

ENHANCED DIALOGUE IN TRANSPORT POLICY MAKING: ENABLING CHANGE TOWARDS SUSTAINABILITY THROUGH DELIBERATIVE PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the potential of deliberative public engagement to enable more substantial change towards sustainability in transport policy making. Transport agencies have the responsibility to take into account wider social and environmental impacts in the planning process so as to create effective and acceptable solutions for all stakeholders. However, we see several barriers to achieving sustainable outcomes in the policy formulation process, such as conflicting values in the policy development community; and processes of 'second-guessing', where planners try to anticipate what politicians want, who are in-turn trying to anticipate the preferences of the public. As a result a range of solutions are not communicated because of fear of disapproval. These barriers often occur as a result of a lack of mutual trust and understanding between expert planners, politicians, and sectors of the community. We therefore investigate the potential of deliberative inclusive procedures (DIPs) in transport policy making to act as a catalyst for more effective, acceptable and sustainable transport solutions.

The paper first explores barriers to sustainability in conventional expert-based approaches to policy formulation. It then introduces DIPs as a way of improving the communicative links between planners, politicians, and sectors of civil society. The positive effects of deliberation are highlighted using examples from an international case review of DIPs in the transport sector. We then investigate the potential of DIPs to mitigate the identified sustainability barriers by discussing caveats and limitations. The paper concludes by highlighting the early, pro-active application of DIPs in the policy formulation process as having the greatest leverage on sustainability barriers and the effectiveness and acceptability of policy outcomes.

Keywords: transport, policy making, deliberative inclusive procedures, sustainability, barriers, effectiveness, acceptability

1. INTRODUCTION

The context of urban transport policy making has considerably changed in the past decades. While increasing road capacities was a widely agreed upon objective of transport policy making until the 1970s, the past decades have made apparent that the established patterns of traffic volume growth face spatial and ecological limitations, effecting a range of complex and interrelated problems: congestion of transport networks, decrease of urban liveability, sprawl, fossil energy dependence and depletion, climate change and health problems due to emissions from motorised travel, and social exclusion. These spill-over effects of motorised travel have significant impacts on the macroeconomic, social and ecological sustainability of cities (Baumann & Zeibots 2010). As (Hajer & Kesselring) note, 'the unintended negative effects of modernisation come to occupy centre stage and the production of 'goods' can no longer compensate for the inherent production of 'bads'' (1999, p. 3).

In response, the once agreed upon goal of road network expansion has become contested. There is now an increased variety of formal and informal associations and networks in society, for example, citizen, environment and industry interest groups, with differing problem definitions and conflicting interests and values related to the outcomes of the transport policy making process, and the means and knowledge to achieve them. This is reflected in increased controversy regarding the legitimacy of established routine processes of expert-based policy making and the distribution of decision making power (Hajer 2003). Such multi-dimensional problems that are dispersed in space and time and have no single definitive solution are referred to as *wicked problems* (Rittel & Webber 1973).

In addition to conflicting interests *between* various groups of civil society, there are also conflicts of interests *within* the each group. While actors are aware of the negative implications of their travel behaviour for the public good and generally agree on the need to address problems with restrictive interventions (Whitmarsh, Swartling & Jäger 2009), they often do not support the implementation of measures that limit their individual freedom, for example, increases in the cost of motorised car travel. As (Hajer & Kesselring) observe, 'people drive as consumers but demand policy change as citizens' (1999, p. 6). The literature often links this 'social dilemma' (Ostrom 1990) to notions of NIMBYism (Not In My BackYard), implying that people are happy to support restrictive interventions as long as they are not personally affected (Burningham 2000; Portney 2005). Established ideas about NIMBYism in transport policy communities can create barriers to more effective solutions to the wicked problems surrounding sustainable transport development when planners do not communicate solutions they think politicians would disapprove of, because they 'second-guess' that politicians — who are trying to anticipate the preferences of the public — will not support proposals they think will be unpopular.

Some researchers suggest that the introduction of deliberative inclusive procedures (DIPs) in transport policy making can act as a catalyst for more effective and acceptable solutions to the problems of un-sustainability (Bickerstaff, Tolley & Walker 2002; Booth & Richardson 2001; Whitmarsh, Swartling & Jäger 2009). DIPs involve open and organised dialogue

between government officials and members of civil society in order to develop mutual understanding of the ideas and values involved in a problem situation.

This paper systematically investigates whether DIPs can contribute to overcoming sustainability barriers in transport policy making. We achieve this by systematically exploring value conflicts and sources of second-guessing in transport policy formulation. The paper then introduces DIPs in detail and highlights the potential positive effects of deliberation using examples from an international case review of DIPs in transport. By revisiting the identified sustainability barriers in policy formulation, we assess the potential of DIPs to mitigate some of these barriers. The paper concludes with discussing the caveats and limitations of DIPs and highlighting areas for further research.

2. BARRIERS TO EFFECTIVE AND ACCEPTABLE SUSTAINABLE TRANSPORT POLICIES

This section systematically analyses potential sustainability barriers in transport policy making, focusing on the process of policy formulation. This is because we assume the policy formulation process to have the greatest leverage on the quality of outcomes, as decision makers can only implement proposals that are put forward by planners.

Our analysis employs John W. Kingdon's empirically grounded model of public policy making which is based on a four-year investigation of the rise and neglect of subjects on US governmental agendas (Kingdon 2002). We chose this framework as we consider it more realistic than other models of public policy making and thus more relevant to investigate sustainability barriers in policy formulation practice. As opposed to many conceptions that see planning and decision making as a rational sequence of the stages of problem identification, alternative specification, appraisal, and decision making in order to systematically identify means to pursue valued ends (see for example Carroll & Johnson 1990), Kingdon observes that:

Participants do not first identify problems and then seek solutions for them; indeed, advocacy of solutions often precedes the highlighting of problems to which they become attached. Agendas are not first set and then alternatives generated; instead, alternatives must be advocated for a long period before a short-run opportunity presents itself on an agenda. (pp. 205-206)

He therefore defines public policy making as composed of three streams — problems, policies, and politics — that run widely parallel, but independent from each other (see

Figure 1). Alternative specification is a product of the policy stream. Processes of agenda setting and decision making take place in the political stream as a response to problems that are considered important. According to Kingdon proposals are only shortlisted for implementation by decision makers when the three streams are coupled, that is, when a policy proposal can be linked to a problem that is pressing on the agenda, and at the same time meet a 'ripe political climate' (p. 201). Opportunities for partial couplings — as a first

step towards complete linkage — arise when so-called ‘policy windows’ open either in the problem stream or in the political stream (p. 165). For example, new knowledge or swings in national mood shift attention to different problem areas, or changes in administration or legislation offer opportunities for planners to push attention to their proposals. Policy windows can be predictable such as in the case of administrative change, or open unexpectedly.

