on average
- Clarifying responsibilities	The future of the Midden-Delfland area, in terms of agriculture, economy, urban development and transport, was and still is being discussed in the IODS process until the A4DS is completely developed; the chair of IODS was appointed by the Minister for Transport but I could not find any record of objection of any participating actor to this appointment
- Deliberating	There has been a constructive discussion within IODS since 2001; a draft document based on unanimity was written down roughly a month before the report of the IODS steering group (2001) was ratified; package-deals were made in the IODS process
- Deciding	The report of the IODS steering group presented in 2001 (a final document) was written based on unanimity, further negotiations are still continuing today
- Implementing agreements	Constituencies ratified the report of the IODS steering group (2001) before it was presented, the process of implementation is still continuing today
- Organisational learning and development	The IODS process is still continuing today so there is no data available for this step at this moment in time
Outcomes	In 2002 RWS instructed the Copernicus Instituut to write a reflective study on regional cooperation, partly based on the case of the A4DS-project (Copernicus Instituut, 2002); the IODS process is still continuing today so there is not much data available yet

4.3 VicRoads and the EFE-project

4.3.1 VicRoads' role, task and position in a freeway extension project

This section will describe the role, task and position of VicRoads in a freeway extension project in general terms. Next I will focus on the EFE-project; I will describe VicRoads' actions in the EFE-project in terms of the analytical framework.

VicRoads[2] is the registered business name of the Roads Corporation, a statutory corporation within the Victorian Government infrastructure portfolio. Its purpose is to "[...] serve the community and contribute to the social, economic and environmental development of Victoria and Australia by managing the Victorian road network and its use as an integral part of the overall transport system" (VicRoads, 2002: 5).

Under the *Transport Act 1983 (section 16)* VicRoads is responsible for managing the arterial road network in Victoria, including maintaining, upgrading and extending the declared road network[3]. VicRoads also has a key role in advising the Minister for Transport and implementing the Government's policies and strategies (VicRoads, 2002: 5).

VicRoads is not part of the Department of Infrastructure (DOI); it is an independent statutory corporation with a direct formal line of interaction with the Minister for Transport. It therefore has a high degree of autonomy (see Appendix D). The relationship of VicRoads with the DOI is not always clear (see the dashed line in Appendix D). In general the DOI determines the general transport strategies for Victoria. Based on these general transport strategies VicRoads determines specific road management strategies that have to be consistent with the DOI strategies. Additionally VicRoads is the organisation that actually delivers arterial road projects in Victoria (Informants at VicRoads and Interview DOI).

The department within VicRoads (for an organisation chart see Appendix E) responsible for road program development is Road System Management (RSM). RSM is responsible for the development of a road program, which provides a maximum contribution to Victoria's economic and regional development. RSM provides VicRoads with the strategic approach to delivering and maintaining Victoria's road network. RSM is committed to providing government with advice and the creation of relationships with external and internal stakeholders by encouraging open communication (VicRoads Publication Number 01216).

The implementation of RSM's road program is taken care of by another department within VicRoads: Major Projects. For every major project a specific major project team is established to develop and construct the major project. A major project team has to develop the road project according to RSM's terms as presented in the road program. This means that a major project team has to stay within the

[2] VicRoads' budget for 2005 is roughly $900 million (Australian Dollars), using roughly 2,400 fte. VicRoads is funded by the Federal Government and the State Government of Victoria. VicRoads is responsible for 22,320 kilometres of arterial roads in Victoria (VicRoads, 2005: www.vicroads.vic.gov.au)

[3] A declared road means a freeway, State highway, main road, etc. that is declared part of the Victorian arterial road network by the Minister for Transport (Transport Act 1983, Preliminary; Informants at VicRoads)

scope of and the budget for the project. If changes are required according to the major project team, they have to be approved by RSM first before they can be implemented (Informants at VicRoads).

So, VicRoads is involved in freeway extension projects in Victoria, Australia and, in particular in the EFE-project, based on the Transport Act 1983. Informal rules for VicRoads' involvement in the EFE-project have not been identified yet. Perhaps the next sections can reveal these informal rules.

In the next section (4.3.2) the EFE-project will be introduced. In section 4.3.3 participating actors in EFE-project and VicRoads' role in this project will be presented. In section 4.3.4 there will be a focus on VicRoads' actions in the EFE-project in terms of consensus building. After the presentation of these sections it should be possible to provide answers for all sub-questions in which VicRoads is mentioned.

4.3.2 The EFE-project: an introduction

The Eastern Freeway Extension is an extension of the existing Eastern Freeway (for a map of Melbourne see Appendix F). The EFE begins at Springvale Road, Nunawading and ends at Ringwood Street, Ringwood. The EFE-project includes the completion of the Ringwood Bypass and the Eastern Freeway Tunnels underneath the Mullum Mullum Creek (the right circle marks the Ringwood Bypass, the Tunnels are located close to the "MFF" mark in figure 4.3).

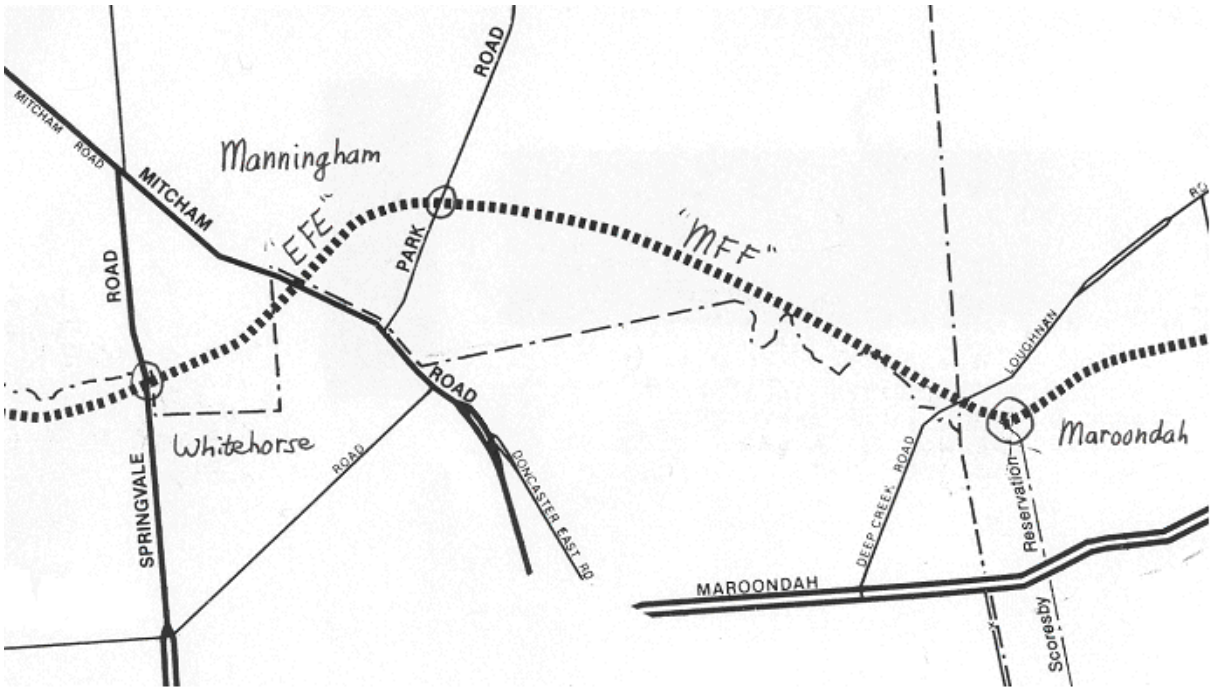


Figure 4.3 "Map of the EFE" (METRAS, 1985)

According to the Premier of Victoria the $326 million freeway extension will improve road safety and reduce traffic congestion on surrounding roads to and from the

Eastern suburbs. The Eastern Freeway Extension had to be completed by mid-2005 (Premier of Victoria, 2000; Minister for Transport, 2002).

The first section, from Springvale Road, Nunawading to Park Road, Mitcham has actually been constructed today. This section was part of the first contract of the Eastern Freeway Extension, worth $24 million, and it was less than 1 kilometre in length. Construction of this first section commenced in October 2002 (Interview VicRoads; Minister for Transport, 2002; Manningham, 2002: 2; and VicRoads, 2005).

Although the first section of the EFE was indeed constructed in 2005, the EFE-project as a whole was not. This is due to the fact that the EFE was not constructed as one single project.

In 2002 the Bracks Government decided that it would amalgamate the Scoresby Freeway project (a continuous 39 kilometres freeway link connecting Melbourne's eastern and south-eastern suburbs) with the Eastern Freeway Tunnels project. The combined project was called the Mitcham-Frankston Freeway (MFF). To save money the Bracks Government established a public-private partnership (PPP) to fund, design, construct and operate the MFF (Minister for Transport, 2002).

Therefore the MMF would not be developed by VicRoads but by a new special-purpose statutory authority called SEITA, the Southern and Eastern Integrated Transport Authority. Only the first section of the EFE, from Springvale Road to Park Road is therefore developed by VicRoads (VicRoads, 2005).

Because of this administrative context I will not focus on the complete EFE-project anymore but only on the first section of the EFE, which goes from Springvale Road to Park Road and was developed by VicRoads (the section between the left and the middle circle in figure 4.3).

Although the focus of this thesis is on the last few years of the EFE-project, I would now like to present a short historical overview of the most important facts of the project to get a better grip on this case.

The discussion about the Eastern Freeway Extension dates back to 1955. In 1955 a capital reservation was already made for this project in the Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme. In the same year the EFE can also be identified in three local planning schemes. These are the planning schemes of the City of Manningham, the City of Whitehorse and the City of Maroondah (Department of Infrastructure, 2000: 14-15).

