

Eugenia Kolb

Does the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan (SUMP) of the European Union guarantee successful citizen participation?

A comparative case analysis of Ghent (Belgium) and Limburg (Germany)

Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 27

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List of Abbreviations

DG MOVE	Directorate General for Mobility and Transport
ELTIS	European Local Transport Information Service
EU	European Union
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
SUMP	Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan

1. Introduction

Since the transport sector accounts for between 23-25% of CO₂ emissions in European urban area, and also a third of total energy consumption is transport-related, the European Commission introduced the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan (SUMP) in 2013 as an instrument of environmental policy strategies of the European Union (EU) (Wolfram, Bührmann, & Rupprecht, 2009). Its aim is to improve the structure of sustainable transport planning and to integrate existing strategies at the local level in order to meet the mobility needs of people (ELTIS, 2019b). Its supporters claim that SUMPs have the potential to contribute to the reduction of CO₂ and noise emissions, to the improvement of air quality and the reduction of resources (Wolfram et al., 2009). In 2020, more than 1000 cities in all EU Member States implemented a SUMP (ELTIS, 2020). Belgium is the forerunner, with more than 300 SUMP processes implemented to date.

The elaboration of a SUMP requires cities and municipalities to define and implement a long-term sustainable mobility concept and aims at an increased participation of citizens from the beginning and throughout the whole process. The SUMP is a planning process and cannot be understood as a classical plan, as objectives are adapted while the implementation is ongoing and based on collaborations between different political levels and neighbouring municipalities. The nature of the guidelines at the EU-level is non-binding. However, some Member States or federal provinces have taken it up in their local legislation as a binding instrument. Moreover, at the EU-level, the implementation of SUMPs become increasingly important, as they will be compulsory in order to receive EU funding measures (European Commission, 2013b). Such a funding conditionality could interfere with the decision of city administrations on how sustainable urban mobility is implemented (Eurocities, 2013).

Compared to traditional transport planning, the SUMP is innovative in terms of its evaluation modules at various stages of the process, and hence, in enabling the individual elements to be reassessed retrospectively. Furthermore, different sectors of the city administration (transport, land use, health, energy, etc.) are to be better integrated, and the process to be made more transparent compared to traditional transport planning. The guidelines for the development and implementation of SUMPs define the following main objectives of this ‘new approach of planning urban mobility’ (European Commission, 2013a): accessibility and quality of life as well as sustainability, economic efficiency, social justice, health and environmental quality.

With the start of funding the first tranche in 2013, several European cities have formulated and adopted SUMP. The second funding period begins in 2021 and ends in 2024/2025, for which the new guidelines were published in autumn 2019. As the SUMP focuses on people and their opportunities to participate, the element of citizen participation plays a central role. The annex on a concept for Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans of the European Commission's Communication 'Together towards competitive and resource-efficient urban mobility' states that

A Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan follows a transparent and participatory approach. The Local Planning Authority should involve the relevant actors - citizens, as well as representatives of civil society and economic actors – in developing and implementing the plan from the outset and throughout the process to ensure a high level of acceptance and support (European Commission, 2013a).

Citizen participation as such is an intersectional field, where different disciplines cross. Researchers can therefore adopt many different theoretical perspectives. Lindenau and Böhler-Baedeker (2014) argue that in transport and mobility planning, the aspect of citizen participation is less examined than in other areas of public policy and planning. However, in the last 20 years, it has gradually increased. The positive effect and important role of citizen participation during planning processes gets increasingly confirmed within the academic debate. Nevertheless, organizers need to carefully select and design participatory formats to conduct it successfully. With regard to the SUMP, little academic attention has been given to the evaluation of participation processes with regard to citizens. Due to the described lack of academic research this paper tries to fill a gap by examining 'successful' citizen participation on the basis of an existing political theoretical framework by Geißel (2008). The assumption is that under certain conditions citizen participation has positive effects for decision-making as such, the general acceptance, the implementation of policies and for the creation of social capital. An inductive approach is chosen for this paper, as the theoretical framework is applied to two case studies, namely the cities of Ghent in Belgium and Limburg in Germany. The derived findings serve to draw possible amendments for the SUMP guidelines and the general planning practice.

In order to answer the research question 'To what extent does the SUMP guarantee successful citizen participation?', the following sub-questions structure the paper:

1. How do the SUMP guidelines define successful citizen participation and how are these elements reflected in the guidelines of 2013 and 2019? (Do the respective guidelines differ in this aspect?)

2. How is successful citizen participation discussed in the academic context and to what extent do the SUMP guidelines take up these findings?
3. How can the findings derived from the academic context be assessed in the case studies of Ghent and Limburg? How were participation citizen procedures implemented, ignored, or changed?
4. What conclusions can be drawn from this amending the SUMP guidelines (and general planning practice)?

This paper starts with situating the research object within the context of current academic work on sustainable mobility and transport policy of the EU and citizen participation. From various perspectives, it will elaborate how successful citizen participation is defined in order to outline the used theoretical framework. Subsequently, the methodology is introduced by describing the case selection, the applied research design, data collection and data analysis. Two cities in Europe, Ghent and Limburg, are examined by means of the selected theoretical and methodical approach and then compared in order to summarize and discuss key findings. Based on this, the question whether the planning and political SUMP approach guarantees successful participation procedures of citizens and what conclusions can be drawn for the further SUMP process and the general planning practice is answered. This paper concludes by arguing that the SUMP contributes to enforce the element of citizen participation and provides sufficient guidance during mobility planning processes. The application of the SUMP guidelines thereby strengthens the role and contribution of citizens in such planning processes across other policy areas. However, the guidelines could take up certain additional aspects, for example the aspects of adequate selection procedures, the openness of the process, the transfer and binding nature of results for political decision-making, the aspect of a neutral moderation and how to reach a deliberative quality of the debate.

2. Theoretical Background and Literature Review

This chapter situates the research object in the current academic discussion. After the detailed presentation of the academic debates on sustainable mobility within the context of European transport policy, it is essential to approach the role of citizen participation and to establish theoretically how successful citizen participation can be achieved.

2.1 Sustainable Mobility and EU Transport Policy

In this subchapter there is firstly outlined, how sustainable mobility became increasingly important on a global agenda to then explain the competences of the EU in terms of transport policy and illustrate how the aspect of sustainable mobility is reflected legislatively at EU-level. The debate on sustainable development was initiated by the Club of Rome. The transport sector was specifically addressed in the Local Agenda 21 of the Rio documents of 1992, which defined objectives of sustainable transport development for the first time (Becker & Rau, 2004). The formulated goals were traffic reduction, promotion of public transport systems, of cycling and walking, integrated planning, information exchange, a resource-saving and energy-efficient change in consumption and production patterns. This declaration, signed by most states, provides clear indicators for the future development of transportation. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and other organisations, such as the EU, have subsequently specified these indicators. Gil, Calado, and Bentz (2011) state the difficulty of an universal definition of sustainable transport and conclude that sustainable transport is rather reflected in certain principles and concepts such as liveable streets, social inclusion, health and safety. Sustainable transport should promote safety and efficiency and further limit negative environmental externalities such as emissions, noise and waste (Friedl & Steininger, 2002).

After outlining the global origins of the aspect of sustainable transport and mobility, the EU competences in the transport sector are explained in the following paragraph. Since the 1990s the EU gained competences in terms of transport policy (Dommel, 2005). Fichert and Grandjot (2016) confirm that the EU is now an important decision-maker in transport policy and state that in recent years it has increasingly gained competences, which are subordinated to the Directorate General for Mobility and Transport (DG MOVE). Transport is one of the infrastructural foundations of the dynamics of European integration and a precondition for the four fundamental freedoms (goods, capital, services and persons) of the internal market (Sack, 2016). Fichert and Grandjot (2016) confirm that within the EU, transport policy plays a crucial

role in the economic and political integration of the Member States. Sack (2016) states that the legislative transport policy output of the EU significantly increased between 1980 and 2004. Transport policy is a particularly Europeanised policy field in view of the increasing harmonisation and communitarisation. Occasionally this centralisation is viewed critically with regard to the principle of subsidiarity. Transport planning is a local and national policy field which is not directly controlled by the EU and therefore, could be perceived by the Member States as a circumcission of power (Motzkus, 2004). In the course of the common interest in sustainable development, however, it is gaining increasing influence (Wolfram et al., 2009).

Climate protection has become an important topic at the EU-level due to an increasing air pollution and carbon dioxide emissions caused by traffic, especially within an urban context (Reutter, 2011). Air pollution is primarily regulated at the EU-level by framework directives on the assessment and control of air quality (Directive 96/62/EC) and further daughter directives, which define not only pollutant measurement regulations but also limit these values (Düring & Lohmeyer, 2007). These intend to improve air quality and reduce harmful effects on the environment and people's health (Lehming, 2003). Furthermore, the EU has introduced an European Environmental Noise Directive (2002/49/EC), which, in addition to protecting quiet areas, also provides measures for noisy areas (Heinrichs, Hintzsche, Leben, & Maag, 2016).

A change of the modal split in favour of more environment-friendly modes of transport and a corresponding modal shift defined the Transport Policy White Paper in 2001. White Papers are formulated for various policy areas at EU-level and set targets for a Europe-wide approach for the next years. While the guiding principle of transport policy in the 1992 White Paper was still the liberalization of the transport market, the 2001 White Paper outlined new problems, namely the uneven growth of the transport modes, the congestion of certain areas with traffic and the negative environmental externalities (European Commission, 2001). In this context, the aim was to "curb the demand of transport" and "gradually to break the link between transport growth and economic growth" (European Commission, 2001, p. 10). The White Paper identified this decoupling as a fundamental strategy. Moreover, the 2001 Transport White Paper formulated the first sustainable transport policy objectives. However, the balance sheet of this White Paper of 2006 clearly formulated the failure of the European Commission's previous orientation (Sack, 2016). The subsequent 2011 Transport White Paper "Roadmap to a Single European Transport Area — towards a competitive and resource-efficient transport system" further stated this modest evaluation (European Commission, 2011). It is still addressing problems, for example negative environmental externalities, though, the European Commission

is changing a key strategy since the target to reduce traffic is now replaced by "[g]rowing transport and supporting mobility while reaching the 60% emission reduction target" by 2050 by means of technical innovation (European Commission, 2011, p. 6). The stated aim is the transition to intelligent cities with less CO₂ emissions by halving the number of conventional vehicles and achieving CO₂-free freight transport in urban areas by 2030, modal split targets and the shift of 30% of road freight transport over 300 km to other modes of transport by 2030 (European Commission, 2011). Nevertheless, Schwedes (2013) criticises that the European transport development is not yet on a sustainable path of development due to the low degree of formalisation of political decision-making processes and the relevance of informal decision-making structures, in which the particular interests of powerful groups of actors are predominant.

In 2013 the Urban Mobility Package was launched by the Commission and within this Communication the SUMP and the corresponding platform 'European Local Transport Information Service' (eltis.org) were officially initiated (European Commission, 2013b). The SUMP as a concept was already introduced in 2009 (Rupprecht Consult, 2019). As a reaction to the Member States' critique of violating the subsidiarity principle, the Commission founded the expert group 'Urban Mobility Plan' in 2014 and decided to finance several European SUMP conferences, Urban Mobility Weeks and implemented other F+E programmes to further strengthen the local level (European Commission, 2014).

2.1.1 Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan (SUMP)

A Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan is a strategic plan designed to satisfy the mobility needs of people and businesses in cities and their surroundings for a better quality of life. It builds on existing planning practices and takes due consideration of integration, participation, and evaluation principles (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 9).

This definition shows that the SUMP does not aim at a top-down, but rather at an interdisciplinary and holistic bottom-up approach. Wolfram et al. (2009) describe the European guidelines for sustainable urban transport planning as an ideal multi-level approach for steering transport developments in larger agglomerations more effectively and efficiently in a cross-sectoral manner (social justice, environment, economic development, health, education and urban planning) (May, 2015). Moreover, the SUMP is a procedural planning approach and no classical planning instrument, as objectives are adapted during the course of the implementation. Additionally, a constant evaluation of the process is foreseen, which turns the

SUMP into an innovative continuous task and a new form of governance. The concept further provides financial support and a platform to share experiences, best practice examples and innovative solutions and tries to bolster cooperation (European Commission, 2013a). The main characteristics of sustainable urban mobility planning and differences to traditional planning practice are displayed in table 1.

Table 1: Differences between traditional transport planning and sustainable urban mobility planning

Traditional Transport Planning	Sustainable Urban Mobility Planning
Focus on traffic	focus on people
Primary objectives: traffic flow capacity and speed	Primary objectives: Accessibility and quality of life including social equity, health and environmental quality, and economic viability
Mode-focussed	Integrated development of all transport modes and shift towards sustainable mobility
Infrastructure as the main topic	Combination of infrastructure, market, regulation, information and promotion
Sectoral planning document	Planning document consistent with related policy areas
Short and medium-term delivery plan	Short and medium-term delivery plan embedded in a long-term vision and strategy
Covering an administrative area	Covering a functional urban area based on travel-to-work flows
Domain of traffic engineers	Interdisciplinary planning teams
Planning by experts <i>(marked in red since it is the focus of this paper)</i>	Planning with the involvement of stakeholders and citizens using a transparent and participatory approach
Limited impact assessment	Systematic evaluation of impacts to facilitate learning and improvement

Source: Rupprecht Consult (2019, p. 10)

In accordance with the subsidiarity principle, the SUMP intends to complement national programmes and fits into existing local planning instruments and processes. The methodology determines which steps are necessary for the elaboration, implementation and further development of a goal-oriented programme of measures; in particular the participation of citizens is assigned a central role (Arsenio, Martens, & Di Ciommo, 2016). The latter aspect needs more academic attention, solely Lindenau and Böhler-Baedeker (2014) address specifically the aspect of citizen and stakeholder participation within the SUMP. Their paper entails a good overview of citizen participation and some best practices examples; however, parameters of a ‘successful’ citizen and stakeholder participation are not established. Only Gil et al. (2011) provide these with their examinations for Ponta Delgada in the Azores and conclude that a participatory approach can lead to more sustainable, efficient and satisfactory transport planning. Kovachev, Slaev, Nozharova, Nikolov, and Petrov (2018) examine participation formats in Bulgarian cities, but the participation culture differs significantly from

that in other European countries so it was generally difficult to win people over to participate. Other papers analyse the implementation of the SUMP process in specific cities such as Burgos (Diez, Lopez-Lambas, Gonzalo, Rojo, & Garcia-Martinez, 2018), Valenica (Broseta, 2015), Bucharest (Baidan, 2016), different cities in Greece (Bakogiannis, Kyriakidis, Siti, & Eleftheriou, 2017), Breda (Bos & Temme, 2014), Gdynia (Przybyłowski, 2018), in new EU member states (Sitányiová & Masarovičová, 2017) or central Eastern Europe (Decker, Hećimović, & Wołek, 2012). Hence, the explicit analysis of the aspect of citizen participation during the implementation of a SUMP by means of an established analytical framework represents a research gap. Citizen and stakeholder participation as an important principle of the SUMP guidelines (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 9) will now be assessed from a political theoretical perspective in the following chapter by examining how successful citizen participation is discussed to subsequently apply it to the SUMP guidelines and two case studies.

2.2 Citizen Participation

Participation is defined as the integration of citizens into political decision-making and planning processes by means of dialogue-oriented and deliberative procedures with the aim of forming opinions and elaborating decisions (Nanz & Fritsche, 2012, p. 9). Dryzek (2002, p. 1) defines deliberative procedures as a “social process [which] is distinguished from other kinds of communication in that deliberators are amenable to changing their judgements, preferences, and views during the course of their interactions”. Further, during deliberative processes participants justify their positions on the basis of the common good, the aim is to meet other views with empathy and respect, not to impose preferences, but have claims of validity questioned and to be convinced by the better argument (Bächtiger & Wyss, 2013). According to Powell and Lee Kleinman (2008) deliberative participation processes can initiate debates in the broader public, particularly on complex topics and deliver high-quality results.

In the context of the SUMP an important distinction must be made, as it includes the participation of citizens as well as so-called 'stakeholders'. This paper will exclusively examine the participation of citizens, which is based on the definition of Lindenau and Böhler-Baedeker (2014, p. 348), whereby

“stakeholder involvement” refers to the involvement of groups and organisations, to varying degrees, in transport decision-making processes. In contrast to that, “citizen participation” is seen to encourage individual citizens to join the debate and to enable them to be part of collective decision making.

Thus, citizens are individual members of the public and unbound participants in the participation process (Kahane, Loptson, Herriman, & Hardy, 2013), whereas stakeholder refer to groups with economic interests (retailers and local industry) and organized groups representing mobility-related interests (Lindenau & Böhler-Baedeker, 2014). However, it is important to state that this distinction is sometimes difficult to be made “since citizens can also be considered a large stakeholder group; citizens can belong to various sub-groups of stakeholders; and a stakeholder representative is at the same time also a citizen” (Lindenau & Böhler-Baedeker, 2014, p. 348).

2.2.1 Objectives of Citizen Participation

In participation research, Arnstein (1969) shaped the definition of citizen participation as the redistribution of power and distinguishes between increasing levels of participation, the so-called ladder of participation, beginning with non-participation and positioning citizen power control at its top. Glass (1979) defines five objectives of public participation, namely the exchange of information, a form of representation, education, complementary decision-making and support building. Krause (2014) complements the objectives of participation in planning processes with the aspect of transparency for decision-making processes and their subsequent greater acceptance, the enforced dialogue between administration and citizens and the contemplation of citizens’ ideas and their (underestimated) knowledge. Citizen participation can contribute to greater inclusion and improved representation of all population groups (Kraßner & Ritzi, 2019).

Vetter (2008) states that citizen participation creates legitimacy by linking political decisions to the interests of the governed (also see Fritsche, 2011) and creates responsiveness, as it generates trust in the political decision-making process as well as support for the actors and the political system as a whole. Mußmann (2015) draws attention to the potential of a stronger identification of citizens with political decision-making processes and the attention for the community. Furthermore, a participatory format is an individual democratic experience and promotes civic competence (Nanz & Fritsche, 2012, p. 11). Nevertheless, these formats do not replace, but constructively complement a representative democracy (Goodin, 2008). According to Sintomer, Herzberg, and Röcke (2010) the objectives linked to participation procedures are divided into administrative, social and political objectives: participation aims at improving administrative processes and administrative action by ‘getting closer to the citizen’. However, they also represent an attempt to create greater social cohesion, to change the relationships

between different social groups or to better integrate minorities. Citizen participation aims at (re)legitimising the political system and revitalising democratic processes.

A more intensive citizen participation is central for many political theorists according to Vetter (2008). She argues that the need for participation was mainly present at a local level but plays an increasingly important role in calls for proposal at the EU and federal levels.

2.2.2 Barriers to Citizen Participation

Lindenau and Böhler-Baedeker (2014) identify institutional barriers and technical barriers with regard to the implementation process of citizen participation. Institutional barriers contain among others: lack of political will, limited financial and personnel resources and lack of an adequate strategy for participation. These factors overlap because a limited political will to realize well-planned and detailed formats of citizen participation can be reflected in little financial funds and personnel, which further results in a lack of skills and evaluation of the process (Lindenau & Böhler-Baedeker, 2014). Due to the “[l]ow interest in mobility planning among citizens, a general consultation fatigue and dissatisfaction with the participation process”, it is important to identify adequate engagement techniques and tools and to carefully plan and define the process, aims and responsibilities (Lindenau & Böhler-Baedeker, 2014, p. 353).

For authorities the acceptance of a consultation procedure might be difficult, since participatory formats can be perceived as a circumscision of own power due to an unpredictable outcome (Mußmann, 2015). However, genuine citizen participation presupposes that political mandate holders are willing to engage in open and participatory process and move away from a purely top-down approach (Nanz & Fritsche, 2012). Furthermore, guaranteeing equal participation and involvement of several social groups is difficult to achieve because there is an

an imbalance of stakeholders with interest groups that are able to strongly communicate their opinion while weaker stakeholders have difficulties to contribute their interests to the process (Lindenau & Böhler-Baedeker, 2014, p. 352).

