

Political Reasons and Driving Forces for Promoting Road Expansion - A Case Study on E6 in Skåne

Abstract

This thesis is a case study which investigates political parties' reasons and driving forces for advocating an expansion of E6 in Skåne with respect to the fact that the highway today has reached its full capacity. The two biggest parties in the region, the Social Democratic Party and the Moderate Party, have been included in the research. The arguments stated by each party, revealed through semi-structured interviews, have been related to concepts often discussed when considering road expansion. These concepts are induced traffic, environmental aspects and economic development. From the research one can conclude that the parties' main reason for advocating an expansion is with respect to heavy congestion. The interviews reveal that both parties are aware that road expansion necessarily does not ease congestion and instead induce traffic. Environmental aspects have been taken into consideration when preparing the proposal to expand E6. However, the parties have different points of departures. None of the parties explicitly consider economic development to be a reason for expanding E6. Most likely the main driving force within the parties derives from the fact that an expansion is highly demanded by the population.

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Table of Contents

1	INTRODUCTION	6
1.1	AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTION	6
1.2	DELIMITATIONS	7
1.3	BACKGROUND.....	7
1.4	OUTLINE	8
2	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	8
2.1	TRANSPORT PLANNING	8
2.2	CORE CONCEPTS RELATABLE TO ROAD EXPANSION	10
2.2.1	<i>Induced Traffic</i>	11
2.2.2	<i>Environmental Dimensions</i>	12
2.2.3	<i>Economic Development</i>	13
2.3	LITERATURE REVIEW	13
2.3.1	<i>Does Proposals Depend on Democratic Systems?</i>	14
2.3.2	<i>Does Experts' Use or Non-Use of Knowledge Matter?</i>	15
2.3.3	<i>Does It Matter How the Problem Is Framed?</i>	15
3	METHODS.....	16
3.1	SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS	16
3.1.1	<i>Sampling and Selection</i>	17
3.1.2	<i>Interviews and Empirical Sources</i>	17
3.1.3	<i>Analysis</i>	18
4	RESULTS	18
4.1	POLITICAL REASONS FOR PROMOTING ROAD EXPANSION	19
4.1.1	<i>The Social Democratic Party</i>	19
4.1.2	<i>The Moderate Party</i>	20
4.2	RELATING THE INTERVIEWS TO THE CORE CONCEPTS	21
4.2.1	<i>Induced Traffic</i>	21
4.2.2	<i>Environmental Aspects</i>	22
4.3	BROAD CONSENSUS ON ROAD EXPANSION	22
5	DISCUSSION.....	23
5.1	POLITICAL DRIVING FORCES FOR PROMOTING ROAD EXPANSION.....	23
5.2	COMPARING THE PARTIES' ARGUMENTS TO THE CORE CONCEPTS.....	24
5.2.1	<i>Induced Traffic and Congestion</i>	24
5.2.2	<i>Environmental Aspects</i>	25
5.2.3	<i>Economic Development</i>	25

5.3	COMPARISON WITH LITERATURE REVIEW	26
5.4	COMPARISON WITH THE SWEDISH TRANSPORT ADMINISTRATION	27
5.5	FINAL DISCUSSION	28
6	CONCLUSION	28
6.1	FUTURE RESEARCH	29
7	SUMMARY.....	30
8	REFERENCES	31
8.1.1	<i>Appendix 1: CATWOE Elements</i>	<i>34</i>
8.1.2	<i>Appendix 2: Interview Guides</i>	<i>35</i>

1 Introduction

The European Route E6 connects Kirkenes in Norway with Trelleborg in Sweden. It passes through Skåne in Sweden with several exits along the way. The part of the motorway located in Skåne is 143 kilometers long and the speed limit is set to 110 km/h. E6 is important for commuters in the region – each day 40.000-50.000 vehicles passes between Helsingborg and Malmö. 20 % of the traffic exhibits of heavy vehicles due to the fact E6 connects to the port in Trelleborg as well as Öresundsbron, the bridge between Copenhagen and Malmö. Further, between 50-60 % of the heavy vehicles is estimated to be transit traffic which means it has its destination outside of Skåne and are thus just passing through (Swedish Transport Administration 2018a).

Referring to the fact that it on certain stretches in Skåne has reached its full capacity (Swedish Transport Administration 2018a), certain actors in Skåne promote an expansion of the E6. The two biggest political parties in Skåne (Valmyndigheten 2018), The Social Democratic Party and The Moderate Party both promote an expansion of E6 to three car lanes instead of two in each direction to solve the prevailing situation of congestion primarily experienced during rush hour traffic (mot. 2019/20:449: S 1039; Swedish Social Democratic Party 2018; the Moderate Party n.d.). They promote an expansion despite the fact that the Swedish Transport Administration primarily suggests other measures (Swedish Transport Administration 2018a). The other measures proposed will be accounted of in further sections, as well as its reasons for opposing an expansion.

This paper analyses the Social Democratic Party's and the Moderate Party's reasons and driving forces for promoting an expansion. It also studies how their arguments relate to three different concepts which often are discussed in relation to road expansion. These concepts are induced traffic, environmental aspects and economic development. The two parties position themselves differently (the Moderate Party Centre-right to Right-wing, the Social Democratic Party Centre-left), which makes this an intriguing subject to study. Also, both parties have pursued the question actively recently e.g. through motions (mot. 2019/20:449: S 1039) and Facebook initiatives (the Moderate Party 2017) which also justifies studies on these two parties specifically.

1.1 Aim and Research Question

The point of departure for this thesis has been the fact that the Social Democratic Party and the Moderate Party advocate an expansion of E6 in Skåne (mot. 2019/20:449: S 1039; Swedish Social Democratic Party 2018; the Moderate Party n.d.). The aim of this study has

been to examine and to better understand their reasons and driving forces for promoting an expansion, with the final purpose of relating these to the three concepts already presented. The research question consists of two parts. The first part explores parties' reasons and driving forces for promoting an expansion of E6 in Skåne. The second part relates their reasons and driving forces to the three concepts.

1.2 Delimitations

This thesis delimits from including all relevant parties and other actors in the region. As already explained, the study includes the two biggest parties in the region. Additionally they are positioned differently from each other which also is a reason as to why they are included in the research. Further, the author is aware that not all aspects of infrastructure investments are included in the thesis. Instead, it provides an accounting of three concepts (induced traffic, environmental aspects and economic development), which are further explained in the theoretical framework. The selection of concepts derives from the author's personal interests. Naturally, because this is a case study on E6 in Skåne, the thesis also delimits from discussions concerning other infrastructure investments in the region.

1.3 Background

In the last 15 years traffic volumes on certain parts of E6 has increased with 100 %. The most intense increasement has been on the route between Malmö and Helsingborg. Consequently, because the motorway has reached its full capacity on these parts, the highway is very sensible to disruptions during certain times, especially during rush hour-traffic. In spite of these facts, E6 in Skåne has high road safety when measured in causalities and people seriously injured by accidents. Additionally, even though the population in Skåne is estimated to increase by 8,1 % by the year 2023, the Swedish Transport Administration concludes that the population increase most likely will not have any major impacts on the mobility on E6 with regards to the fact that investments in train services in the region is comprehensive (Swedish Transport Administration 2018a).

