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A Discussion on Public Participation, Quality, Efficiency and Effectiveness

A Case Study of the Zoning-plan Process
E8 Lavangsdalen

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Preface

This master thesis is written in the Department of Landscape Architecture and Spatial Planning (ILP) at the Norwegian University for Life Sciences (NMBU). This thesis finalizes my master degree in landscape architecture and comprises one semesters work.

Through my exchange stay at Lincoln University in New Zealand, I became aware of how democratic our planning system in Norway is in comparison to planning systems in many other countries. I brought this insight with me back to Ås, and in my final course at NMBU I chose to do my assignment on public participation and efficiency and I started to examine the streamlining in process in Statens Vegvesen¹. When I handed in my term paper last year I decided to focus on investigating the potential outcomes for public participation and plan quality when planning processes are pressured on time. In light of the public debate on lack of efficiency in planning and building roads and promises from the government to build roads more rapidly, and with the on-going streamlining process in Statens Vegvesen, I believe that the topic of this thesis is highly applicable and relevant. The thesis can provide valuable insight to which effects time-pressured planning processes might lead to with respect to democratic values and the quality of both plan and process.

Through the work with this thesis I have expanded my knowledge; both expert knowledge on the topic and also about planning and the planning system. This is knowledge which I believe will come handy in my future career. I have achieved a better understanding of the processes which lead up to the completed plan. I hope that my findings through this work will be of value for Statens Vegvesen in

¹ Statens Vegvesen is the Norwegian Public Road Agency. The agency is responsible for planning, building, operating and maintaining national and county roads in Norway.

their continuing efficiency enhancing process, and that I, in my thesis, have managed to promote public participation through gathering and combining some of the information and knowledge which exists on the purposes and the value of public participation and how participation at an early stage can increase the efficiency of a planning process.

Through my investigation I show that an accelerated planning process holds the risk of not delivering informative, creative and an open planning process and that the outcome of such processes are plans of poor and undesirable quality.

I would like to thank my supervisors Shelley Egoz and Anne-Katrine Geelmuyden, my contact person in Statens Vegvesen Knut Sørgaard and Mariann Larsen in Statens Vegvesen who provided me with useful information for my case study. I would also like to thank friends, family and Arthur who supported me throughout my work on this thesis.

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Nora Helleland

Summary

This master thesis is a contribution to the debate about the inefficiency of road planning in Norway. Statens Vegvesen aims at halving the time spent on planning and have put forwards several efficiency enhancing measures. The planning regime in Statens Vegvesen is developing towards a system which is more pressured on time delivery. This thesis highlights and discusses the effects that time-pressure involves with respect to public participation and quality of both planning processes and produced plan. The Norwegian word *effektivitet* holds two different meanings in English: efficiency and effectiveness. The thesis discusses this duality in order to understand what the term *effektivitet* entails in relation to the on-going efficiency enhancing process in Statens Vegvesen. The method that has been used is a case study of the time-pressured zoning-plan process of E8 Lavangsdalen. The characteristics of the planning process and the produced zoning-plan have been compared to ideals from theories on planning.

The case study revealed that the planning process, due to time-pressure, failed to perform in accordance with required guidelines and planning ideals. This resulted in an overall reduction of quality in both process and plan. Furthermore, the poor quality of the plan resulted in misinforming the citizens. The planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen is highlighted as one of the most efficient planning processes ever performed by Statens Vegvesen. However, the case study revealed that the planning process was neither efficient nor effective.

The main finding of the case study is that the quality of plan and planning process is dependent on allocating enough time and resources to perform the first stages of a planning process.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Rationale for Choice of Assignment

Norway is a country primarily connected through roads and nearly every village over the entire country is connected to the national road system. The roads often go through tunnels or avalanche-prone areas and some roads suffer from annual flood damages. People who are living in the remote districts struggle with old roads and poor road conditions. At the same time, Norway's population is growing and many roads in proximity to the larger cities can't hold the increasing number of cars. There are many and differing demands for Statens Vegvesen to meet.

Over the last years, the amount of time involved in the planning processes of transport projects has been widely discussed in both Storting and Government, and also through media (Hareide, Høybråten, Hjemdal, & Bekkevold, 2011) (Stoltenberg, 2012). From the national political level it has been questioned whether current processes can become more efficient. The formal pressure to streamline the planning processes within Statens Vegvesen derives from the Government and the Ministry of Transport. The time consumption is regarded as unfeasible to our society, and time consumption has also proven to make it difficult to implement the National Transport Plan². And with the Minister of Transport announcing: "we want to build more, build smarter, build faster" even

² The National Transport Plan (NTP) is a ten year plan for transport and communication and it is revised every fourth year (Statens Vegvesen, 2013).

more pressure is added (Olsen, 2013). The motivation for enhancing efficiency is both political and economic.

Statens Vegvesen and the Ministry of Transport are currently working on efficiency enhancing measures where the goal is to reduce planning time by half (Statens Vegvesen , 2013a). In this context three reports have been prepared. These, through analysis of completed planning processes and empiric data from the planning discipline have put forwards specific suggestions to change and develop the existing planning system (Departementene, 2013; The Ministry of Transport and Communication, 2012; Statens Vegvesen, 2012a). Throughout these three reports several measures, both internal and external, are proposed in order to achieve more efficient and less time consuming planning processes. This tells us that the existing planning regime within Statens Vegvesen is about to undergo major upheavals and that the system will, undoubtedly, develop towards a system which is more pressured on time delivery. Still, the planning processes must perform within the boundaries set out by the Planning and Building Act (PBA).

All planning processes which are affected by the Planning and Building Act (Lov av 27.juni nr. 71 2008 om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling) shall involve processes of public participation, but participation processes have a bad reputation with regards to efficiency. The main criticism towards processes involving participation is that they are claimed to be both costly and time consuming (Jones & Stenseke, 2011; Ministry of Environment, 2011)

In the Norwegian language “effektivitet” can be translated into both efficiency and effectiveness. This duality is important to recognise when we discuss the streamlining process. What is the real objective? Is it effectiveness or is it efficiency? (Read paragraph on

Effectiveness versus Efficiency p.43). The harmfulness of the streamlining process depends on whether the focus is on enhancing efficiency or effectiveness: while a focus on enhancing effectiveness holds the potential of increasing the quality of process, plan and public participation, a focus on

enhancing efficiency, as in the meaning of minimizing time consumption and maximizing production, holds the potential of deteriorating the quality of these values.

My first contentions are therefore that time pressure as a result of rigid deadlines, may result in poor processes of public participation and an overall deterioration of quality in process and plan, and too much time pressure can be counterproductive and hamper efficiency and effectiveness.

My second contention is that participation from stakeholders at an early stage in a planning process holds the potential of contributing to improving both efficiency and plan quality.

The Thesis in Relation to Landscape Architecture

For me, as a student in landscape architecture to do a thesis which focuses on planning processes may call for justification. As a student in landscape architecture I have produced both detailed vegetation plans and strategic development plans for large areas through school assignments and I have come to favour the strategic level. The reason why I prefer to work strategically is because the decisions that have the largest impact on landscapes and people's lives are made on an overarching strategic level. As a consequence this is the level in which I wish gain more expert knowledge. Through this thesis I want to achieve a better understanding of and insight into the considerations that underlie decisions involving changes and impacts on landscapes. On the basis of this and the essence of the previous section, I chose to investigate the consequences time-pressure might involve with respect to the quality of planning processes, plan and public participation as topic for my thesis.

The Streamlining process

In November 2011, after a bench suggestion in Parliament, it was decided that the government should propose a case for more efficient planning processes and shorten the time it takes to plan new roads (Hareide et al., 2011). This was followed up by the Minister of Transport, and the same year a brainstorming session was organized by the Ministry of Transport and Communications. As a result of the brainstorming session, a working group whose role was to identify how the planning of major transport and infrastructure projects could become more efficient was set up (The Ministry of Transport and Communication, 2012). Almost simultaneously, in January 2011, it was enacted at an administration leader meeting³ in Statens Vegvesen that one should make efforts to investigate efficiency-enhancing measures related to the planning of investment initiatives⁴ in the road sector. Here too a project team was appointed, with project participants from all regions of Statens Vegvesen (Statens Vegvesen, 2012a). Both groups were established based on a general presumption that the planning phase in the planning of major road projects is taking too long, and a perception that it is possible to shorten the time spent. Time consumption is a real problem; this is apparent since the time consumption of planning processes has proven to make it difficult for Statens Vegvesen to implement the projects set out in the National Transport Plan (The Ministry of Transport and Communication, 2012; Statens Vegvesen, 2012a). Both the project team from Statens Vegvesen and the working group from the Ministry of Transport and Communications submitted reports in April 2012. The reports seek to answer why the planning phase is so time-consuming; whether there are parts of the processes that could be shortened. And if so; what measures should be made to shorten the planning time? In the report 'Improving the Efficiency of Planning' (my translation), the

³ The Administration Leader Meeting is a meeting between the Director of NPRA, the regional Directors of all five regions in the NPRA and the directors of the Directorate of Public Roads.

⁴ Investment measures are basically new projects, and do not include maintenance or similar.

project group from Statens Vegvesen presents an overview of time spent on planning road projects. The report shows that it takes between 8-13 years to prepare major road projects for the construction phase:

- One and a half to two years are set off for concept selection assessment;
- Three to five years for the municipal sector plan;
- One and a half to two years for a zoning-plan;
- Six months for evaluation of the quality of cost estimates;
- One year for the preparation of tender documents and tender process;
- One to two years for land acquisition.

It is important to distinguish *planning* from *preparation prior to construction*. Preparations prior to construction embrace all the above mentioned steps. Planning in accordance with The Planning and Building Act normally include municipal and zoning-plan, i.e. 4.5 to 7 years.

The working group set up by the Ministry of Transport submitted the report "Improving the efficiency of planning processes in large infrastructure projects" (my translation). Both this report and the report from Statens Vegvesen, emphasize that time is a prerequisite for the production of good plans, seeing how planning is a process which requires both reflection and maturation. Furthermore, it is emphasized that planning of roads is also community planning and therefore there are many stakeholders and citizens who have the right and are entitled to participate in the processes. The reports warn against using shortcuts in order to reduce planning time, since one risks the quality of the plan, and that all or part of the plan must be revised. It is stated unanimously that it is feasible to implement efficiency measures without weakening the considerations that must be made during planning (Ministry of Transport and Communications, 2012; Statens Vegvesen, 2012a).

Efficiency-Enhancing Measures

The three reports suggest many measures, both internal and external to enhance efficiency. This is the internal measure relevant for this thesis:

- To secure the quality of projects from one planning phase to the next (such as from zoning-plan to building-plan), a document which presents the most important intentions and knowledge should be produced and follow the project from start to finish (Statens Vegvesen, 2012a).

These are the external efficiency-enhancing measures relevant for this thesis:

- Facilitate participation from affected authorities at an early stage in planning processes in order to coordinate different national and regional interests;
- Set forth clear deadlines for completion (The Ministry of Transport and Communication, 2012; Statens Vegvesen, 2013; Statens Vegvesen, 2012a).

Objectives

With this thesis I wish to shed light on some central issues regarding previous management of time pressure as opposed to public participation and quality in planning processes. I also wish to discuss whether what is regarded efficient truly is. The experience I have gained after studying this topic is that although Statens Vegvesen highlights the importance of providing sufficient time for planning processes in order to secure quality of plans (Statens Vegvesen, 2012a), limited written material exists concerning the actual effects time pressure might have on planning processes and how time pressure can reduce openness and quality of plans. I therefore hope that the material I have gathered on the subject throughout this thesis can be of use and interest for Statens Vegvesen and Vegdirektoratet in the on-going streamlining process by

promoting informed decisions. As Eriksen (1993) puts it: even though public institutions, such as Statens Vegvesen, shall obtain welfare benefits, they must do so morally and ethically correct. Questions regarding methods and procedures are therefore equally important as questions concerning economic efficiency.

Research Questions

The research questions in this thesis are based on my contentions set out above:

1. That time-pressure as a result of rigid deadlines, may result in poor processes of public participation and an overall deterioration of quality in process and plan.
2. That participation from stakeholders at an early stage in a planning process holds the potential of contributing to improving both efficiency and plan quality.
3. That excessive time pressure can be counterproductive and hamper efficiency.

My research question is therefore:

What are the effects of time-pressure with respect to public participation and the quality of both planning process and completed plan?

I have chosen as my case study to base this work on the zoning-plan process of E8 Lavangsdalen in Tromsø and Balsfjord municipalities and the effects time-pressure had on this project.

The planning process of the zoning-plan of E8 Lavangsdalen began in January 2011 and by March 2012 both municipalities had approved the zoning-plan. Through studying background material, the plan description and a term paper

from Planleggerskolen on the project, I will map out how time-pressure was managed and how it affected the process and its outcomes.

In order to answer the main research question, I have asked the following sub-questions:

- How does a planning process pressured by time deliver according to the ideal planning process set out in the Planning and Building Act (PBA) and in existing planning theory? How does it deliver in response to ideals regarding public participation? To answer these questions I have compared the characteristics of an ideal planning process with the characteristics of E8 Lavangsdalen.
- How does time-pressure affect the balance of emphasis on conflicting values and demands? Which values and demands are emphasized at the expense of others? How are the objectives of the project affected by increased focus on time deliverance? To answer these questions I have examined what considerations were weighted and to what extent the planning process and plan met worded objectives.
- What are the effects and consequences with regards to democracy and openness in a planning process carried out under high time pressure? Is efficiency promoted on the expense of democratic values? To answer this question I examined the public's possibilities to participate in the planning process and how the processes of public participation were carried out.