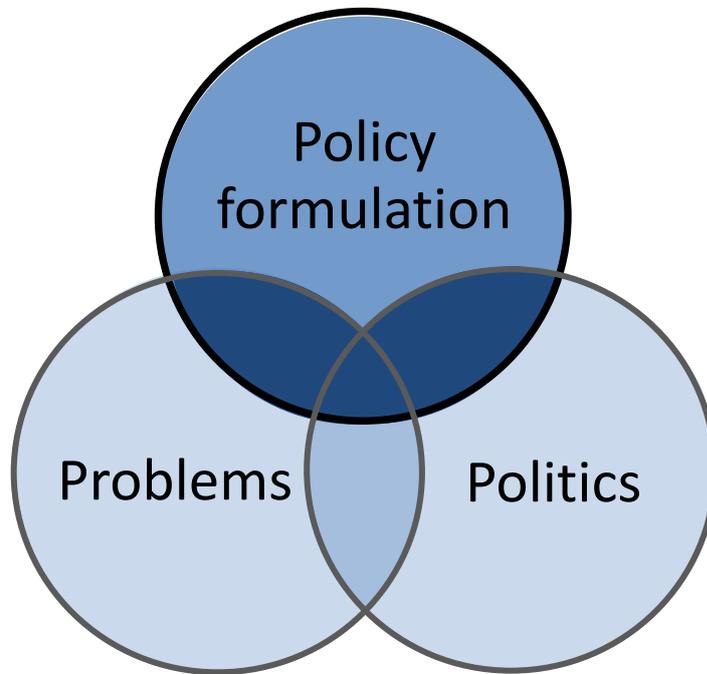


Figure 1: Three parallel streams of policy making and opening policy windows (adapted from Kingdon 2002)

Given the relevance of activities in the policy stream to the actual content of implemented policies, we will focus our analysis of sustainability barriers on the criteria proposals have to meet in order to emerge from the policy stream.

Kingdon compares the generation of policy alternatives to a process of natural selection where only ideas that meet certain criteria are shortlisted for political consideration. These ‘survival’ criteria are technical feasibility, congruence with the values of policy community members, and anticipation of future constraints such as budget, public acceptability, and politicians’ receptivity (pp. 131-139). While existing practices for assessing technical feasibility and, more predominantly, the costs of transportation projects are often contested and might constitute substantial barriers to more sustainable solutions (see for example Flyvbjerg, Holm & Buhl 2002), we will focus our analysis on survival criteria that do not remain internal to the policy community but have interfaces with the political and the public sphere: value congruence and anticipation of public and politicians’ receptivity.

Value congruence

According to Kingdon proposals need to be compatible with the values of the members in a policy community in order to be shortlisted in the policy stream. If this is the case, the criterion remains internal to the policy community. In cases of disagreement however, 'conflicts will spill over into the larger political arena' (p. 133). Value conflicts and ideological biases within a policy community, but also agreement on 'un-sustainable' values, can be barriers to more sustainable transport policies.

The values in question start from basic ideas on the role of transport, for example, whether the transport function is seen as provider of mobility or rather as provider of access and facilitator of exchanges. This conception is linked to ideas of whether travel is seen as an end in itself, or as a derived demand from socio-economic activities. These ideas influence the definition of objectives and solutions, the set of rules employed throughout the process as well as financial decisions, which in turn shape service provider markets, investments in transport modes and the resulting travel behaviour. Additional potential value conflicts relate to the accepted extent of government intervention versus the protection of individual freedom, and ideas such as equity and efficiency.

Interestingly, in his own analysis of ideological biases in the US transportation sector between 1976 and 1979, Kingdon finds that 'transportation is a less ideologically laden arena' (p. 134) than other sectors such as health, given that 'almost everybody sees the need for good transportation' (p. 134). However, in the light of a changed context of transport development as described earlier, there is increasing criticism from researchers and the public regarding the established values underlying conventional transport policy communities, indicating the need for a 'paradigm change' that better incorporates the sustainability idea into policy making (Banister 2008; Masser, Svidén & Wegener 1992). (Bratzel) describes the prevailing values of relevant actors and actor coalitions in transport policy making as either environment- or growth-oriented, emphasizing that this distinction is not to be seen as a dichotomy, but as reflecting priorities in the policies and strategies these actors prefer. Environment-oriented actors prioritize values such as urban liveability, energy efficiency and spatial economies over economic growth and individual motorised mobility, while growth-oriented actors have a reversed list of priorities. The relative strength of these actor coalitions defines the direction of policy development (1999, p. 6). We see policies that contribute to sustainable transport development as inherently environment-oriented, and therefore in conflict with more established growth-oriented value coalitions in policy communities and the political arena of transport development.

The idea of competing environment- and growth-oriented value coalitions in policy communities helps understand the difficulties that attempts to integrate policy communities such as transport, land use and environmental planning often face. The objective of policy integration is to produce more comprehensive and appropriate solutions to sustainability problems by integrating relevant knowledge systems (Stead & Geerlings 2005). However, these knowledge systems are related to different ideas and values on problems and

solutions. As a result, value incongruence and resulting conflicts limit the survival chances for more integrated solutions.

In conclusion, it can be stated that value barriers towards more sustainable transport policies are either due to the congruence of growth-oriented values in a policy community, or the incongruence with regards to potentially more appropriate value priorities. Section 5 will discuss whether the introduction of DIPs can contribute to solving this dilemma.