An important discussion about the EFE is recorded in a presentation for a meeting of the Mayoral Committee with the Minister for Transport on 23 January 1991. The Mayoral Committee represented the Councils of Box Hill, Nunawading (nowadays part of the City of Whitehorse), Doncaster and Templestowe (nowadays part of the City of Manningham), and Ringwood (nowadays part of the City of Maroondah). In this presentation the chairman of the Mayoral Committee (a Councillor of the City of Doncaster and Templestowe) pleaded for the fast implementation of the Victorian Government's decision on the Eastern Freeway Extension. He said that after thirty frustrating years it was time for action, especially because the local community wanted it. Argument 14 in their report said: "It is imperative that a suitable and appropriately designed road link be available between the Scoresby Freeway and the Eastern Freeway Extension. A termination at Springvale Road would merely transfer the problems of the Doncaster Road termination to Springvale Road and would create major disruption to the amenity of that area. This problem would not exist if a total Freeway Extension was built to

Ringwood and subsequently to the Scoresby Freeway." The Cities of Manningham and Whitehorse still use this argument today (Interviews Cities of Manningham and Whitehorse).

The EFE can be considered to be the last stage of the Eastern Freeway. In the past the Eastern Freeway has been constructed in several sections from west, starting three kilometres east of the City of Melbourne, to east, Melbourne's eastern suburbs. The first section was completed in 1977, the second section was completed in 1982 and the third section from Doncaster Road to Springvale Road was completed in 1997 (VicRoads, 2001: 2; DOI, 2000: 2).

The main reason for the development of the EFE-project was to reduce traffic congestion, both on the existing Eastern Freeway and on surrounding roads (especially on Springvale Road and the Maroondah Highway). Therefore there was strong support for the EFE from road users and also from Local Government (Premier of Victoria, 2000; DOI, 2000; VicRoads, 2001).

However, local communities and Local Government were also concerned about the environmental impacts of the EFE. Especially noise reduction and landscaping were important issues in the first EFE-section (CAG, 2004; VicRoads, 2001).

As an effort to maintain strong support for the EFE-project, VicRoads established a Community Advisory Group (CAG) in May 2001. The CAG was focused on implementation issues of the EFE-project. It actually was a successor of the Community Liaison Group, which firstly convened in August 1998 and focused on the environmental issues of the EFE-project (VicRoads, 2001; CAG, 2001).

I will now focus on the last few years of the EFE-project (from 2001 until its completion) and therefore I will focus on the actors participating in the CAG.

4.3.3 The CAG and the EFE-project

VicRoads, on behalf of the Victorian Government, was the initiator of the EFE-project. The EFE-project was developed by a VicRoads major projects team: the Eastern Freeway Project Team (EFPT). However, the EFPT could not develop the EFE-project on its own. The EFPT had to take the wishes of the CAG into account because VicRoads was committed to ensure community and environmental issues to be addressed to the community during the implementation of the EFE (Interview EFPT; VicRoads, 2001).

The CAG was an advisory group to VicRoads by providing input to issues that required a community view. It was established to guarantee community involvement. Its task was to provide input to issues that require a community view and to provide a forum for information sharing (VicRoads, 2001).

The CAG was chaired by an independent chairperson, who was solely responsible for setting up the agenda and determining the issues that would have to be dealt with during the meetings. He was also responsible for ensuring the proper and professional conduct of the group.

I will now present the actors that participated in the CAG of the EFE-project.

4.3.3.1 Actors that have participated in the CAG

The actors that have participated in the CAG were: councillors and council officers of the Cities of Whitehorse, Manningham and Maroondah; three local residents; the Environmental Protection Authority; the Department of Sustainability and Environment; Melbourne Water; one representative of the RACV; one person from the local business community; and VicRoads Eastern Freeway Project Manager (VicRoads, 2001: 2; CAG, 2004).

Because this thesis focuses on governmental interactions the three local residents, the representative from the RACV and the person from the local business community will not be further discussed, because they are not part of the government. The Environmental Protection Authority, the Department of Sustainability and Environment and Melbourne Water are all State Government actors but cannot be considered to be key players when it comes to the development of a freeway extension, because this is VicRoads' core business (Victoria Online, 2005; Transport Act 1983).

VicRoads' role in the CAG is to provide information about the EFE-project and to act as a conduit to technical experts assisting in the delivery of the EFE. Other VicRoads staff and consultants are not members of the CAG, but can provide support and give presentations to the CAG as necessary (VicRoads, 2001).

In Table 4.7 the main characteristics of the relevant participating actors in the CAG are described.

This table makes it clear that all key actors supported the development of the EFE. All key actors also had similar perceptions on the EFE, namely that it would reduce traffic congestions. However, the City of Manningham stated that the first section of the EFE could not be opened until the MFF was opened. None of the other actors were opposed to this proposition because a freeway section of less than one kilometre would not improve traffic conditions in the area. Therefore VicRoads decided that the EFE will be opened together with the opening of the MFF in 2008 (Informants at VicRoads).

Due to the delay of the EFE-project all three municipalities wished to receive more financial support from the State Government to improve their infrastructure. The City of Manningham also wished to have on and off ramps on the EFE at Park Road. This would keep traffic longer on the arterial road network (main roads), and would therefore reduce traffic on the local road network. Additionally it would reduce travel times for residents of the City of Manningham.

But despite the fact that the EFE-project as a whole has been delayed and that the on and off ramps at Park Road have not been constructed (yet), all municipalities still supported the development of the EFE, or at least did not oppose to it. It seems that all actors thought that the "advantages", namely the reduction of traffic congestions, outweighed the "disadvantages", such as an increase in noise level and landscaping issues.

It seems that there was no reason, in terms of incompatible perceptions or preferences, for all actors to oppose to the development of the EFE. Cooperation between these actors seems very possible.

To make the position of each key actor in the CAG visible, it is useful to present the general attitudes of the participating actors towards the development of the EFE.

Table 4.7 “Overview of the key actors that have participated in the CAG”

Actors	Capabilities	Perceptions	Preferences
VicRoads	Is powered to make a new road and may construct any freeway (Transport Act 1983, Schedule 5)	The EFE was necessary to reduce traffic congestion on the surrounding roads (Premier of Victoria, 2000)	Complete and quick development of the EFE (first section) (Informants at VicRoads)
Manningham	Can make and change municipal planning schemes; represents the local community (Local Government Act 1989; Interview City of Manningham)	The EFE was necessary to reduce traffic congestion on the surrounding roads; the Council was disappointed that the complete EFE-project (including the MFF-section) will now be delayed because this causes inconvenience for the local community; the first section of the EFE cannot be opened before the MFF is constructed to protect the local road network (Manningham, 2002: 2-6);	Complete and quick development of the EFE-project (including the section now part of the MFF); requests financial compensation from the State Government for infrastructure improvements due to the delay of the EFE (Manningham, 2002: 6-7); Manningham prefers on and off ramps at Park Road to reduce traffic on the local road network and to reduce travel times for its residents (Manningham, 2002; Interview City of Manningham)
Whitehorse	Can make and change municipal planning schemes; represents the local community (Local Government Act 1989; Interview City of Manningham)	The EFE was necessary to reduce traffic congestion on the surrounding roads; the Council was disappointed that the complete EFE-project (including the MFF-section) will now be delayed because this causes inconvenience for the local community (Interview City of Whitehorse)	Complete and quick development of the EFE-project (including the section now part of the MFF); requests financial compensation from the State Government for infrastructure improvements due to the delay of the EFE (VicRoads, 2003)
Maroondah	Can make and change municipal planning schemes; represents the local community (Local Government Act 1989; Interview City of Manningham)	The Council was concerned about the effect on local roads of the extension and did not have a clear vision on the EFE (VicRoads, 2002); the MFF has become more important for the Council than the EFE (Interview City Of Maroondah)	Complete and quick development of the EFE-project (including the section now part of the MFF); requests financial compensation from the State Government for infrastructure improvements due to the delay of the EFE (Interview City of Maroondah)

This will help to explain the (possible) actor strategies as they appeared in the CAG network (next section), and to explain how VicRoads has (or should have) built consensus for the EFE-project.

Table 4.8 “General attitude towards the EFE in the CAG”

Actors	General attitude towards the EFE in the CAG
VicRoads	++
Manningham	+
Whitehorse	+
Maroondah	+/-

++ Very Positive, + Positive, +/- Neutral, - Negative, -- Very Negative

Table 4.8 is based on the data presented in Table 4.7 and shows that none of the key actors had a negative attitude towards the EFE. The City of Maroondah was the only actor having a neutral attitude towards the EFE; all other actors were positive or very positive about the EFE.

An explanation for Maroondah’s attitude could be that Maroondah feared traffic congestions on its local road network because the extended Eastern Freeway would end in Ringwood (part of Maroondah). This would not reduce traffic congestions but would transfer them from Springvale Road in the Cities of Manningham and Whitehorse to the Maroondah Highway in Ringwood (Interview City of Maroondah).

The Cities of Manningham and Whitehorse have clearly supported the development of the EFE because they expect a significant reduction in traffic congestions once the EFE is opened for traffic (Interviews Cities of Manningham and Whitehorse).

Now that the actor characteristics in the CAG are known, it is useful to try to understand why they were involved in this advisory group and, in particular, what the relations were between these actors and VicRoads.

4.3.3.2 Network characteristics in the EFE-project

Because none of the actors were opposed to the development of the EFE it made sense for every actor to cooperate (at least initially). For the analysis it is interesting to know the interdependencies between the actors, their strategies and their interactions in the CAG. Table 4.9 will present this information.

In this table the interdependencies between the key actors are described. Interesting is to see that VicRoads is not legally obligated to consult with local governments or to actively involve them when it wants to develop a freeway extension project. VicRoads has the power to make a new road, and the financial means to acquire land and to build the freeway on this land. It also has the power to use local roads to access the construction area on their acquired land (Transport Act 1983).