Mußmann (2015) further addresses the aspect of transparency, as it plays a key role to ensure a transparent process by an adequate design and communication strategy. There is the risk that organizers misuse citizen participation to conceal actions by so-called ‘nimbys’ (‘Not in my backyard’), which use their participatory power exclusively to pursue their personal interests (Städtetag Baden-Württemberg, 2012). Public participation threatens to fail if citizens do not accept the offer of participation (e.g. they made bad experience), if there is no actual scope for

action (e.g. if they are involved too late) and if the support of the decision-makers is lacking (Nanz & Fritsche, 2012).

In order to be aware and even avoid such barriers, it is important to establish a framework for ‘successful citizen participation’ according to which participatory formats can be planned and evaluated. The following chapter will first introduce several definitions of successful citizen participation and then describe the framework developed by Geißel (2008), which will be enriched by existing literature.

2.2.3 Successful Citizen Participation – Analytical Framework

Sommer (2015) highlights that successful citizen participation is a process, because the exact procedure cannot be specified in all details, nor is it mono-structural due to interactions, phases of conflict and stages of consensus-building. Nanz and Fritsche (2012) identify the following factors of successful public participation. Firstly, the procedure must be based on a clearly defined goal. To illustrate, the procedure will differ if the goal serves to give recommendations to the administration, or if it serves to give citizens the platform to make political decisions. Therefore, organizers need to define the scope and limits of participation and to clearly communicate them to the participants, as well as the division of their roles and responsibilities. Secondly, initiators have to ensure that participants receive reliable feedback, for instance they need to explain (at least publicly) which results of the participation procedure have been taken into account in the further decision-making process and which have not; thus elaborating the reasons for exclusions. Additionally, a professional implementation and moderation of the process is an important factor for successful citizen participation. Thirdly, communication and transparency are key determinants. Organizers need to take citizens and their ideas seriously and all information on the topic and the process is to be made easily accessible throughout the procedure, also for citizens, which are not directly involved in the process. This creates a broad basis of trust and transparency to maintain a close link to the respective representative democratic institutions and their decision-making processes (Nanz & Fritsche, 2012). An evaluation of the procedure as such is important to identify weaknesses (Wohnen und Stadtentwicklung, 2019). Scientists, political consulting agencies, associations or even internal teams (if they are fully independent groups) should be entrusted with this task (Kraßner & Ritzi, 2019).

On the one hand, the different attempts and criteria of successful citizen participation show similar definitions, and on the other hand, it underlines the importance of an analytical

framework, which combines the different definitions. Geißel (2008) noted that evaluation criteria to systematically conceptualise participation procedures do not yet exist. On the basis of an extensive literature research, she developed an analytical framework that can be used to evaluate various participatory arrangements in terms of their performance. The framework contains the following criteria, as these are most frequently mentioned in the evaluation of participation procedures: (1) legitimacy, (2) effective service provision, (3) democratic qualification of citizens and (4) the formation of social capital (Geißel, 2008, p. 32). Each criterion is described in one subchapter of this paper. It is important to highlight that legitimacy and, as a consequence, effectiveness are to be regarded as a condition sine qua non, while the other success criteria (democratic qualification of citizens and creation of social capital) are to be assessed in the second place. A political system without legitimacy and effectiveness is hardly viable, while social capital or the democratic qualification of citizens only come into play when the former conditions are met (Geißel, 2008, p. 42). Therefore, this paper will focus on the analysis on the first two criteria and consider the two criteria of democratic qualification and the creation of social capital in one subchapter.

(1) Legitimacy

Geißel (2008, p. 34) defines legitimacy as “the recognition and acceptance of political entities such as the political order, procedures, political elites or policies by citizens”. In representative democracies legitimacy is usually established by the election of political representatives. According to Vetter (2008) this legitimacy can be increased by an intensified communication between citizens and the administration, as it articulates interests more precisely and transparently and strengthens the understanding of democratic processes and the quality of political decision-making. Geißel (2008) points out three legitimacy criteria for procedures, which will be explained in the next subchapters: the provision of participation (input-legitimacy), the procedure (throughput-legitimacy), where formal and informal aspects such as transparency and fairness during participation are examined, and thirdly the deliberative quality of the debate.

(1)1 Participation: Input-Legitimacy

Input-Legitimacy refers to the provision of participatory opportunities and the inclusion of marginalized groups (Geißel, 2008). Fung (2006) and Renn (2016) base input-legitimacy further on the number, the recruitment and selection of participants. Sommer (2015, p. 72) points out that “often more people are affected than it appears at first glance”, which is why

open and inclusive procedures are important. Every participation process should therefore be as open as possible and be based on inclusion to consider all interests (Richter, 2019). Consequently, this question of representativeness remains important in the academic debate and the planning practice itself: “Involving a few women in a participation process, for example, does not mean that ‘women’ are adequately represented” (Lindenau & Böhler-Baedeker, 2014, p. 349). Indeed, as Nanz and Fritsche (2012) stress, a comprehensive representativeness is present, when the participants in a procedure reflect all social groups relevant to a specific topic. In order to receive a broad representation Kraßner and Ritzi (2019, p. 167) recommend that organizers should address certain citizens specifically, when they are not “sufficiently mobile” to participate.

Additionally, Bächtiger and Wyss (2013) underline the importance of equality: All those who are potentially affected by a decision should be able to participate equally. This is a major challenge since deliberative participation formats often discriminate less privileged or marginalised groups (such as women or people with lower educational qualifications), as the latter often lack the (rhetorical) skills to successfully participate in rational discourses and thus would reinforce already existing social differences and acquire anti-democratic features (Mansbridge, 2010; Williams, 2000).

(1)2 Procedure: Throughput-Legitimacy

The analysis of the procedure (through-put legitimacy) examines formal and informal aspects, such as the structure of the procedure, transparency and fairness, of the participation (Geißel, 2008). In order to ensure the greatest possible outcome, organizers should well define the scope, binding nature and relevance of the results and recommendations (Nanz & Fritsche, 2012). Further, it is important to follow a clear communication strategy, by informing participants early and comprehensively about their real opportunities of influence to avoid raising false expectations (Richter, 2019).

Löchtefeld and Sommer (2019) stress the importance of a neutral and participant-centred moderation to ensure a good participation procedure through transparent information and clear communication. To create trust in the process; it is helpful to work with an external moderation (Städtetag Baden-Württemberg, 2012, p. 35). Moreover, organizers should provide participants the opportunity to express their ideas, wishes and interests (Nanz & Fritsche, 2012, p. 30). A procedure should be designed to provide the opportunity to compare, differentiate and possibly change personal points of view. Discussion formats, which

enable these opportunities are diverse and range from question and answer rounds to complex planning cells. Renn (2016) stresses the significance of clear rules during the procedure, and how it can be ensured that organizers transfer the results of the procedure constructively into the political decision-making process (transfer, transferability).

As already pointed out, communication throughout the process plays a key role, where the organizer must take the heterogeneous information habits into consideration and therefore use all available information and communication channels (Städtetag Baden-Württemberg, 2012, p. 13). The Internet and social media are becoming increasingly important, while traditional information and communication channels (daily newspapers etc.) need to be used continuously. Nanz and Fritsche (2012, p. 86) illustrate various participation procedures that now use online elements to reduce the gap between citizens and political decision-makers.

(1)3 Deliberative Quality of the Debate

Dialogue-oriented or deliberative procedures focus on the exchange of individual perspectives, wishes and interests with the aim of forming a collective opinion (Nanz & Fritsche, 2012, p. 30). During discussions, the participants weigh up different positions, identify variances of opinion and search for new, convincing ideas that unite as many existing positions as possible. Kraßner and Ritzi (2019, p. 168) name this the process quality, which can be measured by fixed rules for discussion, equal rights and times for speaking, neutral provision of information on the topic and the preparation and follow-up of public participation procedures. Nanz and Fritsche (2012) state in reference to Leggewie and Bieber (2001) that deliberation ideally depends on the following conditions: speaking (presenting points of view and arguments - expression), followed by listening (taking note of other points of view and arguments - reciprocity), and responding to them (responsiveness). If the positions of third parties are taken or even adopted (persuasion), a situation of 'ideal deliberation' is achieved.

In general, participatory formats need to meet two conditions in deliberative communication: Firstly, all participants strive to achieve a joint deliberation with a result or solution and secondly, the formulation of a common result is preceded by a process of common learning. Such deliberative processes depend on the willingness of the participants to be convinced by the better arguments (Nanz & Fritsche, 2012).

(2) Effective Service Provision

With effective service provision Geißel (2008) refers to the analysis of the output and the related monitoring of results. Kraßner and Ritzi (2019, pp. 168–169) refer to the quality of the results

of the overall process, which contains the analysis of the political follow-up processes as well. Political leaders in parliamentary and/or administrative decision-making need to include the results of the participatory process. The question is, how the results of citizen participation are integrated into the technical planning process (Lindenau & Böhler-Baedeker, 2014, p. 358).

The aim of an effective service provision is to show that participatory approaches can strengthen representative democracy, as it can help elected representatives to implement responsible policies beyond party discipline and short-term election campaign interests (Nanz & Fritsche, 2012, p. 131). A subsequent follow-up process can ensure further transparency and communication on the continuity of the implementation of results (Richter, 2019).

(3) Democratic Qualification of Citizens and Creation of Social Capital

The third component of the analytical framework is the democratic qualification of citizens (Geißel, 2008, p. 38). This entails that problems are considered in a more differentiated way and political participation internalizes democratic values and principles and strengthens democratic convictions. In addition, societal tolerance and commitment can be strengthened.

Kraßner and Ritzi (2019, p. 169) argue that political participation is strengthened when participatory procedures are intensively used and highly accepted with the result that citizens feel politically influential and competent and are more likely to tolerate other opinions and to trust political institutions. Nanz and Fritsche (2012, p. 31) point out, that participation processes are opportunities for individual and collective learning procedures since participants can expand democratic skills and improve their personal communicative and social skills.

Social capital is defined as “trust, networks and reciprocity norms”, the higher the social capital, the more pronounced the civil society, the better the coexistence and the cooperative solving of problems (Geißel, 2008, p. 40). Geißel (2008) states that a flourishing civil society and a high level of social capital ultimately serve the smooth functioning of the community. It encourages civil society since it leads to cooperation between social groups. Individuals, which would not normally meet, enter into dialogue. Social trust is established by face-to-face communication formats. The strengthening of social capital is thus regarded as an important criterion for the success of participatory arrangements, at least in parts of the participation literature (Geißel, 2008, p. 40).

Another aspect is the promotion of tolerance towards other opinions and involvement throughout the community. On an individual level this can be reflected in a shift from a selfish to a ‘responsible citizen’ attitude (Geißel, 2008, p. 39). Moreover, an active participation in the process leads to an increased identification with the subject of discussion and overall goals of

policy (Städtetag Baden-Württemberg, 2012, p. 13). Schwalb and Walk (2007, p. 23) state corresponding programmatic demands for the strengthening of local governance by enhancing civil society from many civil society actors, politicians, scientists as well as international and supranational organizations (OECD, EU).

In conclusion the aspects of legitimacy, effective service provision, democratic qualification of citizens and the creation of social capital are the four criteria of a successful citizen participation, table 2 summarizes this analytical framework, in which the latter two are merged.

Table 2: Criteria of the analytical framework

Criterion	Sub-criteria
(1) Legitimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Participation (input-legitimacy) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ number, the recruitment and selection of participants ▪ as open as possible ▪ inclusion, all affected (marginalized) social groups are present and specifically addressed ▪ Procedure (throughput-legitimacy) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ early and comprehensive communication on the scope ▪ binding nature of results ▪ transparency and fairness of the format ▪ transfer, transferability of results ▪ neutral moderation ▪ clear communication → strategy ▪ Deliberative quality of the debate <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ quality of the process: fixed rules for discussion, equal rights and times for speaking, neutral provision of information on the topic ▪ form a collective opinion ▪ principle of expression, reciprocity, responsiveness
(2) Effective Service Provision (Output)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Analysis of the outputs (result for the common good), analysis of political follow-up processes → reflection in administrative decision-making
(3) Democratic Qualification of Citizens & Creation of Social Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Democratic experience (democratic principles and values) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ democratic skills (tolerance of opinions) ▪ feeling of political and competence & influence ▪ trust in political institutions ▪ Positive effect for cohabitation between different social groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ identification with local policy

Source: own presentation

2.3 Citizen Participation in Transport Planning

According to Lindenau and Böhler-Baedeker (2014, p. 350) academia analyzes participatory processes in transport planning less compared to other areas. Transport planning is typically

characterized by a top-down approach and participatory elements are not or limitedly integrated in planning processes, which rather focus on the provision of information and consultation than in actively fostering active participation (Gil et al., 2011, p. 1312). Banister (2008) argues that participation is a fundamental element in order to shift to sustainable transport modes since the latter is mainly dependent on behavioural changes. The term of integrated transport planning is therefore increasingly utilized, which means to integrate “different modes of transport”, “objectives in the areas of environment, health, the economy and society in general”, “land use policy and its integration with transport policies” and “all social groups” (Santos, Behrendt, & Teytelboym, 2010, pp. 50–51). Gil et al. (2011, p. 1311) summarize that “[t]here is a growing support for enlarging the scope to a public discourse and empowering the stakeholders through an interactive and participatory process of transport planning”. According to Städtetag Baden-Württemberg (2012, p. 27) citizen participation should become the norm in municipal planning processes to take place jointly with sectoral planning processes. Holistic planning also contains the extension of ‘classic’ planning players, such as architects, engineers, as it rather includes the knowledge and expertise of as many people as possible.

At the EU-level, the involvement of citizens and stakeholders in transport planning was taken up in recent years with the International Convention on Access to Environmental Information, Public Participation in Environmental Decision-making and Access to Justice – Aarhus Convention (2001) and the Directive 2001/42/EC on the Strategic Environmental Assessment of Plans and Programmes (Gil et al., 2011, p. 1311). The SUMP reflects this attempt since citizen and stakeholder participation plays an important role. During the planning process cities are encouraged to engage in a constant and continuous dialogue with all relevant stakeholders, from citizens to private operators. How the SUMP guidelines define successful citizen participation is analyzed in the following chapter.

3. Role of Citizen Participation in the SUMP Guidelines

The mentioned definition of Sommer (2015) highlights adequately why citizen involvement plays an important role during a SUMP process, since

Adopting a transparent and participatory approach to plan-making is a main characteristic of the SUMP approach. A plan for stakeholder and citizen involvement should be prepared at an early stage of the SUMP preparation. This should aim to ensure that the participation process is balanced and seeks input from groups and people with different backgrounds (ELTIS, 2019a).

The value of citizen involvement is a fundament for political support, as a source of input and first-hand experience (Lindenau & Boehler-Baedeker, 2016). In the following subchapters the SUMP guidelines of 2013 and 2019 are examined. The focus of analysis is the question on how these define citizen participation and in which stages of the planning process they foresee it. Additionally, the subchapters analyse differing aspects of citizen participation and how this important pillar was amended in the guidelines 2019.

3.1 SUMP Guidelines 2013 and SUMP Guidelines 2019

The guidelines of 2013 outline the focus of a participatory planning approach “throughout the process of decision making, implementation and evaluation” (European Commission, 2013c, p. 89) and define citizen participation as “[e]ncouraging and enabling citizens to join the debate and collective decision making via a range of tools” (European Commission, 2013c, p. 88), while “[c]itizens are a special sub-group of stakeholders. Involving them in planning is a fundamental duty of local authorities to ensure the legitimacy and quality of decision making” (European Commission, 2013c, p. 34). The general objectives are to create transparency through consultation and communication, to encourage citizens to actively join the debate and co-design transport planning as well as strengthen civil society to “[i]mprove the overall quality, effectiveness, (cost) efficiency, transparency, acceptance and legitimacy of sustainable urban mobility planning” (European Commission, 2013c, p. 35). A detailed planning of citizen involvement throughout the process is foreseen in activity 2.3 and conducted in the following activities and in particular in the bold planning phases:

- the identification of problems (Activity 3.1)
- the development of scenarios (Activity 3.2)
- **the development of a vision & public communication (Activity 4.1 & 4.2)**, objectives (Activity 5.1), targets (Activity 5.2), measures (Activities 6.1, 6.2, 6.4)
- the building of a monitoring plan (Activity 8.1)
- **the creation of ownership (Activity 9.3)**

- **the management and communication of the plan implementation (Activities 10.2 and 10.3)**
- the review of achievements and the identification of new challenges (Activities 11.2 and 11.3)

(European Commission, 2013c, p. 36).

This illustrates how citizens are involved from the early beginning and throughout the process to jointly develop scenarios, visions, and targets of transport planning. Further, they are consulted in the phase of shaping the measures, and are continuously informed on the progress, such as the implementation and evaluation.

In comparison to the guidelines of 2013, it seems that the guidelines of 2019 elaborate on the aspect of citizen participation in depth and further, present many best-case practices due to the gained experience. Table 3 illustrates the comparison of the aspect of participatory activities defined in the SUMP guidelines of 2013 and of 2019.

Table 3: Comparison of citizen participation activities in the guidelines of 2013 and 2019

SUMP guidelines 2013	SUMP guidelines 2019
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ the identification of problems (Activity 3.1) ▪ the development of scenarios (Activity 3.2) ▪ the development of a vision & public communication (Activity 4.1 & 4.2), objectives (Activity 5.1), targets (Activity 5.2), measures (Activities 6.1, 6.2, 6.4) ▪ the building of a monitoring plan (Activity 8.1) ▪ the creation of ownership (Activity 9.3) ▪ the management and communication of the plan implementation (Activities 10.2 and 10.3) ▪ the review of achievements and the identification of new challenges (Activities 11.2 and 11.3) <p>(European Commission, 2013c, p. 36)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ problem analysis of the mobility situation (Activity 3.2) ▪ discussion of scenarios (Activity 4.2) ▪ development of visions (Activity 5.1) ▪ selection and validation of measure packages (Activity 7.2) ▪ ensure wide public support for the planned actions (Activity 8.4) ▪ implementation (Activity 11.2) ▪ evaluation of successes and failures (Activity 12.1). <p>(Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 47)</p>

Source: own presentation

Whereas in the guidelines of 2013, the participatory approach is defined in the annex, the respective definition is mentioned earlier in the guidelines as a “prerequisite for people to take ownership of the [SUMP] and the policies it promotes” to ensure their acceptance (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 12). Further, citizens are defined as “all people living and/or working in the functional urban area for which your SUMP is being prepared” (Rupprecht

Consult, 2019, p. 45). The objectives and the respective wording are overall the same except for two amendments. Firstly, the encouragement of citizens to join the debate is amended by “in particular in the early planning phases when processes are still open and flexible” and secondly, “[d]esign sustainable and supported approaches for the involvement process that aim to improve the quality of life for residents” (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 44). The guidelines of 2013 speak of “supported solutions that will improve the quality of life for every citizen”. Hence, the wording was softened, from “will improve” to “aim to improve” the quality of life of citizens. Further, the pivotal role of citizen participation in the early planning phases is underlined. Additionally, an explicit figure of the SUMP-process, during which tasks citizen participation is recommended, is included in the new guidelines. This can also serve as an indicator for an intensified focus on the aspect of citizen participation.

In the guidelines of 2019, it is outlined that citizens should be involved from the start, however, as the overview shows, in fewer activities, since “[c]itizen engagement might be more successful when done well in selected activities instead of trying to involve them in too many activities and thereby risking participation fatigue” (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 46). Based on the gained experiences within the first implementation of SUMPs, the guidelines of 2019 stress the importance of citizen participation more. The dates of application during the process and further rules are specified, recommended tools and methods are listed and practice examples are shown (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, pp. 47–49). The amendments show that the SUMP is also an exchange platform for municipalities, and the guidelines are updated to reflect the respective learnings.

3.2 Reflection of the Analytical Framework in the SUMP Guidelines

In the following, the amended guidelines of 2019 will be reviewed in light of the established analytical framework (chapter 2.2.3) to analyse whether the respective elements are reflected in the guidelines. First of all, it is to state that the identified objectives and barriers in the literature review are mainly mentioned in the guidelines as table 4 displays with the relevant page numbers. Exceptions to this are the mention of some barriers of citizen participation, such as the lack of political will, limited financial and human resources and the fear of a circumcission of power, as common pitfalls. The guidelines focus more on providing recommendations and presenting best practice examples than emphasizing certain barriers.