Considering the issues of congestion, the Swedish Transport Administration (2018a) has concluded that the most affected stretches are between Vellinge and Löddeköpinge. Here, the reductions in speed are the most profound and these are the most accident-prone parts of E6 in Skåne as well. With the intention of preserving E6's national and international function, the Swedish Transport Administration proposes measures which they argue will contribute to a reduction of disruptions, better predictable travel time and acceptable velocities on all parts of

the motorway, including the stretches where the maximum capacity today has been reached. Some measures proposed have already been, or will be, implemented. For instance, heavy vehicles are prohibited to overtake between Vellinge and Helsingborg at 6-9 am and 4-6 pm (Strand 2019). However the Swedish newspaper Sydsvenskan has showed the prohibition being ineffective – heavy vehicles still overtake during rush-hour traffic (Arvidson et. al. 2019). Furthermore, a new traffic interchange dedicated to busses has been constructed which connects Lomma and E6. Additionally, another car lane in each direction will be built between Alnarp and Lomma as a measure to increase the capacity. On this part, 50 000 vehicles passes every twenty-four hours (Magnusson 2019). Other measures proposed are a reduction of speed to 100 km/h between Vellinge and Helsingborg and increasing the number of highway patrols (Swedish Transport Administration 2018a).

1.4 Outline

In the following section transport planning will be explained as well as the three core concepts often discussed in relation to road expansion. The next section also provides a review on previous research relatable to road expansion. In the third section the methods used are accounted of and evaluated. Thereafter, the results from the research are presented. These are discussed and put into relation to the research question and theoretical framework in section four. Afterwards, the thesis is concluded and potential further research is proposed. In the last section the thesis is summarized.

2 Theoretical Framework

In this section transport planning is accounted of. Thereafter the three core concepts (induced traffic, environmental aspects and economic development) are depicted. Lastly, in the literature review, three different studies relatable to road expansion are presented.

2.1 Transport Planning

In Sweden, the Government is responsible for national and regional infrastructure while municipalities are responsible for local road networks and local public transport. Due to the fact that Sweden has a relatively small ministry, agencies play an important role realizing and implementing the decisions made by the Swedish Parliament and Government. In the case of transportation, the relevant agency is the Swedish Transport Administration (Eliasson – Lundberg 2012). Similarly to many other countries, such as Great Britain and Norway, cost-benefit analysis (CBA) are often used for Swedish transport planning. CBA is advantageous

especially when several possible investments need to be evaluated in comparison to each other. However, all costs and benefits are not considered very well in CBA, which is a severe problem when the analysis concerns investments in roads subject to congestion, rail investments with the intention to reduce train delays or road bypasses meant to improve perceived urban environment. CBA does not either take into consideration environmental aspects nor externalities created by motor traffic. In a study made by Jonas Eliasson and Mattias Lundberg (2012), it is concluded that CBA results affect planners' selection of investments, and that the results also help planners to avoid investments with negative net benefits. It is also concluded that freight investments are prioritized by planners while traffic safety is not.

Transport planning is usually based on a “predict and provide” approach which has contributed to the experienced dependency on automobiles in cities. Using this approach, traffic is perceived to behave like a liquid which, regardless of where it is kept, has a fixed volume which is not dependent on the setting it exists within. However, instead of predicting an increase in car use and provide better road capacity thereafter, another approach has been suggested; “debate and decide”. With this approach, traffic is perceived to behave as a gas. Contrary to any liquid, gas expands to fill the available space (Kenworthy 2012). Aud Tennøy (2010) provides an example when the “predict and provide” approach is applied. In the UK in the 1990's new ring roads, i.e. increasing road capacity, were built as a way of solving congestion and environmental problems on local streets. Kenworthy (2012) states that the planning today focuses on supplying solutions to the problems instead of changing the dependence on cars and strive towards implementing more sustainable and cost-effective alternatives.

Basing transport planning on “predict and provide” modelling could be risky due to the fact that travel behavior can change rapidly and in ways this modelling is unable to predict or incorporate well. However, Jeff Kenworthy (2012) says that the models used per se are working, but the lacking part is how they are used. According to Kenworthy, the problem lies within the fact that the planning strives towards reaching an equilibrium between road capacity and traffic volumes, and that it aims to always be ahead of congestion.

As mentioned earlier, the Swedish Transport Administration has an important role regarding infrastructure investments in Sweden. It has a method for finding suitable measures for each specific case which is based on four different phases; 1) Rethink 2) Optimize 3) Rebuild 4) Build new. This method is applied in order to secure valid resource management and to contribute to a sustainable societal development. Each phase covers different aspects in

the development of transportation and infrastructure. In the first phase, measures which may have an impact of the need of transportation and transportation modes are evaluated. For example taxes, fees, speed limits and subsidies. In the second phase, measures which contribute to a more efficient usage of the existing infrastructure are implemented, for instance redistribution of space and providing more bus and train departures. The third phase deals with rebuilding, for instance making a road broader. Lastly, if the prevailing situation is not improved by measures in earlier phases, greater investments and measures are taken. These measures include new railroad tracks, road expansion, building roundabouts et cetera (Swedish Transport Administration 2018b). All parties in the Swedish Parliament support this method (Améen 2018).

The Swedish Transport Administration currently opposes an expansion of E6 (Swedish Transport Administration 2018a), with the exception of the part between Lomma and Alnarp. Its main reason for opposing road expansion regards to environmental reasons. The agency concludes that in order for Sweden to not have any net emissions of greenhouse gases in 2045, more people must find alternative ways of commuting. The costs of travelling by car as well as the time it takes must be more expensive and longer compared to other modes of transport. The Swedish Transport Administration portrays a conflicting interest in reaching this goal and at the same time improving mobility for motor traffic. Instead of realizing six car lanes, the Swedish Transport Administration proposes other measures as solutions to the congestion. For instance dedicating one car lane for busses only, as will be the case between Lomma and Alnarp.

Moreover, the Swedish Transport Administration argues that measures taken today need to be in accordance with a future society where the climate goals have been reached, which probably is a society with less motor traffic compared to today. Accordingly, the Swedish Transport Administration proposes reduced speed limits, increased taxes etcetera instead of an expansion. However, if the measures proposed are not effective, other investments must be further evaluated. Even though the Swedish Transport Administration refers to research concluding that measures resulting in increased capacity subsequently will lead to increased motor traffic, they do not exclude an expansion of E6 in the long term.