Anticipation of future constraints

Another survival criterion for proposals in the policy stream is the anticipation of reactions of both specialised interest groups and the broad general public. Although planners often know about potentially highly effective solutions to certain problems, especially with regards to behaviour change, they do not put them forward as 'their experience with public reaction has convinced them that aside from education and warnings, not much more can be done' (Kingdon 2002, p. 138). This 'second-guessing' of public preferences can be a barrier to more sustainable transport policies.

Planners can select from a range of instruments to manage transport networks (see for example May & Crass 2007). These can be either incentives to foster the desired development (*carrots*), for example, investments in public transport, or restrictive measures that enforce the desired change in behaviour (*sticks*), for example, road pricing measures. While implementing carrots is rarely linked to constraints, employing them alone is often considered too weak to produce the substantial changes that are needed to achieve more sustainable transport development. On the other hand, sticks often face opposition in implementation by specialised interest groups or the broad public (see for example Schaller 2010). They are therefore considered by planners to be unpopular and controversial (Gatersleben & Uzzell 2003). This view is linked to assumptions of NIMBYism (Not In My BackYard), that is, a view amongst policy makers that citizens and organisations only support major interventions as long as they are not personally affected by them (Burningham 2000).

Despite the potential effectiveness that sticks offer, conventional expert-based policy making has few mechanisms to generate direct feedback from the public on supposedly unpopular interventions. To anticipate public reactions, planners often rely on indirect data such as forecasts, user statistics, customer feedback, as well as the experience and intuitive assumptions of experts (Meyer & Miller 2000). However, this data mainly documents or extrapolates reactions to previous interventions, rather than giving indications on possible reactions to future change. Due to this lack of security, planners often do not communicate solutions, they second-guess what the public — and thus politicians who are trying to anticipate the preferences of their electorate — would disapprove of (Gatersleben & Uzzell 2004; Warren Centre 2001). As Kingdon observes, 'many ideas are discarded because specialists cannot conceive of any plausible circumstances under which they could be approved by elected politicians and their appointees' (p. 139).

As a result, solutions that are put forward tend to be cautionary in using sticks and oriented towards short-term successes (Harding, Hendriks & Faruqi 2009, p. 44). Second-guessing can therefore be defined as a barrier to more effective solutions to sustainability problems.

Enhanced dialogue to increase effectiveness and acceptability

Reflecting on the barriers of value congruence and second-guessing, we suggest that there might be a two-way problem that originates from a lack of mutual trust and understanding between planners, politicians, and the public: planners and politicians don't trust the public to accept more restrictive interventions based on assumptions of NIMBYism; and the public is not willing to accept restrictive interventions as long as they don't have confidence that their values are understood and taken into account by planners and politicians, and as long as they don't understand the intervention as necessity.

(Gatersleben & Uzzell) provide evidence for this assumption in their comparison of the perceptions of residents, planners and politicians on possible solutions to local transport problems:

Negative measures, while being more forceful, are unlikely to be effective if they are not supported by a public that either sees no alternative or assesses that it is in their individual or collective best interests. ... In order for any measure to have the desired effect, it needs to be accepted and seen as a salient strategy for addressing the problem, which also has to be perceived as real. ... If the residents do not reciprocate by having any confidence in their elected members' awareness of their problems and their preferences in respect of sustainability policies, then those policies will become unworkable. ... Not only do individual car users need to trust those institutions that implement car travel reduction measures, those institutions also need to trust individual car users. ... Based on this collective perception, it seems that local authorities have very little encouragement to try and implement change unless they are forced to do so. (2003, pp. 401-403)

(Hartz-Karp) makes a similar point, stating that 'regardless of the technical merits of experts, experience has shown that if proposals do not reflect the values of the community, implementation is fraught with problems' (2005, p. 8).

Some researchers suggest that enhancing the communicative links between citizens, planners, and politicians can potentially increase the basis of mutual trust and understanding, and so the window of effective and acceptable solutions to emerge from the policy stream. (Gatersleben & Uzzell) for example suggest that 'providing policy makers with more insight into the actual malleability of car use could ... improve decision making processes on car travel reduction measures' (2004, p. 478). (Lash) introduces a six-sided triangle model of the interconnections between planners, politicians, and the public in response to his observations of limited public engagement in regional planning (1976) (see Figure 2). The

corners of the triangle highlight the specific roles of each stakeholder group: the public provides a framework of norms and values, planners use this framework to develop solutions, and politicians select proposals that meet the public interest. The model emphasizes that dialogue between the three groups must go two ways, and that the process will become less effective if one link breaks off (Lash 1976; Legacy 2009). Interestingly, the six-sided triangle fits well into Kingdon's model of the three policy streams if the public and the problem stream are used interchangeably.

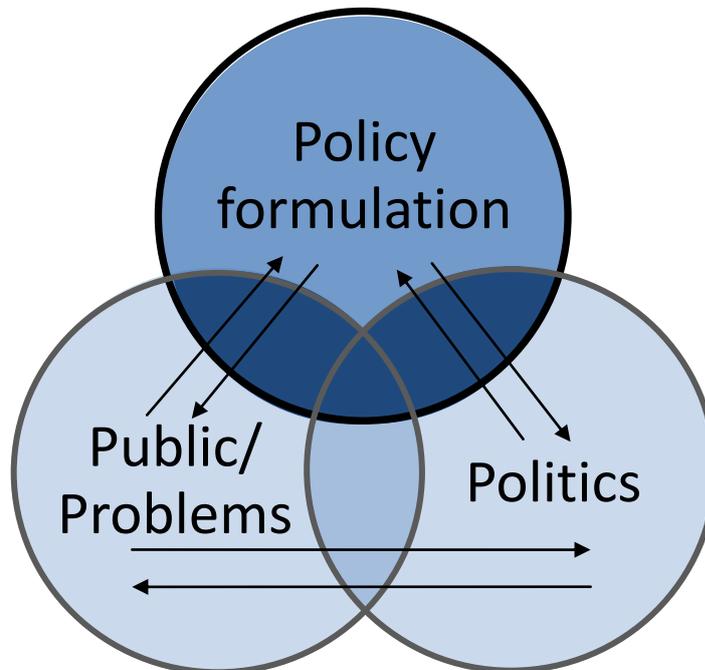


Figure 2: Lash's six-sided triangle of the interconnections between planners, politicians, and the public integrated in Kingdon's parallel streams (adapted from Kingdon 2002; Lash 1976)

Arguments for enhanced dialogue are also based on legitimacy considerations. (Hirschi, Schenkel & Widmer) for example argue that the 'effectiveness' of measures cannot be assessed according to the policy *outcome* only, but that the *process* of how a measure is developed is equally important to ensure legitimacy and acceptance of the resulting interventions (2002, p. 2).