Table 4: Objectives and barriers of citizen participation in the SUMP guidelines 2019

Objectives	Barriers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ form of representation, education, complementary decision making and support building (p. 84) ▪ transparency (p. 45) ▪ enforced dialogue between administration and citizens and the contemplation of citizens' ideas ▪ greater inclusion, representation of all social groups (p. 45) ▪ legitimacy (p. 44) ▪ responsiveness (p. 84) ▪ trust (p. 45) ▪ identification with local politics (p. 84) ▪ civic competence (p. 44) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ lack of political will, limited financial and personnel resources and lack of an adequate strategy for participation → lack of skills and evaluation of the process ▪ circumcission of own power, due to an unpredictable outcome ▪ achievement of including all social groups (p. 45) ▪ 'nimbys' (p. 156) <p><i>(aspects, which are not explicitly covered by the SUMP are marked in red)</i></p>

Source: own presentation

The elements of the analytical framework are presented to different extents: whereas the guidelines put significant emphasis on the aspect of legitimacy, they outline only briefly the aspects of effective service provision and the democratic qualification of citizens, as well as the creation of social capital.

With respect to input-legitimacy, the aspect of inclusion of underrepresented groups is especially highlighted: “Make sure to engage all affected parts of society, which includes people with disabilities, young people and the elderly, ethnic minorities, less affluent people, single parents, and other typically underrepresented ‘hard to reach’ groups” (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 45). Moreover, respective tools use various methods to reach these groups (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 85). They do not explicitly provide advice on the selection procedure or recommendations on the openness of the process. With respect to throughput-legitimacy a clear communication strategy is highlighted as an important pillar. With respect to the process and scope of participation (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 85), a transparent and fair format (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 88) and the importance of giving feedback to the suggestions are stressed (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 115). Certain aspects of the theoretical framework are not mentioned but could be included, such as the transfer and the binding nature of results, the importance of a neutral moderation and how to reach a deliberative quality of the debate.

The effective service provision of citizen participation is mentioned by the task “communicate the progress of the implemented actions”, however, the explicit reflection of the results of participatory formats in administrative decision-making is not highlighted as such (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 156). Further, the reasoning for citizen participation is mainly to reach acceptance (cf. Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 15). Participatory formats, as a democratic

experience, is expressed by “[s]trengthen the vitality of civil society and local political culture” (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 44) and to “create awareness of the interdependencies and trade-offs between different policies and sectors” (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 84) and could be highlighted more as positive effects of citizen participation.

In conclusion, the guidelines demonstrate many aspects of successful citizen participation, such as inclusive and transparent formats, the importance of communication, the provision of feedback on the results, and the achievement of acceptance by respective formats. However, they could add other aspects, such as advice on the selection procedure, the openness of the process, the transfer and binding nature of results for political decision-making, the aspect of a neutral moderation and how to reach a deliberative quality of the debate. The importance of an effective service provision and further positive effects of participatory formats could also be highlighted.

4. Methodology

After situating this paper within the context of current academic work on sustainable mobility and transport policy of the EU, citizen participation and after explaining the adopted theoretical framework, this chapter presents the case selection of Ghent (Belgium) and Limburg (Germany) and explain this paper's methodology.

4.1 Case Selection of Ghent and Limburg

This paper opted for a comparative case study to relate the implementation of the SUMP in two countries namely Belgium and Germany with two different legal frameworks. Further, citizen participation was initiated in different planning stages, which makes these two examples valuable to compare. Ghent is considered to be an example of best practice citizen participation, as the city has a long tradition of consulting citizens. For transport planning processes the city administration organised various events with the aspiration of involving people of different ages and backgrounds. Further, Limburg was chosen since it is one of the few municipalities in Hesse, a German federal province, which has implemented a SUMP. Compared to Ghent, Limburg does not have a well-established tradition of involving citizens, hence, the implementation of a SUMP offered the possibility to pursue new methods of planning. These two cities are interesting to evaluate since they typify different countries, different points of time and different traditions of citizen involvement. In the following each city and its respective history of mobility planning and citizen participation is briefly presented; the applied participation formats will be described in the analytical part.

4.1.1 Ghent

Ghent is the capital of the Belgian Province East Flanders and has 250 000 inhabitants, the metropolitan area more than half a million inhabitants (City of Ghent, 2016). In 1993, the city implemented the first Cycling Plan, and in 1997, the first Mobility Plan for the city centre (Gheldof, 2013). In 2003, this first Mobility Plan was applied to the whole city and renewed in 2014. One of the pillars of the New Mobility Plan (*Mobiliteitsplan*) of 2014/2015 is the Circulation Plan (*Circulatieplan*), introduced in April of 2017, that implied a major intervention for motorized traffic, since it highly restricts the inner-city area and facilitates accessibility for public transport, cyclists and pedestrians. This policy process of 20 years was accompanied by a transformation of citizen participation, from a one-way information approach by the city administration to citizens in the 1990s (press releases, information evenings) to a two-way

information approach until 2012 (actively asking for ideas and comments via public hearings and workshops) to a final co-creation approach from 2012 onwards (ideas come from citizens; the city administration is not steering but rather facilitating the process; examples are the living street and the school street). The target is now to have an optimal collaboration between city administration (government) and citizens instead of an exclusive top-down approach (Gheldof, 2013). In Flanders participation procedures for municipal planning processes are also set in law (*Gemeentedecreet*) and all municipalities have the responsibility of developing an integrated local mobility plan, whereas the region provides guidance in form of a SUMP related framework (Lindenau & Boehler-Baedeker, 2016).

This paper focuses on the implementation of the Circulation Plan in 2017 and the conduction of citizen participation during this process. The aim was to increase the quality of stay by redistributing public space to less space-intensive modes of transportation. Concrete measures for restricting car traffic were: increasing the restricted traffic area by 150%, the prohibition of street parking in this area, the change of travel direction of about 80 streets and the obligation to use the inner ring road (R40) for driving in six specific neighbourhoods around the city centre, the latter was already car free due to an earlier mobility plan (Mobiliteitsbedrijf Stad Gent, 2016). One year after its implementation the air quality was reported to be better and changes in the modal split towards more environmental friendly modes of transportation were apparent (Mobiliteitsbedrijf i.s.m. Transport & Mobility Leuven, 2019).

4.1.2 Limburg

Limburg is a German city in the federal province Hesse, located 75 km from Frankfurt/Main and counts 35 000 inhabitants (Stadt Limburg, n.d.). In order to set a mobility and transport vision for 10-15 years, the Mobility Master Plan 2030 was developed from 2017 until 2019. It links different plans and concepts and thus creates a coherent transport policy for Limburg with the aim of “strengthening the city and quality of life in Limburg - for a diverse, future-oriented and sustainable mobility” (Stadt Limburg, n.d.). The Clean Air Plan (*Luftreinhalteplan*) and the Noise Action Plan (*Lärmaktionsplan*) were included as well as general transport concepts. In addition, the inclusion of the Green City Plan created the basis for receiving funding by the federal programme Clean Air 2017-2020 (*Saubere Luft 2017-2020*). The measures of the Master Plan are mainly to be seen in the medium and long term while the focus is on strengthening environmental- and climate-friendly modes of transportation thus minimising motorised private transport. The Master Plan covered further topics such as inter- and

multimodality, possibilities of digitalisation, commercial transport and logistics, aspects of public space and street design as well as issues of mobility management, communication, and organisation. In addition, it addressed the aspects accessibility, road safety and electric mobility (Stadt Limburg, n.d.). In detail, the plan comprises 122 measures targeting at reducing motorized private transport from 60% to 40%, making public transport cheaper, invest in bicycle infrastructure and respective garages and secure school ways (Stadt Limburg, n.d.).

On the one hand the Master Plan defined action requirements, projects and measures across all modes of transportation. On the other hand, it provides an implementation-oriented action plan for transport planning for the next few years and serves as an orientation framework for future transport policy. For this purpose, the city administration draw up a catalogue of measures and implementation (Planersocietät, 2019b). Limburg's history of transport policy has focused on demand-oriented planning processes (in particular for motorised private transport) and citizen participation has no long tradition (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). Therefore, to accompany this planning process by various committees and an intensive dialogue with the public was something new and serves as an interesting case study for this paper.

According to Wolfram et al. (2009) the initial situation in Germany is of particular importance here, as it can be characterized by a lack of state guidance and legal frameworks since in comparison to Flanders, no municipality is obliged to implement a mobility plan. In Germany the traffic development plan (*Verkehrsentwicklungsplan*) contains certain aspects of the SUMP since 2013, but there are additional planning measures regarding local transportation, climate protection, air pollution control, which are not coordinated resulting in a complicated structure and uncoordinated responsibilities. The 'National Task Force SUMP D' was founded in order to accelerate the SUMP implementation in Germany by discussions, programs and legislation (Difu, 2019). In Hesse the Centre of Competence for Sustainable Urban Mobility (*Fachzentrum Nachhaltige Urbane Mobilität*) supports municipalities to implement SUMPs and constitutes a link between the EU and the local level (FZNUM, 2020).

4.2 Methods to Evaluate (Successful) Citizen Participation

Kraßner and Ritzi (2019) name the possibility of four different methods to evaluate formats of citizen participation, which should intertwine, namely (1) guided interview, (2) observation, (3) media analysis and (4) policy analysis. An important aspect is to include several groups, since

perspectives of participants might differ to those of the administration or other organizations in charge (Kraßner & Ritzi, 2019, p. 170).

- (1) The guided interview is the most important methodical basis for the evaluation of dialogical participation processes as it determines subjective impressions (Kraßner & Ritzi, 2019, p. 170). It can be either conducted in a written way by mostly standardised and concrete questions or in an oral way with guided interviews, which deepens the understanding of certain procedural aspects. The interviews are to be recorded and then can be evaluated along a qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2015).
- (2) Observation is important as a complementary instrument and is conducted on-site along a standardised observation scheme, which contains aspects such as the quality of dialogue and moderation and the number and composition of participants (Kraßner & Ritzi, 2019, p. 172).
- (3) The media analysis examines communication, such as the media coverage (online/offline), publicly accessible information on the participation process and press releases on the procedure (Kraßner & Ritzi, 2019, p. 173). They are analysed in terms of number and regularity as well as the evaluation of the procedure (positive/neutral/negative).
- (4) The final step of an evaluation is analysing the results of the policy decision-making process in which the participation took place (Kraßner & Ritzi, 2019, p. 174). It is examined whether the results of the participatory procedure were incorporated into the political decision-making process. This is determined by means of a document analysis of the decisions by the relevant political and/or administrative bodies.

Since the participation processes in Ghent and in Limburg are evaluated retrospectively, an observation (2) is not possible. The most important component of this paper's methodology is the instrument of guided interviews (1) in order to obtain usable data material, which is also the most important methodical basis of the presented framework. The interviews are to be structured by previously formulated guiding questions addressing elements of the theoretical framework, which includes the participation process as such (input, throughput and output) and further important topics such as the creation of social capital and the strengthening of democratic skills. This paper uses the method of expert interviews within the format of semi-structured guided interviews, in order to obtain the most targeted and complete information and to direct the interviewees to specific aspects, but also to offer them the opportunity to address new aspects (Bogner, 2009). In this context, one can also speak of

problem-centred or partially standardized interviews (Mattissek, Pfaffenbach, & Reuber, 2013). Problem-centred interviews are according to Lamnek (2016) characterized by a ‘medium openness’. Experts are defined as owner of exclusive knowledge in the context of the research subject and along related strategies, instruments and effects (Kaiser, 2014).

In total thirteen interviews were conducted from March to May 2020, thereof only one interview was face-to-face interview, eleven over Skype and one via telephone since the Covid-19 crisis did not allow any other (originally planned) face-to-face interviews. It is important to note that personal face-to-face interviews might have resulted in slightly different impressions of the interview setting. Nevertheless, as is the case with expert interviews, these did not play a pivotal role, and the respective approach did not impose serious methodical limitations. One interviewee preferred to answer the question in written form (marked in table 5). With the consent of the interviewees, all interviews except one (that of the interviewed participant in Limburg) were recorded electronically. The other was recorded via detailed notes. In the case of Ghent, representatives of the municipality and the university were interviewed, thereof the chairman of the participation procedure and a participant of the Citizens’ Council. Another participant was contacted but did not reply. In addition, it was planned to visit an event of citizen participation (which follows up on the Mobility and Circulation Plan in Ghent by focusing on specific districts of the city) on April 30th of 2020. The purpose was to see on-site how the formats are put into practice. This would have been a complementary element, as aspect (2) of the methodical framework describes. Due to the Covid-19 crisis, this event was cancelled, and it was therefore not possible to interview the respective participants. Further, the procedure in Ghent was evaluated academically and a respective report of Stad Gent (2018) was published. Furthermore, this report served as a source and reference for the analysis. In the case of Limburg, interviews included the municipality, the planning office, the moderation office, and a participant. The interviews for Ghent were conducted in English and in Limburg in German, quotes from the latter were translated for this paper. Rupprecht Consult, the Centre of Competence for Sustainable Urban Mobility and the city administrations of Ghent and Limburg enabled the contact to the interviewees. Main actors involved in the process were contacted first, and other relevant actors were identified during the interview process. Table 5 gives an overview of the interviewees, where real names are withheld.

Table 5: Overview of interviewees

	Name of interviewee (real name withheld)	Institution	Function	Classification	Date
GHENT	Dirk Peeters	City of Ghent	Mobility Coach	Inclusion Dept.	30.03.2020
	Thijs Maes	City of Ghent	Project Manager	Planning - Evaluation	31.03.2020
	Anita Janssens	City of Ghent	Project Manager	Participation Dept.	31.03.2020
	Eva Jacobs	City of Ghent (written answers)	Project Manager	Participation Dept.	01.04.2020
	Martin Willems	University of Ghent	Context of transport situation in Ghent	Academic	03.04.2020
	Daan Mertens	University of Ghent	Chairman of Council	Academic	13.04.2020
	Thomas Claes	University of Ghent	Academic Evaluation	Academic	15.04.2020
	Karen Lambert	---	Participant	---	08.05.2020
LIMBURG	Andreas Hansen	Team ewen	Project Manager	Moderation	17.03.2020
	Sibylle Lohmeyer	City of Limburg	Head of transport planning	Planning	09.03.2020
	Simon Meier	Planersocietät	Project Manager	Planning	20.03.2020
	Tom Mueller	GGR-Planung	Project Manager	Planning	19.03.2020
	Ralf Ihringer	No record - notes	Participant	---	17.03.2020

Source: own presentation

In the second step, the electronic records were transcribed, partly with the programme AWS Transcribe automatic speech recognition and 'tscribe' python. Irrelevant external interruptions or small breaks were not transcribed, grammar mistakes corrected and the style was smoothed (Mayring, 2016). Some interviews were in accordance with Kanwischer (2002) transcribed in a result-oriented manner and therefore not fully transcribed (Martin Willems, Dirk Peeters, Thijs Maes and one paragraph of the interview with Simon Meier).

Data Analysis

The steps of coding the text material, identifying the core statements and the theory-guided generalization and interpretation is carried out in a subsequent analysis and evaluation phase (Kaiser, 2014). The data analysis is conducted by applying a qualitative content analysis, which is a suitable instrument for the analysis of semi-structured interviews (Mayring, 2016). By using a categorical system, for which categories have emerged from the text material itself (inductively), but mainly deductively by the theoretical framework and the research question (Kaiser, 2014; Mayring, 2016). The categorical system has six central dimensions with corresponding subcategories, which are illustrated in table 6.

Table 6: Categorical system

Topic	Main Category/ Subcategory
Input-Legitimacy (participation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Selection ▪ Inclusion ▪ Objectives
Throughput-Legitimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Structure of Procedure ▪ Communication ▪ Moderation ▪ Transparency ▪ Ensure transfer of results to political decision-making ▪ Quality of deliberative debate
Effective Service Provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Quality of results ▪ Incorporation of results in political planning process
Societal & democratic effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Formation of social capital ▪ Participation culture ▪ Democratic experience
Barriers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Input-Legitimacy ▪ Throughput-Legitimacy ▪ Deliberative quality of debate ▪ Output-Legitimacy ▪ Communication
SUMP planning process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Following & implementation ▪ Strengths ▪ Weaknesses

Source: own presentation

For the evaluation and the coding of the collected data the computer program MAXQDA was utilized. The software is a computer-supported analysis program for the evaluation of qualitative data. Interviews in Limburg were conducted in German and the used direct quotes translated by the author. The same applies to documents which were only available in German or Flemish.

Kraßner and Ritzi (2019) further name media analysis (3) and the analysis of the results of the policy decision-making processes (4) as complementary instruments to evaluate citizen participation. Hence, for each case study relevant newspaper articles were searched online and asked for during the interviews. According to the methodological framework they were analysed in number and evaluation of the procedure (positive/neutral/negative). Since both procedures are evaluated after one to two years, a complete media analysis could not be displayed. Many articles and press releases were not available, nor could the organizers provide them.

The fourth point of the methodical framework (evaluation of political decision-making processes) is integrated in the interviews, as the theoretical aspect of an effective service

provision and the transfer of results to political decision-making comprises this aspect and was part of the questions. Therefore, an explicit document analysis was not pursued.

After explaining and justifying the methodical approach of semi-guided interviews in combination with the analysis of results of the political decision-making process and a media analysis, the analytical framework is applied to the two case studies, namely Ghent and Limburg.

5. Successful Citizen Participation in Ghent?

The Circulation Plan is part of the Mobility Plan 2014/2015. This Mobility Plan was developed by the organization of public debates, public inquiries, and stakeholder rounds as figure 1 shows. One main goal of its implementation was to design this process as transparent as possible according to the city administration (City of Ghent, n.d.). For this reason, the plan was presented in the press in October 2014 and a simplified version of the plan was made accessible online. In November two public debates were organized where more than 160 citizens participated (Mobiliteitsbedrijf Stad Gent, 2016). These two evenings were followed by a public inquiry process in March 2015, starting with an information evening, which was followed by a month-long possibility for all citizens to make comments, suggestions, complaints and ask questions. The input was collected and answered on in a final report, which the city administration published online on the website of Ghent’s mobility service in May 2015 (City of Ghent, n.d.). In September 2015 they held an additional event *Gent Autovrij* (Ghent car free), where also non-residents of Ghent were invited and could give feedback (Mobiliteitsbedrijf Stad Gent, 2016).

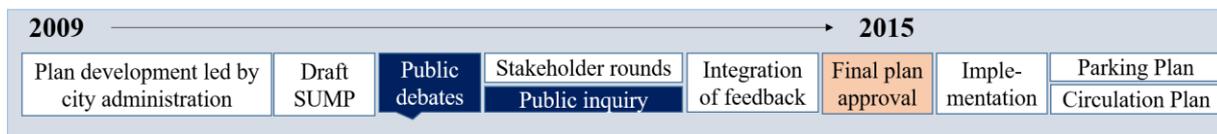


Figure 1: Timeline of the Mobility Plan in Ghent
Source: own presentation of Rupprecht Consult (2019, p. 49)

The Mobility Plan resulted in a Parking Plan and a Circulation Plan. For the Parking Plan the city administration involved citizens by an ‘information market’ in order to receive an overview, furthermore, they organized two discussion evenings (Lindenau & Boehler-Baedeker, 2016). For the Circulation Plan in each of the six sectors, which were to be made car-free, information evenings took place in spring 2015 and the collected refinements and changes to this plan were presented in autumn 2015 (Stad Gent, 2018).

In February 2016, the City Council decided to further follow and reinforce the dialogue with stakeholders and citizens, which took place between March and June 2016. This can be seen as a reaction to the anxiety of people to not be able to reach the city centre anymore, a scenario, which was also encouraged by the media (D. Peeters, personal communication, 30.03.20). The necessity to invest more time in a solution-oriented dialogue in order to increase the acceptance of the plan was seen, especially since the opposition already signalled to

organize a referendum (T. Maes, personal communication, 31.03.20). Hence, during August and September the city administration held additional information evenings in the respective sectors and in October the adjusted plan after the solution-oriented dialogue was approved by the City Council (A. Janssens, personal communication, 31.03.20). The Circulation Plan was implemented on April 3, 2017, which happened almost overnight, due to the fact that it contained many radical changes (M. Willems, personal communication, 03.04.20). The introduction was accompanied by two information sessions on the Circulation Plan in March, each time more than 130 persons participated (Stad Gent, 2018).