2.2 Core Concepts Relatable to Road Expansion

Transportation infrastructure contributes to the creation of prosperity and growth of human civilization. Thanks to the fact that it facilitates the movement of people and goods, it also contributes to cultural, economic, educational and social exchange. One could argue that

transport infrastructure is a cornerstone for every developed country and of huge importance when measuring quality of life. A well-functioning transport infrastructure network facilitates the movement of people and goods and do so at a low cost (Ascher – Krupp 2010). The fact that transport infrastructure is of importance can be tracked back to when traditional location theories began to be developed. For instance, Alfred Weber developed a model showing where it is the most beneficial to establish an industry, emphasizing the importance of low transportation costs which are, in his definition, a combination of weight and distance (Wood – Roberts, 2011). A well-functioning road network facilitates for transportation and hence decrease the transportation costs. Here, the three concepts (induced traffic, environmental aspects and economic development) will be further analyzed and accounted of.

2.2.1 Induced Traffic

Although road expansion solves the issue of congestion in the short term, there is substantial evidence that expansion of road networks induces traffic and that it accumulates with time. For instance, in a study on California cited by Robert Cervero (Cervero 2003), it was found that every 10 % increase in lane miles was associated with a 9 % increase in vehicle miles travelled four years after the road expansion was conducted. Another study, also cited by Cervero (2003), on U.S. metropolitan areas concluded that the areas investing in transport infrastructure and road capacity did not relieve the prevailing congestion better than the areas who did not. However, Cervero acknowledges the fact that even though there is evidence of the induced traffic phenomenon, little research has been made on how it may vary between urban and suburban settings, by type of facility, size of metropolitan area or level of congestion. Cervero also highlights the fact that congestion rather is an negative externality derived from the usage of roads, instead of being a problem associated with road expansion (Cervero 2003). This argument contrasts to the opinion of Robert B. Mitchell and Chester Rapkin who argue that traffic arises out of land use. They state that future transportation modes is dependent on and linked to the degree of mixed land use. In this case ‘mixed’ refer to a just distribution between public transport, walking and cycling and road networks (Kenworthy 2012).

Furthermore, Robert Cervero argues that congestion derives from “absence of thoughtful land use planning and growth management around new interchanges and along newly expanded highways” (Cervero 2003, p. 160) which accordingly, he states, makes it important to analyze how to best invest and manage scarce transportation and land resources, and

evaluate other potential solutions for congestion, for instance by implementing bus rapid transit systems and using carpool lanes.

Another way of explaining congestion is by perceiving it as a nonrival resource and use the phenomenon of tragedy of the commons. The motorway in this case is for everyone to use without many restrictions and no coordination of when to use it. Thus individuals are likely to overconsume based on the perception that individuals are rational and want to maximize their private gains without considering a sustainable use or protecting the resource (Ascher – Krupp 2010).

2.2.2 Environmental Dimensions

Environmental dimensions mainly include three different aspects; nature, noise levels and climate. In terms of E6 in Skåne, the Swedish Transport Administration states that it has good routines for preserving and protecting valuable nature resources along E6. Considering noise levels, The Swedish Transport Administration has concluded that many accommodations are, or will be, disturbed by high noise levels due to E6. Continuous work is being made in accordance with the Swedish Transport Administration's policies concerning noise levels (Swedish Transport Administration 2018a). Gunnar Cerwén et. al (2019) inform that high noise levels affect the population. Hence, Cerwén et. al. argue that quiet areas must be preserved with respect to citizens health and the national economy.

Regarding climate aspects, 30 % of Sweden's greenhouse gas emissions derives from the road transport sector. How much impact the sector has on the climate is dependent on how much each vehicle is used, how much gas each vehicle consumes and the share of fossil fuel, compared to renewable sources of energy (Swedish Transport Administration 2018a). Greenhouse gas emissions need to be reduced dramatically in the following years to avoid irreversible climate changes. One efficient way of doing so is to curb or reduce the emissions originating from transportation. This could be done by reducing emissions per vehicle and kilometer and by reducing total urban road traffic volumes. Although many municipalities and countries have ambitious goals concerning this, the unsustainable travel behavior proceeds. This clearly shows that there is a gap between the objective to reduce traffic volumes and what is actually implemented (Tennøy 2010).

In a south-Swedish context, a third of the greenhouse gas emissions originates from road transportation. Emissions from heavy vehicles have increased as a consequence of a prosperous economy. Another remarking fact is that the emissions from working vehicles and machines has decreased with 15 % between 2010 and 2015 in spite of unaltered total numbers

of these vehicles. The total emissions from the transport sector are expected to decrease by 2030 as a result of changed travel behavior, streamlining and electrification of vehicles, increased usage of bio fuels and automatization. Additionally, the amount of vehicles per capita is expected to decrease with 15 % in the region (Länsstyrelsen 2018).

2.2.3 Economic Development

Transport infrastructure is a cornerstone for the development of economic activity. The quality of services, level of labor costs and productivity are all determined by the level of local accessibility (Rodríguez-Pose et.al. 2018). Moreover, it has been acknowledged that transport infrastructure contributes to territorial cohesion, reduce economic disparities and promote economic development (Crescenzi – Rodríguez-Pose 2012). The table below illustrates other economic and societal impacts of transport infrastructure investments. However, once the “basic threshold of infrastructure provision has been reached” (Rodríguez-Pose et.al. 2018, p. 229), further investments on transport infrastructure have limited chances on creating economic development. In their study Riccardo Crescenzi and Andres Rodríguez-Pose (2012) conclude that whether infrastructure investments boosts the economic activity depends on the region’s level of innovative efforts, the local social filter (the ability of places to convert investment in innovation and knowledge spillovers into increased innovative capacity and economic growth), institutional characteristics and the degree of labour mobility. Once these factors are taken into consideration when deciding what creates economic development, investments in transport infrastructure are insignificant.

Attributes	Short term/immediate	Long term	Very long term
Types and forms of effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduced congestion. • Shorter travel times and lower vehicle operating costs. • Rising demand and output. • Logistical reorganization. • Inventory cost reduction. • Local and regional growth. • Job creation in construction sectors. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Larger markets for products, labour, and services. • Export expansion. • Entry and exit of firms. • Regional/national integration. • Structural and developmental effects. • Increased reliability. • Industrial clusters formation. • Commercial clusters formation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of globalization processes • Global distribution and production • Global flows of goods, services, capital, and knowledge. • Sustainable regional competitive advantages.
Underlying processes and contextual factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased competition. • Supply and demand forces. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monopolies may emerge. • Economies of scale. • Agglomeration. • Cumulative causation. • Endogenous growth. • Increased competition. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confluence of technical and organizational/ institutional changes in transport, communication, and production sectors. • Emerging of new economic geography.
Description and measurement of effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cost-benefit analysis. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New economic geography theory. • Notion of gains from trade. • Computable general equilibrium Models. • Multivariate Econometric modelling. • Growth models 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic history analysis

Table 1. Effects of transport infrastructure investment (Meersman – Nazemzadeh 2017).