We will now investigate whether deliberative engagement of the public can overcome the identified sustainability barriers in transport policy formulation. The following section provides a brief overview of approaches to engage the public in policy making. It then focuses on the potential of deliberative inclusive procedures (DIPs) to act as a catalyst for more effective and acceptable solutions to the challenges of sustainable transport development.

3. ENGAGING THE PUBLIC IN POLICY MAKING

The idea of public participation in policy making is not new, and there is a variety of approaches (see Brodie, Cowling & Nissen 2009 for an overview of the literature). Table 1

provides an overview of common techniques, highlighting differences in the extent of influence they have on decision making, as well as the quality of deliberation. While these approaches are used as tools to increase public participation in representative democracies, there are also systems of direct democracy like in Switzerland that place decision making authority in the hands of citizens. Planners in direct democracies have higher incentives to actively engage with the public interest due to the immediate feedback mechanism. However, it is sometimes argued that direct democracy can lead to a summary of expressions of individual interest similar to elections in representative democracies, rather than engaging people to make decisions in their role as citizens (see (Hajer & Kesselring 1999) for a list of arguments against equality oriented forms of direct democracy). This can be problematic with regards to decisions on transport systems that have wider impacts on the ecological, social and economic sustainability of cities. The remainder of this paper will now focus on the potential of deliberative inclusive procedures (DIPs) in representative democracies.

Table 1: Overview of public participation techniques (adapted from Hartz-Karp 2007; IAP2 2007)

	Inform	Consult	Involve	Collaborate	Empower
Example techniques	-Fact sheets -Web sites -Open houses	-Public comment -Focus groups -Surveys -Public meetings	-Workshops -Deliberative polling	-Citizen advisory committee -Consensus building -Participatory decision making	-Citizen juries -Ballots -Delegated decision
Public participation goal	Provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem alternatives	Obtain public feedback on analysis, and/or decisions	Work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public issues are consistently understood and considered	Partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution	Place final decision making in the hands of the public
Influence	Consultation			Engagement	
Deliberation	Advocacy			Informed discussion	

Traditional procedures of community consultation have been criticised for being ‘partial, typically allowing tightly constrained debate, with many critical decisions taking place without the benefit of public involvement’ (Booth & Richardson 2001, p. 142). (Hartz-Karp) describes such procedures as DEAD (Decide, Educate, Announce, and Defend), implying that they do not credit the public any real influence in decision making but aim to market pre-defined expert decisions (2007). (Arnstein) summarizes the lack of influence as follows:

Participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. It allows the powerholders to claim that all sides were considered, but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit. It maintains the status quo. (1969)

The idea of deliberative engagement goes beyond consultation in that it aims to empower the public in actual decision making, and to facilitate a change in the participants’ point of view

'from that of a self-interested consumer to a citizen with a sense of the public good' (White 2008, p. 3). (Hartz-Karp) introduces three normative criteria to characterise DIPs (2007): influence, inclusiveness, and deliberativeness. First, they have *influence*, in the sense that the results of the deliberation have an impact on policy making. Second, they are representative, or *inclusive*, of civil society, that is, they include traditional decision elites as well as the 'voiceless' and are therefore also referred to as 'mini-publics' (Fung 2006, p. 68). (Hendriks) defines civil society as 'formal and informal associations and networks in society, which exist outside of the state' (2002, p. 3) and differentiates between the different sectors according to 'the degree to which they seek to influence the activities of the state' (p. 4). It is important to note that there are differing interpretations of the idea of representation. (Renn) discusses the theoretical foundations of six basic concepts of public participation, making apparent that they define representation in various ways, or don't require representation at all (2008, p. 303).

Third, they are *deliberative*, in the sense that they bring together the knowledge, ideas and values of various sector of civil society in an *informed discussion* in order to find a consensus based on mutual understanding. An informed discussion has two main characteristics: it creates a neutral space for discussion by employing independent and skilled facilitators, and it makes appropriate use of expertise, that is, it uses experts in an informing rather than in a controlling and decision making role (Gastil & Levine 2005). This definition makes clear that DIPs cannot replace the role of experts in assessing proposals with regards to their technical and financial feasibility and the wider impacts. They are in fact a tool to provide experts with better information on the issues and respective norms and values to be included in policy formulation. This understanding is corresponds with Lash's six-sided triangle as described in section 3. It is important to keep in mind that the aim of DIPs is different from a process of negotiation that produces a compromise between given interests based on the lowest common denominator. DIPs aim to foster dialogue and critical examination of the various preferences and values towards mutual understanding and trust (Vatn 2009), and so enhance the range of acceptable solutions. Such a process based on the *force of the better argument* is referred to as *communicative action* (Habermas 1984).

(White) adds three additional, more general dimensions to the criteria for DIPs: decision timing, influence of elites, and scope (2008). Decision timing refers to the stage of policy making where DIPs are employed, implying that earlier applications have greater leverage in terms of impact on resources, environment, and communities. The second criterion refers to the robustness of governance systems to the influence of power elites and interest groups. Scope relates to the way issues are framed, that is, whether they are seen from one perspective only, for example, transport as an economic or environmental issue, or rather as embedded in an interconnected systems' context.

DIPs are employed for various reasons. While some observers define them as an end in itself to enhance democracy, legitimacy or justice, others see them as means towards achieving more effective outcomes. The various designs are accordingly suited for different objectives (Fung 2006; Hajer & Kesseling 1999). DIPs vary according to the number of participants and the duration of the process, ranging from small-scale processes that

emphasize the quality of discussion, to events of large-scale interactions and collective decision making (see Figure 3). 21st Century Town Meetings manage to overcome the trade off between the benefits of small- and large-scale dialogues by combining both procedures through use of technology. Participants can so discuss issues in a small group setting whilst maintaining the link to the group as a whole (Gastil & Levine 2005, pp. 154-163). Consensus conferences are smaller scale processes that typically involve a panel of about 20 citizens who question expert witnesses in a public setting. The resulting recommendations are circulated widely, often in the form of a citizens' expertise or *Bürgergutachten* (Gastil & Levine 2005, pp. 80-110). Citizens' Juries by contrast are not held in a public setting. They typically involve a small panel 12-20 of non-specialists and take place over two to three days. The aim is to examine an issue of public interest in detail and deliver a 'verdict' that reconciles conflicting public interests (Gastil & Levine 2005, pp. 111-119).