5.1 Background on Participation and Political Context of the Citizens' Council

The introduction of the Circulation Plan was accompanied by resistance of a citizens' initiative called *IntelliGent Mobiel* and the opposition party N-VA (New Flemish Alliance, a Flemish nationalist, conservative, political party), which tried to organize a referendum opposing the implementation, but was unable to collect enough signatures (25030 instead of the required 25703) (Stad Gent, 2018). Interviewees describe that the city was divided into two polarized groups, one in favour, the other one opposing the Circulation Plan (T. Claes, personal communication, 15.04.20). Further, the plan became the subject of a "harsh political game", since the opposition applied an aggressive strategy to oppose it and questioned if the preparation of the plan was conducted well enough by the city administration (M. Willems, personal communication, 03.04.20). Within the City Council's decision of February 2016 to intensify the dialogue as a reaction to an increasing opposition and an announced referendum, the idea of a *Burgerkabinet* (Citizens' Council) was included to be held after the implementation of the plan, as

in contrast to a referendum, this working method allows the City Council to continue the dialogue which has already started in the framework of the preliminary process of the Circulation Plan, by means of a qualitative dialogue with the inhabitants in terms of content and depth. A much more differentiated approach can be developed via the Citizens' Council (Stad Gent, 2018).

The aim of this Citizens' Council was to continue the dialogue on the consequences of the Circulation Plan, as the city administration cannot foresee all consequences with the implementation of such radical changes (A. Janssens, personal communication, 31.03.20). Further, policy-makers argued that such a council is a more democratic instrument, however, it can be argued that the political decision makers and the administration knew that the Circulation Plan might not 'survive' a political referendum. It is to state that the Citizens' Council was also

a result of a tense political situation and a heated public debate on radical changes in the mobility and transportation sector (T. Maes, personal communication, 31.03.20). Due to a forming opposition the strategy of participation was adjusted during the process. Therefore, the decision to realize such a Citizens' Council was not explicitly based on the belief in participatory formats, but rather on political circumstances and the higher chances to be able to implement the plan politically (T. Claes, personal communication, 15.04.20). The Citizens' Council was organized by a steering committee, consisting of the City of Ghent, a private consulting firm and the University of Ghent, the latter accompanied the process by evaluating the procedure (D. Mertens, personal communication, 13.04.20).

The process and development of the Mobility and Circulation Plan shows that participation is a well-known complementary instrument for planning processes in Ghent. Citizen participation has a long tradition, which is also reflected in a respectively well-equipped city department on participation where 15-20 civil servants work (D. Mertens, personal communication, 13.04.20). However, the introduction of the Mobility and Circulation Plan was the most extensive participation process in mobility planning in Ghent (City of Ghent, n.d.).

5.2 Evaluation of the Citizens' Council

In this chapter the Citizens' Council is analysed with regard to the theoretical framework of input-, throughput- and output-legitimacy. Further, results on the creation of social capital and the strengthening of democratic skills and the media coverage will be presented.

The Citizens' Council took place after the implementation of the Circulation Plan and was designed, as figure 2 shows, as four forums and two additional information sessions. The four compulsory sessions always followed a fixed methodology: after a plenary presentation, the large group was divided into smaller working groups (10 to 15 people) with internal and external experts present (Stad Gent, 2018). By means of tables of different topics, such as environmental, social and economic impacts, relocation, permits, communication and technical aspects, problems could visually be identified on a map and new suggestions could be added. Afterwards, the moderators of each group presented a summary of the discussed topics at their table. The content of this information session, together with additional input via e-mail, telephone and an online platform, determined the agenda of the meetings of the Citizens' Council.

The first council (June 2017), at which 122 of 150 persons participated, resulted in 88 new recommendations for the City Council, on which the participants voted in plenary (D.

Mertens, personal communication, 13.04.20). After an information session, the second council took place in October with 72 participants. A difference was that the number of recommendations from each table were limited, and participants had to vote on them afterwards from home. Unfortunately, this resulted in a low response rate and in associated shortcomings, in terms of representativeness among the respondents. During an additional session in December 2017, the City Council gave explicit feedback on the recommendations of the first two councils in order for the members to obtain clarity on the results and their engagement (44 participants). The third council took place in March 2018 with the topic results of the measurements, the format of thematic tables and moderators was followed (52 participants). In May 2018, the last session with 44 participants took place. This forum was mainly about giving feedback to the members on the recommendations they formulated during the preceding three meetings, which was again, at the request of the chairman. Further, the organizers explained what would happen with the recommendations. Moreover, the number of participants decreased throughout, which will be analysed in the subchapter throughput-legitimacy.

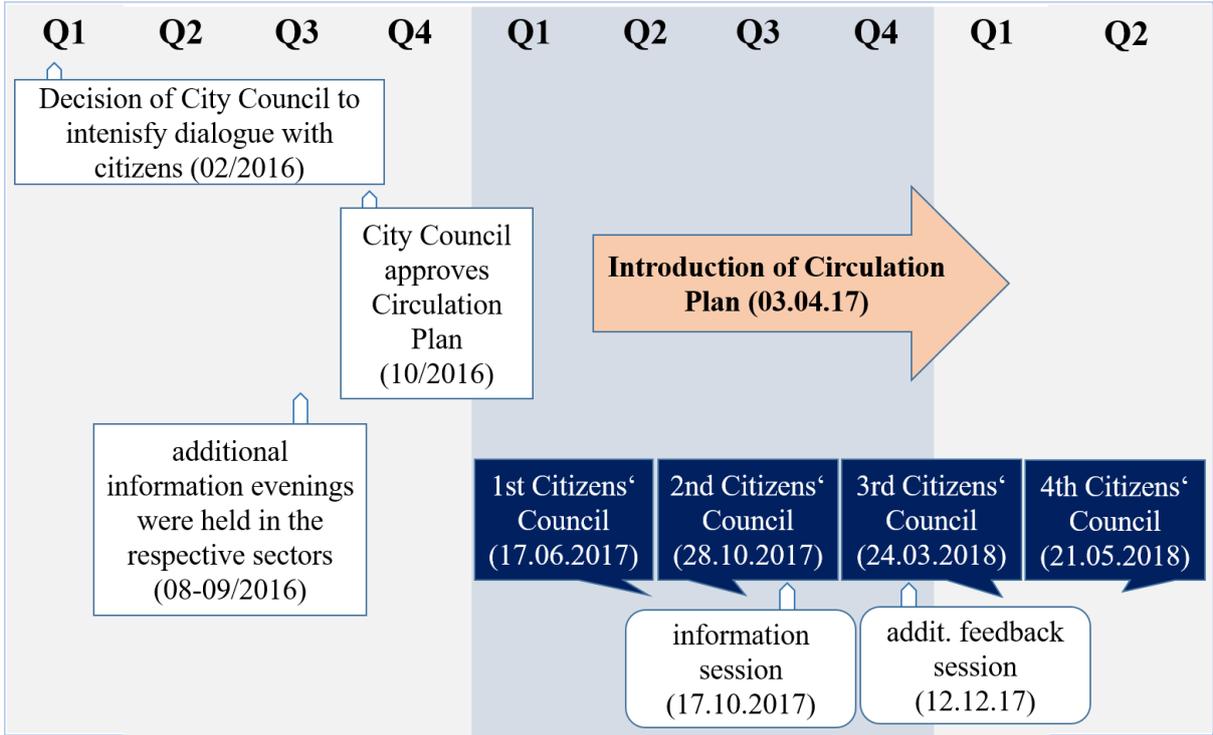


Figure 2: Process structure and timeline of the Citizens' Council in Ghent
 Source: own presentation

5.2.1 Input-Legitimacy

This subchapter analyses the aspect of participation as the provision of opportunities for participation and the inclusion of marginalized groups. The selection was conducted by following a certain strategy in order to reach 150 persons that represent the population of Ghent to avoid that only a certain group (white, older, well-educated white men) participated, which is a well-known problem during participation procedures (T. Claes, personal communication, 15.04.20). These 150 participants were recruited by the campaign ‘The Circulation Plan, what do you think of it?’ in January and February 2017. It was promoted by flyers and posters distributed in several neighbourhoods and published on the webpage, social media channels and newspapers (Stad Gent, 2018). Interested people could register as a candidate for the Citizens’ Council, out of the 808 candidates, 150 members were drawn. The selection procedure was designed in close cooperation with Ghent University, which defined certain criteria namely primary criteria (zone and mobility style) and secondary criteria (age, gender, level of education and origin), which were indicated by the candidates upon registration (A. Janssens, personal communication, 31.03.20). This procedure and the careful definition of criteria, which also included mobility styles, aimed to reach a representation of the population of Ghent. The inclusion of mobility styles was very important, as the discussion on the plan was polarized between people who favour a private car and people who favour bikes or public transport (T. Claes, personal communication, 15.04.20). This was further reflected in two groups, one in favour of the plan and the other not in favour of the plan as this quote of the interviewed participant illustrates: “I was in favour of the plan and I wanted to defend it” (K. Lambert, personal communication, 08.05.20). Further, 35 replacements with similar characteristics were drawn for the case of drop-outs of the 150 participants (D. Mertens, personal communication, 13.04.20). Persons, who were not part of the organization team, confirmed that the group was diverse and the selection well-made, as it represented several groups of the population (T. Maes, personal communication, 31.03.20). Further, it seemed that a participatory elite could be avoided, since 78% had not been involved in some sort of citizen participation in the past two years (Stad Gent, 2018).

T. Claes (personal communication, 15.04.20) outlines a relevant point, which shows that traditional politics still interferes with open and deliberative participation formats: political parties and associations pushed their members to become a member of the council. Therefore, the council “was a little bit infected by traditional politics”, which can be seen as a two-sided sword. On the one hand, it can have negative effects such as the unnecessary influence from

political parties, but on the other hand, it can also be the link to traditional politics, because deliberative politics and participation processes are not effective if this link is missing (T. Claes, personal communication, 15.04.20).

In terms of inclusion the selection procedure did not explicitly intend to include, for instance, people with disabilities. Even more effort is needed to reach young people and people with a migrant history (Stad Gent, 2018). A further possibility is that dialogue-based formats are not adequate and the methodology could be adapted better to these groups (D. Peeters, personal communication, 30.03.20). However, these minority groups were not included enough in the council and remained underrepresented. Nevertheless, ‘mobility coaches’ took over their ‘roles’ and were responsible for their representation during the preparation of the plan. This was mainly conducted with organizations and representatives of, for example, young people, people with disabilities, economically disadvantaged people or people with a migrant history in order to facilitate communication and to provide them with a specific contact person (D. Peeters, personal communication, 30.03.20).

In Ghent, the selection procedure was well-thought and organized. It can serve as a role model for a selection process, as a comprehensive representativeness was given since the group of participants reflected all social groups relevant to the specific topic. However, it can be discussed whether all marginalized groups were reached, since certain groups need to be addressed more proactively and their interests were rather only included by the mobility coaches. Moreover, it is debatable if the role of traditional politics during such a process is too powerful since traditional politics still interfere. These formats can be used as an additional instrument to push and place interests of traditional politics.

5.2.2 Throughput-Legitimacy

In the following subchapter communication on the scope of the format, the aspects of moderation, transparency in respect to the transfer of results and the quality of deliberative exchange will be discussed, referring to characteristics of a successful throughput-legitimacy. The objective of participation was to advise the city administration. This scope of action was clearly communicated (D. Mertens, personal communication, 13.04.20). This meant that participants could give feedback to improve the plan and its implementation but could not change the plan’s principles or the mobility strategy in general (A. Janssens, personal communication, 31.03.20). To stress this more precisely, T. Maes (personal communication, 31.03.20), who participated as an internal expert of transportation planning, describes that the

Citizens' Council was about "to explain people why we made certain decisions and to give feedback and recommendations given by citizens". The participant confirmed the clear communication on the scope of negotiation, nevertheless, she points out that for others the influence of the council was not clear. Thus, false expectations were apparent (K. Lambert, personal communication, 08.05.20). Some participants did not clearly understand that the implementation of the plan as such was not negotiable (T. Claes, personal communication, 15.04.20).

The limited scope of negotiation was explained during the first council. The opposition left the room disappointed, as they had lost their belief in the council's impact and decision-making power (D. Peeters, personal communication, 30.03.20). It is therefore arguable whether the communication on the scope and limits of the council were comprehensively communicated, as public participation threatens to fail if there is no actual scope for action (e.g. if they are involved too late) (Nanz & Fritsche, 2012). This is also reflected by the high drop-out numbers: from 122 participants in the first council to 72 participants in the second council, to 52 in the third council and to 44 participants in the last council. A participant stated that the replacements were instantly used due to the drop-outs, and that it was a "missed opportunity", as there were 808 applicants for the council and one could have replaced one of the numerous drop-outs (K. Lambert, personal communication, 08.05.20). Nevertheless, participation fatigue is a common phenomenon during participation procedures (Lindenau & Böhler-Baedeker, 2014). The organizers planned the council on several Saturday mornings for three hours, which is a significant investment of time for many people (A. Janssens, personal communication, 31.03.20). Further reasons for the high drop-out numbers were that some people solely wanted their problems to be acknowledged, (T. Maes, personal communication, 31.03.20) and feedback on their advice was provided very quickly, and as a somewhat controversial result, they did not see the necessity to spend more time on the council (D. Mertens, personal communication, 13.04.20).

The moderation was headed by a neutral chairman of the University of Ghent, who neither had any links to the consulting firm, nor the City/administration, nor any other interest group (D. Mertens, personal communication, 13.04.20). This is an important aspect to stress since he was able to evaluate the format, and each session neutrally and therefore could evaluate whether the primary aim, to reach equal speaking times in order to "give everybody a voice" and avoid the dominance of specific participants and interests, was reached (D. Mertens, personal communication, 13.04.20). The participant confirmed that this aim was reached since

the chairman and the moderators of the small groups intervened when certain people dominated the discussion (K. Lambert, personal communication, 08.05.20). An external moderation office was not commissioned but an external neutral chairman, which can also serve as an option to provide neutrality.

Feedback on the advice was transferred in a very transparent manner (T. Claes, personal communication, 15.04.20). On all suggestions, feedback was given and explained with a lot of effort. It was elaborated why the city administration can implement certain measures and others not, sometimes even the mayor himself provided the feedback (A. Janssens, personal communication, 31.03.20). The chairman also initiated further feedback sessions to ensure that the participants could obtain further clarity on the results of their engagement (Stad Gent, 2018). T. Maes (personal communication, 31.03.20) was part of the evaluation team and stated that some suggestions could be easily implemented, but others not, since they fell outside of the area of responsibility of the City. The transparent and extensive feedback was one important instrument to ensure the transfer of results to the political decision-making, whereas the chairman could not only adapt the format but also functioned as a link between the participants and politicians (D. Mertens, personal communication, 13.04.20). As a chairman he ensured the information flow between the steering committee and the council. A stated problem was that it took the City Council and administration a respective time to process the feedback, which resulted in the disappointment of some participants (D. Mertens, personal communication, 13.04.20). Compared to other procedures, there was no official matrix used to prove each recommendation by certain criteria. In total, 168 recommendations were delivered by the Citizens' Council, and to each, the city administration provided verbal or written feedback, also on the webpage (Stad Gent, 2018). The participant was satisfied with the transparent design of the evaluation of recommendations (K. Lambert, personal communication, 08.05.20), which can also be the result of the professional survey Ghent University conducted (T. Claes, personal communication, 15.04.20).

In terms of quality of deliberative exchange, it is to state, that not all participants strived to achieve a joint deliberation, since some already left the first Citizens' Council due to false expectations as the following quote underlines: "And they started shouting and they said, you brought us here for nothing, we cannot change anything in this. [...] But that was not in the small groups. That was rather in plenary from the start. And then they left the room very angry" (K. Lambert, personal communication, 08.05.20). In the first session, different interests came into conflict. There was no common ground for discussion, particularly due to incongruent

expectations of the council (T. Maes, personal communication, 31.03.20). Afterwards, a deliberative communication was possible, since the participants wanted to achieve a common solution, which was preceded by a process of exchange and common learning, especially in the small groups. In the latter, it was ensured that everybody could speak, even though it was noticeable who was in favour of the plan and who was against it (K. Lambert, personal communication, 08.05.20). Further, there was common ground for very constructive discussions resulting in many measures being supported by everyone: “they brought people together and they listened to each other and learned to understand. That's a big part. I think that's an important result” (K. Lambert, personal communication, 08.05.20). The format of the plenary session, the small groups, the presentation of results and the voting on it, allowed an ‘ideal liberation’ of expression, reciprocity, and responsiveness.

In conclusion, the format enabled the possibility for everyone participating to speak and express their views. The communication before the actual council, especially considering the scope of negotiations, should have been more comprehensive. A deliberative debate was only possible after the participants with strongly opposing views declined to participate any longer. Nevertheless, the format of a plenary, small groups, and the possibility to vote on the suggestions empowered the deliberative quality of the debate. The moderation seemed to be neutral and objective, and the engagement of the chairman commendable, as he facilitated and ensured the flow of information between the City Council/administration and the Citizens’ Council. Additionally, the feedback on the recommendations was communicated in a very transparent way. However, the usage of a matrix as a framework to prove each piece of advice by certain criteria could have been helpful and could have even ensured more transparency.

5.2.3 Effective Service Provision (Output)

The parliamentary and administrative decision-making bodies accepted propositions from this participation process. The recommendations did not change the plan as such but aimed at improving the plan. T. Claes (personal communication, 15.04.20) confirmed that the participants were pleased with the implemented changes, although they were only minimal due to the scope of the council. D. Mertens (personal communication, 13.04.20) expressed his surprise when talking about the quality of recommendations due to the technical nature of the plan. All recommendations within the regulated framework were implemented, although somewhat ambiguously, some authors state that, especially highly complex topics, such as a mobility plan, do enhance high quality results in a participatory process (Powell & Lee Kleinman, 2008). This can be seen in contradiction with earlier argumentation that certain

political planning aspects are too technical to be evaluated by citizens. This was questioned in the context of whether citizens should have been involved earlier. The contemplation of citizens' ideas and knowledge is important since they have a certain (often underestimated) expertise. This further underlines that participatory formats can serve as a complementary instrument for transport planning.

The participant was satisfied with the feedback and the integration of the recommendations, although they were rather small improvements (K. Lambert, personal communication, 08.05.20). The survey conducted after the Citizens' Council showed that the majority (40%) doubted whether they really had an impact on the policy, whereas 37% thought they did (Stad Gent, 2018). 46% of the respondents thought that the City Council took their recommendations seriously and 30% did not agree, 24% neither agreed nor disagreed. Only half of participants that conducted the survey (50%), state that they were sufficiently aware of what the city has done with their recommendations, whereas 26% felt that they did not know enough, and 25% do not agree or disagree. Those percentages indicate that communication on feedback of proposed ideas could be improved. After the Citizens' Council, there were no follow-up meetings organized. These would have been helpful to inform on the progress of the implementation of the recommendations. T. Maes (personal communication, 31.03.20) confirmed that all suggestions, which were proved positively, were implemented. The results of the survey show that the council was perceived as an opportunity to influence politics: 47% stated to be more enthusiastic after the participation about the input one can have as a citizen hence 32% were not enthusiastic, 20% abstained (Stad Gent, 2018). 51% of the respondents would participate in a Citizens' Council in the future. The results show that the effective service provision could have been designed in a more transparent manner. Instruments like defined parameters and a matrix can help to understand why suggestions were integrated and why not.

5.2.4 Democratic Experience and Creation of Social Capital

The following subchapter will describe the results which were collected during the interviews regarding the process as a democratic experience and the creation of social capital, which are complemented by the results of the conducted evaluation survey.