So, VicRoads did not need any assistance of local governments to develop the EFE. However, VicRoads is legally obligated to operate within Government policy. It could be possible that a policy exists stating that any State Government organisation (this also VicRoads) needs to consult with local governments when its actions affect local governments. But I have not found this policy and I cannot remember that any

Table 4.9 “Overview of network characteristics”

Actors	Interdependencies	Strategies	Relations (Interactions)
VicRoads	Formally none; Informally local governments can object to the EFE via the Minister for Local Government, the Minister for Transport and the media (Informants at VicRoads)	Involving the community, in particular the local governments that are affected by the development of the EFE, to prevent commotion in the local community (Informants at VicRoads)	CAG-meetings (4 times a year[4]); bilateral contact with councils via letters and phone calls (CAG, 2004; Interview EFPT); VicRoads Municipal Visits Program (once every three years) (CMG, 1994)
Manningham	Additional road funding for road projects related to the EFE (Interviews Cities of Manningham, Whitehorse and Maroondah; Informants at VicRoads)	Cooperating with VicRoads as long as there was a mutual interest (reducing traffic congestions), while at the same time ensuring that noise levels would not increase and that landscaping issues were dealt with; requesting additional funding for infrastructure improvements related to the EFE (Manningham, 2002; Interview City of Manningham)	CAG-meetings (4 times a year)(CAG, 2004); VicRoads Municipal Visits Program (once every three years) (CMG, 1994)
Whitehorse	Additional road funding for road projects related to the EFE (Interviews Cities of Manningham, Whitehorse and Maroondah; Informants at VicRoads)	Cooperating with VicRoads as long as there was a mutual interest (reducing traffic congestions), while at the same time ensuring that noise levels would not increase and that landscaping issues were dealt with; requesting additional funding for infrastructure improvements related to the EFE (VicRoads, 2003; Interview City of Whitehorse)	Communication with other councils mainly at CAG-meetings (4 times a year) (CAG, 2004; Interview City of Whitehorse); VicRoads Municipal Visits Program (once every three years) (CMG, 1994)
Maroondah	Additional road funding for road projects related to the EFE (Interviews Cities of Manningham, Whitehorse and Maroondah; Informants at VicRoads)	Cooperating with VicRoads as long as traffic impacts on surrounding roads were being studied; requesting additional funding for infrastructure improvements related to the EFE (VicRoads, 2003; Interview City of Maroondah)	CAG-meetings (4 times a year)(CAG, 2004); VicRoads Municipal Visits Program (once every three years) (CMG, 1994)

[4] According to the Terms of Reference of the CAG, the CAG was supposed to hold meetings on a monthly basis (CAG, 2001)

informant told me that something like this exists. The only thing I can recall is that local governments can object to the Minister for Transport or the Minister for Local Government, creating commotion, especially when they contact the media. Therefore I will conclude that VicRoads "voluntarily" involved the Cities of Manningham, Maroondah and Whitehorse in the EFE-project (via the CAG).

The Cities of Manningham, Maroondah and Whitehorse were definitely dependent on VicRoads. Infrastructure projects that were related to the EFE had to be financed by VicRoads because these Cities could not finance all these projects themselves. It is therefore essential for these local governments to have a good relationship with VicRoads.

That is why their strategies were alike and based on cooperation. As long as their main core value was protected (serving the local community) they were willing to cooperate.

The interactions between all key actors in the EFE-project mainly took place at the CAG-meetings. VicRoads had bilateral relations in the CAG with all three Cities, mainly via letters and phone calls. Outside the CAG VicRoads also had bilateral relations with these Cities, namely through the VicRoads Municipal Visits Program. This program aims to encourage mutual understanding by visiting all municipalities once every three year and discuss traffic related issues with them (CMG, 1994; Informants at VicRoads). This could be an explanation for the willingness of the municipalities to cooperate in the EFE-project.

Now that the interdependencies, strategies and interactions are known it is interesting to analyse VicRoads' consensus building efforts in this decision-making process.

4.3.4 Consensus building in the EFE-project

In this section I will try to identify if and how VicRoads has implemented the six steps of consensus building (as presented in section 2.3.5) in order to provide an answer to sub-question 4a.

Table 4.10 gives an overview of the consensus building features in the EFE-project. It shows that VicRoads was the convenor of the CAG.

The first meeting of the CAG was in May 2001. An independent person chaired all CAG-meetings. The CAG-meetings were held quarterly. At these meetings issues such as providing advice on effective communication arrangements, helping to identify individuals and groups affected by the project, providing a focus for community input to the development of design and construction requirements, and providing advice on the environmental protection strategy were discussed.

Ground rules were set up by VicRoads in the Terms of Reference of the CAG. The agenda was set up by the independent chairperson. This agenda was not written down as a timetable. On the agenda were traffic, environmental and community issues. The debate related to reducing traffic congestion was mainly about the construction of on and off ramps at Park Road and about the minimum impact on the local road network. The provision of on and off ramps from the Eastern Freeway Extension to Park Road would not be considered until the freeway is completed to Ringwood; not until the MFF is completely developed (Minister for Transport, 2002; Manningham, 2002: 2). The discussion about the environmental

Table 4.10 “Overview of consensus building”

Consensus building	
Convening	VicRoads brought actors together; Cities of Whitehorse, Manningham and Maroondah; 3 local residents; the Environmental Protection Authority; the Department of Sustainability and Environment; Melbourne Water; a person from the local business community; and VicRoads Eastern Freeway Project Manager (the RACV was invited in September 2001); all actors that were invited in May 2001 continued to participate in the CAG (CAG, 2004); first meeting of the CAG was in May 2001 (VicRoads, 2001); the CAG met on a quarterly basis and the final meeting was in June 2004 (CAG, 2004); discussed were issues such as providing advice on effective communication arrangements, helping to identify individuals and groups affected by the project, providing a focus for community input to the development of design and construction requirements, providing advice on the environmental protection strategy (VicRoads, 2001; CAG, 2004); the key actors in the CAG were represented by a councillor and/or a civil servant (VicRoads, 2001; CAG, 2004; Interview EFPT)
Clarifying responsibilities	Ground rules were set up in the terms of reference (a statute), the agenda was set up by the independent chairperson at each meeting (VicRoads, 2001; CAG, 2004; Interview EFPT); the independent chair was appointed by VicRoads, but I could not find any record of objection of any participating actor to this appointment (VicRoads, 2001; Interviews Cities of Manningham, Whitehorse and Maroondah)
Deliberating	A constructive discussion about the problems were set up (Interviews Cities of Manningham, Whitehorse and Maroondah); expert advice was sought only now and then (Interview EFPT); an integrated draft document has not been written down, however all minutes of the CAG-meetings had to be accepted as true and correct (CAG, 2003); package-deals were not specifically made (VicRoads, 2001; CAG, 2004; Interviews Cities of Manningham, Whitehorse and Maroondah, and EFPT)
Deciding	A final integrated document was never written down, the minutes of the CAG-meetings were the key documents and they were verified based on unanimity (CAG, 2003; Interviews Cities of Manningham, Whitehorse and Maroondah, and EFPT); there were no official voting procedures (VicRoads, 2001; Interview EFPT)
Implementing agreements	All unanimous agreements reached in the CAG were implemented (Interviews Cities of Manningham, Whitehorse and Maroondah, and EFPT); VicRoads “transferred” CAG decisions into formal decisions (Interview EFPT); CAG decisions were monitored by the CAG (CAG, 2003)
Organisational learning and development	VicRoads is developing skills for managing professional relationships, develop networks which will help us to interact with other government agencies and make sure more staff have a better understanding of government processes, however an explicit reference to the EFE-project was not made (Corporate Plan 2005-2007, VicRoads Publication Number 01450, 2005:15); all councils have evaluated the CAG and they wish to proceed with a similar advisory group during the development of the MFF (Interviews Cities of Manningham, Whitehorse and Maroondah)

issues and the community impacts was mainly focused on the construction of noise walls and landscaping issues (Interview EFPT). These issues were all discussed in a constructive way.

During the CAG-meetings expert advice was sometimes sought. Package-deals in the CAG were not specifically made.

An integrated draft document, nor a final document, has been written down, however all minutes of the CAG-meetings had to be accepted as true and correct and therefore the minutes of the CAG-meetings can be regarded as unanimous key documents.

All unanimous agreements in the CAG were implemented by VicRoads. These agreements were then monitored by all actors in the CAG.

VicRoads is developing skills for managing professional relationships, develop networks which will help us to interact with other government agencies and make sure more staff have a better understanding of government processes, however an explicit reference to the EFE-project was not made.

It appears that all six steps of consensus building have been implemented by VicRoads.

4.3.5 Summary of the EFE-project

In this section I will summarise the most important and most interesting findings of the case of the EFE-project. At the same time I will draw some conclusions that will help to answer the main research questions. These results are also presented in Table 4.11.

VicRoads is formally responsible for freeway extension projects in Victoria, Australia. This responsibility is based on the Transport Act 1983. VicRoads is not part of the Ministry of Transport (the DOI). VicRoads can make its own instructions, as long as they are in line with Government policy and the directions from the Minister for Transport (Transport Act 1983).

VicRoads is not legally bonded to any decision-making process. Therefore it does not have to consult with other governmental organisations (as long as it stays within its powers described in the Transport Act 1983). However, VicRoads did set up the CAG as an advisory group for the development of the EFE-project, but why?

Before the CAG was established VicRoads was criticised for a lack of transparency, and was seen as an organisation predisposed to roads-based solutions to transport issues (DOI, 2000: 13). By establishing the CAG, with an independent chairperson, VicRoads made a significant effort to take the community seriously.

It seems a bit odd that VicRoads, with all formal powers based on the Transport Act 1983, has made serious efforts to build consensus between the key actors in the EFE-project. By establishing the CAG, VicRoads “voluntarily” committed itself to a consensus building process that was not strictly necessary not to develop the EFE.

A possible explanation for VicRoads’ behaviour in the EFE-project could be of a political nature. If the local community in Manningham, Maroondah and Whitehorse were content with the development of the EFE-project, the Victorian Government (including the Minister for Transport) had a bigger chance to be re-elected.