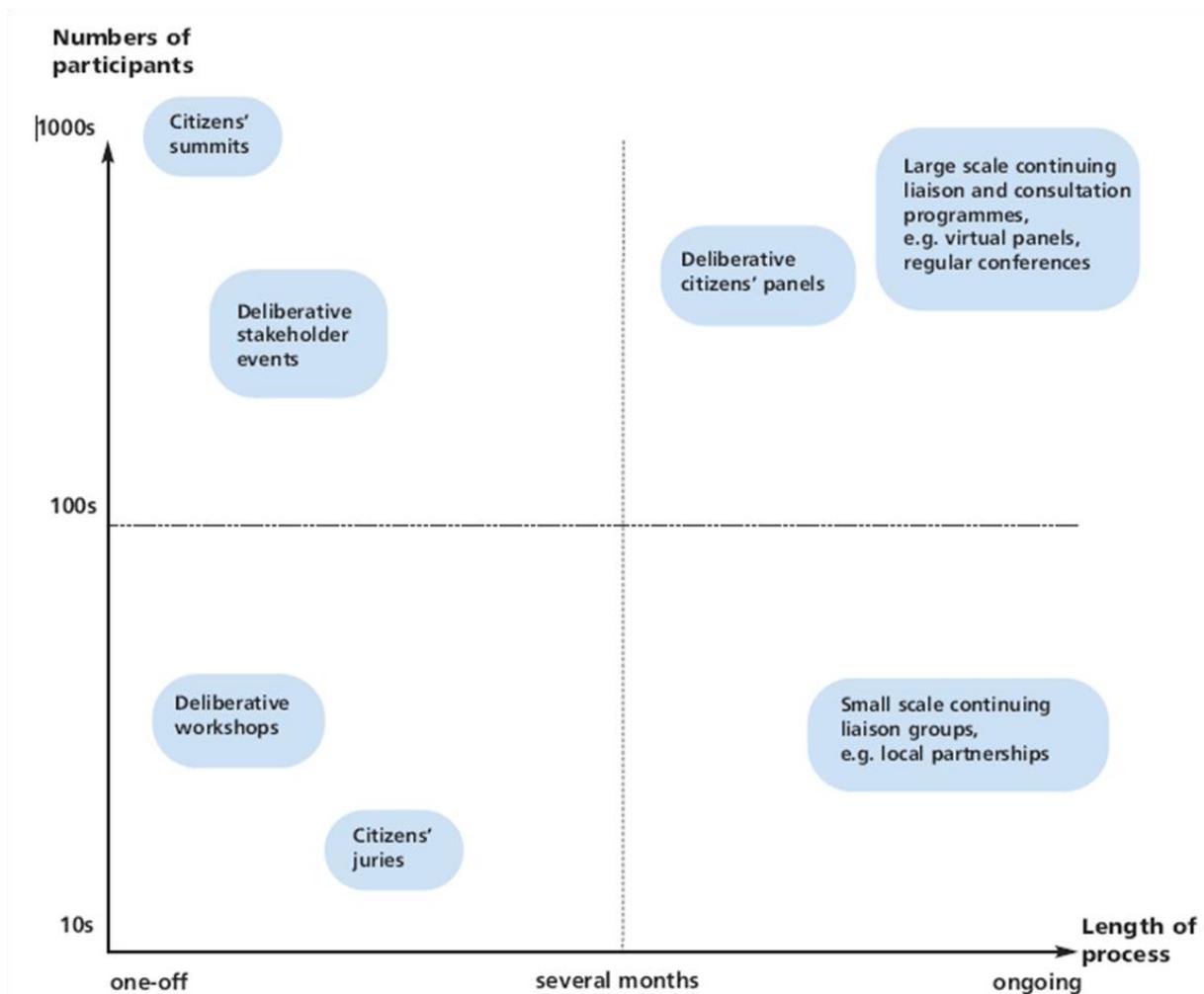


Figure 3: Numbers and timescales of deliberative democratic procedures (Involve 2008)

There are unresolved issues with regards to the normative criteria for DIPs, especially with regards to inclusiveness and influence. Our analysis in the following section will only focus on the effects of deliberation — promotion of mutual understanding and trust and integration of diverse value and knowledge systems — and explore whether DIPs can contribute to overcome the identified sustainability barriers in the policy stream.

4. CASE STUDIES OF THE EFFECTS OF DELIBERATION

To illustrate the potential effects of deliberation, we will draw on examples from an international case selection of DIPs in transport policy making (see appendix 1 for an overview). These cases have been selected according to available analyses of process outcomes with regards to the effects of deliberation.

In the investigated cases we have discovered two reoccurring objectives for employing DIPs. First, to create a plan for the long-term development of urban transport systems, often in conjunction with other sectors such as land use, energy, or economic development (cases 8-14). Second, to resolve conflicts that involved long-term controversies in the community, and blockages during the political process (cases 1-7). We suggest that these motivations can be classified as pro-active and reactive, with pro-active procedures having potentially higher long-term impacts as they question the objectives and values underlying the planning process, whereas reactive procedures attempt to resolve controversies and blockages in situations with already set objectives. (Whitmarsh, Swartling & Jäger) make this classification in terms of single- and double-loop learning: 'While single-loop learning involves adaptation and error correction in respect of a fixed goal, double-loop learning is more fundamental and connects error correction to adjustment of underlying objectives, values, norms and beliefs' (2009, p. 233). Going back to Kingdon's framework of the policy making process, plan creation can be seen as essential part of the policy formulation process, while conflict resolution refers to the decision making and implementation stages of already short-listed solutions.