The sub-questions are answered through the case study in Chapter 3. Chapter 3 is a review of the characteristics of the time-pressured planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen and a comparison of the objectives and considerations made here as opposed to the ideals set out in statutes, guidelines and existing theory.

Methodology and Resources

The Case Study Methodology- a theoretical description

The methodology I have used in this study is a case study. This is a research method which explores current phenomena, often while they are happening. Case studies are particularly applicable for developing and testing hypothesis' on complex causal relationships, when the number of phenomena is limited. Case studies are particularly suitable when one seeks a comprehensive and profound understanding of a phenomenon. Several different case study traditions exist; I will use the method explained by Robert K. Yin. -According to Yin, what distinguishes case study strategies from other research strategies is that they are an "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (Yin, 1984, p. 23). Yin argues that case studies are as scientific as other forms of scientific methods. What might contribute to some existing confusion and uncertainty, is that there are several views on what the case study method really encompasses, for instance that a case study can be empiric, theoretic or both. It can be a relatively defined object or a process, general or specific in one sense or another. A case can be an individual, a program, an institution or groups, and the purpose is to obtain extensive, systematic and profound information. There are no standard answers to how many cases a project should hold. In some cases one case will be relevant, in other, several.

A case study is favoured when "how" and "why" questions are asked on contemporary phenomena or actions over which the researcher has little or no control.

Outline of the Thesis

Below is a presentation of what the different chapters of this thesis revolve around and how they provide answers to the various research questions. This thesis is divided into four chapters.

CHAPTER 1 introduces the thesis and presents the background and rationale for choice of assignment. Further, the chapter presents the research questions that the thesis wishes to answer and a theoretical description of methodology.

CHAPTER 2 presents a literature review of relevant existing theory on public participation, planning ideals, quality, efficiency and effectiveness.

CHAPTER 3 presents the case study where the characteristics of the planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen are compared to the characteristics of ideals presented in the literature review. The chapter answers the sub-questions presented in chapter 1.

In CHAPTER 4 the significance of the findings from the case study are discussed and suggestions for practice change are set forth. The answer to the thesis' research question is presented in the chapters' first section.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

In this chapter I will present theory supporting the findings of the case study in chapter three and the views presented in the discussion.

Why Public Participation?

It is a prerequisite in a democracy that planning follows democratic principles (Falleth, 2012). All planning processes must be carried out in a manner that meets the Planning Act's requirements on public participation, in order for the processes to be democratically legitimate. Democratic legitimacy can be defined as the citizens' trust in the decision-making politicians; a trust which involves that decisions are regarded legitimate by citizens. The legitimacy of governmental activities and the state's authority derives mainly from two branches of rationality; the instrumental rationality which argues through cost-benefit calculations and which does not regard democracy and consensus as valid alternatives of justification; and the communicative rationality which argues legitimization of government activities through open and broad democratic opinion formation (Amdam, 2011).

There are two ways in which public participation can be accommodated in a democracy. The first is either by indirect participation through election of representatives and the second is through actual involvement in a planning or decision making process. The latter model is what is considered public participation (Falleth, 2012).

Public participation is considered important for many reasons. Some of the main arguments for public participation are efficiency, democracy and mutual learning (Ibid.). Other reasons for facilitating processes of public participation are that it provides insight into the citizens' wants and needs and that local knowledge is made known for further use in the planning process. Also, participation secures fairness and equality (Innes & Booher, 2004). The Ministry of Climate and Environment argues for public participation as follows: "This (participation) can be a demanding process, but public participation holds the ability to: secure that all comments and proposals are heard; promote creativity in planning and improve plans; reduce level of conflict; establish understanding towards other interests in a planning process; anchor plans amongst those who are affected to result in greater support for plans; give politicians the best possible foundation for making decisions and ease the political decision making process" (Ministry of Environment, 2011)(my translation). With this in mind, public participation can be understood as a means to achieve good planning processes. Diverted from this understanding, we can appreciate that planning processes have an intrinsic value in establishing openness and room for participation.

The European Landscape Convention (ELC) uses slightly different rationales for public participation than the ones listed above. Public participation is implicit through the ELC's definition of landscape as: "an area, as perceived by people" (Council of Europe, 2000a; Jones & Stenseke, 2011). The ELC emphasizes that landscape should not be a field exclusively for experts; but on the contrary, it should be regarded as a theme which concerns everyone. Further, the convention highlights increased and improved participation from the local communities regarding landscape issues and planning. The argument is to secure that questions relating to landscapes should be resolved as locally as possible. Public participation and its purposes are elaborated in 'The Explanatory Report' §§23, 24 and 36 (Council of Europe, 2000b). Here, participation in landscape matters is promoted on the basis that Europeans can no longer tolerate the changes and disturbances being inflicted on their surrounding

landscapes; changes which happen without the citizens being given an opportunity to express their views. §24 promote the idea that people who are invited to actively participate in developing the landscapes they use, will more easily identify with these areas. When people have an impact and a say in planning their environment, they will develop an increased sense of identity and ownership. This in turn may result in promoting sustainable solutions, since the success of landscapes is strongly related to the inhabitants' experience of the quality of a said landscape (Jones & Stenseke, 2011).

In an increasingly complex society where state agencies are expected to deal with many and often conflicting tasks, the role of the public's participation in shaping policies is regarded as more and more important. Also, communicative planning is regarded as one of the corner stones on the way to a more sustainable society (Holsen, 2000). The basic idea is that collaboration results in increased goal achievement (efficiency), better foundation for plans (knowledge) and more democratic planning (legitimacy) (Falleth, 2012). Public participation must be understood as "a means to fulfil the basic purpose of public planning and interventions, namely to correct the free market in order to provide common goods, hinder overexploitation of limited resources, control external consequences, and to contribute to the fair distribution of goods" (Fiskaa, 2005, p. 160) (my translation).

Public participation- what is it?

Public participation is commonly understood as the citizens' ability to directly participate in planning or decision making processes (Falleth, 2012). Public participation is an extension of representative democracy, which means that the public is given an extended right to be involved in the planning of their own future, which goes beyond their indirect involvement through election of representatives (Planlovutvalget, 2001). Public participation in comparison is a direct involvement of citizens in specific planning- and decision processes, and

can therefore be understood as an additional democratic right (Falleth, 2012; Holsen, 2000). Public participation is a very broad term and it covers many different forms of participation.

Sherry Arnsteins' "Ladder of Participation" from 1969 introduced a simplified presentation and metaphor of public participation. The ladder illustrates how different characteristics of participation result in different levels of public influence on the outcome, and Arnsteins description of each rung explains how participation can empower citizens but it also shows how participation is often mainly in the interest of those in power, because "it allows the power-holders to claim that all sides were considered, but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit" (Arnstein, 1969, p. 216).

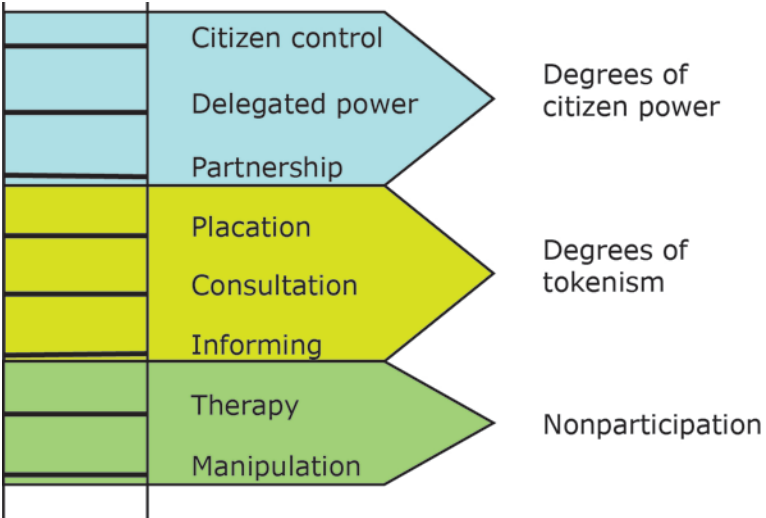


Figure 1: Arnstein’s ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969).

Arnsteins’ original ladder has eight rungs. Falleth (2012) introduced a ladder of participation which is inspired by Arnsteins’ ladder, but with a better adaption to planning:

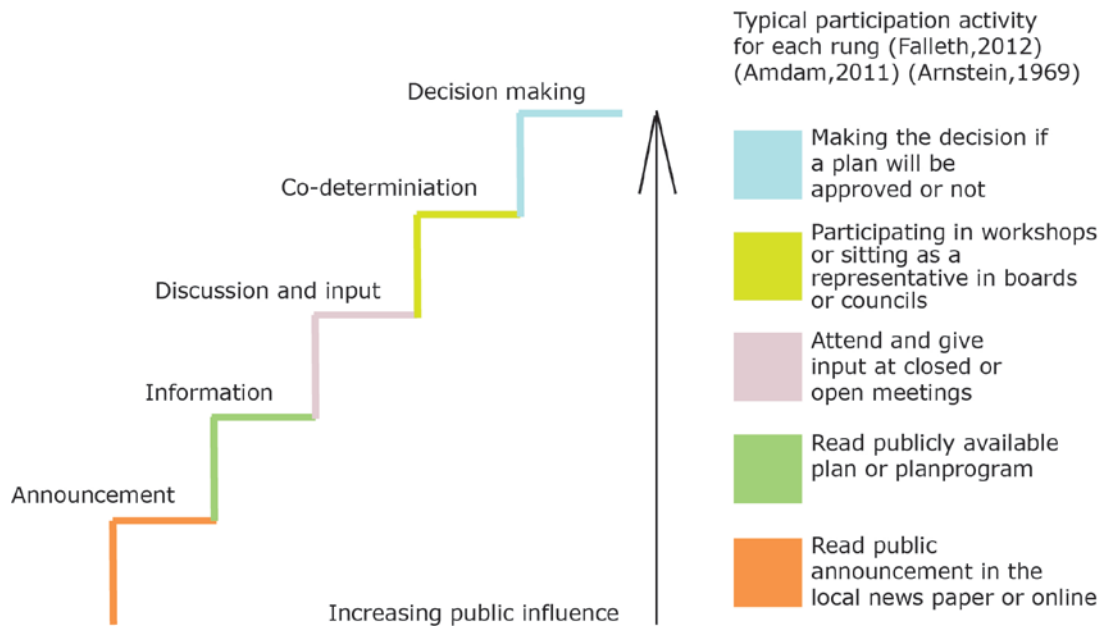


Figure 2: Ladder of participation, as shown by Falleth (2012) (my translation). The examples of participation activities are based on Falleth, Amdam and Arnstein. It is an explanation of activities of public participation that typically represent each rung on the ladder.

In a planning process in the Norwegian planning regime, *announcement* typically holds advertisement of the start-up of the planning process in a local newspaper or on the municipality's homepage. The purpose of the *announcement* step is to ensure that people are informed about planned development and planning and it also provides an opportunity for people to make contact and give input to the planning process.

The next rung, *information*, contains more information about the plan, but with emphasis on a one-way flow of information- from the planners (officials) to the citizens (Arnstein, 1969). Information is typically provided through making

planning documents available for public inspection. The quality of the *information* step is that people are provided with larger insight into the details of the plan and can therefore contribute with more informed feedback as well as achieving a greater understanding.

The next step, the *discussion and input* rung may involve both public and closed meetings, or arrangements which are in other ways open for input and feedback. It is important to note that in relation to the Norwegian planning system, all public participation activities required in the Planning Act hold the option for public input, but it is first on this rung, through open meetings and similar, that the planners initiate and actively facilitate public input. On the two previous rungs the feedback action is entirely up to the individual or group. What this indicates is that *all* the participation activities in accordance with the minimum requirements of public participation in the PBA hold the potential of being equivalent with rung three. When citizens choose to participate by commenting on either the announcement of the start-up or during the public inspection of the plan, the participation activity climbs one or two steps on the ladder up to rung three, since the communication goes two-ways. The *discussion and input* rung hold the quality of facilitating discussion and a two-way flow of information between the planning professionals and the public, but it provides no guarantee that the public opinion will be taken into account (Arnstein, 1969). Amdam (2011) states that the reason why this step doesn't provide any real influence on the outcome of the process, is either because the planners have chosen to disregard the participants' arguments, or because the planners have already decided which solution to go ahead with. Amdam further states that the latter unfortunately happens very often. Participants are invited to public meetings or similar and expect to influence plans and processes, while in reality the meeting only serves as a top-down information meeting. The *discussion and input* rung involves participation processes which may appear as unenthusiastic and more of symbolic gestures. This can be explained a situation where planners are required by law to perform participation processes, but where the planners find these

processes to be time-consuming and worthless in respect of improving the plan, and public participation is merely a ritual performed because the law requires it.

The fourth rung on the ladder, *co-determination*, involves a greater degree of influence and can hold processes such as workshops or representation in boards or councils. The qualities of this rung are that it provides people the opportunity to actively engage in the planning process and to find agreed solutions through open discussion, but the planners still holds the power to judge the legitimacy and feasibility of the advice. Through representation on boards or similar, some representatives of the citizens are given none or an undefined mandate from the ones they represent. These boards can be very expert dominated and other members might lose power to influence the process. But these boards also provide the possibility of actual influence. On the basis of this presentation it is fair to state that the fourth rung of the ladder is the first rung that holds the potential of real influence.

The last rung on the ladder, *decision making*, involves that the decision-making authority has been designated to the affected parties so that these can make decisions regarding the design of the plan and are also given the authority to approve the plan. This rung on the participation ladder represents processes of public participation which you would rarely find examples of in public planning (Falleth, 2012).