Table 4.11 “Summary of the EFE-project”

	VicRoads
Institutional Setting	VicRoads has the sole power to construct any freeway in Victoria (Transport Act 1983); outside the Ministry of Transport (fairly autonomous); “free” process
Actors	Cities of Manningham, Whitehorse and Maroondah
Networks	VicRoads was formally not dependent on the councils’ approvals because of its formal powers, but the councils were dependent on VicRoads because of its formal powers and its (potential) financial contribution to road improvements
Consensus building	CAG
- Convening	4 times a year (from May 2001 until June 2004)
- Clarifying responsibilities	Ground rules were set up in the terms of reference (a statute), the agenda was set up by the independent chairperson at each meeting
- Deliberating	A constructive discussion about the problems were set up, expert advice was sought so now and then; all minutes of the CAG-meetings had to be accepted as true and correct; package-deals were not specifically made
- Deciding	The minutes of the CAG-meetings were the key documents and they were verified based on unanimity
- Implementing agreements	All unanimous agreements reached in the CAG were implemented; VicRoads “transferred” CAG decisions into formal decisions; CAG decisions were monitored by the CAG
- Organisational learning and development	VicRoads is developing skills for managing professional relationships to develop networks which will help VicRoads to interact with other government agencies and make sure more staff have a better understanding of government processes, however an explicit reference to the EFE-project was not made (Corporate Plan 2005-2007, VicRoads Publication Number 01450, 2005:15); all councils have evaluated the CAG and they wish to proceed with a similar advisory group during the development of the MFF (Interviews Cities of Manningham, Whitehorse and Maroondah)
Outcomes	City of Maroondah was disappointed about the EFE-outcome, but this was mainly caused by politics and not so much by VicRoads’ actions (Interview City of Maroondah); other councils were also content with the CAG-process

The presumption that VicRoads made a serious effort to build consensus through the CAG, was confirmed by all councils, saying that they were content, or even very content in the case of Maroondah, with the CAG-process (Interviews Cities of Manningham, Whitehorse and Maroondah). However, the councils were a bit disappointed on the outcome of some issues. The City of Manningham was for instance disappointed that the on and off ramps at Park Roads have not been constructed (yet). And the City of Maroondah was disappointed about the separation of the EFE and the MFF due to political circumstances (Interview City of Maroondah). But in general the CAG, as a process, can be called a success. Therefore VicRoads' consensus building efforts can be called a success as well.

4.4 Comparison of the two cases

In this section I will compare the most important results of both cases, which are also presented in Table 4.12. The outcomes of this comparison are the foundations of the answers to the main research questions, which will be presented in the final chapter.

The most important differences between Rijkswaterstaat and VicRoads in terms of their institutional context, were their formal powers to develop a freeway extension project, their formal position within government, and their "freedom of space" to set up a decision-making process for a freeway extension project.

Rijkswaterstaat is formally obliged, based on the Tracéwetprocedure, to consult with local governments (provincial, regional and municipal) when it intends to develop a freeway extension project. Therefore local governments have to be involved in the decision-making process.

VicRoads on the other hand, is not formally obliged to consult with local governments (only municipal) when it intends to develop a freeway extension project. Therefore local governments do not have to be involved in the decision-making process. Any involvement of local government in the decision-making process is therefore informal.

Rijkswaterstaat is part of the Ministry of Transport. In the case of a freeway extension project, it receives its instructions directly from the Minister for Transport or from its representative within the Ministry, DGP. These instructions are then forwarded to the specific project team within Rijkswaterstaat.

VicRoads, however, is not part of the Ministry of Transport (the Department of Infrastructure). In the case of a freeway extension project, it receives its instructions directly from the Minister for Transport, or if these instructions are absent it can make its own instructions, as long as they are in line with Government policy. These instructions are then forwarded to the specific major project team within VicRoads.

Rijkswaterstaat is legally bonded to follow all steps of the Tracéwetprocedure when it wants to develop a freeway extension project. Therefore Rijkswaterstaat is restricted in its freedom to set up any other decision-making process, for example a consensus building process, because all formal decisions have to be taken according to the Tracéwetprocedure. This has implications for the importance and the quality of a consensus building process because it is (a priori) an inferior process when it comes to decision-making; this is taking place in a legal procedure. Although a

Table 4.12 “Overview of the two cases”

	Rijkswaterstaat	VicRoads
Institutional Setting	Within the Ministry of Transport (more restricted than VicRoads); less formal powers than VicRoads (needs to involve councils actively); Tracéwetprocedure constrains process	Outside the Ministry of Transport (more autonomous than RWS); more formal powers than RWS (no need to involve councils actively); “free” process
Actors	Provincial, regional and municipal governments	Municipal governments
Networks	RWS is formally dependent on the cooperation of PZH and the territorial involved municipalities for land use and planning approvals, PZH and the municipalities are dependent on RWS’ financial contribution for compensating and mitigating activities surrounding the freeway	VicRoads was not really dependent on the councils’ approvals because of its formal powers, but councils were dependent on VicRoads because of its formal powers and its (potential) financial contribution to road improvements; VicRoads Municipal Visits Program
Consensus building	IODS	CAG
- Convening	PZH was the convenor; meetings were held 4 times a year	VicRoads was the convenor; meetings were held 4 times a year
- Clarifying responsibilities	Participatory chair (PZH)	Independent chair
- Deliberating	Package-deals were made	No package-deals were made
- Deciding	The report of the IODS steering group presented in 2001 (a final document) was written down based on unanimity, further negotiations are still continuing today	The minutes of the CAG-meetings were the key documents and they were verified based on unanimity
- Implementing agreements	Constituencies ratified the report of the IODS steering group (2001) before it was presented, the process of implementation is still continuing today	All unanimous agreements reached in the CAG were implemented, VicRoads “transferred” CAG decisions into formal decisions, CAG decisions were monitored by the CAG
- Organisational learning and development	In 2002 RWS instructed the Copernicus Instituut to write a reflective report on regional cooperation, partly based on the case of the A4DS-project (Copernicus Instituut, 2002); the IODS process is still continuing today so there is not much data available yet	Working effectively within government is part of the latest version of the VicRoads Corporate Plan
Outcomes	IODS is still continuing today, this implies sufficient consensus, however the balance in this process is not very stable because of the gap in attitudes and perceptions between the participants; there is no BATNA (yet)	The CAG, as a process, was a success according to all participants

consensus building process often is informal in nature, the formal decision-making process in this context will almost certainly restrict its effectiveness.

In contrast with Rijkswaterstaat, VicRoads is not legally bonded to follow a legal procedure when it wants to develop a freeway extension project. Therefore VicRoads is free to set up any decision-making process, as long as it does not contradict with the Transport Act 1983 or any other act. Setting up a consensus building process is therefore very easy for VicRoads. VicRoads' only concern could be that the participating actors do not take the consensus building process seriously, because VicRoads is formally not obliged to build consensus and it has all resources to develop the freeway extension project on its own. This could reduce the effectiveness of the consensus building process.

The key actors that were involved in the consensus building processes in the two cases were in each case local governments.

In the Dutch case the local governments that were involved in the freeway extension project were one provincial government, two regional governments and four municipal governments.

In the Australian case the local governments that were involved in the freeway extension project were three municipal governments.

Both cases illustrate that different levels of government are actively involved in a freeway extension project. Depending on the specific form of government (unitary state or federal state), national, state or local governments are jointly acting in order to develop a freeway extension project, whether it is compulsory (legally bonded) or "voluntarily" (not legally bonded).

The most important differences between VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat in terms of network characteristics, were their dependencies on the local governments and their relations with the local governments. Their strategies were more or less similar.

Rijkswaterstaat was very dependent on the local governments, in particular the provincial government and the municipal governments, because they had to change their spatial development plans (or planning schemes) to make the development of the A4DS legally possible. Additionally, Rijkswaterstaat needed land from the municipalities to be able to construct the A4DS; RWS did not own the land (and could not buy it).

VicRoads was less dependent on the local governments because the municipal planning schemes could not overrule VicRoads' powers as described in the Transport Act 1983 and VicRoads owned the land (VicRoads bought it) on which the EFE had to be constructed.

Rijkswaterstaat did not have a sustainable relationship with the local governments (based on an organisational program), or at least not with all local governments that participated in IODS. The relationship with especially Vlaardingen and Schiedam could definitely not be called good.

VicRoads did have such a program: the VicRoads Municipal Visits Program. This program helped to build up a sustainable relationship with the local governments. The Australian case showed that the relationship between VicRoads and the municipalities participating in the CAG were good.

The strategies of both VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat were based on satisfying the local community in order to have a quick and complete development of the freeway extension project. Only Rijkswaterstaat really needed the cooperation of the local community to be able to develop the freeway extension. For VicRoads it was

not absolutely necessary for the development of the freeway extension, but probably more for political reasons they did seek community support.

In both cases a consensus building process could be identified. In the Dutch case it was embedded in IODS, in the Australian case it was embedded in the CAG. I will now discuss the most important differences and similarities between these two consensus building processes.

In IODS the Province of Zuid-Holland was the convenor. This means that the initiator of the A4DS-project, namely Rijkswaterstaat, did not bring the key actors together. Meetings in IODS were held four times a year (on average). IODS was set up to discuss the future development of the Midden-Delfland area, including the possibility of the A4DS. However, the development of the A4DS-project was not discussable in IODS; this was reserved for the formal decision-making process according to the Tracéwetprocedure. I did not find a statute of IODS nor a specific timetable. I did not find any data pointing out the use of experts for the IODS steering group. RWS-DZH did use experts for their own advice; a report of Diepens & Okkema (2003) shows this. I did not specifically look for any data pointing out that actors participating in IODS used experts for their own advice, so I do not know if other actors did the same thing or not. Package-deals were made in IODS. A written document was set up and before finalising it was ratified by constituencies. The implementation of this final document is still continuing today. However, I did not find any data pointing out a unanimity vote for the IODS-report (2001). Although it was written based on unanimity, it is unclear if the IODS steering group actually voted to come to unanimity. Rijkswaterstaat did try to develop its organisational learning and development skills (partly based on the momentary outcomes of the A4DS-project), but it did so in 2002, after the initiative was passed on to PZH.

In the CAG VicRoads was the convenor. This means that VicRoads, as initiator of the EFE-project, brought the key actors together. Meetings in the CAG were held four times a year (on average), despite the initial planning of meeting monthly. The CAG was set up to discuss traffic, environmental and community issues. I did find a statute of the CAG (the Terms of Reference) but I did not find a specific timetable. No specific package-deals were made in the CAG. The minutes of the CAG-meetings were the key documents and they were verified based on unanimity. All unanimous agreements reached in the CAG were implemented because VicRoads “transferred” CAG decisions into formal decisions. All CAG decisions were monitored by the CAG. However, I did not find any data pointing out that the CAG actually voted for the minutes; they were accepted unless someone objected to the minutes. VicRoads did develop its organisational learning and development skills, but it is not clear if it did so in consequence of the outcomes of the EFE-project.