Trust and ownership

Deliberative democracy actively engages sectors of civil society in policy making. This role change of citizens from passive recipient to active creator of policies can increase trust and reduce cynicism towards government activities. For example, in the case of deliberative workshops on a tolling option for the Western Ring Route, New Zealand (7), participants were reportedly impressed with Transit New Zealand's willingness to inform them and desire to get their feedback. In the case of 'Creating Tomorrow Today' in Merrillville, United States (10), participants discussed regional opportunities and challenges and their individual and collective visions for the future. As a result of the process close to 75% of participants stated they were confident that something positive would happen in their region as a result of the meeting. In addition, 62.6% of the participants stated that they have changed their opinion during the process. Dialogue with the City (8) involved deliberation on the future shape of urban form and transport, dealing with the tension between large, single family dwellings in urban sprawl, and urban consolidation and the 'network city'. Many participants were initially cynical about the political agenda and anxious about achieving productive dialogue or consensus with such a large, disparate group. Accordingly, they expressed surprise at the extent of common ground forged, hope that politicians could be trusted to listen and respond to the people, and delight with the goodwill of fellow participants to engage in positive dialogue. Quantitatively, 42% said they changed their views as a result of the dialogue, while

many more admitted to broadening their views. 99.5% of participants thought the deliberations went 'OK' or 'great'. 97% indicated they would like to participate in such an event again.

This trust-building effect also works for politicians and planners. For example, in the New Zealand case (7), senior executives were impressed with the ability of the population to learn about a complex issue and respond in a more informed way than just support or oppose. They also were impressed with the standard of feedback achieved and useful information gathered from the public. Such learning effects contribute to social capital and form the basis for further development of collaborative governance.

Another effect of citizen empowerment is increased public ownership of decisions, as citizens feel their values and concerns are more directly reflected in decisions. For example, after the 'Dialogue with the City' process (8), a negative media campaign was started to discredit the resolutions from the process. However, as the community had developed a sense of ownership of the strategy, many of the former participants took action to defend the strategy against the negative campaigns. Public ownership of decisions can help achieving a broader support for proposals, as sceptical citizens are more likely to be won over by their peers, or to accept a proposal because it was developed by the public rather than experts. An additional benefit of public ownership of decisions is that difficulties in implementation are more likely to be accepted or tolerated, as citizens have experienced the difficulties of policy making themselves.

Conflict resolution through mutual understanding

Deliberation can contribute to solving conflicts between the public and government, but also increase understanding between various sectors of civil society. For example, the Road Train Summit in Perth, Australia (2), involved community members and industry in a consensus conference in an attempt to balance social and economic interests with regards to freight route development. What started with negative, cynical, and even abusive opinions, ended in highly positive feedback and a much broader consensus than had been expected by the participants. As a result, all prioritised actions from the consensus conference have been implemented over the course of two years, supported by an institutional reorganisation. The Bologna Citizens' Jury in Italy (3) had similar effects. Jurors have moderated their preferences during the course of the process from very polarised to intermediate positions towards the policy approach that was considered most appropriate. In the end, a consensus could be reached with 97%. It is important to note however that the outcome was not implemented as it was only an experiment in deliberative engagement. In fact, shortly after the process the municipality implemented an option that had been strongly opposed by the jury. In Gevelsberg, Germany (6), a long-standing conflict regarding a potential bypass road to deal with increasing volumes of through traffic in the city centre brought policy development to a complete standstill. A citizens' jury that assessed the various options based on a catalogue of criteria finally resolved the conflict. The resulting citizens' report (*Bürgergutachten*) was approved by 75% of the participants and confirmed for implementation by a majority of the council only two months later.

Integration of values and knowledge

Deliberation can complement the lens of conventional expert knowledge and values with the various lenses of public knowledge and experience, and thus contribute to the reframing of problems and solutions. For example, the Bürgergutachten in Hannover, Germany (13), aimed to analyse the strengths and weaknesses of the existing public transport system and develop suggestions for improvement. The deliberative integration of the citizens' practical knowledge and the expert knowledge of the employees contributed to shift the technically-oriented ideas of the public transport providers towards a more customer oriented service perspective. The deliberative process helped the public transport provider to develop a better service to its customers. In the conflict regarding the Reid Highway Extension in Carine, Australia (4), officials initially thought that the issue in question was that various community groups each did not want road development 'in their own backyard'. However, it became clear in the deliberative process that the main concern was the safety of school children. Once these issues had been resolved, the initial proposal could be implemented with minor changes.

5. DISCUSSION

We will now revisit the earlier identified sustainability barriers in the policy stream — value congruence and second-guessing based on a lack of mutual trust and understanding — and relate them to the observed effects of deliberation. This linkage will serve as a basis for discussion and qualification of the potential of DIPs to mitigate sustainability barriers and therefore to act as a catalyst for more effective and acceptable solutions to the problems of un-sustainability in transport development.

Mitigating barriers

We have identified value conflicts within a policy community as well as agreement on 'un-sustainable' growth-oriented values as barriers to more sustainable transport policies. DIPs bring additional values and knowledge into the process of policy formulation. However, they provide at the same time a deliberative forum to discuss and critically examine the various ideas and values involved. This enhanced dialogue can produce a consensus based on mutual understanding, and so resolve some of the barriers that previous attempts of widening the value systems of conventional transport policy communities have often faced. The effects of deliberation can also help to mitigate conflicting interests of individual participants or groups of civil society by shifting the balance between individual and public interest. This is because mutual understanding of the respective values and concerns involved in a problem situation can increase empathy and extend care boundaries, and thus weaken NIMBY attitudes with regards to restrictive measures. (Portney) observes that 'there is no functioning mechanism in communities today to encourage individuals to consider the community or the aggregate consequences of their imputations of self-interest and the personal behavior that stems from them' (2005, p. 585). DIPs can potentially provide such a mechanism.