Participation in the Planning and Building Act

The minimum requirements for public participation in the Planning and Building Act are:

- One must announce the start-up of planning processes in at least one newspaper and directly affected parties shall be informed appropriately;
- Plans shall be published in a process of public hearing and be readily available for affected parties and other public authorities in order for these to give feedback and comment on the plans;
- Strategies and plan proposals shall be made available online.

The minimum requirements for public participation are equivalent with rung one, two and three on the ladder (Figure 2: Ladder of participation, as shown by Falleth (2012) (my translation). The examples of participation activities are based on Falleth, Amdam and Arnstein. It is an explanation of activities of public participation that typically represent each rung on the ladder.), and the citizens' influence is therefore considered limited, according to Arnstein. Falleth (2012) states that these minimum requirements of public participation are unable to meet the citizens' expectations when it comes to participation opportunities. When only the minimum requirements of public participation are fulfilled it equals what by Arnstein is considered non-participation, since these three rungs don't provide the citizens with any real power in shaping their own future. What they do provide is the ability for citizens to get informed on what will happen and also to be heard, but they are not granted any guarantee that their views will be taken into account (Arnstein, 1969; Amdam, 2011). When discussing participation versus non-participation, I maintain that Arnstein's views differ from some Norwegian literature on participation. In the legislative history of the Planning and Building Act, public participation is defined as "individuals and groups' right to participate and influence decision making. Public participation means that the citizens of a community are involved in planning their own future" (Planlovutvalget, 2001) (my translation).

Another simultaneous document, also part of the legislative history of the PBA, states that the intentions behind the public participation requirement were to secure a degree of direct participation in the planning process, not to provide a guarantee for the participants' views being taken into account (Holsen, 2000). In other words, there are differing opinions on what public participation is. While Arnstein avoids calling it participation if it doesn't involve some sort of decision making authority, Holsen (2000) and legislative history promote a view of public participation as involvement, not power; they promote public participation as an addition to democracy, not to be mistaken as a substitute for representative democracy.

The minimum requirements of public participation are regarded as limited (Falleth, 2012), but in the PBAs main provision on public participation, §5-1, the municipalities⁵ are encouraged to include so called active participation. The chapter states:

Anyone who promotes a plan proposal shall facilitate public participation. The municipalities shall ensure that such are carried out in planning processes undertaken by other public or private agencies. The municipality has a particular responsibility to ensure the active participation of groups that require special arrangements, including children and adolescents. Groups and stakeholders that are unable to participate directly shall be secured ample opportunity for participation in another way. (My translation).

What is meant by *active participation* is not clearly defined. It is understood from the act that everyone who promotes plan proposals is required and has a responsibility to carry out public participation processes, but these agencies can very well choose to only perform the minimum requirements. Apart from that, there are no restrictions as to how many elements of public participation might

⁵ It is the municipality's' responsibility to see to that sufficient processes of public participation are included in plan proposals.

be included in a planning process. Examples of active participation are open meetings or citizen boards. The good intentions reflected in the Act, through the encouragement to facilitate active participation, falls short when the citizen's level of influence is a top down decision since it is the authorities that decide what the process will be like. Two planning processes are illustrated in the two following figures; one illustrates a planning process where only the minimum requirements of public participation are met (Figure 3), and one that has facilitated additional public participation activities in all planning phases (Figure 4).

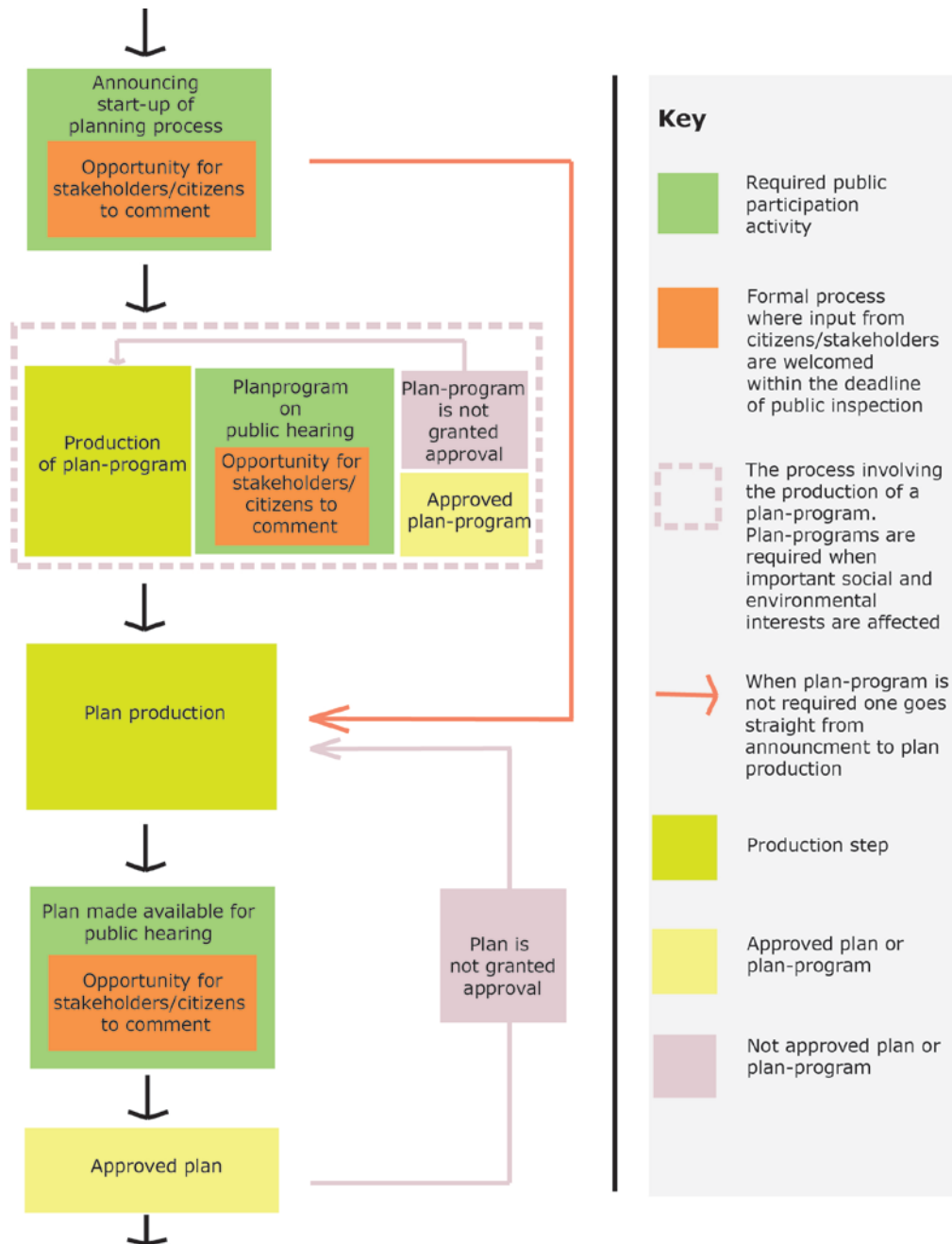


Figure 3: Illustrates a planning process where only the required public participation processes are carried out in accordance with the Planning and Building Act.

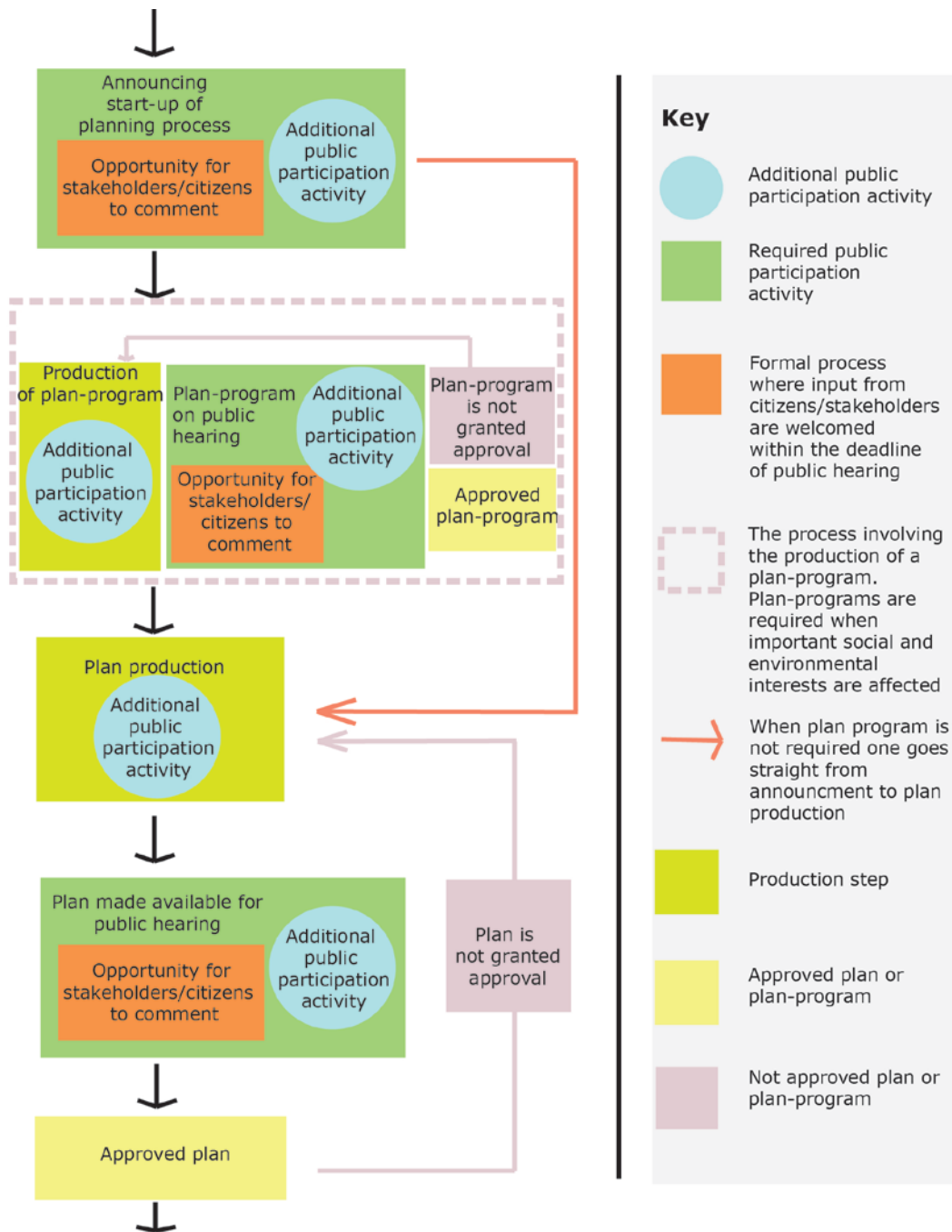


Figure 4 : Illustrates how additional activities of public participation can be included in all steps of a planning process, in accordance with the Planning and Building Act and its encouragement of facilitating active public participation in planning processes.

Who Participates in Participation?

The Planning and Building Act §§5-1 sets forth that all plan proposals made available for public hearing must be made available for everyone and that the municipalities have a responsibility to facilitate participation for groups requiring special arrangements, such as children and youth (Lov av 27.juni nr. 71 2008 om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling). The Act facilitates participation for everyone who has interests and is affected by the plan proposal but also for those who don't have obvious interests. This approach to public participation reflects the same views as we find in the European Landscape Convention which promotes the idea that landscape is a concern for everyone (Jones & Stenseke, 2011).

Apart from the inclusion of citizens in participation processes, participation also includes the involvement of state and regional agencies and municipalities affected by the plan. The participation of such agencies is addressed in §§5-3 and their participation is a requirement.

The Rise of Public Participation in Norway

The history of public participation in Norway shows that dissatisfaction with non-transparent planning processes in the planning regime of the 60's and 70's were the main reasons for moving towards a more democratic planning system (Falleth, 2012; Holsen, 2000).

Throughout time planning has attempted to solve increasingly complex challenges within cities and communities. Planning has therefore shifted towards societal planning where many different concerns and issues are addressed simultaneously. Paralleled with this development, planning shifted from being reserved for the experts to become more democratically oriented. The history of public participation in Norwegian planning legislation can be traced back to the 1970's, when protests against many plans in Norway forced discussion about the

role and results of planning. The protests came both from people who were directly affected by plans, and from citizens that had concerns about the state of environment. The planning regime was criticized for neglecting local interests and conservation issues, and for being too authoritarian with a top-down approach. People felt that they did not have a say in matters concerning them. The Planning and Building Act of 1965 created a planning stage for experts, the planners, and some politicians. The responsibility for planning was laid on the municipalities, and these were to co-operate with public authorities and organizations deemed to have interests in the plans. The plan proposal was to be made accessible for public inspection and comments. Public participation from other than professional bodies and financial stakeholders was not facilitated. The regime proved to create dissatisfaction and concern from the citizens and protests demonstrated the demand for a more democratic planning ideology (Falleth, 2012; Holsen, 2000). Fiskaa (2005) highlights two particular points of dissatisfaction: lack of emphasis on environmental protection and concern for local communities. Throughout the 70's and 80's the idea of public participation emerged and rooted itself as a commonly accepted part of plan preparation. Planning became more locally concerned and focused upon local environmental problems (Ibid.). With the Planning and Building Act of 1985 public participation became judicially included in planning processes through legislation. This Act displays a change in mind-set with regards to the citizens; they were now considered as valid participants and an asset in planning processes. According to Sager (cited in Falleth, 2012), one now acknowledged that communication between public authorities and citizens could contribute to define objectives, to find possible solutions and to create awareness towards consequences related to different alternatives. By democratization through acknowledging public participation, the Norwegian planning system changed in the 80's from being top-down to become more bottom-up, while at the same time holding on to the representative democracy's central position in planning (Aarsæther et al., 2012).

