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Integrating transport and land-use planning? How steering cultures in local authorities affect implementation of integrated public transport and land-use planning

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Abstract

Previous research has shown integrated planning to be important for achieving aims concerning more environmentally friendly transport operations, but less good at explaining prerequisites of implementation. This paper analyses how management and working practises in local authorities, here understood as steering cultures, affect implementation of integrated land-use and public transport planning approaches. The analysis builds on case studies of planning in two Swedish municipalities. These have developed two antithetical steering cultures, namely one that can be described as deliberative and one that can be described as sectorised. The paper describes the advantages and disadvantages of these steering cultures. The findings show the deliberative model to facilitate integration through advanced mechanisms of consensus and co-ordination between policy-makers and officials. The sectorised model has no such mechanisms, but this need not result in poor prospects of integrated planning. It is important for integrated planning approaches, whatever the steering culture, to be in line with the institutionalised norms and objectives by which planning practices are governed. Integration therefore needs a normative component, so as to ensure implementation. The important normative component in this context can be construed as discourses and rationales concerning transport and the urban development of which public transport forms part.

Keywords: integrated planning, policy integration, land use, public transport, sustainable mobility.

1. Introduction

It is a commonplace that public transport planning should take place within the framework of an integrated planning approach. The integration of planning and the development of public transport, other modes of transport, and land use is increasingly recognised as a potentially effective mechanism for achieving long-term public-transport goals of functionality and competitive capacity. While integrative approaches can be effective planning strategies for public transport and can increase its attractiveness, the relationship between public transport and land-use planning is particularly important (Næss *et al.* 2013). In some countries it is the state or the regions that are in control of public transport planning. However, local authorities are key players where integration of public transport and land use planning is concerned, especially in countries having a decentralised land use planning context. Local authorities are of growing importance, due to a trend towards institutional fragmentation and more entrepreneurial land use planning in some European countries, Sweden among them (Schønning Sørensen 2007; Fredriksson 2011, Hrelja 2011; Hrelja *et al.* 2012). New

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legislation, such as the Swedish Public Transport Act (SFS 2010) which came into force in 2012, is aimed at underpinning a more integrated approach to public transport for cities and regions, but not at regulating the integration of land-use and public-transport planning on the local level. At regional level, the transport providers can only address integration between local and regional networks. Responsibility for the design and location of urban development in relation to public transport rests with the municipalities alone. The governance context of land use and public transport planning, illustrated by Sweden, suggests a need to focus on the micropolitical: how effective are management and working practices in local authorities when it comes to creating better conditions for public transport and land use integration?

This paper analyses how management and working practises in the two Swedish municipalities of Lund and Trelleborg affect integrated public transport and land use approaches. Analytically, I explore how organisational structures, policies and goals, that *are explicitly stated* and regulated in formal frameworks – but also how norms, traditions, ways of working etc., that are *not explicitly stated* (but still influence planning substantially) – form specific “steering cultures” (Hansson 2013) that influence public transport and land use integration. By doing this, I am able to reflect on the potential for integrated planning approaches that actually improve the long-term development of public transport. In this sense the paper resonates with sustainable mobility research (Banister 2008), which enquires how a shift can be achieved away from a traditional transport policy paradigm that has placed cars as the dominant mode of travel. Sustainable mobility not only implies a shift away from a traditional transport policy paradigm, it also raises issues relating to intra-organisational working relationships, professional cultures and institutionalised working practices that influence the implementation of sustainable mobility measures. In order to understand the reasons behind effective implementation of sustainable mobility we need to go beyond the actual measures, and analyse such matters as steering cultures. The paper thus contributes to the understanding of how long-term integration goals connect to short-term actions in planning and decision-making praxis, a research need identified, for example, by Holden (2012).

2. Integrated planning and steering cultures

Integration in general concerns “the management of cross-cutting issues in policy making that transcend the boundaries of established policy fields, and do not correspond to the institutional responsibilities of individual departments” (Stead and Meijers 2009). In the research literature on land use and transport planning, integration is viewed as a hierarchy, the first tier of which is confined to co-operation and information between sectors. The second tier involves trying to avoid conflicting objectives. This does not necessarily mean having the same objectives for different sectors, but it does mean a certain co-ordination in the planning of implementation. Co-ordination and efforts to avoid conflicting objectives are also present on the third tier, but now sectoral fields are integrated in a way which creates greater value than individual parts. The same objectives are used here for formulating various long-term plans and strategies. Representatives of different sectors work together and endeavour to create inter-sectoral synergies in the planning of implementation (Stead and Geerlings 2005).

While policy integration should not be seen as an end in it self, in this paper it is analysed as something that can potentially result in better conditions for public transport. To benefit public transport, the planning of urban development and of public transport itself should be integrated in such a way that new urban development takes place in locations which are good for public transport. A large customer base can be created by building densely and by intermingling housing and workplaces. In this way the traffic load during peak hours can be

evened out. Central stopping points, straight runs and measures to ensure brief transit times are also needed to make public transport more competitive in relation to motorism.