Second-guessing of public preferences based on implicit assumptions of NIMBYism is the second sustainability barrier we have identified. As has been shown, deliberation can increase mutual trust between planners, decision makers and the public, and so increase the acceptability and public ownership of policies. DIPs offer a channel for planners to receive more direct feedback from the public. This improved knowledge of the public interest can increase confidence with regards to the anticipation of future constraints, and so mitigate barriers of second-guessing. On the other hand, citizens feel their values and concerns better represented in resulting decisions, and have an increased understanding for the necessity of an intervention. They might therefore be more willing to accept restrictive measures. (Schiefelbusch) suggests that 'the more successful a procedure can be in bringing diverging interests together, the greater the acceptance and value of its result, mainly in terms of political attention and influence' (2005, p. 268). According to (Hirschi, Schenkel & Widmer) increased acceptance can also be explained by the fact that the inclusion of the public in the process of policy formulation changes the legitimacy basis for a proposed solution (2002, p. 2).

Revisiting the six-sided triangle, deliberative procedures can enforce the communicative links between planners and the public, so as to provide planners with a more defined expression of the public interest. According to Kingdon, policies are not newly invented for every issue that arises in the problem stream but are a result of mutation and recombination of already existing ideas that swim in the 'policy primeval soup' (p. 116). Better feedback from the public on the norms and values related to these problems can contribute to a more appropriate set of measures. Deliberation also improves the links between planners and politicians, as proposals that are put forward by planners already have value approval from the public. Finally, DIPs can also improve links between politicians and the public. Rather than requiring politicians to balance and trade off the individual interests of a wide variety civil society sectors, DIPs provide a forum for these groups to engage in informed discussion on the involved ideas and values and so provide more inclusive feedback to decision makers.

Caveats and limitations regarding deliberative processes

We have demonstrated that deliberative processes have the potential to mitigate some of the barriers towards more effective and acceptable sustainable transport policies. However, we do not want to suggest that they are inherently a guarantee for success. In the following we will address the caveats and limitations of DIPs.

First, an appropriate design of the process is fundamental to facilitate the discussed effects of deliberation. The selected procedure needs to correspond with the problem situation or the objectives of the process. To enable informed discussion, it is often recommended to use independent moderation and organization, and to work in small groups so that 'established hierarchies and 'camps' are broken up' (Lewanski 2007). With regards to the information provided, it is important to avoid bias so as not to steer participants into pre-defined directions. In order to avoid deception and loss of trust, organizers need to clearly communicate the objectives and limitations of the process to participants, that is, what they are willing to do, and about what they can and cannot do. This transparency is also relevant

for assessing the costs against the expected benefits of the process, as organizing DIPs can be very resource intensive. Finally, DIPs do not readily correspond with traditional processes and institutions of expert-based planning and decision making. It is therefore a challenge to integrate procedures and the results so as to effectively complement existing structures.

Second, even an ideal DIP is not a guarantee for achieving the intended outcomes. (Hajer & Kesseling) state that “‘good’ (i.e. democratic) practices do not automatically produce ‘good’ (i.e. more sustainable) results’ (1999, p. 3). While it could be expected that aspects of environmental, social and economic sustainability correspond with the public interest, deliberation can also reveal a public preference for the status quo, or for ‘un-sustainable’ solutions. We assume that such results might be based on deliberative frameworks that do not leave enough space for questioning and adjusting the underlying objectives, norms and values related to the problem situation, but only allow for adjustments in respect to a fixed goal. This is sometimes the case when DIPs are employed for conflict resolution, and might imply that these procedures do not go beyond the criticism that classic public participation processes often face, that is, that they only market solutions that have been pre-identified by experts. However we suggest that it is important to assess the outcomes of DIPs not only in terms of the solutions implemented, but also in terms of the effects the procedure had on participants. The increase in mutual trust and understanding between planners, politicians and the sectors of civil society goes beyond the benefits of classic participation processes, and can serve as a basis for better solutions in the future. However we acknowledge that dialogue does not always lead to conflict resolution, and that the establishment of trust and mutual understanding might not affect all stakeholder groups in the same way.

Third, DIPs cannot guarantee the elimination of the influence of power in public policy making. Expert-based approaches to policy making, especially in the transport sector, are often critiqued for giving preference to the interests of sectors of civil society that are closer to decision making instead of putting more effort into defining and meeting the interest of the ‘voiceless’ (see for example Flyvbjerg, Holm & Buhl 2002). DIPs are not inherently robust to these influences. (Hendriks) for example describes two cases of DIPs that have been strategically undermined and altered by groups in civil society (2002, p. 16). However, although DIPs in the policy making process cannot eliminate the influence of power, we suggest that informed discussion between the sectors of civil society that are affected by a problem situation can contribute to limit and diffuse the influence of power elites and interest groups.

Fourth, as discussed earlier, DIPs do not intend to supplant expert knowledge in the policy formulation process and are not suggested as an alternative to expert-based policy making. What they do intend is making more appropriate use of expertise by assigning it an informing rather than a controlling and decision making role.

6. CONCLUSION

It can be concluded from the discussion that the deliberative engagement of sectors of civil society in transport policy making has the potential to overcome some of the sustainability

barriers in conventional expert-based processes of policy formulation — value congruence, second-guessing, and lack of mutual trust, however this should not be considered as a guarantee for better solutions. DIPs can complement expert-based planning and decision making processes in situations where complexity, uncertainty and ambiguity make it necessary to look at the situation with more than one lens. Deliberation is therefore not an end in itself, but in fact a catalyst towards reaching more effective and acceptable solutions to the challenges of sustainable transport development.

It is important to note that deliberative engagement is not a generalizable procedure, but can be employed at several stages of the planning and decision making process with very distinct purposes (Legacy 2009). Our case studies have shown that deliberation is typically employed at two different stages of transport policy making: integrating public interests, norms and values in the policy formulation process, and moderating the values at stake when there are controversies or blockages in decision making or implementation. We have classified these differences in objectives as pro-active and reactive; with pro-active procedures questioning the objectives and values underlying a problem situation, whereas reactive procedures attempt to resolve conflicts in situations with already set objectives. In conclusion, it seems that visioning and plan creation applications of DIPs at the policy formulation stage have potentially greater long-term impacts on the outcomes of the policy making process (see cases 8-14 in appendix 1 for examples). They are therefore more capable to mitigate sustainability barriers in transport policy making.

As a final note, we want to highlight the routine integration of DIPs into the policy stream as an area for further research. DIPs do not readily correspond with traditional processes and institutions of expert-based planning and decision making. In order to take full advantage of the positive effects of deliberation, it appears important to further investigate how DIPs as well as their impacts and results can be more effectively integrated into existing routines.