Issues Regarding Public Participation

Some of the issues regarding public participation have already been presented, such as how public participation becomes merely a ritual performed by planners because the law requires it (Amdam, 2011). This problem is related to the relationship between planning and democracy which has always been a central challenge; and in particular the role of the expert in relation to citizens (Falleth, 2012). In light of this challenge, public participation can be interpreted as a means to reduce the tension in this relationship. However, Myrvold et al., (2004) found that there does not seem to be a clear connection between public participation and increased legitimacy and trust. They believe that this can be partially explained by how many of those who chose to participate do so on the basis of previous dissatisfaction and that the purpose of participation is to promote own interests. Another explanation they propose for the lack of trust in democracy is that too often participants have an experience of not being heard. This experience can derive from such as poor possibilities for actual influence as a result of participation processes being facilitated at a late stage in the planning process, and the role of the participants is therefore limited as they become reactive and critical, while the planners have the role of the active and creative (Falleth, 2012).

Another issue involves the Planning and Building Act and its lack of defining what the requirement of public participation involves, which further leaves it up to the municipalities to decide which practice they wish to follow. Several investigations done on the subject have shown that the processes of public participation are carried out differently in different municipalities and that very often the processes are limited to include only the minimum requirements in the PBA. Falleth (2012) states that this practice implicates a problem for the legitimacy of planning, when it fails to meet the citizens' expectations on the opportunities which public participation involves. Amdam (2011) supports this view. He explains how participation creates anticipations on influencing the outcome of the planning process and how, when these expectations are not met, the will and

desire to participate in future planning processes will perish. This problem insinuates the corporate responsibility planners and planning agencies have to secure openness and democracy through public participation. The long-term effects of a planning process should ideally be promotion of basic values such as democracy and sustainability. The outcome of a planning process is not only the physical plan or a built structure; it also establishes the foundation for future planning processes, which inevitably must adhere to the citizens' previous experiences with public participation.

Instrumental and Communicative Planning

Offerdal (1992, cited in Amdam, 2011) explains that planning is an activity where persons, groups or organisations are searching for the appropriate actions to promote desired development and to hinder undesired development. Amdam (2011) explains planning as "tying together knowledge and action in a targeted process" (p. 15) (my translation). One of the intentions behind planning is to make *rational* and informed decisions on how and which problems are to be addressed. Rationality means to be able to act in a way that does not bend under criticism, and a minimum requirement for rationality is that there is a correlation between intentions and actions. Two main types of rationality exist: instrumental and communicative rationality. These different ways of building a rationale establish two methodologies for planning: instrumental and communicative planning (Ibid.).

Instrumental Planning

The instrumental approach to planning is based on assumptions that the planner has clearly defined problems and objectives; that she/he has an overview of possible actions, and a complete overview of the consequences of said actions, and also sufficient time and resources at hand (Amdam, 2011). It is an expert oriented, top down approach where planners provide facts on current and future

scenarios and solutions are chosen on the basis of facts and the legitimacy of the plan is secured by following laws and guidelines (Ibid.; Falleth & Saglie, 2012). The instrumental planning processes are best suited for problem solving and are not applicable for defining problems and it is therefore the preferred approach in project planning (Amdam, 2011). Projects are identified as cases where there is a defined problem and a given deadline for solving the problem within clear physical delineation (Statens Vegvesen, 2012b). Instrumental planning emphasises the analysis and the decision phase and the analysis phase is performed to extract knowledge in order to make informed decisions which best meet the objectives. Typically, instrumental planning is performed as a linear process with distinct phases where one phase is finished before entering the next. These phases are presented in five steps and should be understood as demands for performing instrumental planning (Amdam, 2011, p. 98):

1. Articulate clear and unambiguous objectives;
2. Design alternative actions;
3. Compare and assess consequences and impacts of alternatives;
4. Pick the alternative that has consequences which best meets the objectives;
5. Implement chosen alternative.

Communicative Planning

Communicative planning can be understood as a critical response to instrumental planning. Theory on communicative planning argues that instrumental planning establishes a separation between the planners (experts) and the citizens (stakeholders) and that over time this might limit the citizens' capacity to act. In communicative planning processes the planner has the role of a facilitator and his task is to make the participants reflect upon the past, the current and the future by asking pertinent questions. Through this exercise the participants can acknowledge what the appropriate actions are in order to create the desired

future. The theory has a strong focus upon involving all stakeholders in planning processes and that they shall be granted the best possible preconditions to safeguard their interests. Communicative planning must therefore be understood as the favoured approach in accordance with the European Landscape Convention, which highlights that questions concerning landscapes are not to be reserved for the experts. Communicative planning is, as opposed to instrumental planning, focused on not only the plan but also on the implementation of the plan. It also distinguishes itself from instrumental planning in how planning is seen as a process where knowledge, issues and objectives are discovered as you go and where part of the purpose behind the process is to argue and justify why planning is necessary (Amdam, 2011).

As a result of expanded emphasis on public participation and involvement, as well as a desire to increase the legitimacy of planning, the communicative approach has achieved increased recognition during the past decades. Nonetheless, in light of how most plans still have objections which are almost an undisputable foundation for all planning, "it can seem as if instrumental rationality has survived as an ideal for practice" (Falleth & Saglie, 2012, p. 90) (my translation).

In reality, planning contains elements from both instrumental and communicative theory, and Amdam (2011) set forth that "the communicative rationality exists because the instrumental logic of action must be managed" (p. 49) (my translation). The inclusion of both extremities is secured through the Planning and Building Act and its related regulations and guidelines (Lov av 27.juni nr. 71 2008 om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling; Ministry of Environment, 2011). Communicative planning ideals relate to some extent to the participation processes in accordance with the Planning and Building Act where a two-way flow of information and communication between involved parties is emphasized. It is however the instrumental rationality that dominates in the PBA

since it is emphasized that the planning system must be based on achieving specific objectives (Planlovutvalget, 2001).

Ideals for Planning Processes in Statens Vegvesen

Most planning processes carried out by Statens Vegvesen are performed in accordance with the Planning and Building Act. In addition to law there are several guidelines that planners in Statens Vegvesen are either obligated or recommended to follow. Three of these guidelines for planning processes are produced by Statens Vegvesen and are found in Handbook 151, Handbook 054 and Handbook 229. Handbooks are colour-coded in yellow and blue where yellow handbooks are requirements and blue are recommendations.

Handbook 151 is colour-coded yellow and is a guideline that all projects concerning national roads are required to follow (Statens Vegvesen, 2014). The purpose of the handbook is to secure the quality of projects by serving as a checklist for project groups and managers and introduces a planning process in five stages (Figure 5). The handbook highlights the importance of performing the three first stages in order to avoid large expenditures in the last stages (Figure 6) (Statens Vegvesen, 2012b).

Step 0 Project ordering	Step 1 Clarification of Order	Step 2 Planning and Organizing	Step 3 Implementation	Step 4 Learning and Handover
The management presents a written project order in which they put forward requirements for the project, define responsibilities and give a deadline for completion.	Assess and clarify the project order and create a solid understanding of the project.	Carefully discuss and consider all aspects of how the project should be implemented, also project boundary, so that the project can be carried out without significant changes and surprises. Conclude agreements with affected parties and stakeholders.	Carry out the project in accordance with the order with a focus on lifetime costs and environmental characteristics.	Make sure that knowledge, decisions and intentions from the finalized planning process follows the project in the next process. Succeed in accomplishing that the project team and others involved learn and gained wisdom from the project and can suggest improvements in leadership and management.

Figure 5: The five steps in a planning process presented in Handbook 151. Based on Statens Vegvesen (2012b).

This five step approach reveals that Statens Vegvesen through Handbook 151 favours instrumental planning over communicative planning since it presents planning as a linear process where one step is finished before proceeding to the next step; focusing on the project more than the process. The clearly defined objective set forward in step 0 is also typical for the instrumental approach. It is understandable that Statens Vegvesen favours instrumental planning processes over communicative, since the agency very often deal with solving obvious issues and since the economic system of Statens Vegvesen demands time deliverance. However, Handbook 151 recommends that at least one public meeting should be held, and preferably at an early stage in the planning process. Other stakeholders such as public agencies, media, landowners, neighbours and municipalities are emphasized as important participants who should be included in an ideal process (Statens Vegvesen, 2012b).

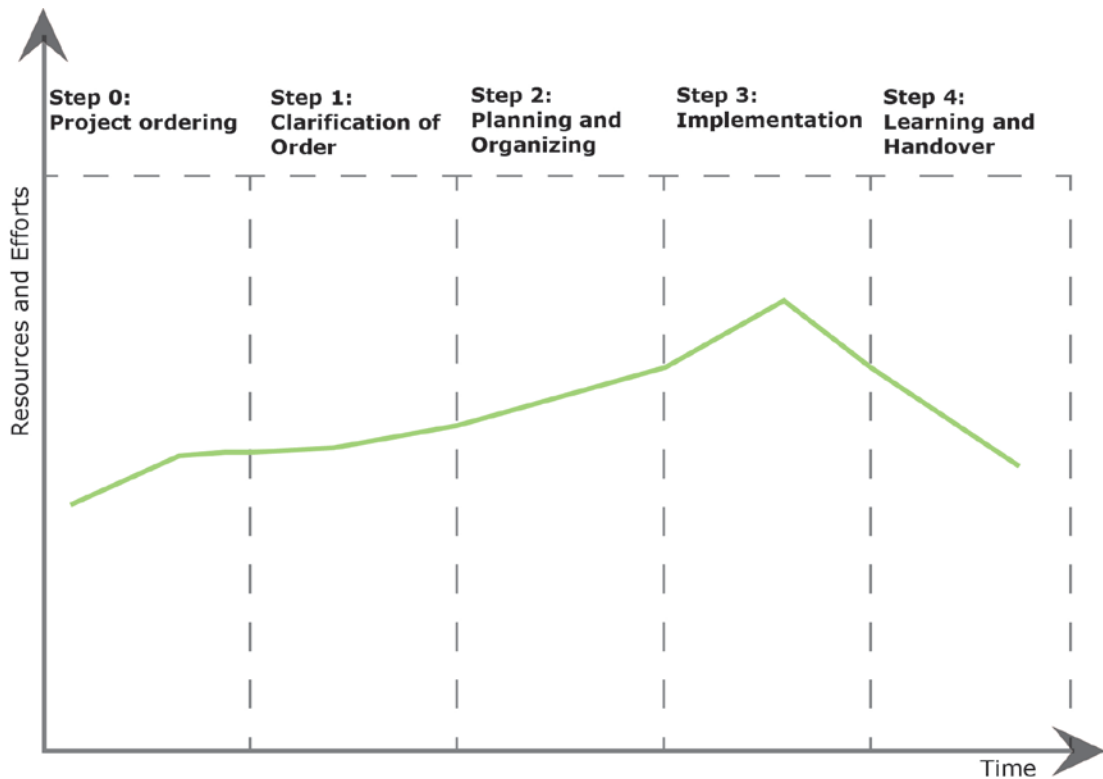


Figure 6: Illustrates the consumption of resources in an ideal process in accordance with Handbook 151. Investing enough resources in the early steps can avoid major resource use in the subsequent steps (Statens Vegvesen, 2012b).

Handbook 054 is colour-coded blue and is meant to provide guidance and knowledge. The handbook focuses on overarching planning (Statens Vegvesen, 2000), which includes plans on a regional and municipal scale and it is therefore not automatically applicable to this thesis' case study. It does, however, provide valuable insight into the planning ideals of Statens Vegvesen. Handbook 054 also reveals an instrumental approach to planning with the linear approach divided into phases, but it involves far more elements from theory on communicative planning than Handbook 151 (Figure 742). The framework presented in Handbook 054 suggests a better balance between the communicative and the

instrumental rationality. This is evident when participatory activity entails finding solutions to problems and when one of the purposes of public participation is to facilitate a nuanced discussion by extending the citizens' knowledge on the plan area.

	Examples of activities	Information and participation
Phase 1 Evaluate situation	Describe the situation; justify the need for a plan; establish cooperation with the municipality and other stakeholders; get overview of knowledge gaps	Usually not necessary in this phase.
Phase 2 Issues, visions and objectives	Understand issues; create visions; find possible solutions; define objectives; delimit planning both physically and thematically.	The basis for forthcoming planning is made in this phase. Therefore, participation from affected parties and other public agencies is important.
Phase 3 Plan the process	Map out the planning process and the content of the plan; organize activities and responsibilities; plan how participation will be arranged.	When the schedule for the process is completed it should be presented through public announcements, brochures or information meeting.
Phase 4 Registration and analysis	Obtain knowledge about all relevant topics in the plan area; analyse data such as landscape analysis, transport analysis etc..	In order to make the public more informed, gathered information and knowledge should be presented. This will facilitate a more nuanced discussion during the public hearing.
Phase 5 Ideas and alternatives	Develop ideas and alternatives and select the alternative that best meets worded objectives. This phase is an important creative phase that focuses on generating ideas.	Affected parties should be given opportunity to participate in finding solutions. Participation should be arranged through open or closed meetings which facilitates active participation in groups.
Phase 6 Plan proposal	Produce a plan proposal by detailing the proposed alternatives from phase 5, describe the alternatives and their consequences	Participation is usually not necessary in this phase.
Phase 7 Formal finalization	Formal finalization in accordance with the PBA (public hearing- plan approval by decision making authority- announce approval)	At this stage it is important to provide sufficient information about the proposed plan. The purpose is to inform the audience as well as possible. It is advisable to arrange information meetings.