The need for integrated planning has, admittedly, achieved a major rhetorical impact. The new buzzwords in research literature, planning manuals and policy documents, both in Sweden and in other Western European countries, are integration of transport and land use in practical planning. National authorities in Sweden are endeavouring, through inspiration and best practices in planning manuals, to induce municipal politicians and officials to plan on an integrated basis (Tornberg 2009; Swedish Transport Administration 2010, Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2013). But translating objectives for integrated planning into practice has proved difficult (see for example studies in Australia, the United Kingdom and the Scandinavian countries: McEldowney *et al.* 2007; Legacy *et al.* 2012; Curtis 2012; Hrelja *et al.* 2013; Næss *et al.* 2013; Smith 2013, Smith *et al.* 2014). Previous studies have shown the integration of transport and land use to require careful handling of sectoral interests by politicians and officials (Isaksson *et al.* 2009). Research has shown that in practice the feasibility of integration is often eviscerated by conflicts between politicians and officials with rival agendas. The meaning of sustainable transport systems and urban development is differently interpreted from one sector to another and is variously “translated” by the politicians and officials concerned, depending on the context (Hull 2005; Hull 2008). And so actual decision-making and planning practice in the municipality can still be fragmented between different sectoral fields and affected by conflicts of interest. Research has shown that the ability of politicians and officials to create viable forms of co-operation and to achieve a consensus on objectives is often crucial but at the same time hard to achieve in practice (Connelly and Richardson 2004). In summary, experience teaches us to expect conflicts between transport modes, and tension among different planning sectors and their representatives in local transport and land use planning.

Overcoming such constraints requires new efforts in local decision-making and planning praxis. Even though research has clarified several reasons for the problems, literature on the integration of transport and land-use planning discerns a lack of research about management and working practises (Hull 2008; Stead 2008). In the public transport sector, however, there are articles addressing ways in which management and working practises among public transport organisations influence their actions. Those studies show the “context” in which public transport is dealt with to be an important point to bear in mind when trying to understand the way organisations act. Hansson (2013), for example, discusses management and working practises in terms of “steering cultures” in order to understand the actions of organisations. In this paper steering cultures are understood as the interplay between formal factors –organisational design, and rules – and informal factors – norms, habits, traditions, ways of working, discourses, and justifications – that pertain within an organisation and shape its practices.

I will be using steering cultures, thus defined, as an analytical framework for exploring the impact of management and working practises on integration. I have chosen to analyse the municipalities of Lund and Trelleborg because they have developed antithetical steering cultures, namely one that can be described as deliberative and one that can be described as sectorised. The differences make it possible to discuss the advantages and drawbacks of different steering cultures. In the empirical part I begin by describing the formal and informal factors which together make up the specific steering culture. I will then exemplify the ways in which these steering cultures inform the planning of two housing developments. In the final section, using these cases, I will discuss the ways in which different steering cultures affect the implementation of integrated planning and, ultimately, sustainable mobility. First though, in my next section, an account will be given of methods and sources.

3. Method and material

The local context, with different political circumstances, objectives, relations between officials and politicians, planning traditions etc., has a crucial bearing on integrated planning. In order to understand how management and working practices affect the implementation of integrated planning we need empirically grounded descriptions, and a practice-based methodology (Flyvbjerg, 2002, p. 354) to ground our analysis. This calls for case studies, because with the case-study method one can study a phenomenon in context (George and Bennet 2005, Yin 2009). Case studies are especially suitable in an analysis of relatively unresearched phenomena. There is a long case-study tradition in planning research. A similarity between many case studies is that they pinpoint the conditions that contribute to the success or failure of planning efforts to guide the physical development of urban areas. The case study can be seen as a pedagogical tool (Fischler 2000), that produces the type of context dependent knowledge and experience that is important to learning processes and expertise (Flyvbjerg 2006). Planning praxis is always contingent on context-dependent judgment (Flyvbjerg 2004). Lund and Trelleborg thus offers a context dependent story about integrated planning that hopefully can elicit critical thinking and action among practitioners, and provide novel perspectives on integrated planning.

Steering cultures as I describe them can be looked on as ideal types in the form of idealised models. These ideal types will in the result part (section 4) be presented as two largely antithetical ideal types. The characteristics underscored by me in each steering culture are an analytical construct which, in the section on conclusions, I will use to discuss the transferability of my findings (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p. 316) to other cases. An obvious limitation with a two-case study is that it limits attempt for making statistical generalisations. However, the aim of this paper is more about understanding complexities and difficulties in management and working practices. A benefit of focusing on two cases is that it made it possible to penetrate working practises in depth, and to address causal mechanisms in the context of individual cases in detail (George and Bennet 2005, p. 19). This allow a two-case study to serve as a sound basis for drawing more general conclusions, given that the cases in question are empirically rich and illustrative (Flyvbjerg 1998, 2007). The general conclusions that are reached build on the concept of analytical generalisations (Yin, 2009), which means that I relate the findings from the specific cases to findings in existing research from the field. In these types of generalisations, the specific cases are used to exemplify the more general analytical conclusions that can be drawn. This also means that theory is developed from the specific cases (George and Bennet 2005) which in turn help other researchers to formulate hypotheses for further research (Fischler 2000). It is the analytical arguments which the ideal types can used for that form the basis of the generalisability of my findings to other cases. Those arguments will enable other researchers or practitioners, at a later stage of things, to deduce whether or not the findings are transferable to other cases.

As already mentioned, I have chosen Lund and Trelleborg because in several ways they are each other's opposites (the differences will be described, not here but in the empirical part). At the same time, they are both situated in the same region and belong to one and the same regional context, with the relations in terms of commuting, leisure travel, commerce and services, existing between the municipalities and the central conurbations. Lund (population 110,000 approx.) occupies a central location in the Skåne region, some 20 km from Malmö (Sweden's third largest city) along a vital regional communication route with large traveller flows (fig. 1). There is a great deal of commuting between the Skåne municipalities, and especially to and from Lund and Malmö. Lund is a vital node in an increasingly integrated Öresund region. The municipality of Trelleborg (population 42,000 approx.) differs from Lund, both in size and as regards its role in the region. Trelleborg occupies roughly a 30 km

stretch of coastline in the southwest of Skåne. The municipality belongs to a job, housing, education and service market having Malmö as its central locality, but it is not a regional centre in the way Lund is.