2.3 Literature Review

In this section, a study on transport planning in the United Kingdom (UK), Australia and Switzerland will be presented. It researches the difference between Switzerland on the one

hand and UK and Australia on the other regarding their policies for promoting or opposing road expansion as a solution to road congestion. Further, a Scandinavian study which researches whether how planners use or do not use their knowledge matters when planning road infrastructure. Lastly, arguments made by Aud Tennøy (2010) are presented. Tennøy emphasizes the importance of reframing the problem of high traffic volumes in order to reduce traffic volumes.

2.3.1 Does Proposals Depend on Democratic Systems?

In a comparative study (Zeibots – Elliott 2011) between the UK and Australia on the one side, and Switzerland on the other, Dr Michelle E Zeibots and John R Elliott describes a cycle which often appears when road expansion is proposed as a solution to congestion. The authors refer to it as the decision making cycle and it begins with citizens opposing road expansion when proposed. Then the policies are postponed while new policies are investigated. In the meantime, congestion is still in progress and eventually new policies proposing road expansion are delivered. Consequently the cycle starts over. Zeibots and Elliott ask why road expansion is still seen as an option when discussing congestion because there is evidence it induces traffic.

The study is based on several generic elements. Some elements are the customers (the general community, including private individuals, interest groups and businesses), the actors (officers working on government departments) and the owner (the minister or elected representative who has been given the power to approve or reject the proposal). Lastly, the world-view (*weltanschauung*) is the belief that road expansion reduces congestion. There is a full elucidation in appendix 1.

The authors argue that the decision making cycle is a consequence of the decision making-process and governance system. With the current process system in Australia and United Kingdom, the community is unable to direct the owners and actors so the policies are in accordance with general community needs. Zeibots and Elliott argue that actors must “acknowledge and address the shortcomings of the stock of ideas they rely on to solve problems” (Zeibots – Elliott 2011 p. 19), which means that the policies proposed must be in accordance with relevant scientific research. Moreover, they state that system owners must be in a position where they can question the policies given by the actors. To do so requires access to specialist knowledge, which is also needed in order to propose alternative policies. When the owners are in this position, necessary pressure is put on the actors in order for real change to occur. In comparison, Switzerland uses a direct democratic system which Zeibots

and Elliott explain is the reason for the country to be able to break the decision making cycle. The actors' and owners' objectives are also better aligned with the customers', because the community has the ultimate control of the system.

2.3.2 Does Experts' Use or Non-Use of Knowledge Matter?

In another study on three Scandinavian cities, Trondheim, Lund and Aarhus, (Tennøy et. al. 2016), planners' use and non-use of expert knowledge is studied. Expert knowledge is defined as the knowledge of cause-effect relations. More specifically, the authors study whether the use or non-use affect the possibility of achieving already set objectives concerning reducing or curbing traffic volumes and greenhouse gas emissions from the transport sector. The researchers conclude that the potential of achieving the goals is determined by the planners' use or non-use of expert knowledge, as well as how they use it. The opposite of expert knowledge is professional knowledge. Not using expert knowledge and relying on professionals knowledge results in measures such as road expansion. Examples of using expert knowledge would be to seek solutions which will improve the land use and curb or reduce traffic volumes.

The study discloses that the planners' plans include strategies and measures which reduce the likelihood of achieving the set objectives. The answer as to why they are still included, according to the authors, is the non-use of the expert knowledge the planners behold. Likewise, if there are two conflicting objectives, planners tend to use their professional knowledge instead of their expert knowledge, and they do not show attempts of trying to find innovative solutions to the problems. The professional knowledge is often outdated or misleading. The researchers also found planners ignoring knowledge or exercising self-sensorship, when it were in conflict with planning or political agendas. Lastly, the authors argue that planners need to refer to and base their plans on research-based knowledge to a greater extent than today.

2.3.3 Does It Matter How the Problem Is Framed?

According to Aud Tennøy (2010), the reason transport planning measures to this day often result in increased traffic volumes connects to how the problem of congestion is framed. As reported by Tennøy, it has been concluded that planning and development of urban land use and transport systems have impacts on urban traffic volumes. In order to reduce traffic volumes four measures need to be combined. These are 1) establishing land use development which demands less transport and less car use 2) establishing physical and fiscal restrictions on car traffic 3) improving public transport services 4) improving conditions for walking and

cycling. The framing includes objectives, ends and values, knowledge, understandings and theories. Tennøy concludes that how the problem of high traffic volumes is framed affects which measures will be taken. In order to reach set objectives, the problem must be reframed. Reframing the problem calls for changed ways of thinking and acting for planners. Firstly, it requires an abandonment traditional professional values and objectives. Secondly, it requires planners to acquire new knowledge. Lastly, reframing also requires development of new knowledge on how to coordinate land use and curb rising traffic volumes.

3 Methods

In this section the methods used in in order to answer the research question are presented and analyzed. Qualitative methods were adopted. The planning of and executing the interviews follow the instructions and suggestions made by Alan Bryman (2016).

3.1 Semi-structured Interviews

With the intention to answer the two parts of the research question, semi-structured interviews were conducted. Because this is a case study on the Moderate Party and the Social Democratic Party in Skåne and their reasons and driving forces to promote an expansion of E6, two representatives from each party were interviewed.

First, desktop research was conducted. Here, motions and information from political programs, motions and home pages were included. Thereafter, interviews were conducted. Conducting interviews complemented the desktop research made on available data and information concerning the two parties' different arguments. Interviews were considered necessary because the information available through manifestos, motions and home pages were scarce. Every argument for expanding E6 found through desktop research is presented in this section and was not considered to be enough to analyze in relation to the research question. Consequently, interviews were conducted. To the author's knowledge there is no problem of generalization despite the small sample size because each interviewee represented its party. Moreover, in earlier sections it has been well motivated as to why the two parties were chosen and it has been declared that the thesis delimits from including other parties. Additionally, the interviews provided the author a deeper understanding of the reasons, and allowed for the author to secure that no misinterpretation were made during the desktop research.

3.1.1 Sampling and Selection

The participants were found through purposive sampling. This sampling method secures that the interviewees are suitable to interview in relation to the subject studied. First, the two regional chairmen for each party were contacted by phone. Through snowballing the final sample was then selected. For this research semi-structured interviews were preferable because they provide an opportunity for the participants to state their opinions on the topic with the interview guide as a guidance. If the interviews instead would be unstructured, there would be a risk of the participants discussing subjects which would not contribute to reach any conclusions.

3.1.2 Interviews and Empirical Sources

One telephone interview was conducted and for the other interview the interviewee and the interviewer met in person. In the author's opinion, it would have been preferable to only conduct interviews in person. However, one interviewee did not have the possibility to do so. Also, there is evidence that answers given do not differentiate significantly when comparing answers given during phone interviews and interviews conducted in person. Thus, the author values interviewing a well-suited person over phone higher than interviewing a less suitable representative in person.

Interview guides were created prior to the interviews, one for each interview which are to be found in appendix 2. The interview guides consists of eight questions which are the same for both guides. It is of importance when the interviews are to be analyzed and compared with each other. The interview guides were prepared in consultation with the supervisor of the study. What differentiates the two interview guides is the specific arguments related to each party, which were found through desktop research, in question one and two. The interview guides consist of introducing questions, follow-up questions, probing questions and direct questions. None of the questions are to be considered leading.