Figure 7: Presents the seven phases of a planning process in accordance with Handbook 054. Based on Handbook 054 (Statens Vegvesen, 2000).

Effectiveness versus Efficiency

In the Norwegian language both effectiveness and efficiency are translated into *effektivitet*; a word that therefore holds two meanings in Norwegian. The first meaning, which is synonymous with efficiency, is in the public debate related with words such as fast, swift and rapid, and efficiency is often used when discussing time consumption. With regards to production, efficiency involves increased productivity; increase in production without increasing the effort. A process with a short time span is considered to be efficient, and a time consuming process is judged inefficient. Effectiveness on the other hand concerns more than time consumption and production output. Effectiveness involves achievement of objectives, results and effects and that these were met in accordance with worded objectives, values, needs and intentions. Effectiveness is understood as one of the main characteristics of a modern society (Amdam, 2011). When Statens Vegvesen defines *effektivitet*, they define it in accordance with effectiveness. Their definition explains that *effektivitet* is *doing the right things and to do the right things right* (Statens Vegvesen, 2012a)(my translation). Furthermore, it is argued that "*Effektivitet* can be defined as the degree of conformity between the goals you have and results achieved" (Ibid., p. 5) (my translation). This definition of effectiveness holds that a time consuming process, considered inefficient, can be an effective one, as long as the goals were met and results were achieved, and the other way around: a fast, efficient process might be deemed ineffective.

When efficiency and effectiveness of planning processes are discussed, it is important to remember that the goal of public agencies, such as Statens Vegvesen, is not maximum production of a given product. Statens Vegvesen deals with the production of such as safer roads and good accessibility. Measuring the efficiency of planning is feasible, but to measure the effectiveness is difficult; the resources that are being put in, in terms of labour hours and money, are measurable variables, while the quality of the plan is a size difficult to measure.

Considerations of Quality in Planning

To explain quality is a difficult task if not explained in relation to an object or a process. In the philosophical piece *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, Robert M. Pirsig explained that it is not possible to give a definition of quality because it empirically precedes any intellectual construction of it, due to the fact that quality exists as a perceptual experience before it is ever thought of descriptively or academically (Pirsig, 1974).

With regards to planning, however, several definitions of quality are proposed. In the preparatory works, the Planning Law Committee provides this definition of quality in planning:

“On a general level quality entails that planning should be a suitable and sufficient means to manage the development of society in a deliberate and thoughtful manner, based on an adequate knowledge base and through a process where those who are affected by the plan have been able to promote their interests.” (Planlovutvalget, 2001, Chapter 11.1) (my translation).

The Committee explains that quality in planning or high quality plans are not goals in themselves. The consideration of quality in planning is to provide qualitative physical outcomes of plans and that it is in relation to these that quality of planning ultimately should be measured (Ibid.). This is slightly different from Statens Vegvesens' definition which states that good plan quality is that the plans can be implemented and that they are durable and cost effective in a lifetime perspective (Ministry of Transport and Communications, 2012). This definition holds that the quality of plans is evaluated in relation to how well they can be realized and the plans adaption to the future. From the definition I further read that Statens Vegvesen also evaluate the plan quality in relation to how long-lasting the built structure is.

In relation to planning theory, laws and guidelines, quality and the aim for quality is one of the core values and main objections:

- When the old Planning Act was revised, improving the quality of planning was a key objective (Planlovutvalget, 2001).
- The agenda of Handbook 151 is to secure quality in planning and construction (Statens Vegvesen, 2012b).
- Handbook 054 states that quality in plan and planning is one of the main requirements for planning (Statens Vegvesen, 2000).

To achieve high quality plans and planning, Handbook 151 and 054 sets forth that this can be done by following the seven and five phased frameworks they present. The handbooks states that in order to achieve good plans and planning processes it is important to be well planned, prepared and knowledge-based. It is also emphasised that the process must be flexible and allow time to take some steps back, redo and rethink alternatives (Statens Vegvesen, 2000 and 2012b).

Further, Handbook 054 explains that a good planning process is recognised when all involved parties agree that the most important issues have been highlighted, and a good plan is recognised when it resolves the issues it was intended to solve (Statens Vegvesen, 2000). These characteristics of good planning processes are supported by the Planning Law Committee which states that a plans quality is dependent on its ability to have a unifying effect and to provide guidance through revealing and resolving conflicts and opposing interests during the planning process (Planlovutvalget, 2001). The presented definitions reveal that quality shares many characteristics with effectiveness, yet none with efficiency.

The above, different, yet alike, descriptions and ideas on quality in planning promotes that quality must exist at every step of the process in order to achieve plans of high quality. Quality of planning must therefore be evaluated at the basis of both planning process and produced plan.

“Quality is not something you lay on top of subjects and objects like tinsel on a Christmas tree. Real Quality must be at the source of the subjects and objects, the cone from which the tree must start.” (Pirsig, 1974, p. 262)

CHAPTER 3

Case Study

Introduction

In this chapter I will compare the planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen with the ideals presented in chapter two on planning, public participation and quality.

The Case

The case I have chosen to investigate is the planning process of a zoning-plan in Lavangsdalen in Tromsø and Balsfjord municipalities in Troms County (Figure 8). Lavangsdalen is a u-shaped valley where E8 lies in the middle of the valley floor (Figure 9). The zoning-plan facilitates an upgrade of the existing road from an average of 7.5 meter wide to an average of 10 meter wide road which will include a raised concrete median. The plan also includes placement of one avalanche superstructure, two small bridges, two rest areas, sixteen different exits (residential, agricultural and leisure), twenty-nine stop places, five overtaking lanes and two bus stops.

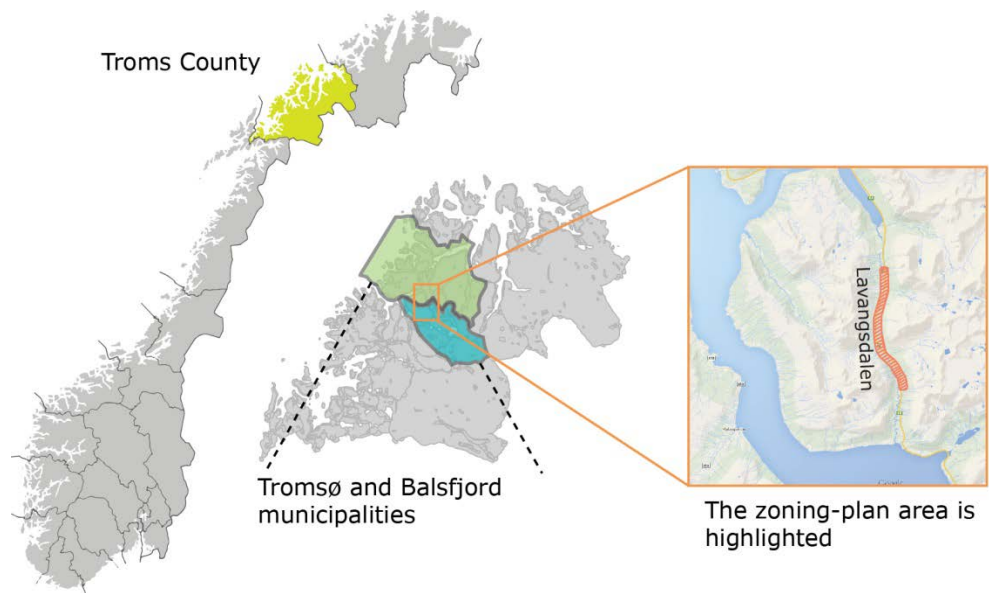


Figure 8: Locating the zoning-plan area. Source: Wikipedia, Google maps and Statens Vegvesen.



Figure 9: Picture of showing Lavangsdalen with E8 and the river Sørbotnelva in the middle of the valley floor. (Source: Statens Vegvesen Region nord, 2011)

Within the plan area there were several considerations that had to be made and dealt with in relation to such as recreational interests, agricultural interests and wildlife. In this case study I will focus on the following interests and considerations which were not adequately addressed in the zoning-plan process:

- The area is used as reindeer pasture during spring, summer and fall. In two places reindeer paths cross the road. A raised concrete median will hinder such crossings and the planners should have provided a solution for this problem. However, the planners did not have enough time to come to an agreement with the Reindeer Administration during the zoning-plan process, and as a result the planning and placement of the reindeer crossings was transferred to the building-plan phase.
- Within the plan area several Sámi cultural sites were registered; two of these were located in immediate proximity to the road. The planners should have planned the preservation of these in agreement with the Sámi Parliament. Nonetheless, due to a lack of communication with the Sámi Parliament, the Parliament chose to use their right to extend the public hearing period four months in accordance with the Cultural Heritage Act and they required changes to the consideration zones covering the cultural sites. With these changes made to the original plan, a limited public hearing had to be arranged.
- The valley is exposed to avalanches and avalanche protection had to be planned. The zoning-plan should have included the placement of two avalanche superstructures, but it only provided the placement of one of the two. This mishap was a result of poor delegation of responsibility and roles. When the planners were made aware of the second avalanche prone area there was not enough time for them to include it in the zoning-plan. The placement and planning of the second superstructure was transferred to the building-plan phase.

Rational for Case Selection

In order to learn *which effects time-pressure has on public participation and the quality of both planning process and completed plan*; I have chosen to investigate the process and outcome of the road project E8 Lavangsdalen with respect to public participation, quality, efficiency and effectiveness. I selected E8 Lavangsdalen as case after I had defined the topic of my thesis and my research questions (see chapter 1 p. 16). The emphasis on time delivery and efficiency in planning this particular project made this case relevant. The case was selected from a list of completed road projects which all have received recognition due to their efficiency. The project stood out from this list because planners involved in the project had already expressed dissatisfaction towards the effect time pressure had had on both process and plan.

The planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen is highlighted as one of the fastest planning processes performed by Statens Vegvesen over the last years. The process is presented as a shining example on how rapid a planning process can be if everyone involved set their mind to it (Larsen & Ditlefsen, 2013). In the ongoing streamlining process, E8 Lavangsdalen is suggested as an example to follow (K. Sørgaard, personal communication, February 13, 2014).

The above listed attributes were my arguments when I chose E8 Lavangsdalen as case for my case study. Through my investigation I would like to examine and compare this process with the characteristics of ideal planning processes as presented in theory, with focus on public participation, quality, efficiency and effectiveness.

Theoretical Perspective

I want to examine how well the planning process involving the road project E8 Lavangsdalen answers to the ideals on public participation set out by the

Planning and Building Act, the planning ideals set out by Statens Vegvesen and planning theory in general. Through the case study I will investigate how the project E8 Lavangsdalen was pressured on time deliverance, and whether this pressure affected a lack of democratic practices and transparency in the process as well as a poorer a poorer quality of the plan than what could have been the case if the planners had been given more time. I will also investigate whether or not the planning process is consistent with the desirable planning processes described in the Planning and Building Act, planning theory and in Statens Vegvesen's own guidelines. This thesis offers an analysis of the characteristics of the planning process and its outcomes which extends beyond efficiency. In order to fully understand the consequences and effects of rapid planning processes, I believe similar studies of the other processes highlighted as exemplary should be performed.

Data Retrieval

The case study is based on documents from the planning process, such as the complete zoning-plan and online information provided on Statens Vegvesen's project pages, but also on the public comments and meeting notes. The case study is also built on retrieved information from an assignment from Planleggerskolen on E8 Lavangsdalen.

Limitation of the Study

To do a single-case case study has its limitations. It takes away the ability to compare cases and it also makes it increasingly important to pick a case which is relevant for the research. A single-case case study requires a grounded rationale for choice of case. One of the issues concerning my case study is that it is not an example of a typical planning process. In this case the process was extremely swift and it is one of few projects that have received recognition for its

effektivitet. Yet, in spite of the process' atypical character, I maintain that it is very relevant because it was highlighted as an example to follow and because, just like the streamlining process, it aimed for efficiency in the sense of increased production rate and improved time deliverance.

E8 Lavangsdalen

Background

After several serious accidents on E8 Lavangsdalen, the last one in January 2011 in which five people died; public, media and political pressure had built up to establish a raised concrete median on the stretch. As a result, in February 2011 the Transport Minister promised to allocate funds for a raised concrete median. The funds would be assigned in 2012. Since an approved plan is a requirement for allocation of funds, the goal was to produce and have an approved zoning-plan ready by 2012. This caused the planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen to be extremely pressured on time deliverance. The decision to start the process of establishing a zoning-plan was made at the end of February 2011 and the planning work began in March. On the 9th of September 2011, the plan was made available for public inspection. Due to the prolonged hearing, amendments and a second round of public inspection, the plan was approved in February and March 2012 by respectively Tromsø and Balsfjord municipality councils, three months later than intended. Regardless of the extended hearing period, the process involved a halving of the planning period as it only took one year (Figure 10, p. 54), whereas the average zoning-plan process takes somewhere between one and a half to two years (Statens Vegvesen, 2012a).

In order to build the concrete median as fast as possible, the planning of the zoning-plan and the building-plan was taken on simultaneously by two separate project groups.