The cases are used to discuss the conditions for local public transport and land use integration in decentralised planning contexts. The municipalities enjoy an elevated status in the Swedish planning system, and each municipality has the exclusive right to formulate and adopt land use plans. The national level merely provides a legal framework and rules and goals to be fulfilled. Swedish municipalities are also solely responsible for the local road system, unless changes affect national roads, which are planned, built and operated by the Swedish Transport Administration. Trelleborg and Lund can thus be viewed as critical cases (Flyvbjerg 2007) illustrating tendencies in the way local authorities handle integrated planning in such decentralised planning contexts. I will elaborate on this in the conclusions.

Figure 1 Skåne locations of Lund and Trelleborg in relation to Malmö.

The material is qualitative and consists of both written and oral sources. The written material comprises comprehensive and detailed development plans, transport strategies etc. The oral material consists of semi-structured interviews, based on an interview guide. The questions asked touch mainly on the following fields:

- General points about players, decision-making and planning. (What impediments and opportunities have prevailed with regard to integrated planning? What is the attitude of municipal politicians and officials to integrated planning?)
- Organisation – committees and offices. (Where within the organisation are land use, urban development and transport issues dealt with? How does integration proceed between transport goals, environmental issues and comprehensive and detailed development planning?)
- Municipal objectives and plans/policies. (How extensively are the municipality's plans integrated? How are conflicting aims reconciled? Do plans have a foundation in the work of the committees and offices?)

- The planning process for specific housing developments. (What are the site's advantages and disadvantages from the viewpoints of urban development and transport? Is the development in keeping with municipal objectives? Why was this site chosen for development? How did planning proceed?)

Politicians from parties both in opposition and in the majority were interviewed. They include, for example, chairpersons or members of City Planning and Technical Service Committees. The officials interviewed work as heads of administration, town planners, and architects at the City Planning Office or handle transport planning in the Technical Service office. Two interviews were also conducted with officials from Skånetrafiken, the authority within the Skåne Regional Council¹ (Region Skåne) responsible for the region's public transport. Local public transport in Lund is operated, not by Skånetrafiken but by the municipal Public Transport Office, hence the absence of any corresponding interview in Lund. The persons interviewed had, one way or another, been involved in the planning processes for the housing developments described. Altogether twenty politicians and officials were interviewed.

4. Results

4.1 Introducing the municipalities

One thing the two municipalities have in common is the planning role ascribed to public transport in their plans and strategies. Trelleborg's comprehensive plans and its transport and climate strategies state that its urban development is to be planned in such a way that new housing areas will have ample public transport (Municipality of Trelleborg 2002; 2004; 2010a; 2010b). Trelleborg's transport strategy advocates infill and expansion in the centre, as favouring travel by other means than private motorism (Municipality of Trelleborg 2010b). The comprehensive plan further recommends, in connection with housing development, that the possibilities be taken into account of homes being served by future suburban trains (Municipality of Trelleborg 2010), which would seem to imply priority for housing development in the eastern part of the central locality, which is where the suburban train station is going to be built. In Lund too, there are express objectives concerning the augmentation of public transport. Planning must promote public transport by means of short routes with efficient public transport (Municipality of Lund, 2005). Opportunities of infill development and mingling of housing and non-housing development are to be utilised so as to reduce motorism and improve operating conditions for public transport (Municipality of Lund, 2010). This presupposes quite far-reaching integration of land use and public transport planning in both municipalities.

Another similarity is that aims with regard to integrated planning are handled within the framework of targets concerning growth and competitive strength in relation to surrounding municipalities. Urban development and transport planning is used as a means of creating this potential for growth and competitiveness. There is a longstanding tradition of trying to reduce motorism and augment public transport use in Lund, with a view to building the "pleasant" city described in one interview by the deputy chairperson of the Technical Service Committee (interview 1, politician). Transport-wise, a "pleasant" urban environment is created by building away the seamy side of transport in the form of noise, barriers and hazards and by

¹ The Skåne Regional Council was formed on 1st January 1999 with the merger of two county councils. Elected directly, it is responsible for health issues, public transport, regional development, and regional infrastructure planning.

reducing the number of parking spaces. The transport strategy describes a “pleasant” Lund as a means of competition:

It is becoming increasingly clear that cities consist of both buildings and infrastructure [...] and of people and encounters between people [...]. Creating attractive settings to which people are drawn is a competitive instrument of which more and more notice is being taken. More and more people are coming to understand this and making it permeate both physical planning and cultural issues (Municipality of Lund 2006, p. 14).

In Trelleborg too, good residential environments are a very distinct planning target. Trelleborg and Malmö are linked by European Highways 22, and the two cities are about 30 km apart. Trelleborg’s nearness to expanding localities like Malmö, coupled with its coastal location, prompts the municipality nowadays to market itself as a residential locality within commuting distance of Malmö. The comprehensive plan describes how the traditional view of Trelleborg’s role in the region has been redefined:

The city continues to plan for new trade cycles, and the industrial city will go on developing as *the residential city*, the dockside area will be developed into *the coastal city* and the independent small town will become more and more of a *city in the region* (Municipality of Trelleborg 2010a, p. 87).