The interviews were held in Swedish on account of the fact that both the interviewer and the interviewees are native Swedish speakers which is believed to have facilitated for both sides to communicate correctly and reduced the risks of misunderstandings. Hence, the interview guides were written in Swedish as well. The author translating useful quotations from Swedish to English is perceived to have less impacts on the analysis than conducting the interviews in English.

When making the appointment, the participants were asked if they accepted to be voice recorded. None of the interviewees disapproved of being voice recorded. Recording

interviews is beneficial partly because it facilitates the analysis of what the interviewees said and it makes possible to repeat the interviews as many times as necessary. It also facilitates for the interviewee to be alert to what is being said, enhancing the possibility to ask relevant follow-up questions, instead of concentrating on taking notes. Although, some notes were taken during the interviews, which also have been transcribed. The interviewees were also asked if they preferred to have read the questions in advance which one of them wanted.

Even though the topic discussed concerns political opinions, no sensitive personal data has been collected due to the fact that both interviewees are politicians. Other personal data was not relevant for answering the research question and were thus not included in the interview guide (Lund University 2019).

3.1.3 Analysis

The conducted interviews have been transcribed and coded. The transcription was executed directly after each interview which increased the likelihood of fully understanding the data which facilitates the analysis. The coding followed the process of open coding where the data is examined, compared, conceptualized and categorized. Throughout the coding process, the data was examined and related to the research questions. The coded data was then put in relation to the core concepts which has been presented in section two. The results from the coding will be presented in the following sections.

4 Results

The final selection of interviewees consisted of one representative from each party. The vice chairman of the Social Democratic Party in Skåne who is also a member of the Swedish parliament, Per-Arne Håkansson was first interviewed. Håkansson is one of two who composed the motion referred to earlier (mot. 2019/20:449: S 1039). Peter Olsson who is a strategist for the Moderate Party was also interviewed. As already mentioned in the section above, the interviews were held in Swedish. Hence, the quotations presented in this section are translated by the author. The interview with Per-Arne Håkansson was a phone interview held on the 6th of December 2019. The interview with Peter Olsson was held in Malmö at Dockplatsen, a place of his choice, on the 9th of December 2019. Olsson had seen the question in advance.

In the author's opinion the interviews went well. Both participants were obliging and answered the questions thoroughly, clearly showing their competence on the topic. Respectively participant was sent a collocation after the interview had been transcribed.

Due to poor bad sound recording, there are three times the transcriptions are lacking. However this is not considered to affect the final result with respect to the context of the inaudible fragments.

In this section, one part of the research question will be answered, namely the reasons given by the parties for promoting an expansion of E6. Furthermore, the parties' standpoints regarding the core concepts are presented. Because the discussions on economic development for promoting an expansion were negligible in both interviews, this concept is left out in this section.

4.1 Political Reasons for Promoting Road Expansion

The Moderate Party advocates an expansion of E6 from Vellinge to Helsingborg. According to them it would be beneficial to expand the entire route directly instead of only expand it on the parts where it today is considered necessary. The reason for this is because it would be cheaper. Yet, Peter Olsson mentioned that expanding the entire route would facilitate and increase the accessibility drastically which would increase traffic volumes. This is one of the Swedish Transport Administration's reason for opposing an expanding the entire route directly. In comparison, the Social Democratic Party advocates an expansion on certain stretches. In this section, first a summary of respectively party's argument to expand E6 is accounted of. The results are primarily based on the interviews but some parts are derived from the desktop research which was made in advance of the interviews.

4.1.1 The Social Democratic Party

The Social Democratic Party in Skåne promotes an expansion of E6 in Skåne. They also promote measures which would increase the road safety, for instance changeable speed limits, prohibitions to overtake and they want to evaluate exits and entrances. While the Swedish Transport Administration aspire to attract individuals to travel by train instead of cars, the Social Democratic Party advocate an shift of goods traffic from the road network to the railroad network (mot. 2019/20:449: S 1039; Swedish Social Democratic Party 2018).

The main reason within the Social Democratic Party for promoting a road expansion relates to the fact that the motorway today has reached its full capacity which implies that the road safety may be jeopardized. According to Per-Arne Håkansson, it is important that studies and statistics are taken into consideration and that it is thoroughly investigated what an expansion would signify.

4.1.2 The Moderate Party

Likewise the Social Democratic Party in Skåne, the Moderate Party wants to increase the road capacity both for freight traffic and passenger traffic. They refer to the fact that Skåne is a transit region and thus there should be a national interest for increased road capacity through road expansion. They say that good communications improve economic, cultural and human contact networks. Further, they state that they want to invest in “intelligent roads” and strive towards a society where different modes of transport complement instead of compete with each other. With regards to environmental issues, the Moderate Party state that greenhouse gas emissions should be minimized and that they want a completely fossil free traffic (the Moderate Party n.d.). In the interview, similarly to Per-Arne Håkansson, Peter Olsson also referred to the fact that there has been a substantial increase in traffic volumes, considering both car traffic and heavy vehicles.

“The traffic volumes increase all the time [...] A very large part of Sweden’s export trade and import [...] and Norway’s export trade passes through Skåne which may not be preferable, but one cannot disregard this” Peter Olsson, 9th of December, 2019.

Hence, the most important argument for expanding E6 according to the Moderate Party relates to the issue of congestion. Peter Olsson referred to the fact that a functioning motorway, without congestion, is essential for commuting, even though many commute by train as well.

“E6 is of much importance for commuters [...] it is easy to get [...] a new job for instance without having to move” Peter Olsson, 9th of December, 2019.

Moreover, a third lane in each direction could be devoted to busses which could relieve some of the pressure from the railway, which also is believed to have reached its full capacity. The Moderate Party aspire to establish a bus lane, linking together Malmö and Helsingborg. In the interview Peter Olsson mentions the possibility that one lane could be devoted for heavy vehicles as well.

In contrast to the Social Democratic Party, the aspect of road safety is not considered to be one of the main reasons for expanding E6. Peter Olsson refers to the fact that E6 is considered to have high road safety and that accidents with fatal outcomes are rare. However, Olsson mentions the fact that there often are accidents which also contribute to congestion.

“Almost every day there is some type of accident making it [congestion] more substantial”

Peter Olsson, 9th of December, 2019.

The Moderate Party also believes it is a relatively inexpensive investment, comparing it to the costs of investing in railway. One reason for it being inexpensive has to do with the fact that the bridges along the route are adapted so there fits three lanes in each direction. Peter Olsson also emphasized that there are plans for improving exits and entrances. Although the economic benefits of expanding E6, the Moderate Party still supports the building of the new railway.

“We should not stop building railway, on the contrary [...] and we have invested in railway.

The last eight years when Alliansen ruled the travels by train doubled in Skåne. ”Peter

Olsson, 9th of December, 2019.