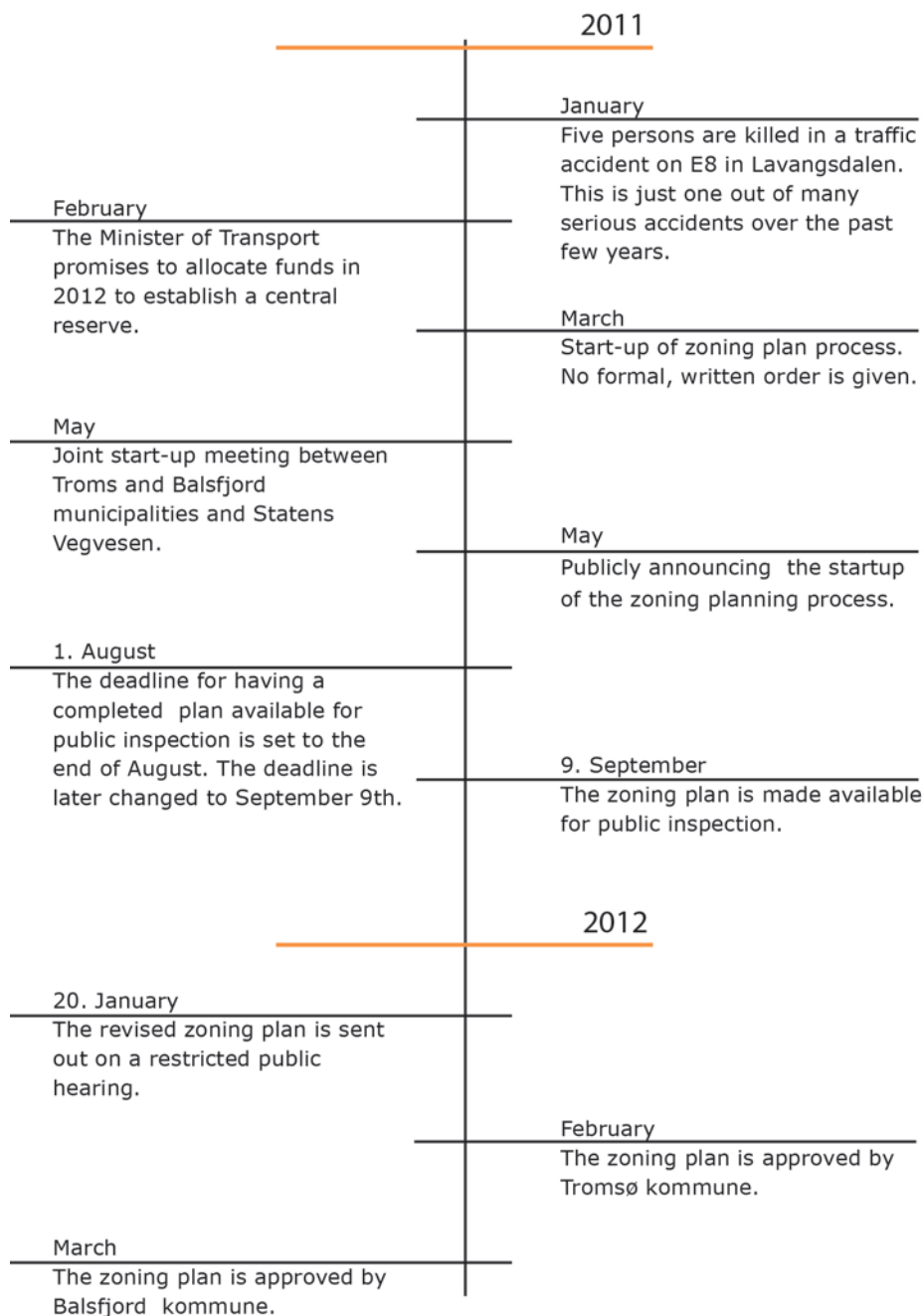


Figure 10: Illustrating the main events of the planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen on a timeline.

E8 Lavangsdalen and Planning Ideals

Characteristics and Keywords for Good Planning

Statens Vegvesen explains that planning can be described with the following keywords: problem analysis, alternatives, consequences and recommendation (Statens Vegvesen, 2013). In addition, throughout the literature review many adjectives and descriptive words were used to characterise good planning. These words are: open, creative, informative, process of maturation and flexible. As an introduction to this chapter I have described the planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen in accordance with these keywords (Figure 11) and characteristics (Figure 12, p.56).

<p>Problem analysis:</p> <p>Discover, analyze and understand the problems which needs be addressed in the plan area.</p>	<p>Considering that the problem to be solved was so clear and obvious: improving road safety on the stretch; the planning process did not perform a problem analysis. The consequence of this was that avalanche issues in one area; the Sámi cultural interests; and the reindeer crossings are not discovered and addressed before it is or is almost too late. As a result these issues were not adequately addressed in the plan.</p>
<p>Alternatives:</p> <p>Preparing various alternatives which provide solutions to problems and concerns revealed in the problem analysis.</p>	<p>Due to the lack of a problem analysis, some considerations were not addressed during the preparation of the alternative. The construction of a safe road stretch was the main concern, and the prepared alternative solved the issue regarding road safety. Also, the process did not allow time to produce different alternatives.</p>
<p>Consequences:</p> <p>Evaluating consequences of all realistic alternatives with respect to values and interests in the plan area.</p>	<p>The plan was exempted impact assessment since the plan's scope did not meet the criteria in the Planning and Building Act. However, consequences for the sub-topics reindeer herding, forestry, biodiversity and waterways were evaluated in the plan.</p>
<p>Recommendation:</p> <p>Provide a well-argued recommendation for chosen alternative.</p>	<p>The plan proposal was well argued with respect to improving road safety.</p>

Figure 11: The problems of the E8 Lavangsdalen planning process become apparent when described in accordance to the keywords Statens Vegvesen suggests to explain what planning entails (Statens Vegvesen, 2013).

<p>Open and informative :</p> <p>Inform the citizens as well as possible and include all interested parties in the planning process.</p>	<p>The plan proposal made available for public inspection did not provide the citizens with sufficient information considering how several issues were inadequately addressed. The process was open and did include interested parties in the process. However, time-pressure made it difficult to resolve issues that were to be resolved in cooperation with the Sámi Parliament and the Reindeer Administration.</p>
<p>A flexible process of maturation:</p> <p>Allow time for the planners to think and rethink issues and solutions.</p>	<p>The process was extremely pressured on time and this made the planning very rigid. The planners did not have the time to produce alternative solutions, to reevaluate proposed alternatives or to redo tasks and planning phases.</p>
<p>Creative:</p> <p>Inclusion of creative approaches to planning in order to produce the best alternative.</p>	<p>Early on in the process it was asserted that the road line was already stipulated and the plan had to be adapted to this; which it did. This left little room for creativity when faced with problems. The schedule was extremely tight which provided limited possibilities for creative and innovative thinking.</p>

Figure 12: E8 Lavangsdalen described in accordance with some of the characteristics of a good planning process presented in planning theory in chapter two. Based on the Planning and Building Act (Lov av 27.juni nr. 71 2008 om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling), Handbook 054 (Statens Vegvesen, 2000) and Effektivisering av planlegging (Statens Vegvesen, 2012) and information from the term-paper from Planleggerskolen (Larsen & Ditlefsen, 2013).

The comparisons performed in the tables above illustrates that the objective that above all shaped the planning process was to deliver within set deadline.

Handbook 151

Handbook 151 (see page 38) entails five steps which are all important, but it is highlighted that it is essential to put effort into the first three steps because this will help preventing large expenditures on time and resources in step 3 and 4. Furthermore, it sets forth that having things clarified early will involve fewer changes, lessen the chance of exceeding the budget and secures better compliance with the project's time schedule. It is interesting to evaluate the planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen in accordance with the five step method presented in Handbook 151 because it further illustrates the impact time pressure had on the planning process and how the process was not executed in accordance with the ideals and requirements in Handbook 151(Figure 13).

Ideal as described in Handbook 151

E8 Lavangsdalen

<p>Step 0: Project ordering</p>	<p>Step 0: Project ordering</p>
<p>The management presents a written project order in which they put forward requirements for the project, define responsibilities and give a deadline for completion.</p>	<p>No formal and/or written project order was given and as a result responsibility and roles were left undefined. Messages from management on strategies and requirements were given orally and were imprecise. No written deadline was set for making the plan available for public hearing, but the project manager believed it was set for October 1st and was flexible. The deadline was later set for September 9th and was definite.</p>
<p>Step 1: Clarification of Order</p>	<p>Step 1: Clarification of Order</p>
<p>Assess and clarify the project order and create a solid understanding of the project.</p>	<p>Due to time-pressure, this step was to a large extent ignored.</p>
<p>Step 2: Planning and Organizing</p>	<p>Step 2: Planning and Organizing</p>
<p>Carefully discuss and consider all aspects of how the project should be implemented, also project boundary, so that the project can be carried out without significant changes and surprises. Conclude agreements with affected parties and stakeholders.</p>	<p>Also this step was largely ignored due to time-pressure. The project group went directly over to the implementation and production phase in order to have completed the plan within the deadline.</p>
<p>Step 3: Implementation</p>	<p>Step 3: Implementation</p>
<p>Carry out the project in accordance with the order with a focus on lifetime costs and environmental characteristics.</p>	<p>The zoning plan was produced without a clear project order to provide guidance and with several issues remaining unresolved.</p>
<p>Step 4: Learning and Handover</p>	<p>Step 4: Learning and Handover</p>
<p>Make sure that knowledge, decisions and intentions from the finalized planning process follows the project in the next process. Succeed in accomplishing that the project team and others involved learn and gained wisdom from the project and can suggest improvements in leadership and management.</p>	<p>When the zoning plan was handed over to the building-plan group for the building-plan phase, the building-plan group largely ignored the zoning plan as a guideline for their work and started planning almost from scratch. Many changes were made on the project; the road line was changed, cross-sections and exits moved, forest roads elongated and consideration zones were virtually ignored</p>

Figure 13: Comparison of the ideal process of Handbook 151 and the reality of the zoning-plan process for E8 Lavangsdalen. Based on Handbook 151 (Statens Vegvesen, 2012b) and the term-paper from Planleggerskolen (Larsen & Ditlefsen, 2013).

The comparison shows how time-pressure forced the planners to almost entirely skip the three first steps, which are highlighted as the most important with regards to preventing changes and large expenditures on time and resources in step 3 and 4. The consequence of skipping the three first steps was large expenditures in step 3 and 4 (Figure 14). The result of the comparison is almost the perfect justification for the framework in Handbook 151, illustrating how nearly all the scenarios the framework intended to prevent from happening, did happen as a result of not following the framework:

By clarifying things early on one can prevent large expenditures on time and resources in step 3 and 4, and achieve better compliance with the deadline and involve fewer changes (Figure 15).

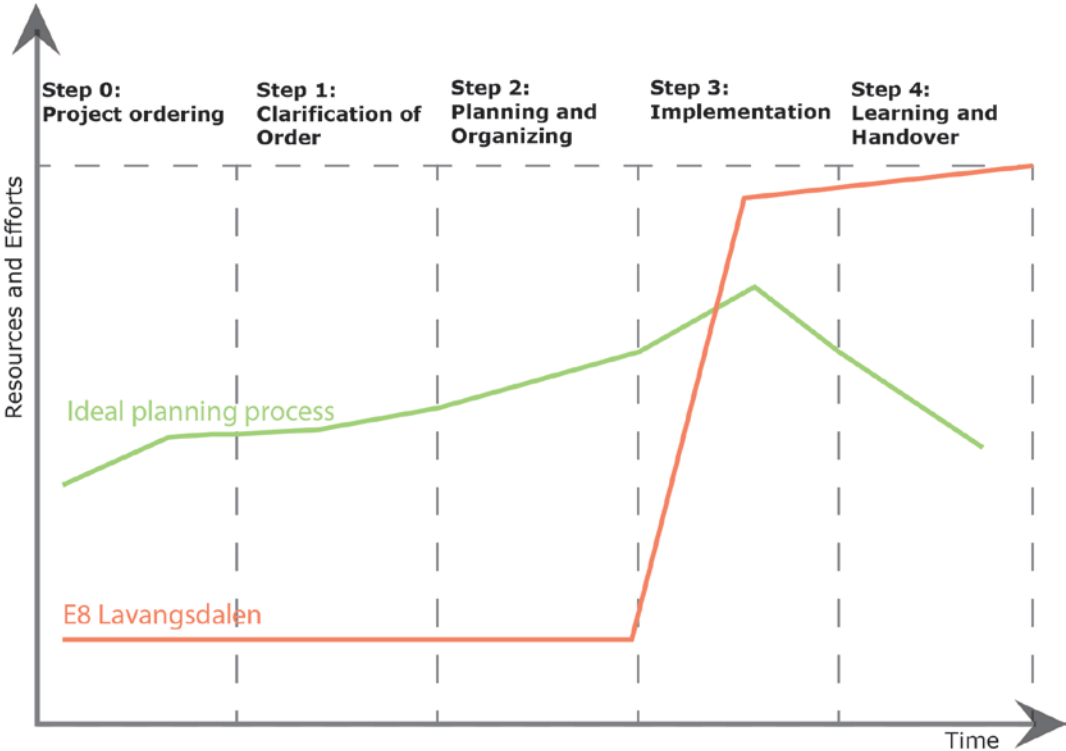


Figure 14: Illustrates how the resources should have been distributed ideally and how they were distributed in the planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen. Based on Handbook 151 (Statens Vegvesen, 2012b) and the term paper from Planleggerskolen (Larsen & Ditlefsen, 2013)

Consequences of not performing Step 0, 1 and 2 in accordance with Handbook 151

- Without a formal project order and management plan the process became chaotic and disorganized and less capable of coping with the problems that emerged.
- A result of not properly defining responsibilities was that the zoning-plan group were not made aware about the avalanche risk in one area and the need to establish an avalanche superstructure there. The zoning-plan group only learned about the avalanche prone area one week before the deadline. As a result the avalanche security measure was not included in the zoning-plan, but was transferred to be dealt with in the building-plan. Located within the avalanche area was the consideration zone of one reindeer crossing and one cultural heritage site. This triggered the need to apply for an exemption from the recently adopted zoning-plan. The Reindeer Administration, the Sámi Parliament and the municipalities approved the application for dispensation.
- Without an explicit deadline there was confusion about when the plan should be finalized. When the deadline later was set to the 9th of September it came as a shock to the project group.
- There was not enough time to get an agreement with the Reindeer Administration regarding the reindeer crossings in relation to the raised concrete median. This problem was then transferred to be dealt with in the building-plan process.
- There was not enough time to enter into an agreement with the Sámi Parliament on how to secure the preservation of the cultural sites before the plan was laid out for public hearing. The Sámi Parliament therefore had to prolong the consultation process and to require that the consideration-zones had to be changed. As a result of the changes the zoning-plan had to be put out on a limited public hearing. The prolonged consultation process and the extra round of public hearing meant that the zoning-plan process took three months longer.
- Significant changes were made to the zoning-plans content during the building plan process. This happened as a result of the overall deterioration of the zoning-plan's quality and because tasks were transferred to be dealt with in the building-plan process due to time-pressure. To change a recently approved plan involves a great problem in the context of the legal legitimacy of the plan, seeing how an enacted zoning-plan is supposed to be both predictable and clear with respect to the measures and impacts it includes.