Summing up, planners in Lund and Trelleborg have partly different challenges to face, but in both municipalities the long-term development goal is growth. In Lund this is expressed in terms of the “pleasant” city, and in Trelleborg in terms of “a city in the region”. It is hard to understand the planning without relating this to notions of attractiveness and growth. The two municipalities, however, are each other’s opposites regarding organisation, working practises and forms of co-operation between politicians and officials. I shall now turn to describe, one by one, the differences in each municipality, and I shall instance them by describing the planning of two new housing developments.

4.2 Deliberative and consensual steering culture in Lund

Lund stands out organisationally by being responsible, as already noted, for local public transport. This is operated by the Public Transport Office, which is part of the Technical Service Office. Thus the Lund Technical Service Committee has unitary responsibility for public transport, streets and other traffic in the municipality. Officials handling public transport issues in Lund say that this has an important bearing on the municipality’s public transport work (interview 2, transport planner). The Technical Service Office is staffed by transport engineers as well as public transport planners. There are also transport planners at the City Planning Office, dealing with comprehensive physical planning and transport issues. Thus the organisation presents good opportunities for integrating transport and land use planning, and for interaction between professions.

But, a politician on the Technical Service Committee maintained, integration does not hinge on municipal organisation (interview 3, politician). The chairman of the City Planning Committee asserted, similarly, that it is:

Dialogue [that] is the most important working instrument in Lund [...] Certain cities adopt a certain organisational pattern in order to do things, but we have dialogue. The organisation is pretty constant (interview 4, politician).

Figure 2. Municipal organisation Lund.

Both politicians and officials describe a tradition of talking their way through to solutions. In Lund the planning objectives have a “living” role. Updates of existing strategies and plans are described as a means of creating and maintaining a political consensus. The chairperson of the City Planning Committee maintained that the politicians successively build on the existing target structure, picking out some of the targets for revision, after which they are put back in again (interview 4, politician). This makes changes easier to cope with politically, and it provides continuity for the work of municipal officials. During one interview, an official responsible for public transport issues in the Public Transport Office said that Lund:

[...] has changed its political majority every year, except in the last election. Whether or not the state of the parties has changed, there has been relative unity about commitments to [...] public transport. There has been a [political] consensus on these issues, and that means a lot for long-termism (interview 2, transport planner).

The official also maintains that there is a “local government officer drive” which keeps things going, even in situations where, for some reason or other, political interest in public transport is at a low ebb. One official said that there was:

[...] quite a high degree of drafting by officials. Generally speaking, the politicians have great confidence in the officials, and this is about interaction. Should it prove that politicians think we are being obstructive, awkward [or behaving in a way] which is out of step with policy, many more issues would be decided at political level (interview 5, town planner).

Another politician on the Technical Service Committee maintained that drafting of business by municipal officials made for continuity when there was a change in the state of the parties (interview 6, politician). A politician on the Technical Service Committee said that much of the work of local government was in fact carried on by the municipal officials. Their co-operation and consensus are built up in much the same way as the politicians’. A senior official in the City Planning Office described how he used workshops, seminars and field trips to make colleagues who are not transport planners better understand the importance of integrating land use and transport planning: “A well-run field trip can get you as far as several years’ continuous work on your home ground,” he maintained (interview 7, town planner). Joint field trips of this kind create an example bank and shared understanding. An official in the Technical Service Office described how:

We still sometimes mention that trip at our meetings – do you remember what it was like there? Yes, that’s something we’d like to achieve (interview 8, transport planner).

Another way of augmenting consensus between officials acting in different roles is by working with pilot projects in which an attempt is made to “stretch the limits” of possibility. Yet another is participation in the compilation of plans and strategies as a manual of “Low Motorism Urban Planning” (Municipality of Lund 2005). The strategic documents resulting are not just shelved after the process of compiling them has ended. An official in the Technical Service Office describes how she makes everyday use of certain documents, but also the importance of the transport strategy being decided by the politicians. In her experience, if you work in accordance with the targets, “you’ll be backed up by the politicians” (interview 8, transport planner).

The official describes how broad participation in various “projects” creates a consensus view and an understanding of the way in which the targets are to be applied in concrete planning and construction, even if officials with different roles still have different priorities. An official in the City Planning Office described how they had:

[...] processed the issues in big groups, with everyone free to put forward viewpoints, ideas and suggestions. If everyone is involved, people acquire a different kind of interest and responsibility for what they have tried to work out. Agreement can stem from our having worked in very large groups and across boundaries between offices and developers and other interest groups. In all our big projects – Low Motorism, for instance – we have had workshops to which very, very different groups have been invited (interview 9, town planner).

Summing up, Lund applies mechanisms which generate consensus between politicians and officials regarding objectives and which are used for dealing with any conflicts between them. The steering culture is deliberative and consensual, and aims at raising awareness, creating consciousness and institutionalising norms about a desirable city development. This is exemplified by planning of a new residential area in Lund called Råbylund.