Participation processes can be a democratic experience for citizens, since they feel politically competent and influential, tolerate other points of view and trust political institutions (Nanz & Fritsche, 2012). The interviewed participant confirmed this and stated that participatory planning should be conducted also on smaller scales, such as neighbourhoods and

not only for mobility but also other sectors (K. Lambert, personal communication, 08.05.20). Additionally, she described a personal process, which refined democratic skills, such as listening and acknowledging the other party, taking other opinions into account, exchanging arguments, developing a common position or even strategies for conflict resolution. It also strengthened the participation cultures as such, as the city administration had learnings and furthermore, it was the first time such a Citizens' Council took place on a salient political topic (D. Mertens, personal communication, 13.04.20). In a process, where different interests meet, it is important to have a dialogue and to deliberatively find a compromise. This helps to understand other opinions and to rethink one's own opinion (A. Janssens, personal communication, 31.03.20).

Thereby, commitment, tolerance, and orientation towards the common good are strengthened. Those attributes are relevant for the creation of social capital. K. Lambert (personal communication, 08.05.20) confirmed that there were many different opinions present, and that the dialogue led to better comprehension of each other's interests: "There you had a woman with a shop who was complaining and you try to discuss. And it was not simple. And I found this very interesting". The Citizens' Council enforced this dialogue and subsequent discussions. The mediation of interests is an inherently democratic process and serves as an instrument for people to experience democracy. Individuals and groups, who would normally not meet, establish a dialogue that results in higher tolerance and better understanding of other opinions.

However, the analysis of the democratic experience and social capital is very subjective and limited due to the fact that only one participant was interviewed. To improve these shortcomings a more representative sample would be needed. The interviewed participant was strongly in favour of participatory formats, and she confirmed that it was a democratic experience and that social capital increased as a result.

5.2.5 Media Analysis

In general, the media coverage was quite extensive, and 59 articles were published in total covering the topic 'Citizens' Council' (list annexed). However, only ten of those articles could be retrieved. The analysis of those, shows that the Citizens' Council was perceived rather negatively. Of the ten available newspaper articles, five state a negative evaluation, two had a neutral perspective and three stressed positive perceptions. To address the most important critiques: The council's independence and purpose of existence were doubted, as it was argued

that it took place due to purely strategic political reasons, and as a substitute for a referendum (Het Laatste News, 2016a; Yüksel, 2017). The very limited scope of participation, resulting in no serious participation procedure was criticized (De Smet, 2018; Het Laatste News, 2018; Van Damme, 2017). Positive recognitions included, that it was displayed as an alternative to express opinions, which allowed for recommendations to improve the existing plan (De Troyer, 2017; Het Laatste News, 2017; Knack, 2017). The Citizens' Council was also awarded a prize for being a successful example of citizen participation (Gyselinck, 2017).

The Citizens' Council's evaluation report confirms the rather negative image of the Citizens' Council in the press and states that it did not feel appreciated, and that communication could have been more proactive (Stad Gent, 2018).

5.2.6 Evaluation and Link to the SUMP

The Citizens' Council can be evaluated according to the analytical framework as an example of successful citizen participation, even though certain points need to be optimized (as displayed in table 7). To highlight a positive point, the procedure was accompanied by an official evaluation, which is an important aspect of successful participation. Consequently, possible improvements and best practice characteristics of citizen participation are labelled in green. Highlighted in orange are aspects which need slight improvements, and in red, are aspects which must be improved. Since the evaluation of social capital and democratic experience is very subjective, it is marked in grey.

Table 7: Application of the analytical framework in Ghent

Criterion	Sub-criteria
(1) Legitimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Participation (input-legitimacy) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + number, the recruitment and selection of participants + as open as possible +/- inclusion, all affected (marginalized) social groups are present and specifically addressed (not specifically targeted) ▪ Procedure (throughput-legitimacy) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - early and comprehensive communication on the scope + transparency and fairness of the format + neutral moderation +/- transfer, transferability of results ▪ Deliberative quality of the debate <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + quality of the process: fixed rules for discussion, equal rights and times for speaking, neutral provision of information on the topic +/- form a collective opinion + principle of expression, reciprocity, responsiveness
(2) Effective Service Provision (Output)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> +/- analysis of political follow-up processes → + reflection in administrative decision-making
(3) Democratic Qualification of Citizens & Creation of Social Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> n.a.: democratic experience (democratic principles and values) n.a.: democratic skills (tolerance of opinions) n.a.: feeling of political and competence & influence n.a.: trust in political institutions n.a.: positive effect for cohabitation between different social groups n.a.: identification with local policy
(4) Media Analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ no evaluation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + <i>well conducted aspects during the participatory format</i> +/- <i>aspects of the participatory format, which need slight improvement</i> - <i>shortcomings of the participatory format</i> n.a. <i>not analysed - paper cannot make final conclusions regarding this aspect, due to a different analytical focus</i> 	

Source: own presentation

During the analysis, certain shortcomings of the procedure were identified, namely the communication on the scope of negotiation, the feedback on the recommendations, and the political origins of the procedure. The organizers should have communicated the scope of negotiations more comprehensively before the council took place. The slogan ‘The Circulation Plan, what do you think of it’ raised false expectations about the actual negotiations, as it generated the expectation that the plan would be co-determined. Instead, the fundamental pillars were not subject to negotiations. The organizers should have communicated more clearly what topics could actually be discussed, the parameters for the actual topics under discussion, and the possible influencing factors. Furthermore, the organizers could improve the responses on

the recommendations and the respective communication since these interactions contribute to an additional sphere of general trust in political decision-making and the participatory influence of the citizen itself. Although the chairman redesigned the process to include more feedback sessions, one could still think of using an official matrix as a framework to prove each advice by certain criteria. Generally, the drop out numbers can be attributed to the Council's lack of power. Additionally, the organizers could improve the replacement procedure, as the additional 35 replacements were quickly used up and no further replacements were thereafter available. Moreover, this paper criticizes that the origin of the procedure was solely political and not due to the belief in civic participation. Even though citizens were consulted during the drafting of the New Mobility Plan (which includes the Circulation Plan), a participatory procedure was implemented to appease a strong opposition party, generate public acceptance, and avoid a referendum. Whether the actual scope for participation was sufficient, or whether citizens were involved too late, is arguable. K. Lambert (personal communication, 08.05.20) stresses this point directly as she states that citizens should have been involved much earlier, because "if you really want to do it the participatory way, you have to do it earlier". For the City of Ghent, this was important feedback. Participants also underlined the importance of being involved early on (T. Maes, personal communication, 31.03.20).

Well-conducted aspects include the selection procedure of the participants, the format of the council, and the implementation of the recommendations in administrative decision-making. To highlight, the selection procedure was well-devised and organized. It could serve as a role model for selection processes since it enabled comprehensive representativeness. The group of participants reflected all social groups relevant to the specific topic. The selection framework was complemented by mobility styles (car drivers, bicycle users...), which is an important point for procedures in the context of transportation and mobility. It is debateable whether all (marginalized) groups were reached, since certain groups needed to be addressed more proactively. However, during the Circulation Plan, in parallel sessions these groups were addressed proactively. The format of the plenary and small group sessions allowed everyone to speak, express their views, and engage in a fruitful debate. The neutral moderation (guaranteed by the engagement of a specific chairman and further moderators) of subgroups facilitated and ensured the flow of information between the City Council/administration and the Citizens' Council. Even though, the organizers could have communicated the feedback better, all suggestions, which were proved effective, were

implemented. However, it would be beneficial for the Citizens' Council to hold follow-up meetings to track the progress of the recommended implementations.

Further research could be conducted by examining more articles on the Citizens' Council and analysing in what way media influenced the participants. Within the scope of this paper, the media analysis served to complete the methodological framework rather than to draw final conclusions.

In conclusion, conducting such an extensive procedure of citizen participation also led to enhanced experience in the implementation of participatory formats within the administration of the City of Ghent. Accordingly, the administration now follows an approach with neighbourhood coordinators and participation from the beginning considering the further roll-out of the Mobility Plan in additional neighbourhoods, although the principles of the Mobility Plan are still not negotiable (A. Janssens, personal communication, 31.03.20). The current approach contains four steps for each neighbourhood (E. Jacobs, personal communication, 01.04.20):

- 1) collecting suggestions and propositions by means of an online platform and an analogue 'mobility market', an event of five hours, where citizens can come by; the needs of specific marginalized and vulnerable groups are gathered separately by mobility coaches
- 2) a second 'mobility market' where different mobility scenarios are presented and then discussed in small groups
- 3) public communication on the selected (or adapted) mobility scenario
- 4) evaluation after six months of implementation

The current approach illustrates the inclusion of participatory elements at earlier stages of the decision-making process. This can also have a positive effect on participation culture since the Citizens' Council led to frustrated people due to the limited openness. It entailed the risk to encourage a participation fatigue and loss of trust in politics and its promises.

Considering the guidelines of the SUMP it can be shown that the element of 'citizen participation' was included in the process. However, the guidelines foresee an earlier integration "in particular in early planning phases when processes are still open and flexible" (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 44). Both for the Mobility Plan and the resulting Circulation Plan, citizens were consulted after the plan was already drafted. Therefore, they were not part of developing the scenario, despite the SUMP guidelines (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 87). To better follow the SUMP guidelines, citizens should help define the objectives of the transport

planning, and thereby help define scenarios and concrete measures. In Ghent, this step was solely conducted by the City Administration and the consultation was based on drafted plans.

6. Successful Citizen Participation in Limburg?

The development of the Mobility Master Plan in Limburg began in spring 2017 with an analysis of the current traffic situation. The Plan was adopted by the City Council in October 2019. During this time span, three citizens' forums took place, the last session was combined with the meeting of the advisory board, which will be explained in the following paragraph. Figure 3 illustrates the process structure and timeline.

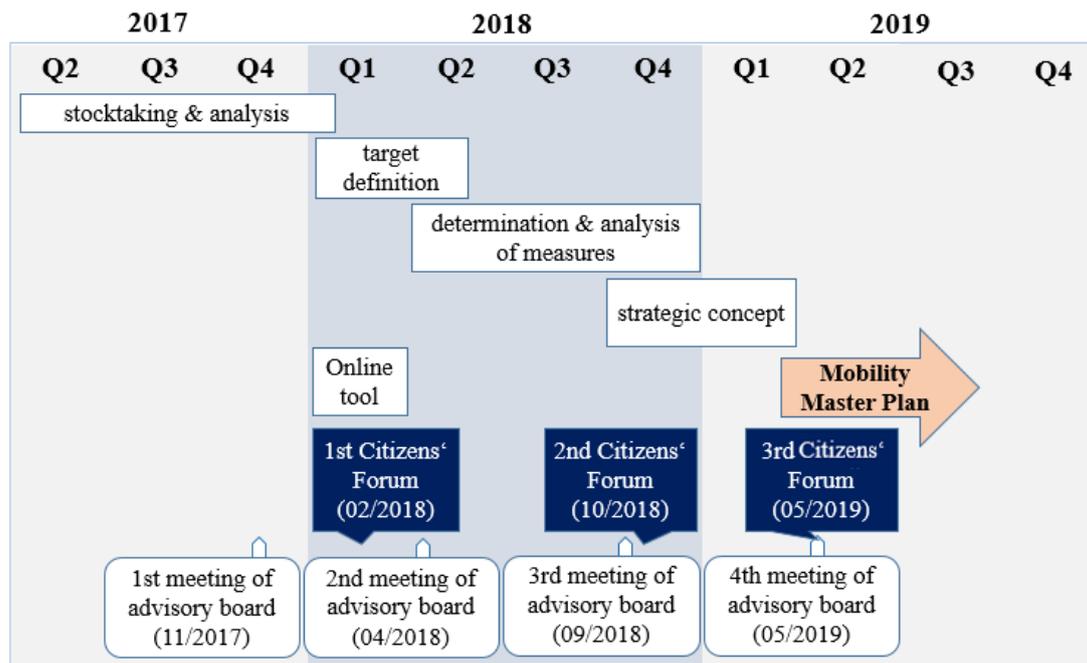


Figure 3: Process structure and timeline of the Mobility Master Plan in Limburg
Source: own presentation of Planersocietät (2019a)

To ensure participation of all stakeholders and citizens as well as consistent political feedback, a network of actors was established consisting of (Stadt Limburg, n.d.):

- the project consortium (City of Limburg, expert offices Planersocietät and GGR-Planung, moderation office team ewen),
- a political steering committee of the City Council (*Steuerungskreis Stadtverordnetenversammlung*), which was authorized to make decisions on behalf of the City Council in order to accelerate political feedback without the necessity of official meetings of the City Council (the final version had to be adopted by the City Council though) (S. Lohmeyer, personal communication, 09.03.20),
- an advisory board was established for this process, comprising local associations, interest groups, local initiatives, ten randomly selected citizens (selected by a random

generator) and representatives of the neighbouring municipalities (detailed list annexed).

The procedure and interplay of different actors contained the collection and collection of suggestions and interim results of the advisory board and the citizens' forums. Subsequently, these were presented to the political steering committee, which decided on the suggestions and accelerated the political consultation process (S. Lohmeyer, personal communication, 09.03.20). A. Hansen (personal communication, 17.03.20) confirmed that the parliamentary groups (political parties) were closely involved with the political steering committee, which was helpful in order to integrate them in the process. Consequently, the organizers avoided a pitfall of participation processes, namely the political rejection of a proposal prepared by citizens.

In line with the participatory approach, the organizers included diversified instruments: three forums with citizens, ten randomly selected citizens in the advisory board, an interactive online participation tool and a survey campaign with postcards in the city area (18 postcards were sent back) (S. Lohmeyer, personal communication, 09.03.20). The website of the City of Limburg regularly provided information on the planning process (Stadt Limburg, n.d.). Further, a planning office conducted a survey on mobility behaviour and routines in 35000 households, which is not a participatory instrument as such, but offers complementary and representative information about citizens (S. Meier, personal communication, 20.03.20). Continuous communication and participation are an essential part of a sustainable mobility planning process like the SUMP. After illustrating the timeline, identifying the actors of the planning process, and outlining the elements of citizen participation, the following subchapter describes background on participation to then analyse in detail the three citizens' forums.

6.1 Background on Participation and Political Context

Compared to Ghent, Limburg does not have a distinctive participation culture as T. Mueller (personal communication, 19.03.20) described

it was really very new in Limburg, this kind of participation, so the citizens did not know this. At the same time, they had a pistol to their heads because of this court case with threatening diesel driving bans and the city itself got very involved, wanted to do a lot and be as progressive as possible. In other words, there was suddenly something really at stake for the citizens.

This quote further illustrates the political pressure at that time (2017-2018), due to the exceeding levels of NO₂ in Limburg. Moreover, Limburg was ranked one of the ten most polluted cities in Germany. In some other cities of this ranking, the courts decided to implement diesel driving bans (Frankfurter Neue Presse, 2018). Fearing that this would take effect in Limburg as well, the topic of urban mobility and the respective reduction of NO₂ was prioritized on the political agenda and citizens' personal agendas. Parallel to the Mobility Master Plan, the city administration developed a Green City Plan aiming at a short-term reduction of NO₂ pollution in the city from January until July 2018 (Planersocietät, 2018). The Green City Plan overlaps with the Mobility Master Plan, nevertheless, the Green City Plan is oriented towards a short-term horizon, whereas the Mobility Master Plan is a comprehensive strategic plan for the next ten to fifteen years. The formulation of the Green City Plan was important in order to receive numerous subsidies (S. Meier, personal communication, 20.03.20).

Referring to the preparation of the Mobility Master Plan and its tendering procedure, the city administration decided to involve an advisory board, consisting of politicians, the urban society, and citizens. The advisory board jointly collected and prioritized topics (Stadt Limburg, n.d.). The advisory board and the public was asked what the Mobility Master Plan is actually supposed to achieve, which questions it should answer, and what should be taken into account (S. Lohmeyer, personal communication, 09.03.20). For example, it was possible to highlight why the Mobility Master Plan attached particular importance to regional transport and why neighbouring municipalities should be involved in the planning process (Stadt Limburg, n.d.). On the basis of these collected suggestions and advice from the public and politicians, the call for tenders was prepared and drawn up to then select and commission the planning offices (S. Lohmeyer, personal communication, 09.03.20). The process of citizen participation started with the possibility to contribute to the Mobility Master Plan's service description. According to S. Meier (personal communication, 20.03.20), this was an interesting feature, since the city administration followed a participatory strategy from the early beginning. The advisory board was subsequently continued for the development process of the mobility plan.

6.2 Evaluation of the Citizens' Forums

In this chapter, the three citizens' forums will be analysed according to the theoretical framework of input-, throughput- and output-legitimacy. Furthermore, the topics of social capital and the strengthening of democratic skills will be evaluated. The analytical focus is consequently on the public forums since these are the 'purest' instrument of citizen

participation. However, if certain aspects are reflected in the actions of the advisory board, this will be taken into consideration.

The format was designed as plenary sessions and small groups to ensure that all persons could participate. Each session started with a kick-off and a keynote lecture, with an introduction to the question of the respective event and information on the current progress of the plan (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). The first event included the review of the current transport situation (February 2018), while the second session discussed objectives and an action plan to obtain the defined overall goals (October 2019). In the last session, the concrete concept was presented in form of a gallery walk of the different areas of activity, on which one could give final feedback in May 2019 (S. Lohmeyer, personal communication, 09.03.20). However, in all sessions, working phases in small groups followed the keynote. These groups were divided by different transport modes such as public transport, motorized private transport, pedestrian, and bicycle traffic, and one group, which discussed more general topics of digitalisation and multimodality (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). Moreover, each subgroup was moderated by an expert, who presented the results in the closing plenary session. There was a map on the table for each topic (to localize suggestions) and there was a thematic poster displaying the working progress. The possibility was given to switch to another stand once or twice, to be able to give input on different topics (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20).

6.2.1 Input-Legitimacy

This subchapter analyses the aspect of participation as the provision of opportunities for participation and the inclusion of vulnerable groups. The organizers provided the opportunity to participate to everybody online and offline. Flyers promoting the citizens' forum and postcards, on which suggestions could be sent, were distributed in many locations, such as administration buildings, bike shops, mechanical workshops, the vehicle registration office, secondary schools and colleges targeting different mobility styles, age and social groups (S. Lohmeyer, personal communication, 09.03.20). Additionally, the forum was announced in the newspaper, however, the organizers did not use social media (S. Meier, personal communication, 20.03.20). These mobilisation channels, as well as the increased political pressure led to very well-attended forums; each was attended by 80-100 participants (A. Hansen, personal communication, 17.03.20).

Many interviewees stated that the group was quite heterogeneous, consisting of different age groups and social backgrounds (S. Lohmeyer, personal communication, 09.03.20). Moreover, the diverse group consisted of citizens who had experience in this exercise, and others, who had attended such a format for the first time (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). R. Ihringer (personal communication, 17.03.20), who participated in all three forums, observed that more men than women participated but that it was quite heterogeneous in the aspect of occupational groups. His personal objective was to promote cycling and walking infrastructure. Additionally, he stated his affinity to environmentally and socially compatible mobility. Associations and parties mobilize participants, which promote their interests in participatory formats. According to the definition of Nanz and Fritsche (2012), a comprehensive representation was present since the procedure reflected all socio-economic groups. However, it is to mention that the latter is based on subjective observations of the interviewees and not on an empirical analysis, as the participation process was not evaluated professionally, which could be improved in the next participation procedure. With such an evaluation of the first session, one can make sure, that certain social groups, for instance socially underprivileged people, are not underrepresented in the next session (S. Meier, personal communication, 20.03.20).

In terms of inclusion, the organizers should have addressed certain social groups more specifically for the forums. There was no explicit contact to associations representing the interests of underrepresented groups, such as young people and people with special needs. However, the advisory board and its members served as complementing instruments which included relevant stakeholders and ten randomly selected citizens. In the process of its composition it was well evaluated which groups need to participate (S. Lohmeyer, personal communication, 09.03.20), for instance, people with special needs (S. Meier, personal communication, 20.03.20). However, economically disadvantaged people, or people with a migrant history, were not explicitly represented. The participation of the ten randomly selected participants was not continuous since while being formally present at the beginning most of them dropped out (A. Hansen, personal communication, 17.03.20), eventually only two of the ten participated actively (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). Additionally, the organizers installed an online tool to be able to extend the scope of participation, especially to young people and those who were not able to attend the public forums. S. Meier (personal communication, 20.03.20) identified this as a useful instrument, because it offered the possibility that people get in contact in the form of comments, remarks and likes. All in all,

there were 234 ideas of 65 persons, 84 comments, 1600 reactions and more than 1000 visitors of the page (Kreisstadt Limburg a.d. Lahn, n.d.).