Figure 15: The consequences of not performing the planning process in accordance with Handbook 151. Based on information from the term-paper from Planleggerskolen (Larsen & Ditlefsen, 2013).

E8 Lavangsdalen and Public Participation

In order to discuss the processes of public participation in the planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen, I present an overview over the planning process to depict when and how public participation was carried out (Figure 16, p.64). As this illustration shows, citizens and stakeholders were given the opportunity to comment twice, the first time when the start-up of the planning process was announced in the beginning of May, and the second time when the plan was made available for public inspection on September 9th 2011. In addition a public meeting that was announced in both municipalities was held in October 2011 and a meeting for landowners was held in June that year. Limited public inspection was facilitated in January 2012 after the zoning-plan had been amended in accordance with objections. Only government agencies and landowners were invited to give comment.

Public participation was carried out in accordance with the requirements in the PBA and the process even involved public participation which exceeded these. Therefore, the arranged public participation activities in the zoning-plan process should not automatically be subject to criticism.

When the above mentioned participation activities are analysed according to the participation ladder (Figure 2, p. 24), the planners of E8 Lavangsdalen arranged public participation which corresponds with rung three (Figure 17, p. 65). The participation activities focused on exchanging information; the planners informed the citizens and stakeholders on the content and extent of the plan, while they in return provided the planners with local knowledge about the plan area. According to Arnstein (1969) this characterizes as nonparticipation or tokenism because it neither grants citizens with a guarantee that their input is heard and acted upon, nor any decision-making power. The public meeting held in October 2011 was arranged at a stage in the planning process where all main decisions had already been made. This doesn't provide the citizens with any real influence on the outcome of the process. The intentions of arranging a public meeting at

such a late stage in the process can seem symbolic; only performed to meet requirements (Amdam, 2011). Ahead of the public meeting the planners did however emphasize that they wished for the attendants to give comment and supply input on the proposed plan. The planners did manage to consider and include some of the changes that were proposed and wished for during the open meeting in the plan. This illustrates that the citizens, to some extent, were involved in planning their own future, which is in accordance with the Planning Law Committee's definition of public participation (Planlovutvalget, 2001). Nevertheless; theory on public participation highlights that public participation activities are most successful when performed early in the planning process. Had the planners arranged a public meeting in the start-up phase, it is more likely that the plan could have included larger considerations of the citizen's wishes. Another outcome of an early public meeting is that the citizens are given the chance to get involved in finding solutions and have a more active and creative role, instead of being limited to the reactive and critical role when involved at a later stage (Falleth, 2012; Statens Vegvesen, 2000).

The plan that was made available for public inspection on the 9th of September 2011 was not as informative as it should have been. The Planning and Building Act §1-1 sets forth that "Planning and decisions shall secure openness, predictability and participation for all affected parties and interests." (Lov av 27.juni nr. 71 2008 om planlegging og byggesaksbehandling). When big issues remain unresolved in the zoning plan, such as the placement of the reindeer crossings and the avalanche superstructure, it involves a problem with the predictability of the plan. The same applies to the changes and amendments that were made in the building plan.

Although E8 Lavangsdalen was a planning process which performed to deliver above the required level of public participation, the value of these participation activities is poor when the plan fails to provide citizens with correct and sufficient

information. Although unintentionally, the plan made available for public inspection misinformed the citizens. The public participation activities that were arranged did not grant the openness and predictability that planning is supposed to in accordance with the PBA. A zoning-plan can be understood as a contract between the planners and the affected communities; to present a contract that can be altered by one of the parties without the consent of the other is dishonest and disrespectful towards those one enters the contract with.

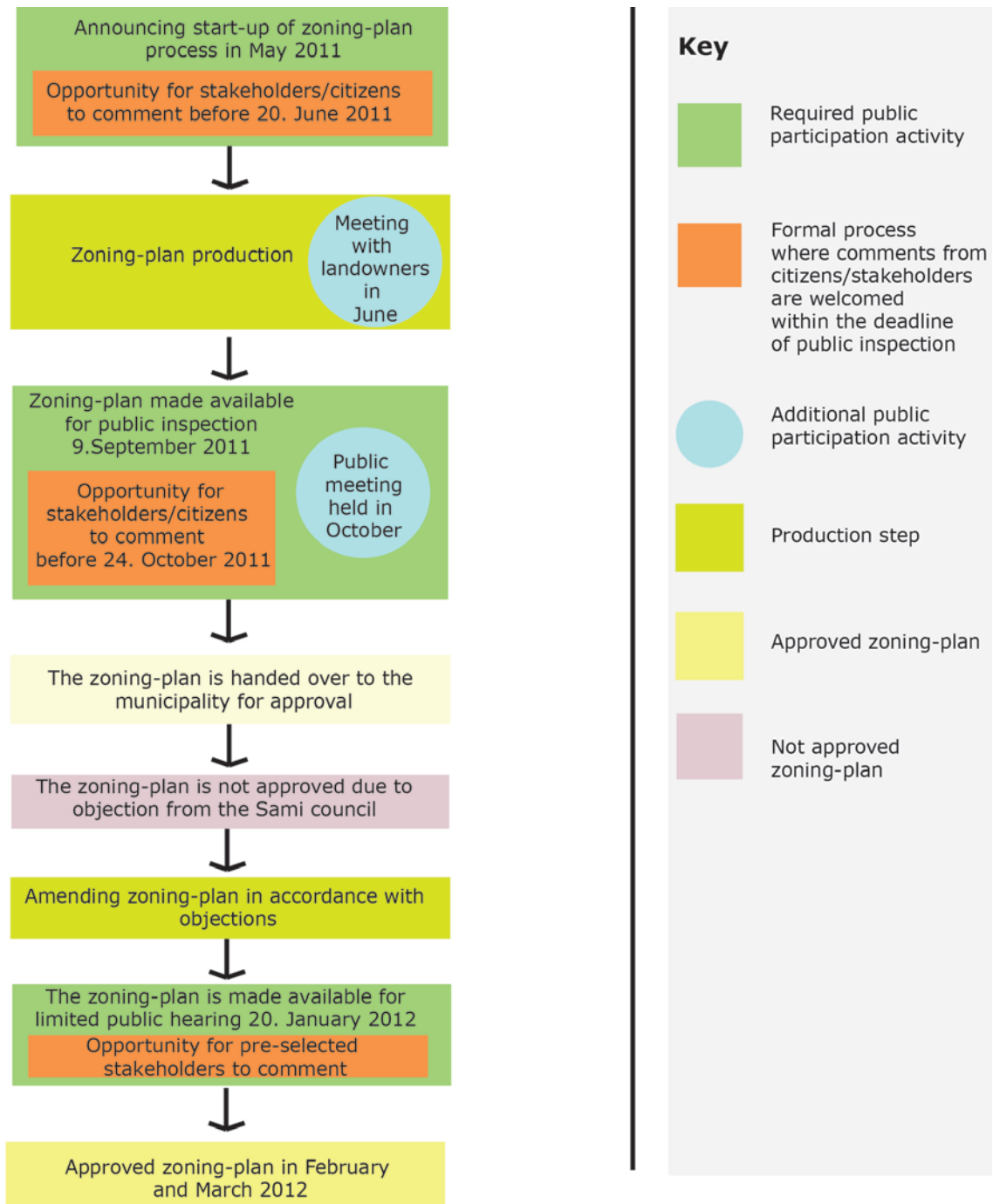
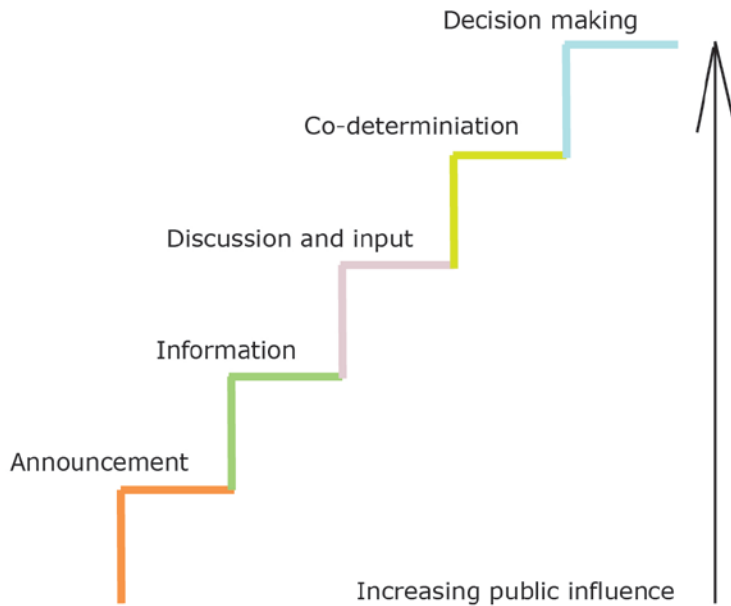


Figure 16: Illustrates the timing and characteristics of the public participation activities which were facilitated in the planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen.



Typical participation activity for each rung (Falleth,2012) (Amdam,2011) (Arnstein,1969)

- Making the decision if a plan will be approved or not
- Participating in workshops or sitting as a representative in boards or councils
- Attend at closed or open meetings and/or supply input or comments
- Read publicly available plan or planprogram
- Read public announcement in the local news paper or online

The public participation activities citizens could participate in during the planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen

- No participation activity was facilitated equivalent with this rung
- No participation activity was facilitated equivalent with this rung
- Supply input on public meeting in October 2011 and/or landowner meeting in June 2011. Comment on the plan during the public inspection in September 2011. Comment on the startup of the planning process when it was announced in May 2011.
- Receive information by reading the plan made available for public inspection on September 9th, or through attending at meetings.
- Made aware about the on-going planning process by reading the announcement.

Figure 17: Illustrates how participation activities in E8 Lavangsdalen relate to the rungs on the participation ladder.

Instrumental and Communicative Planning

With the clear objective; to improve road safety on E8 Lavangsdalen- it was natural for the planners to focus on an instrumental approach. The project was ordered and initiated from a top political level and the process focused on meeting the set objective and deadline. The production of the technical sides of the plan was emphasized and the expert opinions of planners and engineers were highlighted. These are all characteristics which further insinuate that instrumental planning was the favoured approach. However, some elements from communicative planning theory were apparent and also required by law. Stakeholders and affected agencies were informed about the planning process, but the communication was not arranged as a discussion between equal partners. The affected parties were only given the choice to react and give their response. The planners claimed the expert role instead of the role of a facilitator of creativity and innovation (Amdam, 2011). It is therefore reasonable to assert that even the communicative activities in the planning process were arranged in an instrumental manner.

Planning theory on instrumental planning sets forth that the legitimacy of plans are secured by following laws and guidelines. The comparison between E8 Lavangsdalen and the framework in Handbook 151 (Figure 13, p. 58) revealed that the process did not follow the required guideline and the produced plan did not provide predictability in accordance with the PBA since many changes were made in the following building-plan process. Although the process did share characteristics with instrumental planning processes; all in all the process fell outside the scope of instrumental planning.

E8 Lavangsdalen: Efficient or Effective?

Considering how E8 Lavangsdalen is highlighted as one of the most *effektive* zoning-plan processes performed by Statens Vegvesen, it is interesting to analyse how efficient and/or effective the process was (See Effectiveness versus Efficiency, p. 43). Such an analysis will also highlight the question whether the objective in the streamlining process, increased *effektivitet*, should be understood as a wish to enhance efficiency, or if the objective is to improve effectiveness.

Since efficiency is understood as holding the same meaning as fast, rapid and swift and that it with regards to production means to increase productivity without increasing the effort; I will first discuss how this definition fits the planning process:

Even though the process involved a halving of planning time, the process could have been less time consuming. If the deadline had been more flexible, the planners could have waited with making the plan available for public hearing. Then they could have had enough time to enter into agreement with the Sámi Parliament on how to draw up the consideration zones encompassing the cultural sites. Had this been settled ahead of the public hearing, the hearing period would have lasted for six weeks instead of four months. This would also eliminate the need for the limited public hearing that had to be arranged due to amendments of the consideration zones. Efficiency is also about limiting the efforts. The poor quality of the zoning-plan made it necessary to redo the planning of many elements during the building-plan process. This involves extra expenditure on resources (efforts). The word that best describes the zoning-plan process of E8 Lavangsdalen is: fast. Compared with the average zoning-plan processes with respect to time-consumption, it was fast. But the process could have been even faster if it had been performed in an efficient manner, by doing things right.