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Annex 1: Overview of international cases using deliberative engagement in transport planning and decision-making

	Project/ Location	Issue	Procedure	Participants	Result/ Impact	Source
1	Perth, Australia: East-West Freight Route	Develop a new, sustainable framework for freight movement in the metropolitan area: The community has become increasingly vocal about the impacts of freight on their safety, their property values, environment and quality of life. Business and industry have become increasingly vocal about the importance of efficient freight movement to the State's economy.	Multi Criteria Analysis Conference	95	The original proposal was not the preferred route. The solution relied on using the existing roads more effectively rather than building new roads. Although the participants accepted the outcomes as fair and reasonable, this could not be said for the wider community of varying vested interests. It has remained a political issue.	(Perth 2002a)
2	Perth, Australia: Road Train Summit	Increasing incursion of long vehicles and road trains into the metropolitan area on routes that were perceived to be neither safe nor appropriate from an environmental and public amenity viewpoint. Many freight route 'hotspots' in the community, not resolved to the community's satisfaction. Government placed a moratorium on any expansion plans. This was greeted with outrage from the industry.	Consensus forum	100	All consensus options were referred on to a small Planning Implementation Team of community, industry, state and local government representatives. This Team worked together over several months to translate the consensus options into actions to be undertaken. At the end of two years, each action agenda in the Final Report was put into effect.	(Perth 2001)
3	Bologna, Italy: Bologna Citizen Jury	Controversies regarding traffic limitation in city center.	Citizens' Jury	50	Jury was only an experiment and had no ambition to exert influence on decisions. This was made clear to both the actors in the Advisory Board and to the jurors. Shortly after the jury took place, the Municipality decided to introduce an option the verdict strongly opposed.	(Lewanski 2007)
4	Carine, Australia: Reid Highway Extension	Proposed traffic flow on and off the new highway extension was highly contentious issue. Complaints about lack of safety for the school children, delays at intersections and the hazards of traffic diverted onto local roads. Surveys of local residents showed the community remained divided.	Citizens' Jury	302	The decision was unanimous - to fully open the intersection, however with a series of safety measures recommended to ensure the safety of the school community and residents. The road option recommended by the Jury has now been built, including the safety additions.	(Carine 2001)
5	Perth, Australia: Freight Network Review	To bring the community, industry, state and local government into the heart of the freight planning process to establish a new framework for freight movement in the metropolitan area and a sustainable network plan.	Consensus forum, Deliberative Survey, Multi Criteria Analysis Conference	130	'Six Point Plan', developed by the Implementation Team and accepted by Government is a broad-sweeping agenda for Government over the next decade to shift the focus of freight to more sustainable options. To date, the implementation of the recommended actions is on track.	(Perth 2002b)
6	Gevelsberg Germany: Bürgergutachten Gevelsberg	In the late 1980s, the city of Gevelsberg, Germany, faced increasing volumes of through traffic in its city centre. Several proposals for a bypass road were discussed and rejected, and the conflict brought policy development to a standstill.	Citizens' Jury, Bürgergutachten	143	75% of attendants agreed to the (re-)building of a bypass, and proposed a number of minor changes to the plans. Findings were collated in a written citizens' expertise (<i>Bürgergutachten</i>). A majority of the council voted to proceed as proposed in the report.	(Schiefelbusch 2005)

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7	Auckland, New Zealand: Western Ring Route	Need for another main artery to take traffic through Auckland. The Western Ring Route project included a section that was likely to require a large additional budget. NZ legislation required Transit to demonstrate community support for proposed tolling option.	Deliberative workshops, World Café	100	The Transit Board dropped the proposal for tolling as much of the feedback was critical of the costs of creating tolling infrastructure and collecting tolls. Transit continues to investigate ways of completing the WRR using other funding means	(Auckland 2006)
8	Perth, Australia: Dialogue with the City	Determine how to accommodate the region's tremendous growth. The objective of Dialogue with the City was to jointly plan to make Perth the world's most livable city by 2030.	21st Century Town Meeting	1100	Input from the meeting is being used by the Western Australian Planning Commission to devise their strategic plan for the Perth and surrounding areas.	(Hartz-Karp 2005)
9	Charlotte, United States: The Region Speaks	Discuss the impact of growth on the region and generate recommendations on addressing the most pressing challenges	21 st Century Town Meeting	175	Participants discussed the shared values of the region and identified and prioritised four critical issues: improving understanding of the interdependence of transportation, economic development, environment, and land use decisions; the environment; education (resource allocation, access, and quality); and transportation	(Charlote 2003)
10	Merrillville, US: Creating Tomorrow Today	A Forum on the Future of Northwest Indiana. Participants discussed regional opportunities and challenges, and their individual and collective visions for the future.	21 st Century Town Meeting	500	Participants strongly endorsed the bolstering of existing public transit service as well as the expansion of bus and rail to fill in the current gaps and create a seamless and integrated system.	(NIPRC 2008)
11	Port Philip, Australia: Port Philip Speaks	Develop community priorities for the 2007 Port Phillip Community Plan.	21 st Century Town Meeting	750	The 2007-2017 Community Plan was written based on the results of the Summit.	(Port Philip 2007)
12	Chicago, US: Common Ground	Develop regional goals that would guide the development of an integrated land use and transportation plan.	21 st Century Town Meeting	1000	Results from the meeting led to the merger of regional land use and transportation agencies.	(Chicago 2001)
13	Hannover, Germany: Bürgergutachten Attraktiver ÖPNV	Analyze strength and weaknesses of existing public transport system and develop suggestions for improvement.	Citizens' Jury, Bürgergutachten	297	200 page expertise (<i>Bürgergutachten</i>) with 180 suggestions for improvement of public transport in Hannover, citizens have also been consulted in thematic work groups during implementation over the course of 2 years.	(Sinning et al. 1996)
14	Heidelberg, Germany: Verkehrsforum Heidelberg	Looking for concrete measures in the framework of a long-term plan; main aims where to secure mobility and maintain quality of life	Transport Forum	128 interest groups	Resulting transport development plan (<i>Verkehrsentwicklungsplan</i>) has been implemented by community council. 56% increase in public transport patronage since 1990.	(Sellnow 2002)