To conclude the chosen format enabled the mobilization of many participants and engagement of people, who were not politically active before nor experience on these formats. An official documentation could help to improve the process as such, since it can be evaluated, if all social groups and different mobility styles are present. The advisory board and the online tool were well-chosen instruments in terms of inclusion, however, certain underrepresented and vulnerable groups could be further addressed and mobilized explicitly for the forums.

6.2.2 Throughput-Legitimacy

The following subchapter analyses the communication on the scope of the participation procedure and the aspects of transparency, fairness, and the quality of deliberative exchange during the process, all characteristics of a successful throughput-legitimacy. The organizers clearly defined and communicated the objective and scope of participation of advising the experts and the city administration (A. Hansen, personal communication, 17.03.20). This included the possibility for the participants to give feedback as means of defining the objectives, developing scenarios, and improving them. However, the City Council decided upon the adoption of the Master Plan and the selected scenario. The participant confirmed the clear communication on the scope of negotiation (R. Ihringer, personal communication, 17.03.20). Nevertheless, it was stated that sometimes the political steering committee and the advisory board prioritized the measures and in the citizens' forum the organizers presented the final concept, which was relatively fixed and could have been more open for discussion (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20).

The participant was really satisfied with the moderation because he knew the local situation and the respective problems very well (R. Ihringer, personal communication, 17.03.20). An important aspect to mention is the commissioning of an external moderation office, what S. Meier (personal communication, 20.03.20) would always recommend. It guarantees an independent point of view and a professional mediation of interests. T. Mueller (personal communication, 19.03.20) moderated a subgroup, and observed that one did not have to intervene strongly, although perhaps more at the first event. A. Hansen (personal communication, 17.03.20), the main moderator, confirmed that he mainly had to control the speaking times and steer the content and topics. However, to ensure good moderation, one should be aware of past conflicts (the construction of a bypass road polarized the citizens of

Limburg), and of individuals who tend to dominate a discussion (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). Hence, the moderation was very professional and ensured a proficient implementation of the process.

It is important for participants to receive reliable feedback on the results of the procedure and on which suggestions were constructively transferred into the political decision-making process. Organizers should publicly explain why certain results of the participation procedure have been taken into account. Also, they should explain the non-implementation of results (Nanz & Fritsche, 2012). Thereby, communication and transparency play a key role to ensure that citizens and their ideas are taken seriously. To ensure this in Limburg, all proposed measures underwent a detailed examination, which was based on a matrix. According to S. Lohmeyer (personal communication, 09.03.20) there were only two measures, which did not pass this examination due to an insufficient effect or a negative cost-benefit analysis. The developed matrix ensured compatibility and was accepted by the citizens as it was important to be able to place ideas, but it was not expected for all of them to be implemented (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). In Limburg, this aspect differed from other cities, as a detailed evaluation of measures was explicitly demanded, which normally only exists in formal planning procedures (S. Meier, personal communication, 20.03.20). The expert offices had to justify the comments that were submitted, and why they were rejected or modified. The visualization by a simple table served as an instrument to explain to the public which measures could not be reconciled according to which criteria. S. Meier (personal communication, 20.03.20) stated that this procedure really contributed to transparency. According to literature, this approach seems to be very transparent. The participant R. Ihringer (personal communication, 17.03.20) also confirmed this.

The quality of deliberative exchange was ensured by rules for discussions, and neutral information on the topic was provided (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). By means of dialogue in plenary sessions and in small groups, individual perspectives could be exchanged, however, the aim was always to form a collective opinion. Nevertheless, no method of equal rights for speaking applied. R. Ihringer (personal communication, 17.03.20) confirmed a constructive dialogue, the ideas were taken up and it was a very open process, as A. Hansen (personal communication, 17.03.20) confirmed. S. Lohmeyer (personal communication, 09.03.20) characterized the discussion as very involved and lively, there seemed to be nobody, “who did not dare to say something”. There were different opinions present, whereby a real conflict in the sessions did not occur (A. Hansen, personal communication, 17.03.20). The

organizers communicated well the objective of the participation process and people could easily form a collective opinion on that the traffic situation needed to be improved, but participants had different visions on how to achieve this objective. This was criticized by the participant, he noticed the tendency “we want a lot of great things, but not to do anything explicitly against the car” (R. Ihringer, personal communication, 17.03.20). T. Mueller (personal communication, 19.03.20) observed that some people saw themselves as a constructive corrective, who wanted to pay attention that not too many people demanded measures that would push back motorized private transport. The topic of parking illustrated this tendency well: one idea was to relocate parking lots from the public space to car parks. Consequently, quite a lot of resistance emerged by arguing that the car parks already reached full capacity and especially the group of shop owners feared lower revenues, as parking in front of the shop seemed to be at stake (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). However, the opposite was shown by an evaluation, that there was still enough capacity in the car parks, even during peak hours. As a consequence, the opposing group was present during the first event but then some of them simply did not show up for the other events, because they had either used up their arguments or somehow noticed that they could not get away with playing the role of the fundamental opposition (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20).

In this case it can be stated, that a conviction of a better argument was not successful, what T. Mueller (personal communication, 19.03.20) found a pity, because he would have liked to have them present for the rest of the process to deliberately exchange opinions. The politicians reacted by saying if they did not actively participate in the process - they would have had the opportunity - then that is not to be taken into account in the resolution as nothing was put forward by that group (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). Nevertheless, the format of a plenary session, the small groups, and the presentation of results on it allowed an ‘ideal liberation’ of expression, reciprocity, and responsiveness.

In conclusion the throughput-legitimacy can be evaluated positively, especially due to clear communication concerning the scope and limits of participation and an external moderation office. The format allowed different spaces of discussions and especially due to a very transparent manner of showing which results and recommendations were taken up in the Master Plan. One could improve the quality of deliberative debate by intending to include the fundamental opposition, to finally reach a conviction by the better argument. The feedback and suggestion of the citizens were generally visible in the overall work, sometimes adjusted or

extended to other aspects, but it did not change the plan diametrically (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20).

6.2.3 Effective Service Provision (Output)

The important question is how political leaders in parliamentary and administrative decision-making bodies implement the developed results of such a process. In Limburg, the organizers designed the process to guarantee close interactions between the advisory board, citizens' forum, and the political steering committee. Since the political steering committee decided upon interim results, it was possible to bind the politicians close to the process, to inform them well and to lower the risk of not adopting the Master Plan as a final result. The project consortium developed two scenarios, a moderate scenario, and a progressive scenario (S. Lohmeyer, personal communication, 09.03.20). In the latter, all measures were implemented, on which the City Council decided on, which some project partners did not expect (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). According to S. Lohmeyer (personal communication, 09.03.20) this was a result of the close cooperation along the process. However, the political steering committee was also described as a black box, since neither the moderation office nor the extended working group participated at the meetings (A. Hansen, personal communication, 17.03.20).

One can state that an effective service provision was present, which was a result of the design of the general process. Both expert offices stated that, compared to other cities, they enabled many sustainable transport measures (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). S. Meier (personal communication, 20.03.20) further states that it is helpful to provide a subsequent guide to implement measures in the short term so that it can be shown that 'things are happening here'. People are not necessarily aware of the political structures and it is important to moderate expectations well after such a plan is adopted. This reaction was partly present during the interview with the participant, since he was disappointed that according to him, no actions followed and politics needed to implement the measures, otherwise the work of the administration and citizens was disregarded (R. Ihringer, personal communication, 17.03.20). The effective implementation of measures cannot be fully evaluated yet since the Mobility Master Plan was politically adopted but its implementation continues until 2030.

6.2.4 Democratic Experience and Creation of Social Capital

The following subchapter describes the results which could be collected during the interviews regarding the process as a democratic experience and the creation of social capital. In order to receive a complete analysis of the empirical data collection, a survey at the citizens' forums would have been necessary. However, this paper presents some findings on the participation process as a democratic experience for citizens.

Several interviewees confirmed that this process has strengthened the overall participation culture and was a positive experience for many participants, which was reflected in the regular participation and active cooperation during the forums (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). Further, the format succeeded in mobilizing citizens, who attended such a participatory process for the first time and came with a certain scepticism. As soon as the participants noticed, how open the process is designed, they actually responded very positively (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). In the opinion of the participant, it did not explicitly strengthen the urban society. He identified that the four sessions were not sufficient to generate a 'We are working together on a Master Plan'-feeling (R. Ihringer, personal communication, 17.03.20).

As mentioned before, this aspect needs be elaborated and analysed in more detail by questioning more participants, further. Appropriate methods should be developed.

6.2.5 Media Analysis

An additional aspect of the evaluation of a participative format is the analysis of media coverage. In the case of Limburg, project partners sent some articles. Further, different online newspapers, which cover the region of Limburg, were searched for articles. In total, ten articles were found, all published around the dates of the three citizens' forums. The city administration did not keep a list with all articles related to the citizens' forums. The articles often did not explicitly comment on the participatory format but rather served as an invitation to the forums (Westerwalder Zeitung, 2018). Further, they reported on the Master Plan and its objectives (Frankfurter Neue Presse, 2019a; Weilburger Tageblatt, 2019). After the third forum the articles described the different measures in detail (Dickmann, 2019b; Frankfurter Neue Presse, 2019b). One article described the reaction of the citizens, but did not elaborate on the detailed impact of participation (Dickmann, 2019a). Two articles described the participation process very positive, in one citizens are described as traffic experts in Limburg (Rhein-Lahn-Zeitung, 2018)

and it is stated that the experience of the citizens plays a major role during the development of the Master Plan (Mielcarek, 2018).

The media coverage shows that the format as such was not questioned. It needs to be critically assessed why this is the case. One explanation is the design of the procedure, everybody could participate from the beginning by developing objectives and scenarios. Mobility planning was of interest for many people due to the political situation in the form of imminent diesel driving bans.

6.2.6 Evaluation and Link to the SUMP

The participatory process of the Mobility Master Plan as an example of successful citizen participation can be evaluated according to the analytical framework as a positive example while some points need optimization as table 8 displays. In the following possible improvements and characteristics, which serve as a role-model of citizen participation, are labelled.

Table 8: Application of the analytical framework in Limburg

Criterion	Sub-criteria
(1) Legitimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Participation (input-legitimacy) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + number +/- the recruitment and selection of participants + as open as possible +/- inclusion, all affected (marginalized) social groups are present and specifically addressed (not specifically targeted) ▪ Procedure (throughput-legitimacy) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + early and comprehensive communication on the scope + transparency and fairness of the format + neutral moderation + transfer, transferability of results ▪ Deliberative quality of the debate <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + quality of the process: fixed rules for discussion, equal rights and times for speaking, neutral provision of information on the topic +/- form a collective opinion + principle of expression, reciprocity, responsiveness
(2) Effective Service Provision (Output)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> +/- analysis of political follow-up processes → + reflection in administrative decision-making
(3) Democratic Qualification of Citizens & Creation of Social Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> n.a.: democratic experience (democratic principles and values) n.a.: democratic skills (tolerance of opinions) n.a.: feeling of political and competence & influence n.a.: trust in political institutions n.a.: positive effect for cohabitation between different social groups n.a.: identification with local policy
(4) Media Analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ rather descriptive
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + <i>well conducted aspects during the participatory format</i> +/- <i>aspects of the participatory format, which need slight improvement</i> - <i>shortcomings of the participatory format</i> n.a. <i>not analysed - paper cannot make final conclusions regarding this aspect, due to a different analytical focus</i> 	

Source: own presentation

In the analysis this paper identified certain shortcomings of the procedure, such as the lack of an official evaluation, the quality of the deliberative debate and the absence of follow-up meetings subsequent to the participatory procedure. An independent evaluation is necessary to professionally review participatory approaches and their success (Lindenau & Böhler-Baedeker, 2014). Formal documentation would have helped to shed more light on certain aspects, such as the socio-economic composition of participants, the format, the creation of social capital and the improvement of the process as such. The procedure was open to everybody, there was no selection procedure applied. Certain underrepresented and vulnerable groups could have been further addressed and mobilized explicitly for the forums to reach an

equal participation and involvement of several social groups. Organizers can, within such an evaluation, retrieve information on mobility styles and preferred modes of transport, which are interesting aspects for the future procedure. The organizers only conducted an evaluation in an informal manner within the project group (A. Hansen, personal communication, 17.03.20). Further, the organizers can improve the quality of the deliberative debate since the fundamental opposition - 'car-defender' - partly left after the first forum. Contradicting positions were not fully disputed. Further, surveys are able to collect information on aspects like the format and the moderation, which enable a deliberative debate. Moreover, to ensure an effective service provision, it is advisable to organize public follow-up meetings to constantly inform about the progress (Richter, 2019). Otherwise, an impression of non-appreciation of the citizens' efforts can arise.

The organizers of the participation procedure in Limburg conducted certain aspects well, such as the mobilization of citizens, the communication and the formats as such and the transfer of results to political decision-making. A quite heterogeneous group attended well the forums and they mobilized many participants, who neither had participated in citizens' forums before nor were politically active. This can be seen as quite a success but could also be explained by the importance of the topic, considering the imminent diesel driving bans. Furthermore, interest groups and associations were represented by the advisory council, an adequate complementary instrument to include their points of view into the process. The communication concerning the scope and limits of the participation procedure was clear. The usage of an external moderation office and the design of the format of plenary and small group sessions enabled the possibility for everyone to speak and empowered the deliberative quality of debate. Feedback was given in a very transparent way and by means of a matrix, which ensured transparency for the adoption of the advice. The proved and adopted recommendations were then transferred successfully to political decision-making bodies. One reason for this was the design of the process in respect to the political steering committee. This ensured a close linkage of political decision-makers to the process, as the steering committee decided upon interim results.

In conclusion, the design of the process was highly oriented towards the SUMP guidelines, as citizens were included from the early beginning, a steering committee was established, and scenarios were jointly developed. One can identify the different tasks described in the guidelines; however, these also mention the importance of including underrepresented groups, which could have been improved throughout the process. In the future, it would be

advisable to “analyse the process looking back to the entire cycle [and] to critically review the effectiveness of stakeholder and citizen involvement so as to enhance participation activities in later stages and in future plans”, which further underlines the importance of a professional evaluation of the formats (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 160).

7. Comparison and Conclusions for the SUMP Guidelines and General Planning Practice

7.1 Comparative Case Analysis

The two case studies show certain similarities and differ in many aspects as table 9 displays. This chapter has the purpose of comparing the two processes to derive findings for the SUMP process and the general transport planning practice.

Table 9: Ghent and Limburg: similarities and differences

	Aspect	Ghent	Limburg
Similarities	Design of the format	External moderation, transparency & fairness	
	Parallel formats for vulnerable groups	Creation of complementary instruments/formats to include further points of view into the process & online tool	
	Quality of deliberative debate	People in favour of motorised private transport were difficult to maintain during the process	
	Follow-up meetings	No follow-up meetings after the participatory procedures	
	Evidence democratic experience & social capital	Almost no evidence, not pursued by city administrations	
Differences	Political context & origins of participation procedure	Tensed political situation, alternative to referendum	Willingness to follow SUMP process very closely, imminent diesel driving bans
	Timing of participation during planning process	At the very end	From the beginning onwards
	Selection procedure	Representative approach	Open, no selection procedure
	Inclusion vulnerable groups	Responsible persons	Not extensively pursued
	Communication on the scope	No clear communication	Clear communication
	Effective Service Provision	Directly implemented	Implementation in the next 10-15 years
	Media coverage	Rather negative image	Rather descriptive
	Participation culture	A lot of experience	Little experience

Source: own presentation

One main similarity is the design of the format. Both procedures contained plenary and small group sessions to set the adequate framework for everyone to express their opinions. An external moderator ensured transparency and fairness. Both aspects are important for successful participation procedures and preconditions to enable a deliberative debate. In addition to the citizens' forums, complementary instruments were designed to include vulnerable groups, however, the implementation differed, which will be elaborated in the next paragraph. In both cities an online tool complemented the process. Such a tool plays a significant role for participatory processes to extend the scope of the participation especially to young people and

people who were not able to attend the forums personally. In both cities two groups became apparent, one group in favour of motorized private transport, and the other against it. For participatory procedures within mobility and traffic planning, this displays a major challenge for which adequate methods are needed (see subchapter 7.2). In both processes, participants favouring motorized private transport dropped out and the organizers could not maintain them for the whole participation process. In the sense of an ideal participation and a deliberative debate this can be identified as a shortcoming. Furthermore, both cities did not organize follow-up meetings and missed the chance to ensure an information continuity about the progress. Such a communication strategy enforces the visibility of the implementation of results. The aspects of analysing participatory processes as a democratic experience and the creation of social capital is not specifically identified as an important aspect by both city administrations.

These similarities outline important aspects for the planning of participatory processes within the context of transport and traffic planning, namely (1) the format as described are useful and replicable, except follow-up meetings should be added and the inclusion of vulnerable groups ensured, (2) it is important to find adequate solutions for a mediation between participants in favour and against motorized private transport and (3) aspects of participation as a democratic experience and a creator of social capital should be intensified by initiators of a participation process.

This paper's analysis identified several differences as well. Differences included the origins and timing of the procedure, certain aspects of the input-legitimacy, the effective service provision, and the media coverage. It is important to stress the varying political purposes of the intensified citizen participation. In Ghent, the decision for an enhanced citizen participation partly resulted from the impending referendum, whereas in Limburg there was no specific key event for an intensified participation process. Furthermore, Limburg closely followed the SUMP guidelines. Hence, the timing of when to consult citizens varied: while in Ghent, citizens were consulted after the implementation of the plan with a limited scope of action, in Limburg, citizens were involved from the beginning with a relatively open scope of action. From an ideal perspective of citizen participation, an earlier consultation of citizens is advisable. This perspective is also stressed in the SUMP guidelines. In Ghent, citizens were consulted with a rather informative and no shaping-policy character during the development of the Mobility Plan, of which the Circulation Plan is part. This approach raises an important question: What

procedure can reach more radical changes in terms of sustainability in the urban transport sector? Subchapter 7.3 will elaborate this question.

In terms of input-legitimacy the selection procedure was well-designed in Ghent targeting a representation of all social groups and mobility styles, whereas in Limburg it was open to everybody and an additional ten randomly chosen citizens were part of the advisory board. Unfortunately, the participation of the latter was not consistent. Initiators and organizers of participatory processes should consider whether a selection procedure is applied or not. The example of Ghent shows that it can come close to an ideal representation, whereas open invitations bear the shortcoming of being taken on primarily by the participation elite. The inclusion of vulnerable groups in Ghent was conducted in an advanced manner especially compared to Limburg. Whereas in Ghent mobility coaches are employed for this specific purpose, in Limburg solely one representative for people with special needs was part of the advisory board. Furthermore, the organizers should have specifically addressed underrepresented groups such as economically disadvantaged people and people with a migrant history, as the SUMP guidelines strongly recommend the latter. Whereas in Limburg the scope of action was well communicated, the respective miscommunication led to high drop-out numbers in Ghent. In Ghent, the scope was very limited and within the formulated plan, whereas in Limburg it was relatively open. This also has an effect on the effective service provision in this case. In Ghent, the city administration could immediately implement the approved minor changes, while in Limburg the implementation takes place until 2030. Hence, an exact service provision cannot yet be fully evaluated. It will be valuable to analyse the developments of the Mobility Master Plan in the future and investigate whether - for instance, a different modal split - can be measured.

Moreover, the media coverage varied significantly. In Ghent, the image of the Citizens' Council portrayed in the media was rather negative due to the political context. In contrast, the media coverage on Limburg had a descriptive character, neither negative nor positive reviews. This might not only correlate with the political genesis of the participation procedure, but also with the fact that citizen participation has a long history in Ghent, whereas in Limburg it is a relatively new experience.