Lastly, a third lane would facilitate for E6 being transformed to an intelligent road. When they were the Opposition, the Moderate Party requested that E6 in Skåne should be a pilot project for establishing intelligent roads.

4.2 Relating the Interviews to the Core Concepts

4.2.1 Induced Traffic

The Moderate Party is of the opinion that induced traffic necessarily does not have to be negative. It is believed that both cars and heavy vehicles avoid E6 and instead use adjacent smaller roads which is considered problematic. Hence, an expansion today is believed to relieve the pressure on local roads and consequently the induced traffic on E6 is a result of less traffic on other roads. In this perspective, the induced traffic is considered positive, according to the Moderate Party.

“The road expansion will induce traffic, [...] in the debate it described as something which is always negative [...] the shift [of traffic from local roads to E6] is not negative” Peter Olsson,

9th of December, 2019.

Per-Arne Håkansson also mentioned the fact that an expansion does not necessarily solve the issues of congestion. Nevertheless, he mentioned the importance of improving the situation to the fact that E6 today is problematic. Håkansson also emphasized the importance of looking at it in a wider context, and not only at road expansion. He referred to exits and entrances as an example of other aspects which need to be considered as well as variable speed limits.

“We have no reason for convicting science but we have reasons [...] to highlight the importance of improving the situation” Per-Arne Håkansson, 6th of December, 2019.

“It requires other measures as well [...] for instance exits and entrances [...] it is important to perceive it in a wider context” Per-Arne Håkansson, 6th of December, 2019.

4.2.2 Environmental Aspects

According to the Social Democratic Party, it is important that an expansion correlates well with the environmental agreements and that it is in consonance with a sustainable development. In the interview, Per-Arne Håkansson mentioned electric cars as an example of technological development which needs to be taken into consideration when planning for a road expansion. Peter Olsson also mentioned electric cars but also natural gas as a substitute for fossil fuel. Additionally, similarly to the County Administrative Board (Länsstyrelsen 2018), the Moderate Party does not believe there will be an increase in greenhouse gas emissions despite an increase in traffic volumes. Their point of departure is the fact that emissions per vehicle constantly decrease which justify an expansion. This statement is in alignment with the different ways of reducing climate impacts from the transport sector mentioned earlier (Swedish Transport Administration 2018a).

In relation to environmental aspects both representatives discussed high-speed rail (HSR) and the significance that other infrastructure projects are realized. Regarding HSR, Per-Arne Håkansson stated that a competitive railway is beneficial when perceived through an environmental perspective. Peter Olsson also emphasizes the possibilities enabled by a HSR to commute faster between Malmö and Stockholm, increasing the likelihood that people choose to travel by train, which is environmentally preferable.

“We should not support induced car traffic at the expense of other modes of transport” Per-Arne Håkansson, 6th of December, 2019.

4.3 Broad Consensus on Road Expansion

Another aspect revealed during the interviews concerns the support of and non-debate about expanding of E6. For instance, there are no oppositions within neither in the Social Democratic Party nor the Moderate Party. Peter Olsson stated that the debate regarding road expansion almost is non-existent. Olsson exemplified with the fact that Fjeliävägen between Fjellie and Lund has been expanded without much resistance or debate.

“Between Lund and E6 [...] it [the road] has been expanded. [...] without there being any debate about it” Peter Olsson, 9th of December, 2019.

In relation to this, Per-Arne Håkansson also emphasized that politicians represent the voters and that their responsibility is to engage in the topics the voters perceive important and necessary. Håkansson witnessed of many voters from the region contacting the party regarding this.

“We represent the people [...]and our commission is to pursue the policies [...] we consider important to bring out” Per-Arne Håkansson, 6th of December, 2019.

”[...] there is an acceptance from the population and road-users” Per-Arne Håkansson, 6th of December, 2019.

5 Discussion

This section answers the remaining parts of the research question. First it discusses potential driving forces for the parties to support an expansion. Secondly, the parties' arguments are compared to research on the core concepts. Also, comparisons between the two parties on the one hand and the literature reviews as well as the Swedish Transport Administration on the other are presented.

5.1 Political Driving Forces for Promoting Road Expansion

One explanation for politicians to approve of infrastructure investments, according to Andres Rodríguez-Pose, Riccardo Crescenzi and Marco Di Cataldo (2018), is related to a desire of being prestigious. Investments in infrastructure are often very visible, being evidence that those in authority has accomplished something during their time of office. This relates to the fact that these type of projects often can be built within the span of an electoral cycle which enhances the likelihood of receiving additional votes in the next election. In relation to this, Jeff Kenworthy (2012) reaches a similar conclusion when studying U.S. policies since 1962. Governments promoted investments in highways primarily because it was expected to be a vote-winning exercise and secondly because lobbyists expected them to. In the case of E6, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Southern Sweden has proposed that money addressed to improve cycle paths in Malmö, Helsingborg and Lund should be reallocated to invest in E6 instead (Magnusson 2017). Moreover, the Swedish Association for Road Transport Companies also supports an expansion of E6 (Ask 2017). In addition to this, as revealed by the interviews, the population in the region mostly supports an expansion. However, whether

lobbying is a reason for politicians in the region to support an expansion cannot be concluded by the work of this study. Furthermore, in the author's opinion it is debatable whether an expansion of E6 in Skåne could be compared to the infrastructure projects discussed in Rodríguez-Pose et al. article. However, it could be considered being another explanation for parties promoting infrastructure investments. It is especially compatible when both representatives witness a demand from citizens in the region to expand E6.

“Something needs to be done in order for us not to accept a troublesome situation which causes trouble for many people” Per-Arne Håkansson, 6th of December.

Relatable to this are also the statements by the interviewees, mostly from Peter Olsson, that the debate concerning the expansion of E6 almost is non-existent. Although this surely is true to a certain extent, it is in the author's opinion significant that the Swedish Transport Administration (2018a) in the present situation opposes an expansion, as well as traffic consultants. For instance, Christer Ljungberg (2017) who is the CEO of the consultancy firm Trivector and Mats Améen (2018) who is senior traffic consultant at Trivector oppose an expansion of E6. They have written debate articles in *Sydsvenskan* arguing against an expansion motivating it will not ease congestion.

Having concluded this, the author concludes that the major reason for promoting an expansion originates from an aspiration to conduct policies supported by the voters as well as to take measures in order to manage a problematic situation.