Finally, the outcomes of both freeway extension projects will be compared.

The outcomes of the A4DS-project, in IODS, cannot be presented because IODS is still continuing today. However, the momentary outcomes are not too bad. The fact that IODS is still continuing today implies sufficient consensus. However, the balance in this process is not very stable because of the gap in attitudes and perceptions between the participants; a BATNA for Vlaardingen and Schiedam has been absent until now, but there is still a high risk for this. Therefore it remains uncertain if all participants will be satisfied when IODS is finished.

The outcomes of the EFE-project, in the CAG, can be regarded as positive. According to all participants the CAG, as a process, was a success. The

municipalities that participated in the CAG for the EFE-project have therefore requested SEITA to set up a similar CAG for the development of the MFF-project.

In the next chapter I will draw conclusions based on the comparison presented in this chapter.

5 Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

In this final chapter I will answer the main research questions based on the previous chapters. The next section (section 5.2) will contain the answers to all sub-questions and finally the answer to the main research question. The last section (section 5.3) contains a reflection on this research.

5.2 The answers: more differences than similarities

5.2.1 The answers to the sub-questions

Sub-question 1 is about the role, task and position of VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat in freeway extension projects. This question is general in nature but will be answered based on the analysis of the two cases as presented in chapter 4.

VicRoads' and Rijkswaterstaat's role in freeway extension projects is primarily that of an initiator; these road authorities are both responsible for the development of freeway extension projects in their state. Their common task is to maintain and upgrade the arterial road network, which includes the development of freeway extension projects.

VicRoads' position is within the State Government of Victoria. In this government, it has a fairly independent (and thus autonomous) position, based on the Transport Act 1983, when it comes to freeway extension projects; it can make its own instructions, as long as they are not conflicting with Government policy or with directions from the Minister for Transport.

Rijkswaterstaat's position is different from VicRoads' position. Rijkswaterstaat is part of the national (or state, which is similar in the Dutch context) government of The Netherlands. It does not have a very independent position in this government. It is part of the Ministry of Transport and it receives its instructions from another department within this Ministry, but it can also receive its instructions directly from the Minister for Transport.

Sub-question 2 is about the identification of other governmental actors (other than VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat; the project initiators) in freeway extension projects. This question also has a general nature and will also be answered based on the analysis presented in the former chapter.

The key actors that participated in the consensus building processes of the freeway extension projects were, in both cases, all local governments.

Therefore the conclusion for sub-question 2 can be that both in the Dutch and the Australian case local governments were the other governmental actors involved in freeway extension projects besides VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat. Other

governmental actors were also identified but they did not have a key role in freeway extension projects; they focus on specific issues like environment.

Sub-question 3 is a mainly theoretical question that intends to find out what consensus building is about. The answer to this question was presented in section 2.3 of this thesis, but I will now summarise the most important aspects of this answer.

Because of the existence of mutual dependencies between actors, it seems impossible to reach a decision without the use of some form of consensus building; other effective strategies seem to be absent. Projects that are being developed by some form of consensus building will reach a higher level of quality because there is a wider variety of ideas, values and knowledge to choose from. The crucial element of consensus building is that it should be embedded in a well-structured process; meaning the integration of the formal decision-making process with the more informal process of consensus building as a solution.

Sub-question 4a intends to describe the consensus building efforts VicRoads has made or could have made in a freeway extension project. This question focuses on both empirical as theoretical elements. The empirical element was presented in section 4.3.4 and the theoretical element was presented in section 2.3, but I will now summarise the most important aspects of this answer.

VicRoads was the convenor (or network manager) of the CAG, which can be regarded as the organised form of the consensus building process in the EFE-project. VicRoads set up ground rules for this consensus building process (the Terms of Reference of the CAG). VicRoads was a participant in the CAG; the chair was an independent chairperson (appointed by VicRoads). The independent chairperson set up the agenda and was responsible for the minutes of the meeting. Both the agenda and the minutes had to be unanimously accepted, although I did not find any records of official voting procedures. Every unanimous agreement in the CAG was formalised into decisions and VicRoads implemented these. All participants in the CAG monitored the implementation of these decisions. Finally, VicRoads developed its organisational learning and development skills, but it is not clear if this can be directly linked to the outcomes of the CAG in the EFE-project.

Theoretically, VicRoads followed all steps of consensus building almost literally; all six steps can be identified in the Australian case. The only exception in this case was that VicRoads (or any other actor participating in the CAG) did not propose any package-deals to the chairperson or the participants of the CAG.

Sub-question 4b intends to describe the consensus building efforts Rijkswaterstaat has made or could have made in a freeway extension project. This question also focuses on both empirical as theoretical elements. The empirical element was presented in section 4.2.4 and the theoretical element was presented in section 2.3, but I will now summarise the most important aspects of this answer.

Rijkswaterstaat was not the convenor (and network manager) of IODS, which can be regarded as the organised form of the consensus building process in the A4DS-project. The convenor (and network manager) of IODS was the Province of Zuid-Holland, but PZH was asked to do this by the Minister for Transport. Rijkswaterstaat or any other actor did not set up written ground rules; however, there were some informal ground rules. Rijkswaterstaat was a participant in IODS. PZH set up the agenda and was responsible for the minutes of the meetings. A unanimous draft document was written down. This documents also contained package-deals.

Constituencies ratified the final unanimous document. Finally, Rijkswaterstaat did try to develop its organisational learning and development skills by instructing the Copernicus Instituut to write a reflective report on regional cooperation, partly based on the case of the A4DS-project. Other aspects of consensus building could not be identified yet because the consensus building process is still continuing today.

In theory, Rijkswaterstaat did not follow all six steps of consensus building. The first step, convening, was not organised by Rijkswaterstaat but by the Minister for Transport. The second step, clarifying responsibilities, was also not organised by Rijkswaterstaat. In a sense, this is understandable because the initiative has been passed on to PZH. But, in essence, Rijkswaterstaat, was, is and will be responsible for the development of a freeway extension project. This means that Rijkswaterstaat should not remain too passive. Perhaps Rijkswaterstaat considers the division of responsibilities to be clear and did therefore not act. The other steps were jointly organised in IODS, which is theoretically acceptable.

Sub-question 5 is a procedural question; it explains the comparison of the two cases as presented in section 4.4. The content-related answer to this question can be found in sub-questions 4a and 4b, and also in the answer to the main research question.

5.2.2 The answer to the main research question

Now that the answers to all sub-question have been presented, it is possible to answer the main research question.

This research has indicated that the actions of VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat in the consensus building process for a freeway extension project differ in many respects. However, similarities between the actions of VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat can also be indicated.

VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat are both road authorities that are responsible for the development of freeway extension projects in their state or country. Both road authorities were involved in a consensus building process with local governments. But in this consensus building process VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat did not often act the same way.

In the Australian case VicRoads was the initiator of the consensus building process for the freeway extension project. Although VicRoads was not the chair of this consensus building process, VicRoads was willing to listen to the suggestions of other participants (three municipal governments) on certain issues and also to formalise unanimous agreements reached in the consensus building process into decisions that were then implemented by VicRoads.

On the contrary, the consensus building process for the Dutch freeway extension project was not initiated by Rijkswaterstaat, but by a provincial government on behalf of the Minister for Transport. Although Rijkswaterstaat did participate in the consensus building process, Rijkswaterstaat did not make any serious efforts to build consensus for the development of the freeway extension between the participants (one provincial government, two regional governments and four municipal governments).

The analysis in this thesis showed that VicRoads acted more according to the theory of consensus building than Rijkswaterstaat did. It seems that, as a consequence, the consensus building process in which VicRoads was involved, was

more successful than the one in which Rijkswaterstaat was involved (although this latter consensus building process is still continuing today).

Paradoxically, it seems that the institutional setting in which VicRoads is embedded resulted in a better consensus building process than the institutional setting Rijkswaterstaat is embedded in, although the latter context is more focused on consensus. This could be explained by differences in expectations (which are informal rules that are part of the institutional setting, as described in section 3.4.1) from all the participating actors in the consensus building process. Perhaps the participants' expectations were too high in the Dutch case, based on their stronger institutional position than their Australian counterparts. In other words, the Australian local governments were already quite satisfied that VicRoads took their input seriously, while the Dutch local governments were really focused on serious negotiations with Rijkswaterstaat. This could explain the differences in actor attitudes in both cases and confirms that differences in the institutional context can lead to a different consensus building process.

In short can be concluded that the actions of VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat, in their attempt to build consensus between different levels of government for the development of freeway extension projects, differed significantly.

5.3 Reflection: institutional context and consensus building matter

This thesis is an international-comparative study, based on two cases. As presented in section 3.2.3, using these scientific methods together makes it difficult to generalise the conclusions and to make useful recommendations. The value of this thesis can therefore not be found in easily generalised conclusions or recommendations, but in the understanding of administrative processes in The Netherlands and in Australia.

Although it is tricky to judge, it seems that VicRoads had more consensus building skills than Rijkswaterstaat, and even more importantly, also used these consensus building skills more than Rijkswaterstaat did, either directly (acting bilaterally with local governments) or indirectly (acting via the advisory group). Therefore it does seem that Rijkswaterstaat can learn something from this thesis.

However, some differences in the two cases could be explained because of a different institutional setting. For instance, the mutual dependencies between key actors in a freeway extension project do not necessarily have to be based on project resources only; these dependencies can be present on other levels as well, for example on the political level. This means that some differences between VicRoads' and Rijkswaterstaat's actions could be explained by a different political context. So empirically, the institutional context seems to be an important factor for successful consensus building (as theoretically pointed out in chapter 2). The exact influence of the institutional context on the consensus building process is very difficult to ascertain and should therefore be studied more intensively.

Besides these methodological and theoretical issues, I would also like to reflect on the collection of the empirical data for this thesis. Sometimes it was difficult to collect relevant data because of practical reasons, such as availability (some data was not recorded or nobody knew where to find it) or time (it is difficult to assess when the empirical data is sufficient). Also, it was not always easy to assess the

accurateness of the collected data (if there was only one source available triangulation was impossible).