This analysis outlines important analytical results in respect to participation procedures: (1) participatory approaches should be planned before the beginning of a process, as it is also reflected in the SUMP guidelines, and not serve as a strategy to ease political tension. (2) Certain selection procedures can help to reach a representative intersection of the population;

the aspect of mobility styles plays an important role for procedures within mobility and traffic planning. (3) The inclusion of underrepresented and vulnerable groups in the forums is important, as the SUMP guidelines outline as well, and (4) communication plays a major role in the transparency of a process, otherwise participation procedures lead to disappointment and frustration.

7.2 Relevance for the SUMP Guidelines

The comparative case analysis identified important aspects of how SUMP processes were implemented. Hence, especially the procedure in Limburg illustrates that the SUMP is an approach combining citizen participation and transport and mobility from the early beginning. The interviewees confirmed that the SUMP guidelines provided sufficient guidance for participation procedures since important basic principles of participation are reflected while maintaining a certain flexibility to be able to react to specific local aspects (S. Meier, personal communication, 20.03.20). In Ghent, the SUMP process was not completely followed but led to radical changes in respect of sustainable transport planning as it made six sectors car free.

The SUMP guidelines contain many recommendations and detailed information on the implementation of participatory formats, as chapter 3 outlined. To what extent these were followed in the two cases was analysed in subchapter 5.2.6 and 6.2.6. The findings of the comparative case analysis serve to draw further conclusions for citizen participation throughout the SUMP process. The next guidelines could be amended by aspects, such as the specific design of format, for example to address the mediation between groups in favour of and against motorized private transport, and the extension of a representative population by the aspect of mobility styles. The latter would improve the analysis of specific mobility-related features within participation procedures.

As outlined, within the area of mobility and traffic planning, discussions tend to polarize a group between those in favour of motorized private traffic and others preferring bicycles and public transport. Especially the process in Ghent showed this. A deliberative dialogue was not established, since the participants in favour of motorized private transport left the Citizens' Council earlier - illustrating the difficulties to mediate controversial and highly politicized debates. For participatory procedures within transport and traffic planning this displays a major challenge for which adequate methods are needed to "achieve sustainable mobility, the arguments must be sufficiently powerful to overcome the dependence on the car and the possibility that the costs of delay and congestion have already been internalised by drivers"

(Banister, 2008, p. 79). For the SUMP guidelines, it would be advisable to present more best-practice examples on this specific issue, as it seems to be a major challenge in many cities.

To maintain full representation of citizens during consultation procedures, it can be useful to amend the criteria of representation by the aspect of mobility styles. Often conclusions for the heterogeneity of a group are drawn by characteristics such as age, gender and level of education. As the example of Ghent shows, these traditional criteria were complemented by the important aspect of mobility styles. This is an important aspect to include in order to understand the results of the participatory format, and the composition of a group. The question of representativeness leads to the question, when full representation in terms of mobility styles is reached, and which numbers should serve as the indicator. The current modal split could be one option. In Ghent the modal split is 47% car, 9% public transport, 20% bike, and 24% walking (EPOMM, 2020) and in Limburg 60% car, 11% public transport, 7% bike, and 22% walking (Planersocietät, 2019b). The pitfall is, considering these numbers in respect to representativeness, that it can reproduce the current situation, hence, when the car is the dominating transport mode, the respective interests could dominate within participatory formats. Further, it is difficult to assign one transport mode to one person, as every person has its own modal split of covering distances. Mobility styles should therefore be considered and can obtain insightful information regarding heterogeneity. However, the exact methodology needs to be defined.

The SUMP guidelines serve as a sufficient parameter for successful citizen participation as many important planning steps throughout the process are displayed (see chapter 3). Most importantly: citizens should be consulted from the beginning to co-develop scenarios and organizers need to follow a good and well-planned communication strategy throughout the entire planning and implementation period. Whether citizen participation results in a successful process regarding input-, throughput- and output-legitimacy, is highly dependent on the organizers of the format, the person responsible for designing the process with corresponding formats. As outlined, the SUMP guidelines can be amended by important mobility-related features. These include the mediation between opposing groups and the extension of a representative population according to mobility styles.

7.3 Relevance for General Transport Planning Practice

As outlined, the SUMP guidelines contain many aspects to rethink traditional transport planning practice. Its bottom-up strategy by means of a transparent and participatory approach reflects a

broader trend of general transport planning practices in recent years. Especially the case study of Limburg shows, how the application of the SUMP guidelines can enforce and strengthen the role of citizens as participants, where citizen participation is not yet a fundamental pillar of planning processes. The following subchapter outlines relevant aspects for the general transport planning practice, which were identified during the comparative case analysis. These are the awareness of the blurry line between stakeholders and citizens, the reflection and integration of participatory attempts in national or local legislation, and the elaboration on whether an intensified citizen consultation leads to more or less radical sustainable changes in urban transport and mobility planning.

During participation procedures the distinction between citizens and stakeholders is sometimes difficult. Both cases showed, that in some way traditional politics interfered with open deliberative formats. In traditional politics, certain interests get pushed via organized groups such as associations or parties. The described deliberative formats were thereby seen as an instrument to push mobility-related interests of certain parties or associations. The SUMP guidelines also take up this pitfall: “be careful of lobby groups that can block the process” (European Commission, 2013c, p. 35). In Ghent, political parties tried to push their members as participants of the Citizens’ Council and in Limburg a few participants were affiliated with respective associations. For participatory formats this is an important aspect to consider. An organizing entity should take this into account and develop adequate strategies to prevent too much influence of institutionalized organizations. Only a random selection procedure could prevent the active interference of traditional politics, however, as the example of Limburg showed, the participation of the ten randomly selected participants was not continuous. Nevertheless, T. Claes (personal communication, 15.04.20) states that an active interference can also ensure an effective link to traditional politics, without the latter support, participation processes are not effective.

Furthermore, national, or regional legislations can anchor and strengthen the consultation of citizens during transport planning processes. The two examples of Belgium and Germany illustrate the differences in their legal frameworks. An enhanced bottom-up and planning-with-citizens-approach is set in law (*Gemeentedecreet*) in Flanders (Belgium). Participation procedures are an element of integrated mobility plans, which all municipalities are obliged to integrate (Lindenau & Boehler-Baedeker, 2016; May et al., 2017). In contrast, no administrative body in Germany is legally obliged to implement a SUMP and consequently no suggestions to implement participatory formats are put forward (Lindenau & Boehler-

Baedeker, 2016). The responsibility to develop a plan, such as the Transport Development Plan or Public Transport Plans, lies within the federal state and municipalities. Nevertheless, the implementation of an integrated mobility plan is incentivized by providing federal funding, such as the mentioned programme, Clean Air 2017-2020 (*Saubere Luft 2017-2020*). The region of Flanders can hereby serve as a role-model to oblige the development of mobility plans and the respective inclusion of citizen participation. In Germany, citizen participation during mobility planning becomes increasingly important, but due to differing legal circumstances, especially the federal system, legal anchoring is more difficult to establish (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). As the example of Flanders shows, legislation can set a certain impetus for integrated mobility plans and respective citizen participation.

However, local circumstances, political arenas and interests differ, in most of the cases the detailed process depends on the requirements defined in the tender documents for a Mobility Plan (T. Mueller, personal communication, 19.03.20). The relevance of local circumstances is also stated in the SUMP guidelines: “as the local level improvements also contribute to the achievement of regional and national goals” (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 25). Four forms of a federal or on a national scale are presented to promote urban mobility plans: information (communication, national platform), incentives (funding framework), enabling (local rights to charge transport fees) and regulation (plan is mandatory) (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 28). Moreover, at the EU-level, the implementation of SUMPs will be enhanced through financial incentives, as they will be compulsory in order to receive EU funding measures (European Commission, 2013b). Such a funding conditionality could interfere with the decision of city administrations on how sustainable urban mobility is implemented and should be critically assessed in respect to the subsidiarity principle of Member States (Eurocities, 2013).

A further point of interest for general planning practice is the aspect of ‘timing’, as the ideal idea of participation might be in conflict with more ‘radical’ sustainable measures. The concept of an ideal participation calls for an inclusion of the citizens as early as possible to ensure the long-term acceptance by the community. However, radical changes might be more challenging to achieve. Research also supports this, since ‘radical’, car-reducing sustainable transport policy finds more acceptance after their implementation (Pridmore & Miola, 2011).

This conjecture raises an important question: What procedure can reach more radical changes in terms of sustainability in the urban mobility sector? People tend to be change-adverse, which can result in less radical outcomes of participatory procedures. Sustainable measures tend to get accepted when they are already implemented, while during

the planning phase these measures are often viewed with scepticism (Pridmore & Miola, 2011). T. Claes (personal communication, 15.04.20) states that he is not sure “whether the Circulation Plan would have been introduced in Ghent when people actually were a part of participation process from the beginning”. Indeed, the plan contained many radical changes which led, amongst others things, to an increase in the modal split of cycling to 25% in the city centre and 35% outside the centre (Mobiliteitsbedrijf i.s.m. Transport & Mobility Leuven, 2019). Several interviewees gave evidence that the introduction of the plan was related to mixed feelings such as fear, as it entailed fundamental changes (A. Janssens, personal communication, 31.03.20). Initially planned radical sustainable changes by the city administration might be softened due to an unpredictable outcome of participatory formats. An open exchange and participation process might not result in progressive, innovative, and radical sustainable measures, but is an important aspect of sustainable policy making in transport and mobility planning. The example of Ghent illustrates how political decision-makers implemented politicized and criticized measures, which found acceptance by most citizens much later. In the subsequent election in October 2018 (1.5 years after the implementation of the Circulation Plan) the responsible alderman was re-elected and almost became mayor (T. Maes, personal communication, 31.03.20). Before, a harsh public campaign against this alderman was conducted. For instance, some shop owners displayed him on a poster with a clown nose with the message that he is not welcome there (Het Laatste News, 2016b).

Conversely, Banister (2008) argues that participation is a fundamental element in order to shift to sustainable transport modes, since the latter is dependent on behavioural changes and the involvement of users enable change and acceptance of measures: “Public acceptability drives political acceptability, and it is only when there is sufficient public support for change, that action will take place“ (Banister, 2008, p. 76). Gil et al. (2011, p. 1312) state that “[p]ublic acceptability is essential for successful implementation of radical change” and stakeholder and citizen participation during the planning and implementation process is the key element to achieve this. The SUMP approach follows their statement arguing for a process for joint vision building to achieve acceptance and support of sustainable urban mobility planning (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 14). Practical examples underline this. In Milan, a low emission zone restricting individual private transport was implemented by means of public consultation. The instrument of participation helped to minimize opposing forces (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 26).

This results in the question on whether people tend to be change-adverse, which can lead to less radical outcomes of participatory procedures or whether citizen participation is the key to reach more sustainable measures. This question needs to be analysed further. One option in line with the analysis of this paper could be to compare Ghent and Limburg in 2030 (when all the measures are implemented in Limburg). By then, explicit impacts on the modal split or on the emission could be evaluated and compared.

In conclusion this chapter raised further relevant points for citizen participation within the discourse on general transport planning practices. Firstly, it was shown that the line between stakeholders and citizens can overlap, as both case studies showed, political interests and lobbying groups are also part of participatory formats, which need to be considered during the conceptualization of formats. Secondly, national and regional legal frameworks play a pivotal role considering the implementation of mobility plans and respective participatory elements during the development of these. Thirdly, the question is raised whether citizen participation is the key to reach radical sustainable measures in transport planning or not. Ghent consulted citizens relatively late, but radical changes were implemented, whereas in Limburg sustainable measures could be reached, but was not as radical regarding for instance car free zones. For this comparative case analysis, this question can be finally answered when Limburg has implemented the defined measures by 2030.

8. Conclusion

The question whether the SUMP guarantees successful citizen participation was addressed by utilizing a political theorist approach, applied to a comparative case analysis of Ghent (Belgium) and Limburg (Germany). Firstly, this thesis analysed how the SUMP defines citizen participation and how the respective elements are reflected in the guidelines of 2013 and 2019. To repeat, citizen participation is defined as “[e]ncouraging and enabling citizens to join the debate and collective decision making via a range of tools” (European Commission, 2013c, p. 88) and a “prerequisite for people to take ownership of the [SUMP] and the policies it promotes” to ensure acceptance (Rupprecht Consult, 2019, p. 12). Thanks to the experiences gained within the first implementation of SUMPs according to the guidelines of 2013, the European Commission now pays more attention to citizen participation in the 2019 guidelines. The guidelines specify the dates of application during the process and list further rules, recommended tools, methods, and practice examples. Furthermore, the amendments demonstrate that the SUMP is an exchange platform for municipalities, where learnings are taken up by the consisting guidelines.

Secondly, this paper presented the academic literature on successful citizen participation and a respective political theoretical evaluation framework to analyse successful citizen participation. Moreover, it was analysed to what extent the SUMP guidelines reflect these findings. The result is that the guidelines contain many aspects of a successful citizen participation. These are the inclusive and transparent formats, the importance of communication, the provision of feedback on the results, and the achievement of acceptance by respective formats. However, the guidelines could elaborate the aspects of an adequate selection procedures, the openness of the process, the transfer and binding nature of results for political decision-making, of a neutral moderation and how to reach a deliberative quality of the debate. This paper outlined the importance of an effective service provision and further positive effects of participatory formats in more detail. Instead of emphasising barriers the guidelines focus on providing advice and on the presentation of best practice examples. As the document is targeted to administration and political decision-makers, the guidelines could more rigorously elaborate on barriers and the consequent learnings.

Thirdly, this paper assessed the participatory implementation of a SUMP in Ghent and Limburg by means of the theoretical framework. The processes have similarities, which outline important aspects for the planning of participatory processes. Firstly, the designs of both formats are useful and replicable except the guidelines could include the feature of follow-up

meetings and the inclusion of vulnerable groups. Secondly, a mediation between participants in favour and against motorized private transport was difficult and thirdly aspects of participation as a democratic experience and a creator of social capital should be intensified by city administrations. By conducting a comparative case analysis, it was possible to highlight the differences and the relevant results and learnings. For example, the political and administrative willingness to conduct participatory approaches should not be the result of tense political situation, but instead be included from the beginning onwards, as the SUMP guidelines also recommend. Furthermore, certain selection procedures can help to reach a representative intersection of the population. Within the selection procedures or evaluation of representativeness, the aspect of mobility styles plays an important role for procedures within mobility and traffic planning. The inclusion of underrepresented and vulnerable groups in the forums is important and generally not enough attention is paid by the organizers. Another important finding is that communication plays a major role, what the SUMP guidelines outline as well.

Fourthly, the outcomes of the comparative case analysis led to the possibility to draw further conclusions for the SUMP guidelines and general transport and mobility planning practice. The current SUMP guidelines serve as a good parameter for successful citizen participation, as the latter is foreseen in many important planning steps throughout the process: Citizens should be consulted from the beginning to co-develop scenarios and a transparent communication should be conducted through the entire planning period. As the case of Limburg shows, the application of the SUMP guidelines can enforce and strengthen the role of citizen participation in cities, although there might not be a long tradition of consulting citizens. Whether citizen participation is successful highly depends on the city and the chosen process with corresponding formats. Aspects, such as the development of formats, which specifically target at how to mediate between groups in favour of and against motorized private transport and the extension of a representative population by the aspect of mobility styles can be amended in the SUMP guidelines.

This paper further raised relevant aspects considering citizen participation within the general transport planning practice. To mention first, the line between stakeholders and citizens can overlap, as both case studies showed, that political interests and lobbying groups are also part of participatory formats, which the organizers need to consider during the conceptualization of formats. Secondly, national, and regional legal frameworks play a pivotal role to foster citizen participation. The example of Ghent in Belgium shows that the regional

legal obligation to implement mobility plans in a participatory way leads to a prioritization of the topic on the political agenda. Thirdly, the question is raised whether citizen participation is the key to reach radical sustainable measures in transport planning or not. Ghent consulted citizens relatively late, but radical changes were implemented, whereas in Limburg sustainable measures could be reached, but were not as radical, regarding for instance car free zones. For this comparative case analysis, this question could be answered more precisely when Limburg has implemented the defined measures by 2030. The idea as such offers a critical way of assessing citizen participation for the purpose of a sustainable development.

This paper contributes to the academic debate and derived important aspects for the SUMP guidelines and general planning practice. On this basis several other questions arise for future research. Further papers should analyse the correlation of participatory procedures and radical sustainable measures. The underlying assumption is that change management can be hindered by change-adverse mobility styles. However, citizen participation can also play a key role to reach highly sustainable measures. Further academic debate should tackle this interesting question. Additionally, researchers could analyse the instrument of participatory formats to change mobility-related behaviour towards sustainable modes of transport. Moreover, future investigations should address topics such as the specific role of political parties, associations, stakeholders, and the media in the context of participatory formats. It is thereby important to combine different disciplines and methodological approaches. Regarding this topic an interdisciplinary cooperation is necessary and fruitful since the questions are too complex to be answered by one single discipline. As topics such as climate change and carbon management are becoming increasingly relevant, it is important to further investigate citizen participation as an instrument for a transition towards a more sustainable urban transport and mobility system from different methodological and theoretical perspectives. Moreover, at the EU-level, the implementation of SUMP becomes increasingly important, as they will be compulsory in order to receive EU funding measures (European Commission, 2013b). In this respect, it is to analyse the compatibility of a funding conditionality and the principle of subsidiarity.

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Annex

1) List of Interview Material (personal communication)

	#	Name of interviewee (real name withheld)	Institution	Date	Length	Medium
GHENT	01	Dirk Peeters	City of Ghent	30.03.2020	1h03min	Skype
	02	Thijs Maes	City of Ghent	31.03.2020	0h46min	Skype
	03	Anita Janssens	City of Ghent	31.03.2020	0h52min	Skype
	04	Eva Jacobs	City of Ghent (written answers)	01.04.2020	-----	written form
	05	Martin Willems	University of Ghent	03.04.2020	0h32min	Skype
	06	Daan Mertens	University of Ghent	13.04.2020	0h34min	Skype
	07	Thomas Claes	University of Ghent	15.04.2020	0h35min	Skype
	08	Karen Lambert	---	08.05.2020	0h32min	Skype
LIMBURG	09	Andreas Hansen	Team ewen	17.03.2020	0h40min	Skype
	10	Sibylle Lohmeyer	City of Limburg	09.03.2020	0h60min	Face-to-Face
	11	Simon Meier	Planersocietät	20.03.2020	0h48min	Skype
	12	Tom Mueller	GGR-Planung	19.03.2020	0h48min	Skype
	13	Ralf Ihringer	No record - notes	17.03.2020	0h30min	Telephone

2) Composition of the Advisory Board in Limburg

- Automobilclub Mittellahn e.V.,
- ADFC,
- VCD;
- Agenda-Gruppe Verkehr,
- IHK,
- Kreishandwerkerschaft,
- City-Ring,
- Altstadtkreis,
- Pro Bahn + Bus,
- liebe Limburg,
- Verkehrsverein Limburg e.V.,
- Keine Südumgehung Limburg e.V.,
- Bürger gegen die Südtangente/Alttrasse e.V.,
- Hessisches Ministerium für Wirtschaft, Energie, Verkehr und Landesentwicklung (Hessian Ministry of Economics, Energy, Transport and State Development)
- WFG Limburg-Weilburg-Diez, representatives of the neighbouring municipalities (Diez, Hadamar, Elz, Brechen, Runkel, Görgeshausen, Hünfelden), representatives of Limburg's local advisory councils, 9 ten randomly selected citizens

3) Interview Guides

Municipal institution/ Academia – Interview guide:

1. general

- Are you only responsible for mobility/transport related issues? What were your specific tasks during the process?

2. preparation/ planning process

- Which communication strategy was used to address the project and how was it chosen (what, who, how)? (Which portals were used and what information was published? Who created the information?)
- Who was the target group? Were there groups that were explicitly contacted?
- What criteria were used to select the process design and format? Was there a strategy for this?
- Which actors were involved in this planning process?
- How did you feel about the cooperation with other project partners in the context of citizen participation?

3. implementation

- Were these events one-off or continuous procedures? Did the procedure extend over a longer period of time and depend on a constant number of participants or could individual persons drop out and others join in over the course of the procedure? **How many people participated in the individual formats (age, gender, profession)?** Were there limits to the number of participants? Did the size of the process allow a discussion between all participants or was it advisable to divide it into several small groups?
- Was the goal and influence clear to all participants?
- Did you have to control the process? Was it changed/ strongly influenced by participants? Who was responsible for the moderation?
- Which modes of decision making were chosen (systemic consensus)?
- Was the role of the facilitator and formats reflected (possibly adjusted again during the process)?
- Have so-called 'blind spots' been discovered?
- Was there an online tool in addition to citizens' forums?