4.2.1 Planning of a new residential area in Lund

The Råbylund housing estate is located some 3 km southeast of the centre of Lund and 200 m south of an existing township. When completed the estate, now under construction, will number about 1,000 homes plus schools and preschools. Simultaneously with the municipality working out the principles of “Low Motorism Urban Planning” at the beginning of the 2000s, four consultants were called in to draft preliminary plans for Råbylund. Their remit included the question of how the estate’s urban and transport structure could be designed to reduce motorism. The best scheme was transferred to an in-depth comprehensive plan for Råbylund, in which it is stated that “low motorism measures” are to be the starting point for planning (Municipality of Lund 2008). Råbylund is to have a street network comprising a main street which can be used by city buses and a local network. The main street has a speed limit of 50 km/h, the local streets 30 km/h. An existing city bus service from the centre of town will be extended to Råbylund and will use the main street. Bus routes are to be direct, to shorten distances from the centre. Development is to be relatively dense and will alternate between detached houses, terrace houses and apartment buildings. The densest development, with apartment blocks of up to four storeys, will line the traversing main street, which will have two piazzas. The aim is for attractive piazzas well served by public transport to serve as meeting points for local residents. There will be a lot of people moving around in

the piazzas, and that is where the public transport stopping points are going to be. By augmenting the bottom-storey headroom of the apartment blocks lining the main thoroughfare and the piazzas, start-up opportunities are also to be created for small-scale undertakings, restaurants and cafés.

Several officials involved in planning Råbylund describe how the in-depth comprehensive plan contains a clear and highly detailed vision. This gave them a lot of support and a very clear sense of direction in their work on detailed development planning. All in all, the planning structure creates a sequence which underpins work on various levels. An official from the City Planning Office described how:

[A] comprehensive development plan can provide various degrees of detail for implementation purposes. In the case of Råbylund, things were made very clear indeed right from the start. It was very clear indeed what vision we had. It was slightly more detailed than it really needed to be. This has not been a disadvantage, it has simplified matters. We got straight down to basing the detailed development plan on the structure we had originally intended (interview 9, town planner).

The planning process was also simplified by work proceeding in project form, with a project leader from the Technical Service Office and members representing various offices and areas of responsibility. Those taking part for example include detailed planners and architects from the City Planning Office and from the Public Transport Office. Work in project form is described by an official from the Technical Service Office as a means of simplifying and speeding up the planning process by enabling the officials concerned, with their various responsibilities, to join in at an early stage of things (interview 8, transport planner). Project work is also described as a means of coping with conflicts of interest and with the practical problems which sometimes occur in the course of concrete planning work. In practice, for example, whatever it says in the plans, there may still not be enough land for public transport, parking facilities and a school.

It's [in the project group] that you can discuss conflicting interests and get to understand each other. You get together and talk instead of the hapless project leader first having to go to the transport office and say "now there's something wrong with accessibility" and then go to someone else. We can talk together, for example, if accessibility has gone wrong [...]. You get to understand each other better, and perhaps ideas and openings turn up as a result of our getting together and talking things through together (interview 8, transport planner).

The planning of Råbylund illustrates the steering culture in more ways than one. There are well-functioning planning structures which provide clear guidelines for detailed development planning. The officials describe how consensus evolved and conflicts are dealt with through the project form, with several different professions taking part. There are open deliberations about working relationships, professional culture, and routine working practices. Public transport, moreover, has a distinct role to play in relation to urban development targets, and is looked on as something enhancing the qualities of the site. This is illustrated by the way in which officials working on the planning of Råbylund try to create a "pleasant" township by placing public transport stopping points and apartment blocks in the piazzas. In the southern part of the site, an artificial lake and a recreation area are constructed. Efforts are made to develop the inherent qualities of the city outskirts location, with its nearness to open country and green spaces. An official from the City Planning Office said, for example, that, as a planner, it was important to ask oneself:

Why should anyone want to move to Råbylund? It isn't just because I need somewhere to live. It's important that schools should also be planned in the vicinity, and preschools, parks and green spaces. And public transport. These things are hugely important. Short, direct routes and small streets are being planned here. People must be able to feel that they are really coming home, that they are at home in their street and that they are almost travelling on the terms dictated by pedestrians (interview 10, town planner).

Summing up, this deliberative steering culture creates relatively good prospects of integrated planning approaches. In addition, mechanisms of consensus and co-operation are used in a context where public transport is understood as something contributing towards the realisation of long-term urban development targets. Public transport is linked to visions that shape and frame what Lund is and what it might become. Trelleborg is the opposite of Lund in this respect, as will be described in the next section.

4.3 Sectorised and conflictual steering culture in Trelleborg

Trelleborg is distinguished by having had a clear sectorisation of committees and offices. A long-serving former chairperson of the municipal executive board describes how, during his time in office, he deliberately advocated a sectorisation of the structure of committees and offices (interview 11, politician). This made for clarity regarding sectoral interests, and those interests were reconciled through statements from committees and offices concerning planning and other proposals.

Figure 3. Municipal organisation Trelleborg.

The present executive board chairperson says that the old system lives on to a certain extent:

I still think we are stuck with an old system in which every committee and office wants to run its own show and there isn't any holistic perspective. [...] By tradition, every committee and every office has had its own sphere of responsibility. Instead of talking to your neighbours, you have finished the job in terms of your own remit, and then someone else will have to take over where you leave off (interview 12, politician).

So sectorisation can, on the one hand, be seen as a sign of deficient holistic perspective, but on the other hand also as a means of reconciling sectoral interests, though on the basis of a

different logic from Lund's. In Trelleborg, moreover, unlike Lund, plans and strategies make little difference to the content and focus of planning. True, Trelleborg's comprehensive development plan says that plans are strategic instruments for attaining the visions and goals of the municipality (Municipality of Trelleborg 2010a). But several officials and politicians maintain that planning is not governed by plans and strategies in practice. The chairperson of the municipal executive board described how plans are not:

Decisive in the sense of work being suspended because they are not congruent, instead people try to feel their way ahead [...]. They have been looked on more as recommendations. And they aren't updated continuously (interview 12, politician).