5.2 Comparing the Parties' Arguments to the Core Concepts

5.2.1 Induced Traffic and Congestion

The interviews reveal that both the Social Democratic Party and the Moderate Party consider it important to ease the congestion on E6 in Skåne. Primarily due to the fact that the amount of traffic has constantly increased and now reach its full capacity. This causes heavy congestion especially during rush hour traffic which is the main reason for promoting an expansion, according to both parties. In the interviews, both Peter Olsson and Per-Arne Håkansson mentioned the risk that an expansion does not solve the problem of congestion. Both interviewees even stated that it can or will cause induced traffic. This relates very well to the studies presented in this essay (Cervero 2003) concerning induced traffic which demonstrates that the parties are well-informed about different potential outcomes of an expansion. Nevertheless, in accordance with the fact that there are few studies on how the phenomenon of induced traffic is affected by the type of setting it exists within, both parties

still advocate a road expansion. Both parties emphasize the importance to perceive the situation in a wider context and have proposed other measures as well in order to secure that the outcome of an expansion is positive and eases the congestion. Relating this to the argument that traffic arises out of land use and that congestion is an externality of the usage of roads, if there is success in establishing a just distribution of different modes of transport and a success in managing the increasing traffic volumes (e.g. transferring commuters from highways to railway) then maybe a road expansion could contribute to ease the congestion. As Peter Olsson also stated, induced traffic could be perceived as positive if the induced traffic is a result of transferring traffic, especially heavy vehicles, from local roads to the highway.

Regarding safety issues, the Moderate Party provides arguments which are more in alignment with statistics from the Swedish Transport Administration because accidents with fatal outcomes on E6 in Skåne are rare.

5.2.2 Environmental Aspects

None of the interviewees discussed noise levels or nature during the interviews. Nevertheless, both Håkansson and Olsson considered climate aspects of car use and road expansion. As presented earlier, the Moderate Party believes there will not be a total increase in greenhouse gas emissions because of better technology and cars. Per-Arne Håkansson did not estimate any potential climate effects of expanding E6. Although, as already accounted of, he did state that climate aspects need to be considered.

According to the Swedish Transport Administration (2018a) between 50 and 60 percent of truck traffic on E6 is transit traffic. This implies good possibilities to transfer road traffic to shipping or railroad way instead. Both Per-Arne Håkansson and Peter Olsson mentioned this in relation to environmental aspects which would signify not only environmental benefits but reveal congestion as well.

5.2.3 Economic Development

Regarding the economic consequences of road expansion, the interviews reveal that the parties' reasons are in alignment with recent research as well. As appears from the interviews, none of the participants mentioned economic reasons for expanding E6 except in some cases when they showed awareness of the value of having functioning infrastructure. However, neither Håkansson nor Olsson mentioned it in relation to economic aspects. Hence, the author concludes that economic aspects per se are not included in their reasons, nor a significant

driving force, for expanding E6. Rather it is an indirect reason because they are aware of the importance of infrastructure through a societal perspective.

The fact that none of the parties referred to economic growth as an argument for expanding E6 is considered rather remarkable. As presented in table 1 infrastructure investments create local and regional growth in the short term. With respect to the fact that both parties are advocates of economic growth (the Social Democrats, n.d; the Moderate Party, n.d.) it would have been reasonable to expect that one reason for promoting an expansion would be related to economic growth.

5.3 Comparison With Literature Review

Similarly to Australia and the UK, Sweden exhibits representative democracy. When comparing this essay with the study made by Zeibots and Elliott (2011), the results differ because in this case, as revealed by the interviews, the population supports the decision to expand E6, and recent road expansion in the region was scarcely debated. Consequently, their conclusions cannot be applicable on this case study due to the fact that there is support from the voters.

Using the definitions on knowledge made by Tennøy et. al. (2016) one can conclude that the Social Democratic Party and the Moderate Party base their policies on professional knowledge because they have proposed road expansion. The fact that both parties also have proposed other measures which relate to land use and transportation systems, shows that they exhibit expert knowledge as well. However, it is worth mentioning that the study referred to includes transport planners while this thesis consider political parties. Both representatives for each party clearly reveal that the parties have considered both potential positive and negative outcomes of expanding E6. Road expansion has been perceived as a solution to ease congestion for a long time (Zeibots – Elliott 2011) and, in the author's opinion, it is reasonable and understandable that the Social Democratic Party and the Moderate Party support evaluations whether an expansion will impact E6 positively. Yet, one could argue that politicians supporting a measure which most likely will not have the desired outcomes in the long run illustrates an example similar to Tennøy's et. al (2016) conclusions referred to earlier.

Regarding the four measures which will reduce traffic volumes (Tennøy 2010) one can conclude that the Social Democratic Party and the Moderate Party do not conform to the first measure which considers measures which demand less transport and less car use because increasing road capacity does the opposite. Neither did none of them mention improving

conditions for walking and cycling. Nevertheless, the two other measures concerning physical restrictions and improvements of public transport services were mentioned during the interviews, for instance reduced speed limits and the investments in HSR.

Considering that both parties refer to the fact that traffic volumes in general and increasing traffic volumes in particular are the main reason for expanding E6, it is considered to be a reasonable conclusion that the parties' approach to the situation is similar to the "predict and provide"-approach. This, despite the fact that they acknowledge that an expansion may lead to induced traffic.

5.4 Comparison With the Swedish Transport Administration

Relating the statistics presented by the Swedish Transport Administration (2018a) to the situation Per-Arne Håkansson and Peter Olsson both illustrate, one can conclude that both Per-Arne Håkansson and Peter Olsson are well-informed and aware of the actual situation. None of the interviewees refer to population increase as an argument for expanding E6 which is in accordance with prognosis of the Swedish Transport Administration that the expected population increase will not increase traffic volumes on E6 in Skåne. However, Per-Arne Håkansson did state that population forecasts should be considered in the planning. With the exception of proposing variable speed limits and supporting investments on railway, during the interviews, the two parties hardly proposed measures which could be considered be in accordance with the first three phases the Transport Administration bases its work on. Instead, they proposed measures often related to the last phase where road expansion belongs. However, here it is worth mentioning that the interviewees were not explicitly asked to give account of other measures advocated by the parties.

A clear distinction between the Swedish Transport Administration and the parties included in this research is that the former opposes an expansion primarily because of environmental reasons. In accordance with its model of four phases (Swedish Transport Administration 2018b), it proposes several measures before considering an expansion of the entire route of E6 in Skåne. To the author's opinion all promotions made by the parties included in this research for road expansion contradicts the Swedish Transport Administration's reasonable statement that transport planning today should match the aspirations of becoming a fossil free society where the climate goals have been reached.

5.5 Final Discussion

Despite gained knowledge and understanding of political reasons and driving forces for promoting road expansion after having conducted this research, the author still questions whether an expansion will have the desired effects of eased congestion, with respect to research presented in this essay. In the author's point of view, similarly to Kenworthy (2012), it would be preferable to curb the dependency on cars and prioritize more environmentally friendly transportation modes. Thanks to the research, the author is aware that both the Social Democratic Party and the Moderate Party perceive the situation in a wider context where several transportation modes are included and considered. However, a road expansion is still, in the author's opinion, not in alignment with sustainable values and in accordance with the work to reach the climate goals (United Nations, 2019) primarily because it can be considered to promote car use. This opinion is also in alignment with Tennøy (2010) who states that transport systems and land use affect travel behavior.