Effectiveness involves achievement of objectives, results and effects and that these were met in accordance with worded objectives, values, needs and intentions (see p. 43). The worded objectives and intentions of the zoning-plan was to facilitate the construction of a road with better road safety and that the plan would show all necessary interventions in relation to this (Statens Vegvesen Region nord, 2011). The plan did meet the objective of facilitating the construction of a safer road, but with the changes made in the building-plan process it failed to meet the objective of determining future land-use. The zoning plan should also reflect the values Statens Vegvesens' present through their ideals on planning. This means that effective planning processes performed by Statens Vegvesen need to be carried out in accordance with, for instance, Handbook 151. The comparison between the ideal process presented in Handbook 151 and the reality of the process of E8 Lavangsdalen illustrated that the process was not carried out according to Statens Vegvesens ideals (see p. 57). On the basis of this I conclude that the plan and planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen was ineffective. Further, since *fast* is the only characteristic the zoning-plan process shares with the definition of efficiency, I conclude that the objective of the streamlining process is to provide faster and less time-consuming processes.

E8 Lavangsdalen: Evaluating the Quality of Plan and Planning Process

To evaluate the quality of the planning process and produced plan I have compared the characteristics of these with the characteristics of high quality plans and planning processes as presented in the literature review (see p.44).

<p>“On a general level quality entails that planning should be a suitable and sufficient means to manage the development of society in a deliberate and thoughtful manner, based on an adequate knowledge base and through a process where those who are affected by the plan have been able to promote their interests.” <i>Planlovutvalget, 2001</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> The planning of a raised concrete median on E8 Lavangsdalen must be understood as a suitable means to improve road safety on the stretch. <input type="checkbox"/> The planning process was not based on adequate knowledge about the avalanche risk. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Those who are affected by the plan were given the opportunity to promote their interests.
<p>In order to achieve good plans and planning processes it is important to be well planned, prepared and knowledge-based. The process must be flexible and allow time to take some steps back, redo and rethink alternatives. <i>Statens Vegvesen</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> The process was not well planned and prepared. <input type="checkbox"/> The process was knowledge-based, but failed to retrieve all necessary information. <input type="checkbox"/> The process was not flexible.
<p>A good planning process is recognised when all involved parties agree that the most important issues have been highlighted, and a good plan is recognised when it solves the issues it was intended to solve. <i>Statens Vegvesen</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> The issues with the reindeer crossing and the cultural sites were not resolved. <input type="checkbox"/> The plan did not provide a definite answer on future land use. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> The plan met the objective of improving road safety.
<p>Good plan quality is that the plans can be implemented and that they are durable and cost effective in a lifetime perspective . <i>Statens Vegvesen</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> The plan could not be implemented without the changes that were made in the building-plan. <input type="checkbox"/> At this point it is too early to answer the question of durability and cost effectiveness since the project is still under construction.

This comparison illustrates that the planning process and produced plan of E8 Lavangsdalen were not performed in compliance with most characteristics of quality.

Through the case study I have unravelled that time-pressure resulted in poor quality in both process and plan. The decrease in the plans quality was a result of a hastily performed planning process. The plans shortcomings meant that it was necessary to make changes to the plan in the next planning phase. This in turn resulted in the information provided during the public hearing being imprecise, which involves a democratic issue since citizens and stakeholders agree to a plan on faulty terms. This study shows that the quality of the public participation activities is related to the quality of the plan.

CHAPTER 4

Discussion

The main conclusion after performing the case study is that the effects of time-pressure, due to an attempt to comply with a definite deadline, was an overall decrease of quality in the zoning-plan and process of E8 Lavangsdalen. Furthermore, the case study revealed how the poor quality of the zoning-plan also decreased the quality (legitimacy) of public participation.

Time-pressure

The time pressure in relation to the case was a consequence of how the funding of road projects is managed: in order to be awarded funding, the requirement is for an approved zoning-plan for the project. When the Minister of Transport, in January 2011, announced that funds will be allocated for the project in 2012, the message to the planners was that they had to produce a zoning-plan and have it approved by both municipalities by the end of 2011. This reveals that politicians fail to show understanding and respect towards the planning regime that have been developed and designed in accordance with policies. I make the following statement, based on my knowledge of the events: the strict timeframe the planners had to perform within forced them to perform a planning process that was not in accordance with guidelines. The case study illustrates that if they had more time at their hands and more flexibility, the planners could have performed a process that was in compliance with guidelines and most likely avoided the problems that occurred later. The report "Effektivisering av planlegging" warn

against using shortcuts in order to reduce planning time, since one risks the quality of the plan, and that all or part of the plan must be revised (Statens Vegvesen, 2012a). The case study supports this statement.

The way funding of transport projects is managed produces time pressure which results in unwarranted processes and poor quality of plan and process. In this case it also resulted in reduced efficiency and a decrease in the legitimacy of performed public participation. This case study also demonstrates that one of the measures of the efficiency-enhancing process, an increase in the use of deadlines, might not, at the end of the day, produce desired results.

Impatience towards Planning

Another situation that added pressure was the local communities' attitude towards the planning process. A locally renowned doctor expressed his impatience in the local newspaper. The doctor could not understand why it took so long; wasn't it just a matter of placing a centre guardrail on the centre strip? This statement reveals a lack of understanding of the complexities of planning. The level of knowledge amongst citizens about what planning encompasses may be questioned. The pressure that was added from the locals could maybe have been mitigated through educating them on the basics of planning as a part of the announcement of the start-up of the planning process. The official announcement of the start-up is very brief and is written in a language that might seem alienating to some. It is possible that some of the pressure would have been reduced if a greater understanding of the tasks that had to be performed by the planners had been established through providing more information as a part of the announcement routine.

Time is a Prerequisite for Planning and Design

While reading literature and theory on planning and design, many different frameworks and guidelines are proposed as means to produce high quality outcomes. Yet, the guidelines and frameworks all have one element in common: planning and design is ALWAYS proposed to be executed as a process. Different frameworks propose different steps, stages, phases or questions to guide the process towards the desired future. Typically the steps are designed to ensure the inclusion of knowledge, feedback, reflection and creativity. But, furthermore, to perform each step generates use of time and consequently a maturation of ideas and alternatives. When planning and design are acknowledged as a process, it triggers another realization: a prerequisite for planning is time since time is the essence of process.

Balancing Different Values

When analysing the planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen, it became clear to me that there were two main objectives that steered the process: to improve road safety and to meet the deadline. It is likely that many road projects share similar main objectives. Those objectives are sometimes prioritised at the expense of other values and interests. In the case of E8 Lavangsdalen it was efficiency at the expense of quality. The poor quality of the planning process involved poor solutions with respect to the preservation and considerations of a cultural heritage site and a reindeer crossing in relation to one of the avalanche prone areas. Regardless, the plan received approval. This proves that some values are more valuable than others. The benevolent attitude towards the project is likely to be explained by the seriousness of the main objective of the project; to improve road safety in order to prevent future fatal accidents. It is difficult to debate whether other sub-objectives should have been evaluated more closely when such evaluations could prolong the planning process and therefore increase the possibility of new fatalities.

The case study illustrates that when some values are not given enough attention in the planning process, it can in fact slow down the process. Through participation of affected public agencies, the Norwegian planning system provides a guarantee for the balance between opposing values and interests. In this case, however, it appears that even such public agencies, here represented by the Reindeer Administration and the Sámi Parliament, accept that their values and interests are put aside in favour of safety (referring to the exemption from consideration zones). There should be a discussion about how different values and interests are weighted against each other. When and to what extent is it okay that safety trumps other values?

Public participation today and in the future

As the case study showed, the public participation practice that was facilitated in the planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen, performed within and also above the requirements for public participation as set out in the Planning and Building Act. This finding illustrates that Statens Vegvesen shows responsibility by ensuring participation beyond the minimum requirements and it supports the view that Norway holds a democratic planning system. Amdam (2011) states that we should be proud of the democratic aspect of our planning system, but we should be less satisfied regarding different groups' ability and will to use their democratic rights. For a large part of the population, politics and public decision-making processes can seem distant, uninteresting and impossible to influence. The main pattern in Norway is still a broad political illiteracy, which is recognized by little insight into public decision-making processes and how citizens are affected by them, and which alternative actions exists. I argue that Statens Vegvesen has a social responsibility when it comes to thwart and prevent political illiteracy within their area. As a state agency they should set a good example by providing the citizens with sufficient information and guidance. The information should be easy to comprehend and the use of visualisations could

make it easier for citizens to understand the impact of proposed plans. This way people will, to a larger extent, realise how they are affected and how they can influence decision making.

It is the planners' responsibility to make sure that elected officials, market participants and local communities participate in the planning, and that they accept the planners' logic and understand the benefits of the plan (Falleth, 2012). Furthermore, through the planning processes, the planners should aim at the long term promotion of basic values such as democracy.

The Evaluation and Preservation of Quality

Evaluation of Quality in Statens Vegvesen

As I was investigating how quality is evaluated in Statens Vegvesen, it became apparent that the agency doesn't have a system which allows the users to participate in evaluating the quality of projects. User surveys are sometimes performed in advance of new projects. They are termed travel behaviour surveys (reisevaneundersøkelser). The purpose of such surveys is to provide insight into the demands of future transport projects, not to evaluate the quality in respect of opening new projects. The quality assurance system in Statens Vegvesen deals with securing the technical quality of structures and the quality of plan and process. Statens Vegvesen is a state agency who plans transport systems for the benefit of society. It is questionable that the agency doesn't show more interest in the users experiences of quality. Knowledge about the users' experience of quality would provide data that could enhance quality in future projects.

Securing Quality between Planning Phases

A question that arose while studying the case was: what is the point of producing a zoning-plan if the guidelines that were established in the plan are

not followed? With all the changes that were made in the building-plan, the planners involved in the zoning-plan process felt that the efforts they had put into producing the plan was, to some extent, a waste (Larsen & Ditlefsen, 2013). This might have been avoided if the same project group had been responsible for both zoning and building-plan. Because of the time pressure, such an arrangement was not possible in the process of E8 Lavangsdalen. One of the proposed efficiency enhancing measures in the report *Effektivitet i planleggingen* was: in order to secure the quality of projects from one planning phase to the next (such as from zoning-plan to building-plan), a document which presents the most important intentions and knowledge should be produced and follow the project from start to finish (Statens Vegvesen, 2012a). If such a document had existed in the planning process of E8 Lavangsdalen, it is probable that fewer changes would have been made to the plan in the following building-plan phase.

Efficiency: In whose Interest?

In relation to E8 Lavangsdalen: the goal of completing the plan within the time limit was given priority at the expense of producing a plan that was satisfactory with respect to quality. In whose interest is it that transport-projects are pressured on time? The pursuit of efficiency in the sense of increased production rate must be understood as a political and economic interest: political because the time horizon for politicians is four years; anything beyond this has lower priority; economic because a reduction in time spent involves a reduction of resources; time is money. The considerations of other values, such as quality, are condoned to achieve set objectives with respect to the two values, economy and timeframes. The focus might have shifted more towards delivering quality if more attention had been projected towards the opinion and feedback from users. What is it more likely that the users remember? That the project failed to deliver on time and exceeded the budget, or that the project produced poor solutions of low quality? The rigidity of timeframes and economy has an impact on quality

because it doesn't allow time to correct mistakes or re-evaluate solutions. As a result, deadlines and financial restrictions become barriers to achieve quality. In this context the duality of *effektivitet* is relevant. What can be understood as being *effektivt*: to finish within the timeframe or to provide functional and long lasting facilities? The case study proved two long known truths: 'haste is waste' but also that 'a stich in time saves nine'.

Suggestions for Practice Change

Based on the findings in the case study and presented theory, I propose these measures for practice change:

- Secure that enough resources are invested in the early phases of planning processes.
- Facilitate participation for affected authorities early on in planning processes and maintain an open dialogue throughout the process.
- Arrange open public meetings at an early stage in planning processes.
- Include citizens through exchanging information and discussing possible solutions.
- Use visualisations as a tool to engage and inform citizens at an early stage about the effects and impacts that the project might involve.
- Set forth flexible deadlines.
- Include quality assurance as a part of the process. Securing the quality of plan and process is the main concern of guidelines. Therefore, there should be methods of ensuring and assessing quality at different stages in the process.
- Develop feedback tools, easily usable and accessible, where users can express their experience of the road networks quality and planners have access to this information.
- Establish a greater universal understanding of why planning, inevitably, must take time.

In light of the on-going efficiency enhancing process it may seem unreasonable to suggest measures which might involve increased expenditures of time and resources. It is, however, important to remember that these suggestions are made on the basis of investigating one of the fastest planning processes ever performed by Statens Vegvesen.

Further Research

The case study revealed the relationship between quality, use of resources and time spent. In view of the efficiency enhancing process in Statens Vegvesen, it would be relevant to find the point of maximum quality for a minimum of resources used and time spent, in other words the point of maximum effectiveness. Successful research on this topic would provide the planners with an argument in favour of sufficient resource and time allocation. Furthermore, it would provide tangible data that could more easily be comprehended from a non-planner point of view. It would also provide a tool for setting forth more accurate timeframes.

When you feel how depressingly
slowly you climb,
it's well to remember that
Things Take Time.
Piet Hein

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