With the presentation of the conclusions, the goal of this thesis seems to be met. It has become clear how VicRoads and Rijkswaterstaat managed the interactions with other governmental organisations (at different levels of government) during the development of a freeway extension project and their consensus building efforts during these interactions.

It seems that Woltjer and De Jong were right by relating the development of a freeway extension project and the amount of consensus with each other. This thesis showed that a high level of consensus building (especially in the Australian case) helps to prevent the development of a freeway extension project from stalling and may even accelerate the development of such a project. A relation between the successful development of a freeway extension project (in terms of actor-satisfaction) and the amount of consensus for this project can therefore be identified.

Because of this relationship an important prescription for a successful development of a freeway extension project could be described by the following equation:

Building Freeways = Building Consensus

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Appendix A

Topic list for interviews

- What type of organisation do you work for? What is your role in this organisation? What does the organisational structure look like?

- What type of interactions do/did you have with the other key actors (key actors depend on who is being interviewed)?

- Do you have policies or strategies for the freeway extension project?

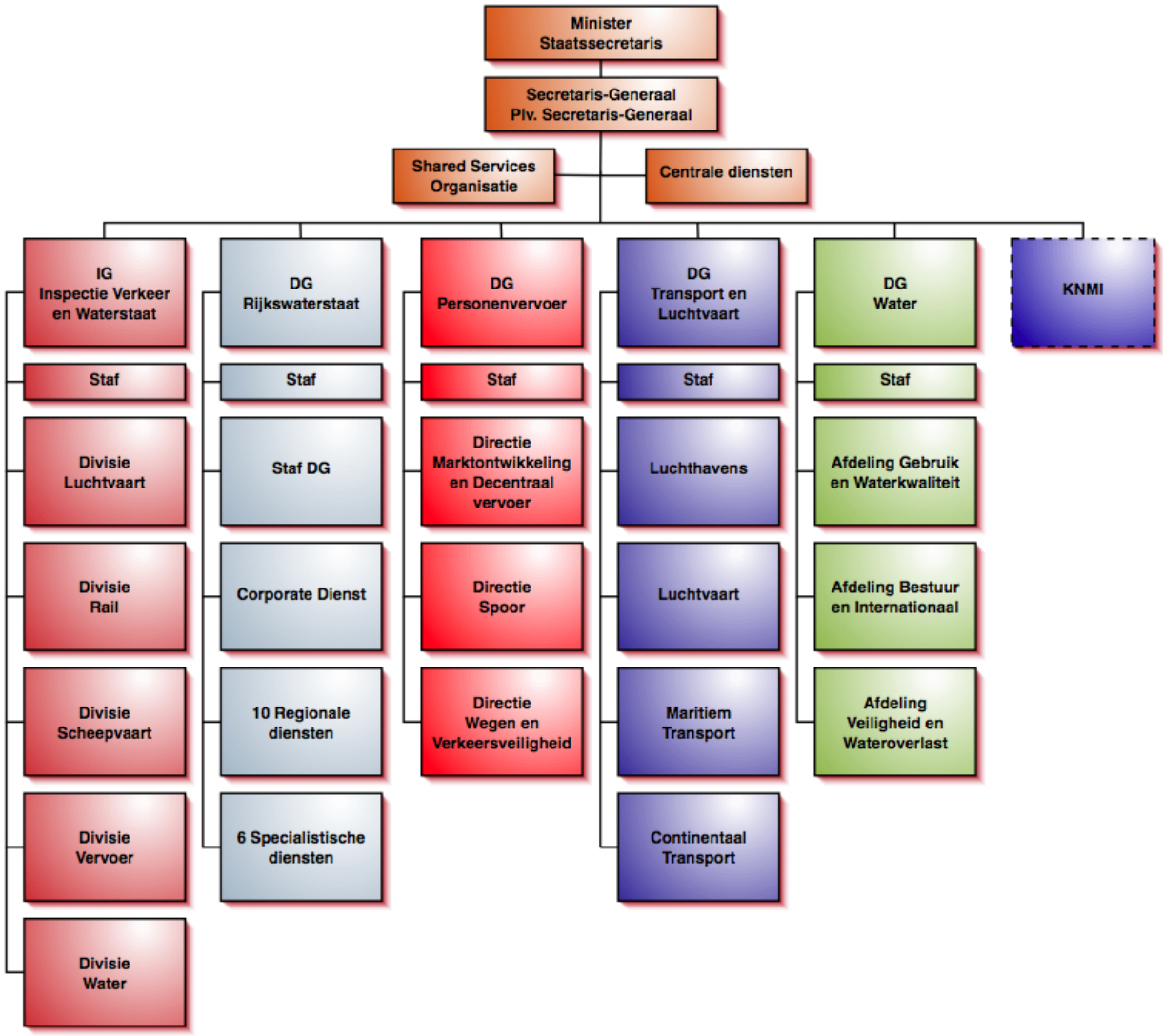
- What do you consider to be the main issues regarding the freeway extension project?

- How would you describe the process regarding the freeway extension project? Were there any difficulties in the process?

List of respondents

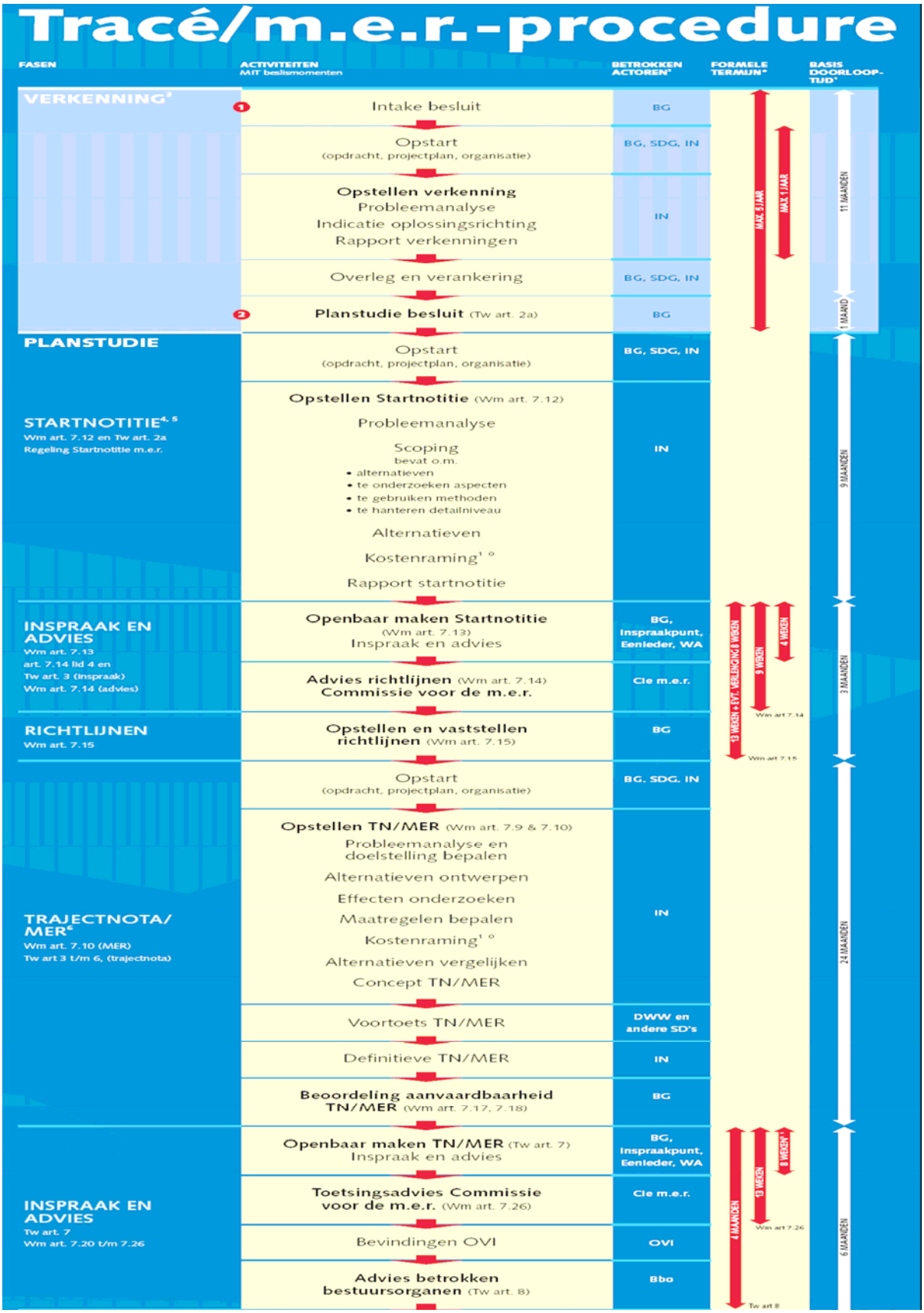
- Rijkswaterstaat, Directie Zuid-Holland: current Projectmanager A4DS-project
- Rijkswaterstaat, Directie Zuid-Holland: former Projectmanager A4DS-project
- VicRoads, Head Office: General Manager RSM
- VicRoads, Eastern Freeway Project Office: Projectmanager EFE-project
- Department of Infrastructure: Senior Planner
- City of Manningham: Director City Development
- City of Maroondah: Group Manager Major Projects
- City of Whitehorse: Manager Engineering & Environmental Services