The municipal chief executive, relatively new to the job at the time of the interview, described, in similar terms, how his predecessor had not been a "friend of documents" but wanted to "work practically, see results and get things done" (interview 13, manager). So who decides the direction of planning? In a municipality like Trelleborg, you get individual politicians or officials wielding a great deal of power. The interviews convey the picture of a municipality which for a long time has been ruled by influential individual politicians. The traditional downpipe organisation has left little scope for official influence. The steering culture is in summary characterised by sectorisation, a small role for plans, and great influence by leading politicians in concrete planning projects. This culture can result in conflict-ridden relations between politicians and officials who do not endorse detailed regulation by individual politicians. This is exemplified by planning of the new Stavstensudde residential area. And it is concrete planning that, in the absence of significant goals in plans and strategies, illustrates what drives planning in a certain direction.

4.3.1 Planning of a new housing development in Trelleborg

Stavstensudde is located some 4 km west of the central locality, Trelleborg. The first phase, comprising a total of 180 homes, was completed in 2007. A further step is now planned. The municipal plans describe poor conditions for public transport within the area (Municipality of Trelleborg, 2002). Stavstensudde presents a problem from the viewpoint of public transport, because it was developed on a greenfield site with no pre-existing services and in a peripheral location compared to central parts of Trelleborg directly adjoining highways E6 and E22. Nor is there any city bus service between the central locality and Stavstensudde. Both the Skåne County Administrative Board and Skånetrafiken (already described as the authority within Region Skåne – the county council – responsible for public transport in the region), stated during the planning process that this was a bad location from a public transport point of view and that there was a risk of the area being wholly dependent on motorism (Skånetrafiken 2005; Skåne County Administrative Board 2005). According to Skånetrafiken, moreover, regional bus service departures passing the area in the direction of Malmö will deteriorate following the construction of a regional train station in the eastern part of Trelleborg (Skånetrafiken 2009).

So why was Stavstensudde built, contrary to the municipal goals concerning public transport? Trelleborg's aim of becoming an attractive residential locality within commuting distance of Malmö means turning westwards, along the coast in the direction of Malmö. This comes of a growing interest on the part of developers and housing purchasers in developing this area. The western and southern expansion areas afford an opportunity of very attractive sea-front residential environments (Municipality of Trelleborg 2010a). A Stavstensudde resident has both the coast and the Malmö job market within easy reach. It was fundamental to the planning of the area that public transport was not lined up with the basic idea of the area's

existence and design, i.e. its “attractiveness”, and, consequently, was not a relevant means for achieving the population growth targets. The Director of City Planning stated that the whole idea of Stavstensudde was based on the area’s “attractiveness”:

What is attractive about Stavstensudde? Well, when launching your thoughts in this area, it isn’t public transport, of course. It’s about having contact with the sea, an outstandingly good harbour and a harbour milieu, we have bathing beaches and so on. That’s where the attraction lies. And as long as there exists a consumer demand, we can say that we have a power struggle between “consumer preferences” and “urban development preferences”. Which of the two, do you suppose, does a local politician fall in with? (interview 14, town planner)

But the enterprises building Stavstensudde linked together public transport and “attractive” residential environments, i.e. financial profit according to a Skånetrafiken official:

People realise that living close to public transport is a money-spinner. Take the example of Stavstensudde, which can’t be sensibly provided with public transport. People phoned us asking “Where’s the bus? In the prospectus from [the construction companies] it says that there will be a city bus service here”. But, Hell’s teeth, for five years now we’ve been saying in our statements that there wouldn’t be any city bus service! (interview 15, transport planner)

The housing companies’ marketing of the housing area with non-existent public transport can be seen as betokening neglected opportunity for public transport representatives in the municipality to augment the possibilities of integrated planning by arguing that public transport would have made the area more attractive. It was this connection between public transport and “attractiveness” which the politicians failed to apprehend. Nor did the steering culture, non-deliberative as it was, afford scope for changes of viewpoint and redefinitions of the importance of public transport. Instead the steering culture generated conflicts between politicians and officials. Trelleborg was on the point of celebrating the 750th anniversary of its charter, and a housing fair was being planned to market the housing area to new residents. This, according to several interviewees, meant planning Stavstensudde at top speed. The aim, according to the municipal chief executive, was to build a “spectacular” housing estate:

The notion was that, instead of an ordinary single-family housing development, this was to be something more spectacular which would attract people and ensure that we acquired new residents in Trelleborg. [...] We wanted to do something different (interview 13, manager).

According to the head of the City Planning Office, the planning process moved at such a high speed that “not all urban development and planning aspects were taken into account” (interview 14, town planner). And there were big differences of opinion between the chairperson of the municipal executive board and the head of the City Planning Office as to how Stavstensudde should be laid out. According to the municipal executive board chairperson, the head of the City Planning Office proposed a Stavstensudde which was not exciting enough to attract new residents (interview 11, politician). The head of the City Planning Office, however, saw the politicians’ vision of Stavstensudde as an instance of “outmoded 1970s planning”, creating excessively scattered enclaves of settlement. A conflict ensued between politicians and the head of city planning over the design of the area, with the result that the politicians engaged a firm of consultants to prepare a detailed development plan

for Stavstensudde. This, the head of the City Planning Office maintained, made Stavstensudde a supremely political project:

It was very much under political control. [Planning] was very closely adapted to the leading politicians' way of seeing things. Consequently our present-day urban development thinking was left out. [...] I take pride in my profession. I must be allowed to use my specialist knowledge. That was the hang-up. And so [the detailed development planning remit] went, quite simply, to a consultant (interview 14, town planner).