4. follow-up

- Did the decisions of the decision-makers correspond to the recommendations of the citizens' committees?
 - Where were there similarities and differences in the political/administrative decision texts and the result document of the public participation procedure?
 - Were transparent explanations given as to why certain aspects of the participation procedure could not be implemented or another solution was preferred?
 - What structures have been created to guarantee information, consultation and participation of citizens in the political decision-making process?

- Process evaluation: Was this carried out and by whom, how was independence guaranteed?
- Do you have the impression that this process has helped to strengthen the participation culture in general (acceptance of ideas)? In your opinion, did the result contribute to the common good or were selfish attitudes ("NIMBY") dominant?
- What was the response of the participants? Did you have the impression that they had a democratic experience? Formation of 'social capital' (dialogue with fellow human beings)?
- What are your learnings?

5. SUMP

- How was the process-based, dynamic format conceived and oriented? Was it helpful? What do you think are its strengths and weaknesses?

Participants – Interview Guide:

- In which subject area do you work?
- In which formats did you participate (public events, online platform)?

Phase 1

- How did you become aware of the participatory format?
- For what reasons did you decide to participate?
- Was the objective and influence of the format clear?

Phase 2

- How did you perceive the group composition of the different formats, was it homogeneous/ heterogeneous (age, gender, profession)?
- In your opinion, was the process design and the applied formats adequate and did they offer a suitable framework to accommodate all ideas/suggestions?
- Was the process open to you and was it changed/ strongly influenced by participants?
- Were you satisfied with the moderation?
- What went well, where do you see potential for improvement?
- Were you able to bring in your own ideas? Did you have the impression that your perspective was appreciated?
- Was it fun to participate, was there a good atmosphere?
- Was there a pleasant discussion culture?

Phase 3

- Did the decisions of the decision-makers correspond to the recommendations of the participatory format?
- Where were similarities and differences in the political/administrative decision-making texts and the results of the participatory format?
 - Were transparent explanations given why certain aspects of the participatory format could not be implemented or why a different solution was preferred?

- Do you have the impression that this process has helped to strengthen the participation culture in general (acceptance of the ideas)? In your opinion, did the outcome contribute to the common good or were selfish attitudes ("NIMBY") dominant?
- Did you have a democratic experience with participation? Formation of "social capital" (dialogue with fellow human beings)?
- What did you learn?

4) List of newspaper articles on forum in Ghent

- 1) 'John zal niet moeten opstappen' 'Maar wat meer enthousiasme mag wel' De Standaard - 25 Aug. 2018 - Pagina 8
- 2) "Geef burgers een zitje in de gemeenteraad" Gazet van Antwerpen - 09 Jun. 2018 - Pagina 6
- 3) 'Na vier debatten was alles gezegd' De Standaard - 14 Apr. 2018 - Pagina 8
- 4) "Na vier debatten was alles gezegd" Het Nieuwsblad - 14 Apr. 2018 - Pagina 2
- 5) Burgers inspraak geven: in theorie klinkt het goed De Morgen - 14 Apr. 2018 - Pagina 15
- 6) Suggesties Burgerkabinet is maat voor niets Het Laatste Nieuws - 12 Apr. 2018 - Pagina 15
- 7) Aanpassingen circulatieplan gaan in Deze Week - 28 Mar. 2018 - Pagina 1
- 8) Burgerkabinet circulatieplan bloedt dood Het Laatste Nieuws - 26 Mar. 2018 - Pagina 14
- 9) 'Gentse ondernemers zitten niet te wachten op een zoveelste praatbarak' Knack VIP - 02 Mar. 2018 - Pagina 0
- 10) Hier wordt circulatieplan aangepast Het Laatste Nieuws - 14 Dec. 2017 - Pagina 16
- 11) Burgerkabinet Gent wint wereldbeker in Opwijk De Standaard - 07 Dec. 2017 - Pagina 33
- 12) Opwijkse waardering levert Gents circulatieplan wereldbeker op Het Nieuwsblad - 07 Dec. 2017 - Pagina 4
- 14) Burgerkabinet stelt eigen toekomst in vraag Het Nieuwsblad - 30 Okt. 2017 - Pagina 3
- 15) "Sommige wijken bloeden dood" Het Laatste Nieuws - 30 Okt. 2017 - Pagina 13
- 16) adviezen Burgerkabinet versneld uitgevoerd Het Nieuwsblad - 15 Jul. 2017 - Pagina 9
- 17) Stad past circulatieplan aan Het Laatste Nieuws - 15 Jul. 2017 - Pagina 42
- 18) Toegangspoorten tot autovrij gebied geschrapt Het Laatste Nieuws - 03 Jul. 2017 - Pagina 16
- 19) Eén vergunning voor autovrij gebied in Gentse binnenstad De Standaard - 01 Jul. 2017 - Pagina 38
- 20) Eén vergunning voor autovrije kuip Het Nieuwsblad - 01 Jul. 2017 - Pagina 1
- 21) MEER DAN 70 ADVIEZEN VOOR WATTEEUW Het Nieuwsblad - 19 Jun. 2017 - Pagina 1
- 22) Burgerkabinet komt met zeventig adviezen De Standaard - 19 Jun. 2017 - Pagina 25
- 23) Burgerkabinet blijkt tijdverspilling Het Laatste Nieuws - 19 Jun. 2017 - Pagina 15
- 24) 'Gents stadsbestuur duldt geen inspraak' De Morgen - 29 Apr. 2017 - Pagina 16
- 25) Geen referendum over Gents circulatieplan: N-VA legt zich niet neer bij 'hallucinante telling' Knack VIP - 28 Apr. 2017 - Pagina 0
- 26) "Dit kabinet is voor ons land uitzonderlijk" Deze Week - 05 Apr. 2017 - Pagina 6
- 27) Burgerkabinet stapt eerste werkweek in Deze Week - 05 Apr. 2017 - Pagina 1
- 28) Voor tienduizenden Gentenaars, pendelaars en... Het Nieuwsblad - 01 Apr. 2017 - Pagina 1
- 29) Is de stad hier wel klaar voor? De Morgen - 28 Mar. 2017 - Pagina 8
- 30) Mobiliteitsplan invoeren en dan referendum? Geen goed bestuur De Morgen - 27 Mar. 2017 - Pagina 2
- 31) JURY CIRCULATIEPLAN GESTART Het Nieuwsblad - 23 Mar. 2017 - Pagina 1

- 32) 150 Gentenaars buigen zich over circulatieplan De Standaard - 23 Mar. 2017 - Pagina 32
- 33) Burgerkabinet buigt zich over Gents circulatieplan De Morgen - 22 Mar. 2017 - Pagina 12
- 34) 'Ik verzamel al jaren statistieken' Jurgen Gielen De Morgen - 22 Mar. 2017 - Pagina 12
- 35) Burgerkabinet komt er aan Deze Week - 15 Mar. 2017 - Pagina 9
- 36) Gent kan niet om referendum van 1 miljoen euro heen De Morgen - 10 Mar. 2017 - Pagina 13
- 37) Kandidaten burgerkabinet in potjes verdeeld Het Laatste Nieuws - 02 Mar. 2017 - Pagina 16
- 38) Uitgeloot: neutraal burgerkabinet Het Nieuwsblad - 02 Mar. 2017 - Pagina 2
- 39) Kort & Krachtig Deze Week - 08 Feb. 2017 - Pagina 6
- 40) AL ZESHONDERD GENTENAARS willen mening geven over circulatieplan Het Nieuwsblad - 03 Feb. 2017 - Pagina 1
- 20 december 2018 I Het eerste Gentse Burgerkabinet Bedrijfsvoering_Dienst Beleidsparticipatie Stad Gent 17
- 41) Meld je aan voor het Burgerkabinet Deze Week - 25 Jan. 2017 - Pagina 17
- 42) Gezocht: 150 'kritische Gentenaars' De Standaard - 14 Jan. 2017 - Pagina 42
- 43) 190.000 euro voor start burgerkabinet Het Nieuwsblad - 02 Jul. 2016 - Pagina 10
- 44) N-VA zoekt 30.000 handtekeningen voor referendum Gents circulatieplan De Standaard - 28 Mei. 2016 – Pag. 38
- 45) Mobiliteitsforum samengesteld De Standaard - 11 Mei. 2016 - Pagina 33
- 46) 26.000 handtekeningen? Een makkie Het Laatste Nieuws - 26 Apr. 2016 - Pagina 15
- 47) 252 kandidaten voor burgerkabinet Het Laatste Nieuws - 19 Apr. 2016 - Pagina 18
- 48) Inschrijvingen Burgerkabinet voorlopig alleen online Het Laatste Nieuws - 10 Mar. 2016 - Pagina 17
- 49) Geef u op voor het burgerkabinet Het Nieuwsblad - 09 Mar. 2016 - Pagina 1
- 50) F*#k de senioren Het Nieuwsblad - 04 Mar. 2016 - Pagina 2
- 51) Professor Lokale Politiek ziet wat in burgerkabinet De Standaard - 24 Feb. 2016 - Pagina 32
- 52) Gentse knoop zaak van burgerkabinet De Morgen - 24 Feb. 2016 - Pagina 4
- 53) Laatste horde voor circulatieplan is genomen De Standaard - 24 Feb. 2016 - Pagina 32
- 54) "Beschamend" Het Laatste Nieuws - 24 Feb. 2016 - Pagina 17
- 55) Inspraak: achilleshiel van Gents mobiliteitsplan De Morgen - 24 Feb. 2016 - Pagina 31
- 56) Gezocht: 150 mobiliteitsexperts Het Laatste Nieuws - 24 Feb. 2016 - Pagina 17
- 57) "Bedroevend voorstel" Het Laatste Nieuws - 24 Feb. 2016 - Pagina 17
- 58) Referendum van tafel, circulatieplan goedgekeurd Het Nieuwsblad - 24 Feb. 2016 - Pagina
- 59) Na vier uur debat nog geen referendum Het Nieuwsblad - 23 Feb. 2016 - Pagina 1

5) Press Review of available articles on the Burgerkabinet (BK)

Newspaper	Link to Article	Positive towards BK (+) or neutral (0) or negative(-)
Het Laatste News 28.03.18	https://www.hln.be/in-de-buurt/gent/burgerkabinet-circulatieplan-bloedt-dood~a08d4653/	- (very limited participation in BK))
Knack VIP 02.03.18	https://www.knack.be/nieuws/belgie/gentse-ondernemers-zitten-niet-te-wachten-op-een-zoveelste-praatbarak/article-opinion-971835.html	- (BK only serves administrative culture and not serious participation, results disappoint, etc.)
Het Nieuwsblad 07.12.17	https://www.nieuwsblad.be/cnt/dmf20171206_03228290	+ (BK got prize for being a good example of civic participation)
Het Laatste News 15.07.17	https://www.hln.be/in-de-buurt/gent/stad-past-circulatieplan-aan~a7e75342/	+ (BK allows for recommendations to improve existing regulations)
Het Laatste News 03.07.17	https://www.hln.be/in-de-buurt/gent/toegangspoorten-tot-autovrij-gebied-geschrap~a16239b9/	+ (BK allows for recommendations to improve existing regulations)
Het Laatste News 19.06.17	https://www.hln.be/in-de-buurt/gent/burgerkabinet-blijkt-tijdverspilling~a38c33f0/	- (limited participation, working groups of important topics were eliminated, etc.)
Knack VIP 28.04.17	https://www.knack.be/nieuws/belgie/geen-referendum-over-gents-circulatieplan-n-va-legt-zich-niet-neer-bij-hallucinante-telling/article-normal-846317.html	0 (indirectly positive: BK only mentioned in one sentence as an alternative way to express opinion)
De Morgen 27.03.17	https://www.demorgen.be/meningen/mobiliteitsplan-invoeren-en-dan-referendum-geen-goed-bestuur~bc042311/	- (BK established by the city to „avoid” referendum)
Het Laatste News 02.03.17	https://www.hln.be/in-de-buurt/gent/kandidaten-burgerkabinet-in-potjes-verdeeld~aa53c577/	0 (impossible to have a „complete/fair” representation of population inside BK but BK tries its best to achieve this)
Het Laatste News 19.04.16	https://www.hln.be/in-de-buurt/gent/252-kandidaten-voor-burgerkabinet~a4b16197/	- (selection criteria for BK representatives have not been communicated yet, difficult to ensure independence of BK members, etc.)
Het Laatste News	https://www.hln.be/in-de-buurt/gent/inschrijvingen-burgerkabinet-voorlopig-alleen-online~a8eaf836/	- (registration of BK members only possible online -> illiterates cannot participate)

Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung

In den Arbeitspapieren zur Mobilitätsforschung veröffentlichen wir Ergebnisse aus Forschung und Lehre der Goethe-Universität. Online erhältlich unter: <http://tinygu.de/Mobilitaet>

In dieser Reihe sind folgende Arbeitspapiere erschienen:

26. Kliner, N.; Kraus, M. (2021): Methodenbericht zur Beschäftigtenbefragung der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main zum hessischen Landesticket. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 26. Frankfurt a.M.
25. Klein, M.; Klinger, T.; Lanzendorf, M. (2021). Nachhaltige Mobilität in Lincoln. Evaluation des Mobilitätskonzepts und Veränderungen im Mobilitätsverhalten der Bewohner*innen der Lincoln-Siedlung in Darmstadt. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 25. Frankfurt a.M.
24. Baumgartner, A.; Fischer, L.; Welker, J. (2020): Die Wirkung des Mobilitätsdesigns auf die Nutzung und Wahrnehmung von Fahrradstraßen: Untersuchungen anhand eines Fallbeispiels in Offenbach am Main. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 24. Frankfurt a.M.
23. Rozynek, C.; Schwerdtfeger, S.; Lanzendorf, M. (2020): Über den Zusammenhang von sozialer Exklusion und Mobilität. Konzeptionelle Überlegungen zur Einrichtung eines Reallabors in der Region Hannover. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 23. Frankfurt a.M.
22. Blitz, A. (2020): Methodenbericht zur Haushaltsbefragung „Unterwegs in Offenbach“. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 22. Frankfurt a.M.
21. Kliner, N. (2020): Methodenbericht zur Beschäftigtenbefragung der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main zum hessischen Landesticket. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 21. Frankfurt a.M.
20. Kirschner, F. (2019): Methodik zur Haushaltsbefragung „Quartiersentwicklung und Mobilität in Frankfurt-Bornheim“. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 20. Frankfurt a.M.
19. Blechschmidt, A.; Czowalla, L.; Lanzendorf, M. (2018): Fahrrad und öffentlichen Verkehr gemeinsam denken: die Verknüpfung von Fahrradmobilität mit öffentlichem Verkehr als Beitrag zu Daseinsvorsorge und Klimaschutz. Ein Handlungsleitfaden für Bund, Länder, Kommunen sowie Mobilitätsdienstleister. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 19. Frankfurt a.M.
18. Czowalla, L.; Blechschmidt, A.; Busch, D.; Fromberg, A.; Grün, C.; Gwiasda, P.; Hartmann, P.; Wilde, M.; Lanzendorf, M. (2018): Handlungsansätze zur verbesserten Verknüpfung von Fahrrad und Öffentlichem Verkehr. Eine vertiefende Analyse von vier Fallstudien. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 18. Frankfurt a.M.
17. Selzer, S. (2018): Zu Fuß unterwegs – Konflikte der Raumaufteilung für Fußgänger*innen im öffentlichen Straßenraum am Beispiel der Schweizer Straße in Frankfurt am Main. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 17. Frankfurt a.M.
16. Schwerdtfeger, S.; Wilde, M.; Lanzendorf, M. (2018): Motive des Fahrens ohne (gültigen) Fahrschein. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 16. Frankfurt a.M.
15. Czowalla, L.; Busch, D.; Fromberg, A.; Gwiasda, P.; Wilde, M.; Lanzendorf, M. (2017): Neuere Entwicklungen zur Integration von Fahrrad und Öffentlichem Verkehr in Deutschland: Überblick zum Stand des Wissens und der Praxis. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 15. Frankfurt a.M.
14. Schwerdtfeger, S.; Wilde, M.; Lanzendorf, M. (2017): Dokumentation von Best-Practice-Beispielen zum Umgang mit dem Fahren ohne (gültigen) Fahrschein. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 14. Frankfurt a.M.
13. Selzer, S.; Kruse, C.; Wilde, M.; Lanzendorf, M. (2016): Integration von Fernbuslinienangeboten. Anforderungen an und Handlungsoptionen für städtebauliche und verkehrliche Integration der Fernbusse in lokale Verkehrssysteme. Ergebnisse einer Fahrgastbefragung in Frankfurt am Main. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 13. Frankfurt a.M.
12. Schwerdtfeger, S.; Wilde, M.; Mehler, F.; Lanzendorf, M. (2016): Fahren ohne gültigen Fahrschein. Stand der Forschung und medialer Diskurs. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 12. Frankfurt a.M.
11. Schubert, S. (2016): Universität in Bewegung. Bestandsanalyse des Verkehrsverhaltens und der Mobilitätseinstellungen von Studierenden und Beschäftigten der Goethe-Universität. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 11. Frankfurt a.M.

10. Blechschmidt, A. (2016): Nischenkonzept oder Zukunftsmodell für nachhaltige Stadtentwicklung? Planungen und Umsetzungen autofreier bzw. autoreduzierter Stadtentwicklungsprojekte im Vergleich. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 10. Frankfurt a.M.
9. Klinger, T.; Deffner, J.; Kemen, J.; Stein, M.; Lanzendorf, M. (2016): Sharing-Konzepte für ein multioptionales Mobilitätssystem in FrankfurtRheinMain. Analyse neuerer Entwicklungen und Ableitung von Handlungsoptionen für kommunale und regionale Akteure. Schlussbericht. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 9. Frankfurt a.M.
8. Schäfer, P. K. et al. (2016): Elektromobilität als Motor für Verhaltensänderung und neue Mobilität. Abschlussbericht des Gesamtvorhabens „Sozialwissenschaftliche und ökologische Begleitforschung in der Modellregion Elektromobilität Rhein-Main“. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 8. Frankfurt. a.M.
7. Prill, T. (2015). Pedelecs als Beitrag für ein nachhaltiges Mobilitätssystem? Eine Analyse zur Akzeptanz, Nutzung und Wirkung einer technologischen Innovation. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 7. Frankfurt a.M.
6. Rolfsmeier, S. (2015): Wohnumzüge und Mobilitätsverhalten. Die Bedeutung von Raumstrukturen und Präferenzen für die Verkehrsmittelnutzung auf Arbeitswegen. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 6. Frankfurt a.M.
5. Belz, M. (2015): Der Wettbewerb „Südtirol radelt“ als erfolgreiche Maßnahme der Radverkehrsförderung?! Eine Evaluation. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 5. Frankfurt a.M.
4. Blechschmidt, A.; Schönduwe, R.; Lanzendorf, M. (2015): Nutzungsmöglichkeiten von regionalen Mobilitätsdaten in der Region Frankfurt Rhein-Main. Regionale Mobilitätserhebungen und Mobilitätskennziffern im Vergleich – Eine Handreichung für die Praxis. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 4. Frankfurt a.M.
3. Schönduwe, R.; Lanzendorf, M. (2015): Nutzung regionaler Mobilitätsdaten -Möglichkeiten zur Kombination und Harmonisierung der regionalen Mobilitätsdaten des Rhein-Main-Panels mit anderen Mobilitäts- und Strukturdaten. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 3. Frankfurt a.M.
2. Belz, M.; Höner, S.; Kruse, C.; Rolfsmeier, S.; Schroer, M. (2014): Mobilitätsmanagement an der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Campus Westend. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 2. Frankfurt a.M.
1. Lanzendorf, M.; Schönduwe, R. (2014): Mobilitätsverhalten von Heranwachsenden und Möglichkeiten zur Bindung an den ÖPNV. Arbeitspapiere zur Mobilitätsforschung Nr. 1. Frankfurt a.M.