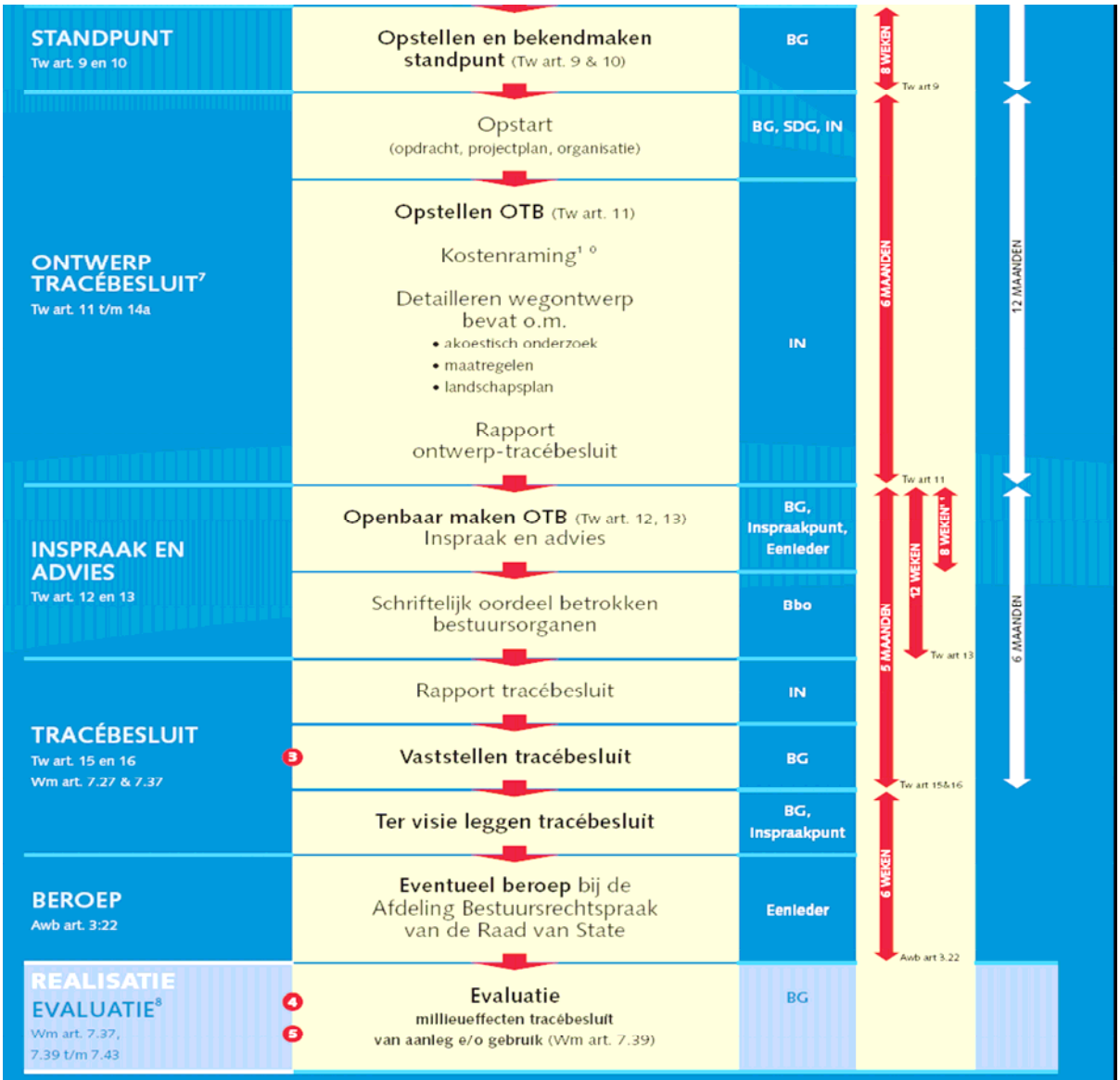
Appendix B



"Overview of the Ministry of Transport"

Appendix C


Tracé/m.e.r.-procedure
FASEN
ACTIVITEITEN MIT beslismomenten
BETROKKEN ACTOREN²
FORMELE TERMIJN⁴
BASIS DOORLOOP-TIJD³
VERKENNING³
1 Intake besluit
BG
Opstart
(opdracht, projectplan, organisatie)
BG, SDG, IN
Opstellen verkenning
Probleemanalyse
Indicatie oplossingsrichting
Rapport verkenningen
IN
Overleg en verankering
BG, SDG, IN
2 Planstudie besluit (Tw art. 2a)
BG
MAX. 5 JAAR
MAX. 1 JAAR
11 MAANDEN
1 MAAND
PLANSTUDIE
STARTNOTITIE⁴, ⁵
Wm art. 7.12 en Tw art. 2a
Regeling Startnotitie m.e.r.
Opstart
(opdracht, projectplan, organisatie)
BG, SDG, IN
Opstellen Startnotitie (Wm art. 7.12)
Probleemanalyse
Scoping
bevat o.m.
• alternatieven
• te onderzoeken aspecten
• te gebruiken methoden
• te hanteren detailniveau
Alternatieven
Kostenraming¹ °
Rapport startnotitie
IN
9 MAANDEN
INSPRAAK EN ADVIES
Wm art. 7.13
art. 7.14 lid 4 en
Tw art. 3 (inspraak)
Wm art. 7.14 (advies)
Openbaar maken Startnotitie
(Wm art. 7.13)
Inspraak en advies
BG, Inspraakpunt, Eenieder, WA
Advies richtlijnen (Wm art. 7.14)
Commissie voor de m.e.r.
Cie m.e.r.
13 WEKEN + EVT. VERLENGING 9 WEKEN
4 WEKEN
Wm art 7.14
3 MAANDEN
RICHTLIJNEN
Wm art. 7.15
Opstellen en vaststellen richtlijnen (Wm art. 7.15)
BG
Wm art 7.15
TRAJECTNOTA/ MER⁶
Wm art. 7.10 (MER)
Tw art 3 t/m 6, (trajectnota)
Opstart
(opdracht, projectplan, organisatie)
BG. SDG. IN
Opstellen TN/MER (Wm art. 7.9 & 7.10)
Probleemanalyse en doelstelling bepalen
Alternatieven ontwerpen
Effecten onderzoeken
Maatregelen bepalen
Kostenraming¹ °
Alternatieven vergelijken
Concept TN/MER
IN
Voortoets TN/MER
DWW en andere SD's
Definitieve TN/MER
IN
Beoordeling aanvaardbaarheid TN/MER (Wm art. 7.17, 7.18)
BG
24 MAANDEN
INSPRAAK EN ADVIES
Tw art. 7
Wm art. 7.20 t/m 7.26
Openbaar maken TN/MER (Tw art. 7)
Inspraak en advies
BG, Inspraakpunt, Eenieder, WA
Toetsingsadvies Commissie voor de m.e.r. (Wm art. 7.26)
Cie m.e.r.
Bevindingen OVI
OVI
Advies betrokken bestuursorganen (Tw art. 8)
Bbo
4 MAANDEN
13 WEKEN
8 WEKEN
Wm art 7.26
Tw art 8
6 MAANDEN



MIT-beslismomenten
1. Intakebesluit
2. Planstudiebesluit
3. Vaststellen tracébesluit
4. Uitvoeringsbesluit
5. Opleveringsbesluit

* Er is geen rekening gehouden met de termijnen ingevolge de wijziging van de Awb in 2005. In 2005 wordt de Tracéwet gewijzigd, hier is ook nog geen rekening mee gehouden.

1 Basisdoorlooptijd: Een optelsom van de doorlooptijden die de standaardactiviteiten op zijn minst in beslag nemen in een bepaalde fase van een tracé/m.e.r.-plichtig hoofdwegenproject. Deze basisdoorlooptijd kan bij het opstellen en beoordelen van de projectplanning als een referentiepunt worden beschouwd. (zie verder DWW, Tijdplan, doorlooptijden van verkenningen en planstudies, Delft 2003)

2 Afkortingen:
- IN: Initiatiefnemer (in praktijk een Regionale Directie)
- BG: Bevoegd Gezag (DGP/DGG en uiteindelijk minister van V&W en VROM)
- SDG: Staf Directoraat Generaal Rijkswaterstaat
- WA: Wettelijke Adviseurs (VROM regionale inspecties milieuhygiene, LNV Directeuren Natuur en Openluchtrecreatie, OC&W adviseurs)
- Bbo: Betrokken bestuursorganen (Gemeente, Provincie en Waterschap)
- OVI: Overlegorgaan Verkeersinfrastructuur
- MIT: Meerjarenprogramma Infrastructuur en Transport

3 Zie verder V&W, Werkwijzer MIT Verkenningen Nieuwe stijl, Den Haag 2002

4 Zie verder DWW, Handleiding wet- en regelgeving tracé/m.e.r.-procedure, Delft 1999

5 Zie verder DWW, Handleiding start van de tracé/m.e.r.-procedure, Delft 2000

6 Zie verder DWW, Handleiding Trajectnota/MER, Delft 2003

7 Zie verder DWW, Handleiding OTB/TB fase, Delft 2000

8 Zie verder V&W, werkwijzer evaluatie milieueffecten hoofdwegen, Den Haag 2003

9 Zie verder Spelregels van het meerjarenprogramma infrastructuur en transport, Den Haag, juni 2004

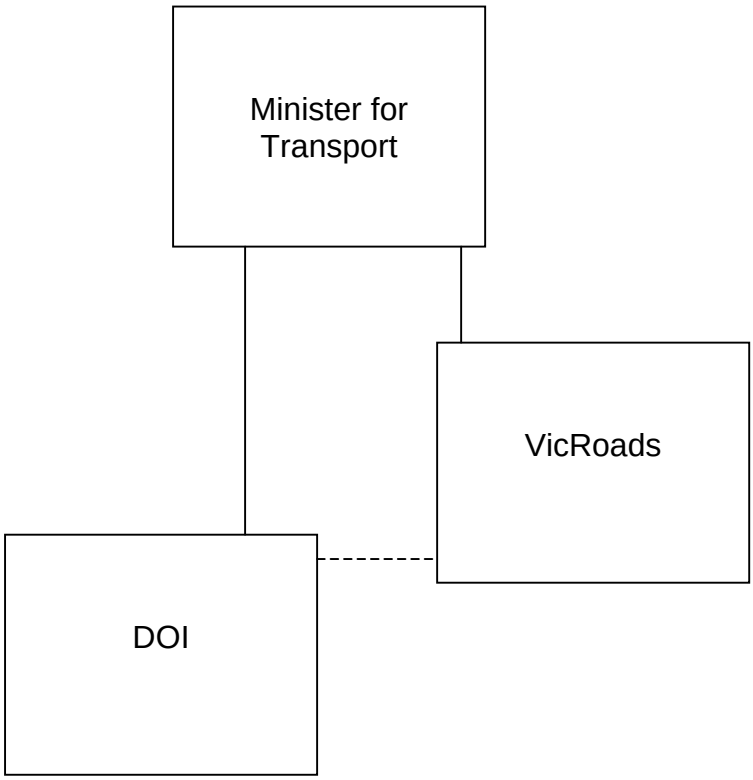
10 Kostenraming: is niet wettelijk verplicht, vloeit voort uit MIT-spelregels (zie noot 9)