In addition to generating conflicts, the steering culture meant that there was little co-ordination with other organisations. Stavstensudde was planned without co-ordination from the public transport provider, Skånetrafiken. When the consultants engaged by the municipality looked for co-ordination with Skånetrafiken, this, according to Skånetrafiken official in charge, came too late in the planning process. He describes a meeting with the consultants at which:

We were given ten minutes to sort it out, and then we [architects] were to see the politicians [...]. They had designed the whole place without giving a single thought to public transport. Anyway, we remarked that they hadn't said anything to us at all, and now they were in the position of having more or less scuppered themselves where public transport was concerned. [...] There was no dialogue, no discussion, nothing at all (interview 16, transport planner).

The Skånetrafiken official says that the scheme for developing Stavstensudde and for its street network which the consultants came up with makes it very difficult for Stavstensudde to be served by city buses (should the question arise at some future date). Subsequent efforts at adapting the place to public transport entailed acceptance of inferior solutions for regional bus transport to those which would have been possible if public transport and housing development had been planned concurrently. A stopping point for regional bus services could no longer be constructed in the best location for passengers.

The planning process shows how a chain of circumstances led to a poor outcome for public transport. The steering culture generated conflicts between influential politicians and local government officials,² and mechanisms of co-operation, both within the municipality itself and vis-à-vis external agents such as the public transport provider worked badly. Nor was public transport interlinked with the reasons for developing Stavstensudde.

² Following the completion of the interviews, the senior executive was fired. The reasons given for this by the Municipality of Trelleborg were lack of confidence and unsatisfactory leadership (Municipality of Trelleborg 2011). The dismissal coincided with a change in the structure of municipal committees and offices. These organisational changes were aimed at dispelling the polarisation between different committees and creating more of an internal dialogue. The senior executive sees the cause of his dismissal in his attempt at restructuring the organisation away from the "downpipe" configuration: this was unpopular because it challenged the prevailing power structure among senior officials. Another reason he gives is that he would not submit to detailed control by the chairperson of the municipal executive board (Ditt parlament 2014).

5. Concluding discussion

In this paper, I set out to explore how management and working practises in local authorities, here understood as steering cultures, affect implementation of integrated land-use and public transport planning approaches. The cases show that the conditions for integrated planning approaches are clearly influenced by steering cultures with particular power dynamics that are strongly institutionalised within organisations. Both municipalities, Lund and Trelleborg, have steering cultures centring round economic growth, but the two of them have developed completely different internal working approaches and completely different relations between politicians and officials. In both cases, the deliberative and consensual (Lund) and the sectorised and conflictual (Trelleborg), steering cultures create particular organisational contexts that public transport must find its role within. We can use these steering cultures to discuss how to initiate a shift towards public transport and land use integration, and ultimately towards sustainable mobility. Lund and Trelleborg are local authorities with comparatively strong political powers and resources. However, it was not their significant room for manoeuvre in land-use planning, nor their financial resources etc, that influenced implementation. The key factors that ultimately shaped planning practices were traditions, intra-governmental working relationships, and justifications that pertained within each organisation. We can expect that such factors affects implementation of integrated planning also in other local authorities.

A first practical implication of the results is that local authorities should initiate working practices by which dominant modes of thought, behaviour, and collaboration get produced and reproduced. The municipality of Lund has clearly embarked on a shift towards integrated planning as a way to create sustainable mobility by initiating such working practices. In Lund, integration was facilitated by mechanisms for consensus between politicians and officials, which created a shared knowledge base and understanding of one another's perspectives. A consensual climate created political unity. The politicians, for example, used updates of policy documents as a means of sustaining and further developing the consensus between the parties. Efforts were also devoted to creating a shared knowledge base through field trips and study programmes for officials. This resulted in shared objectives which held steady from one term of office to the next and which made possible a high degree of drafting by municipal officials. If other local authorities are to be inspired by this deliberative and consensual steering culture (figure 4), they should design and manage deliberative processes in ways that take seriously the significance of potentially conflicting interests, norms, habits, and attitudes among politicians and officers. Deliberations should concern not only a policy shift towards public transport itself, but also issues relating to politicians' and planners' professional knowledge, methods used, and working practices.

	Deliberative and consensual steering culture	Consequences
Organisation	-Integrated organisation -Well functioning planning structures -Plans with a “living role” that provide guidelines for detailed planning	-Good conditions for integrated planning (but not an absolute condition)
Working practices	-Working practices by which collaborative working practices and thought get reproduced	-Shared objectives and consensus -Institutionalised norms about city development -High degree of drafting by officers
Normative component to integration	-Public transport with a distinct role for urban development targets	-Interlinking of the aim of integration, and the actual decisions in concrete planning projects

Figure 4.-Aspects of the deliberative and consensual steering culture

This way of working is motivated by the fact that numerous actors are involved in planning and decision-making processes, actors which embark with different objectives, knowledge, and power, and participate in order to achieve what they see as their priorities. Integrated planning approaches must often alter existing institutions, norms, organisational relationships, co-ordination mechanisms, and so on, that are not primarily designed to benefit the development of public transport. Research has shown that integrated planning approaches will take place in a context where a car-based transport system is the norm for how land use and transport systems ought to be designed and regulated. As a result, real and fundamental conflicts are often embedded in planning and decision processes.