Although an expansion is considered to be a relatively cheap investment, one could still argue that the economic costs of expanding E6 need to be considered in relation to the concept of opportunity costs (Leininger 1977). In the author's point of view, the investment still needs to be evaluated in relation to opportunity costs and to what extent the infrastructure investment is taken place at the expense of other investments which could improve the region socially, economically or environmentally.

Finally, the author would like to end this section with an example from the city of Nürnberg, Germany. During the 70's and 80's, existing streets in the city were renovated and dedicated to a pedestrian network resulting in an approximately 75 % reduction of traffic, although transport planners in advance said the project would be impracticable with respect to the large amounts of traffic (Kenworthy 2012).

6 Conclusion

It is worth emphasizing again that the conclusions drawn here cannot be considered representative for all Swedish parties promoting an expansion of E6, nor can it represent other infrastructure investments. Instead, the conclusions made are based on the interviews with Per-Arne Håkansson and Peter Olsson which concerned E6 in Skåne.

The aim of the thesis has been reached because the study provides an elucidation of the Moderate Party's and the Social Democratic Party's reasons and driving forces for promoting an expansion of E6 based on the three concepts.

By the work of this thesis one can conclude that the political reasons for promoting road expansion originates from the fact that E6 today is characterized by heavy congestion. Reasons also relate to the fact that E6 is an important route in the region with respect to commuters as well as for transit traffic.

Furthermore, the interviews reveal that one driving force is the fact that the population in the region demands and supports an expansion. Hence, the fact that parties advocate for an expansion proves that they are responsive to the population and the voters. In a more critical perspective, another driving force relates to the study presented in previous sections (Rodríguez-Pose et. al 2018) that infrastructure investments often are a way of showing prestige.

Moreover, one can conclude that the parties are well-informed on how an expansion can impact the three concepts considered in this study. To minimize the risk of an expansion not solving the issue of congestion, both parties emphasize the importance of taking other measures as well. These include train investments and rebuilding exits and entrances, for example. This reveals that the parties use both expert knowledge and professional knowledge (Tennøy et. al. 2016). When discussing environmental aspects, the Social Democratic Party states it is important that an expansion is in alignment with set climate goals. The Moderate Party does not believe that an expansion will increase the greenhouse gas emissions or impact the environment negatively. Economic aspects were scantily discussed during the interviews.

6.1 Future Research

If further research were to be conducted, more parties, actors and concepts could be involved. Certainly, it would also be of interest to include parties opposing a road expansion. This would most likely result in more substantial empirical research compared to this thesis. The potential further research could result in a similar conclusion as the Swedish Transport Administration (2018a) who concludes that E6 in Skåne is an example of a conflict of measures and not a conflict of aspirations between different actors. A similar conclusion is possible to reach in this case study although not as convincing due to the fact that both parties still support an expansion. They differ slightly in their reasons as well as their in their proposed measures, while their objectives for an expansion are very similar.

The author would also find it interesting to conduct further research when, if ever, an fully expansion has been established to study whether an expansion has the desired effects, constituting of the parties' reasons. Moreover, how commuters perceive the situation and analyze what institutional changes a road expansion may lead to, are other interesting topics.

7 Summary

This thesis has investigated the reasons and driving forces for political parties to propose and support road expansion as measures to ease congestion. This has been made through a qualitative case study on the European Route E6 and the section passing through Skåne where road-users experience heavy congestion, especially during rush hour traffic, due to the fact that the highway has reached its full capacity. The parties included in the study were the two biggest in the region, the Social Democratic Party and the Moderate Party. High traffic volumes is the main reason for these parties to advocate an expansion from two lanes to three in each direction. Most likely the political driving force for supporting an expansion in this case relates to the fact that the citizens demand it and that the opposition is small.

Semi-structured interviews have been conducted with one representative from each party. The results have been related to core concepts often discussed when contemplating road expansion; induced traffic, environmental aspects and economic development. From the interviews, it can be inferred that the parties are well-informed that an expansion could result in induced traffic. Hence, they emphasize the importance of perceiving the situation in a wider context, where other modes of transportation modes are included as well as other possible measures associated with E6. The environmental aspects of an expansion are discussed during the interviews. The Social Democratic Party is of the opinion that an expansion should not jeopardize or conflict already set climate goals, meanwhile the Moderate Party believes an expansion will not result in increased greenhouse gas emissions. None of the interviewees explicitly mentioned economic growth or the like as a reason for advocating an expansion. The arguments relate to a certain extent to recent research. Both parties are aware of the risk that an expansion induce traffic. Nevertheless, they still promote an expansion, emphasizing the importance of perceiving the situation in a wider context, where the expansion is one of many measures. The environmental and economic dimensions correlate less with recent research.


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8.1.1 Appendix 1: CATWOE Elements

C	customers	☞	victims/beneficiaries
A	actors	☞	those who carry out the activities
T	transformation process	'	<p>expression of purposeful activity, expressed as</p> 
W	weltanschauung	'	world view that makes this definition meaningful
O	owner	'	those who can stop the activity
E	environmental constraints	'	constraints in the system environment taken as given

Made by Checkland, P. B 2001 (Zeibots – Elliott 2011).

8.1.2 Appendix 2: Interview Guides

Peter Olsson

1. Stämmer det att Moderaterna vill att E6 ska vara sexfilig mellan Vellinge och Helsingborg?
2. På er hemsida framgår det att era argument för att bygga ut E6 är för att motorvägen idag är igenkorkad vilket begränsar pendlingsmöjligheter och hindrar ekonomisk tillväxt, samt att det är en säkerhetsrisk. Kan du utveckla detta?
3. Har Moderaterna fler argument för att bygga ut E6?
4. Vilket/vilka argument anser Moderaterna vara viktigast? Varför?
5. Har partiet tagit i beaktande Trafikverkets slutrapport om E6 i Skåne när förslaget förberedes?
6. Har partiet tagit studier om infrastrukturinvesteringar i beaktande när förslaget förberedes?
7. Finns det motsättningar inom partiet gällande E6, till exempel på lokal och regional nivå?
8. Vill du tillägga någonting?

Per-Arne Håkansson

1. Stämmer det att Socialdemokraterna i Skåne vill ha en sexfilig motorväg mellan Malmö och Landskrona?
2. I din och Niklas Karlssons motion till riksdagen framgår det att era argument för att bygga ut E6 är för att det är viktigt att transitsituationen fungerar ur jobb- och tillväxtperspektiv samt för skapa en hållbar utveckling. Kan du utveckla detta?
3. Har Socialdemokraterna i Skåne fler argument för att bygga ut E6?
4. Vilket/vilka argument anser Socialdemokraterna i Skåne vara viktigast?
5. Har partiet tagit i beaktande Trafikverkets slutrapport om E6 i Skåne när förslaget förberedes?
6. Har partiet tagit andra studier eller rapporter om infrastrukturinvesteringar i beaktandet när förslaget förberedes?
7. Finns det motsättningar inom partiet gällande E6, till exempel på lokal och regional nivå?
8. Vill du tillägga någonting?