11 Wordt 6 weken na in werking treden Awb.

Tracé/m.e.r.-centrum
telefoon: 015 - 2518 478, intranet: www.venwnet.minvenw.nl/rws/dww/tracemer/
december 2004

Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat
Rijkswaterstaat

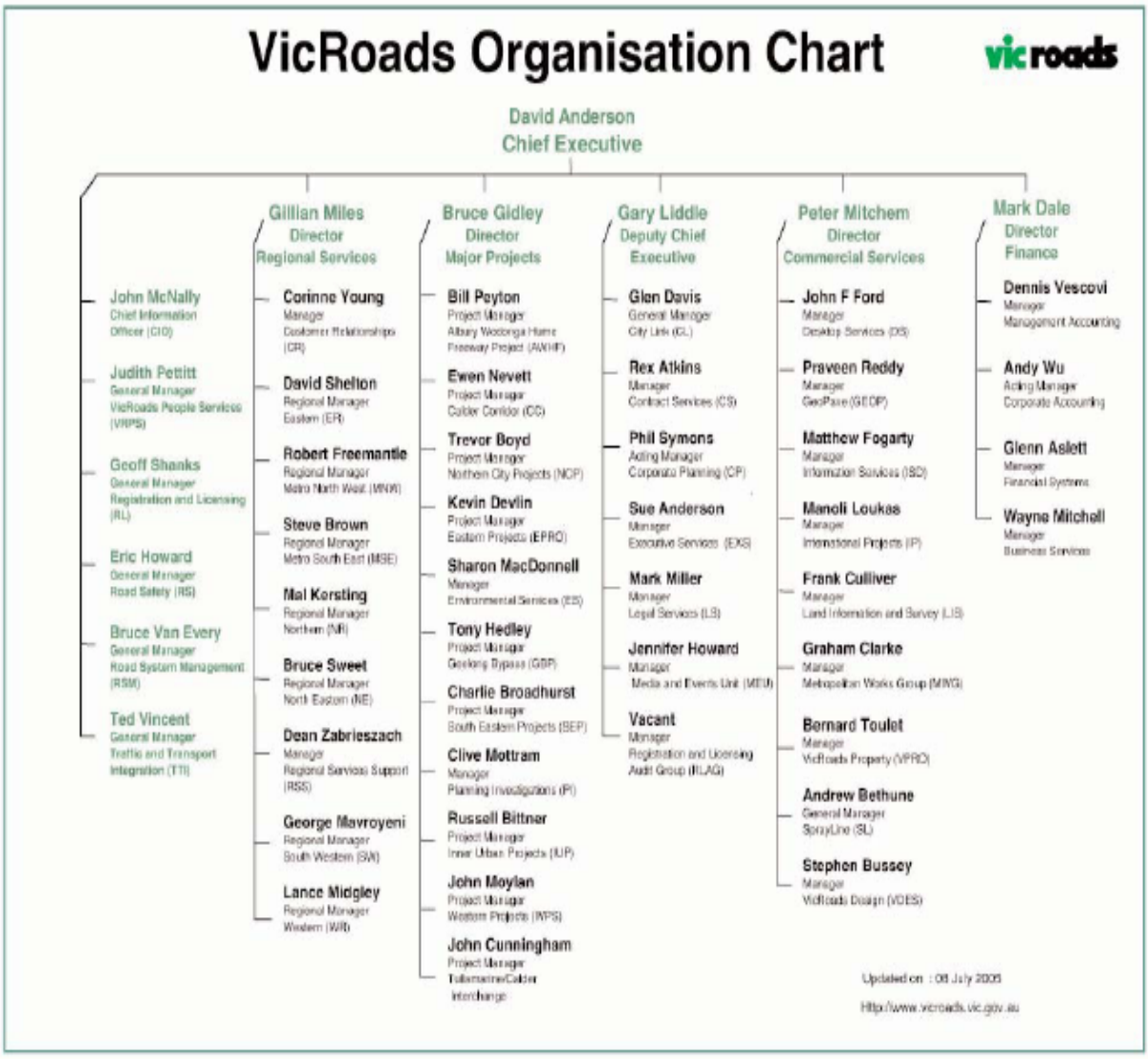
Appendix D



"Relationship between major Victorian State Government Road Institutions"

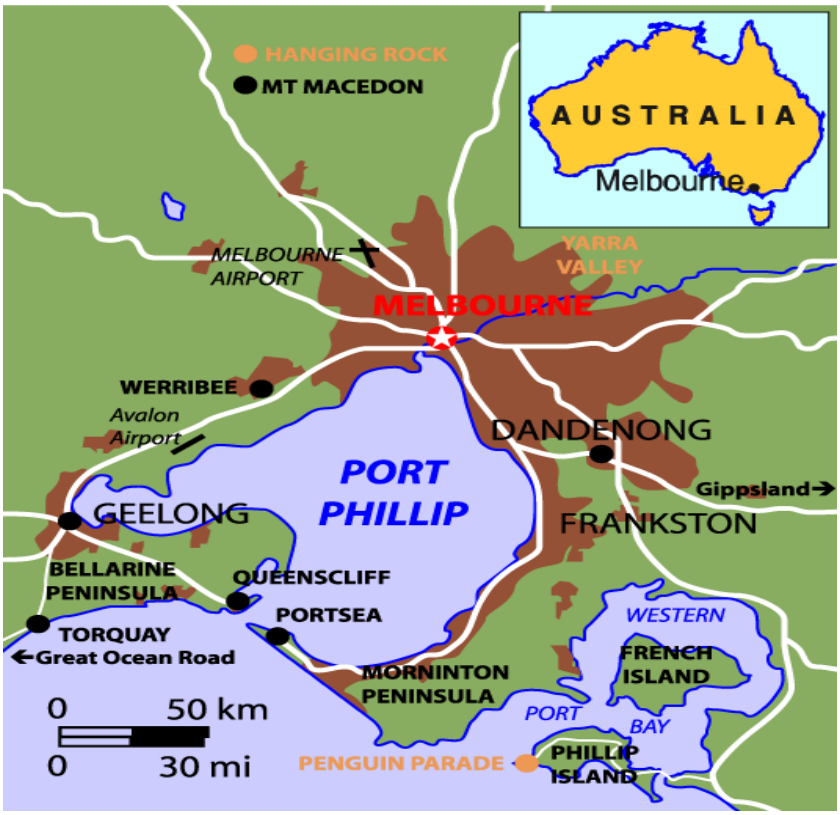
(Informants at VicRoads and DOI; DOI Corporate Plan 2003-2006: 48)

Appendix E


VicRoads Organisation Chart
vicroads
David Anderson
Chief Executive
John McNally
Chief Information Officer (CIO)
Judith Pettitt
General Manager VicRoads People Services (VRPS)
Geoff Shanks
General Manager Registration and Licensing (RL)
Eric Howard
General Manager Road Safety (RS)
Bruce Van Every
General Manager Road System Management (RSM)
Ted Vincent
General Manager Traffic and Transport Integration (TTI)
Gillian Miles
Director
Regional Services
Corinne Young
Manager Customer Relationships (CR)
David Shelton
Regional Manager Eastern (ER)
Robert Freemantle
Regional Manager Metro North West (MNW)
Steve Brown
Regional Manager Metro South East (MSE)
Mal Korsting
Regional Manager Northern (NR)
Bruce Sweet
Regional Manager North Eastern (NE)
Dean Zabrieszach
Manager Regional Services Support (RSS)
George Mavroyeni
Regional Manager South Western (SW)
Lance Midgley
Regional Manager Western (WR)
Bruce Gidley
Director
Major Projects
Bill Peyton
Project Manager Albury Wodonga Hume Freeway Project (AWHF)
Ewen Nevett
Project Manager Calder Corridor (CC)
Trevor Boyd
Project Manager Northern City Projects (NCP)
Kevin Devlin
Project Manager Eastern Projects (EPRO)
Sharon MacDonnell
Manager Environmental Services (ES)
Tony Hedley
Project Manager Geelong Bypass (GBP)
Charlie Broadhurst
Project Manager South Eastern Projects (SEP)
Clive Mottram
Manager Planning Investigations (PI)
Russell Bittner
Project Manager Inner Urban Projects (IUP)
John Moylan
Project Manager Western Projects (WPS)
John Cunningham
Project Manager Tullamarine/Calder Interchange
Gary Liddle
Deputy Chief Executive
Glen Davis
General Manager City Link (CL)
Rex Atkins
Manager Contract Services (CS)
Phil Symons
Acting Manager Corporate Planning (CP)
Sue Anderson
Manager Executive Services (EXS)
Mark Miller
Manager Legal Services (LS)
Jennifer Howard
Manager Media and Events Unit (MEU)
Vacant
Manager Registration and Licensing Audit Group (RLAG)
Peter Mitchem
Director
Commercial Services
John F Ford
Manager Desktop Services (DS)
Praveen Reddy
Manager GeoPave (GEOP)
Matthew Fogarty
Manager Information Services (ISD)
Manoli Loukas
Manager International Projects (IP)
Frank Culliver
Manager Land Information and Survey (LIS)
Graham Clarke
Manager Metropolitan Works Group (MWG)
Bernard Toulet
Manager VicRoads Property (VPRO)
Andrew Bethune
General Manager SprayLine (SL)
Stephen Bussey
Manager VicRoads Design (VDES)
Mark Dale
Director
Finance
Dennis Vescovi
Manager Management Accounting
Andy Wu
Acting Manager Corporate Accounting
Glenn Aslett
Manager Financial Systems
Wayne Mitchell
Manager Business Services
Updated on : 08 July 2005
http://www.vicroads.vic.gov.au

Appendix F

"Map of Melbourne: The Eastern Freeway starts just east from Carlton" (www.innhouse.com.au)



"Melbourne on the map" (www.wikipedia.org)