The disadvantage of deliberative processes is that they are time consuming, and they do not necessarily lead to the desired outcome. The Municipality of Trelleborg offers an alternative steering culture without this disadvantage (figure 5). If local authorities were to follow the sectorised and conflictual steering culture of Trelleborg, they would be able to avoid time-consuming deliberative processes. Few would, however, suggest that local authorities allow themselves to be inspired by working practices in Trelleborg. Trelleborg is a municipality whose steering culture created poor preconditions for both internal and external consensus and co-ordination. It also generated open conflicts between politicians and officials. The poor design of the housing area, from a public transport point of view, was a consequence of politicians' and planners' professional knowledge, working practices, and power relations. A second practical implication of the results is that deliberative interventions should also concern issues relating to planners' and politicians' professional cultures, and working relationships, as well as raising consciousness about the critical underlying issue of competition between public transport and car traffic.

	Sectorised and conflictual steering culture	Consequences
Organisation	-Sectorised -Downpipe organisation	-Poor conditions for integrated planning -Little scope for official influence
Working practices	-Strong political control -Poor functioning planning structures -Small role for plans in detailed planning	-Conflict-ridden relations between politicians and officials -Low degree of drafting by officers
Normative component to integration	-Missing	-Chasm between the aim of integration, and the actual decisions in concrete planning projects.

Figure 5.-Aspects of the sectorised and conflictual steering culture

It is easy to infer from this that integration will always have poor prospects in a municipality characterised by sectorisation, conflicts, strong political control, officials with little say in things and long-term plans of little consequence for decision-making and planning. But is this really the case? Would the planning of the Trelleborg housing area have looked very different if instead Trelleborg had had a deliberative steering culture like Lund's? Not necessarily. Even in a municipality characterised by a steering culture like Trelleborg's, it should still be possible to develop a form of integrated planning which favours the long-term development of public transport and its ability to compete with motorism. The strong political influence on planning content in Trelleborg could have resulted in a far better integration of land use planning and public transport planning, *if influential politicians had wanted it to*, and this without time-consuming negotiations, consensus-building procedures or compromises with officials and other politicians that more deliberative strategies would have entailed. In Trelleborg's case, public transport deferred to economic growth targets and was not relevant to their attainment. Influential politicians did not see public transport as contributing towards the "attractiveness" of the housing area, and so it did not become a growth tool. The design of the Lund housing area was influenced by politicians and officials regarding co-ordination of transport and building development as a means of constructing an attractive urban environment. Public transport had its appointed role in the "image" of Lund. For lack of any such interlinking of public transport and long-term aims for the development of Trelleborg, objectives to do with building homes in good locations for public transport never got off the paper of the plans and strategies they were written into.

One important conclusion to be drawn from this description of Trelleborg and Lund, accordingly, is that integrated planning approaches cannot be handled in isolation from the institutionalised traditions and norms governing decision-making and planning practices. The underlying assumption in some previous studies is that better integration will be accomplished if integrated land use and transport plans or composite, intersectoral administrative units are created. This solution would not work in Trelleborg. At the same time as previous research partly provides the means of

integration (integrated land use and transport plans or composite, intersectoral administrative units etc.), it does less well at explaining the prerequisites of implementation. What is often “missing for implementation to happen is a normative component to integration” (Holden 2012, p. 306). In this connection the important normative component can be construed as the discourses and rationales about transport and urban development which public transport is part of.

Judging by this, public-transport planning and management cannot stand in isolation. Public transport should never be seen as an end in itself, or as only a technical transport system. A third practical implication of the results is that local authorities in all countries, regardless of the regulatory and legal conditions, and whatever steering culture dominates a particular organisation, should try to reach a long-term agreement on the question of what they want to achieve with public transport (even though conflicts of interest are probably inevitable), reflecting findings by van de Velde (1999). A case can also be made for discussing what the normative components of integrated planning can be. Public transport should definitely be seen as a tool to be used for the development of cities and regions. Growth targets, it is true, often spur local planning in the direction of infrastructure investments, out-of-town trading estates and building development conducive to urban sprawl and inferior preconditions for public transport. But it will be easier to mobilise key stakeholders, and to change politicians’ and planners’ professional knowledge, methods used, working practices, and power relations, whatever steering culture dominates a particular organisation, if public transport is perceived as a tool for the economic development of cities. There is no reason to believe that Lund and Trelleborg are so very different in this respect from most other communities in Sweden or in other countries. There are indeed differences between countries, even the Scandinavian ones, in received wisdom concerning public transport and its contribution to urban development (Hrelja *et al.* 2013). But there is nothing to suggest that growth targets are not a central driving force in most municipalities. Or, as a senior executive in the regional public transport authority put it when describing the motive forces of integration in the region’s thirty-three municipalities:

It’s about money [...]. It has nothing in the slightest to do with the environment, or with the municipalities wanting to encourage travel by Skånetrafiken [the public transport authority]. It all comes down to market forces (interview 16, transport planner).

To conclude, this paper has shown that integrated planning requires working practices by which collaborative behaviour and thought get produced and reproduced. Local authorities should initiate such working practices, and mechanisms for consensus between politicians and officers. This will hopefully create political unity, a shared knowledge base, objectives, and effective internal working relationships. However, the results show that a deliberative steering culture does not necessarily lead to a better outcome than a sectorised. Integration needs a normative component, so as to ensure implementation. Public transport, in this case, must be linked to the discourses and rationales that govern decision-making and planning practises. The practical implication of this is that politicians and officers, whatever steering culture dominates a particular organisation, should strategically relate public transport to the governing discourses and rationales. In Trelleborg this implies that advocates of integrated planning should have promoted public transport as a tool for reaching long term urban development targets about “attractiveness”.

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