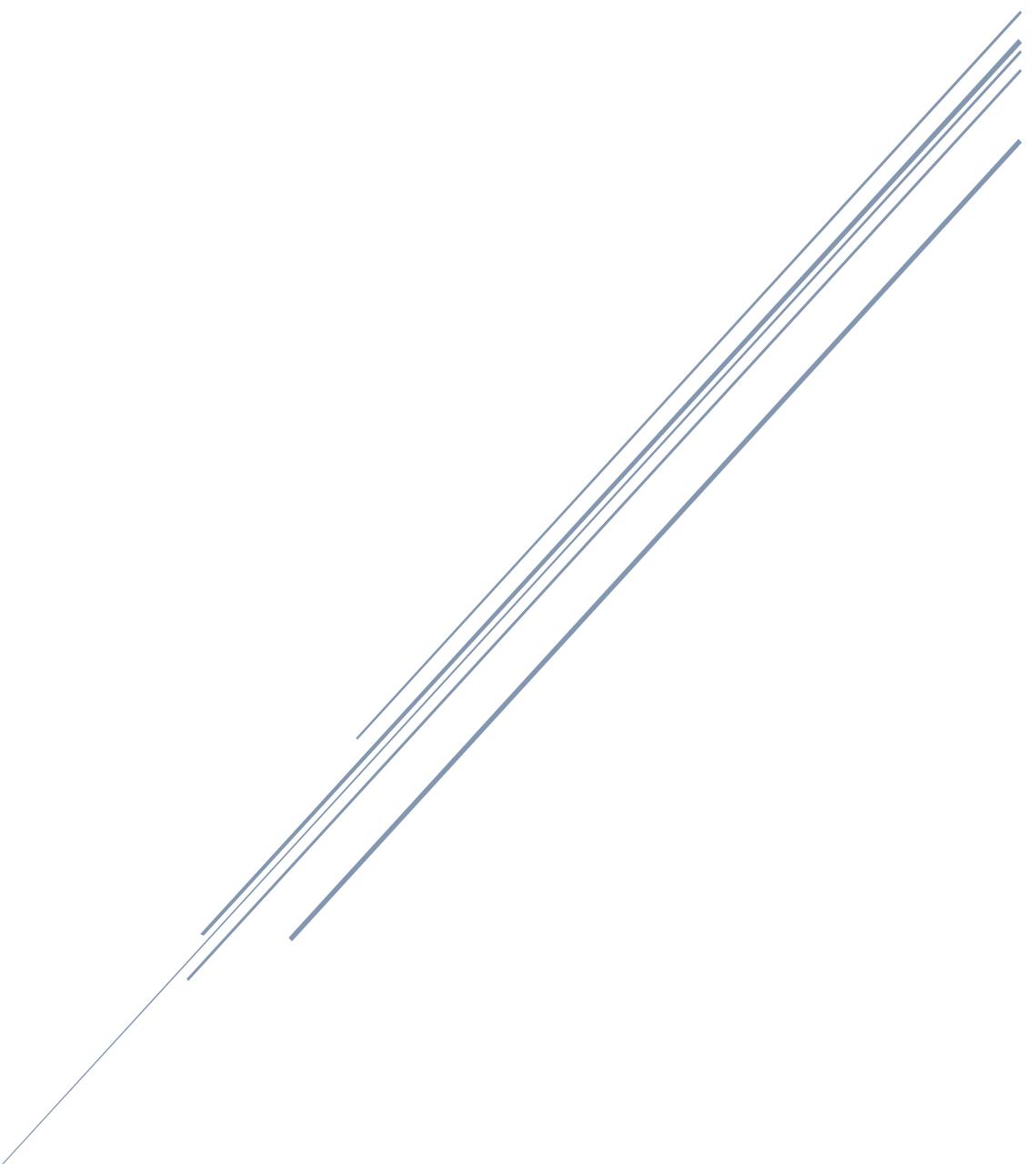


Factors in the success/failure of the planning process of a LIP: a case study



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Table of contents

ABSTRACT	2
<u>1. INTRODUCTION.....</u>	<u>3</u>
<i>1.1 BACKGROUND.....</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>1.2 SOCIETAL RELEVANCE</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>1.3 ACADEMIC RELEVANCE</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>1.4 OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>1.5 READING GUIDE.....</i>	<i>4</i>
<u>2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</u>	<u>5</u>
<i>2.2 FACTORS OF A SUCCESSFUL PLANNING PROCESS</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>2.3 LARGE INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS.....</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>2.4 COMPLEXITY IN THE PLANNING PROCESS OF LARGE INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>2.5 CONCEPTUAL MODEL</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>2.6 EXPECTATIONS</i>	<i>7</i>
<u>3. METHODOLOGY</u>	<u>8</u>
<i>3.1 CASE STUDY METHOD.....</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>3.1.1 CASE DESCRIPTION</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>3.1.2 CASE SELECTION</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>3.2 DATA COLLECTION.....</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>3.2.1 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS.....</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>3.2.2 OPERATIONALIZATION</i>	<i>10</i>
<u>4. RESULTS.....</u>	<u>12</u>
<i>4.1 ROUND 1: 21ST OF FEBRUARY 2007 UNTIL 13TH OF FEBRUARY 2008.....</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>4.2 ROUND 2: 13TH OF FEBRUARY 2008 UNTIL 17TH OF JUNE 2009</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>4.3 ROUND 3: 17TH OF JUNE 2009 UNTIL 20TH OF OCTOBER 2010</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>4.4 ROUND 4: 20TH OF OCTOBER 2010 UNTIL 3RD OF JULY 2012.....</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>4.5 ROUND 5: 3RD OF JUNE 2012 UNTIL DECEMBER 2012</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>4.6 COMPLEXITIES.....</i>	<i>16</i>
<u>5. DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND REFLECTION</u>	<u>17</u>

Abstract

Large infrastructure projects (LIPs) are often discontinued, delayed or exceed budgets. Since taxpayer money is often used for these large projects, insight into what factors determine discontinuation of LIPs can be valuable to avoid unnecessary spending. While there is existing literature which discusses success/failure factors of project and process management, the literature is lacking when it comes to spatial planning processes and specifically LIPs. This thesis investigates some of the success/failure factors stipulated in project and process management in the context of spatial planning and LIPs. This is done through a case study, the RegioTram in Groningen. A literature review, in which six success/failure factors of the process and elements of complexity are outlined, is combined with a document analysis, in which any relevant documents to the RegioTram project have been analyzed on the basis of the success/failure factors. Results show that the factors that contributed most to the discontinuation of the RegioTram were resources, openness and sense of urgency, while the most relevant complexities in the project were financial and time complexities. While there is no reason to assume these factors wouldn't be relevant in other LIPs, it is important not to generalize the findings of a case study too quickly. Therefore, recommendations for further research in success/failure factors of LIPs are made. A meta-analysis or a multiple case study on LIPs might provide a more cohesive view on success/failure factors in LIPs.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The tram in Groningen has a tumultuous, politically sensitive history. Plans for building a tram line have been cancelled and restarted multiple times in different forms throughout the years, even causing the board of the municipality to fall in 2012 (Het Parool, 2012). Stopping there, it is very tempting to label the project as a failure and yet another example of a political prestige project that has been prohibitively expensive for little to no gain (Robinson & Torvak, 2005). However, the tram has consistently made its return on the local news and political agendas in the years since the project was discontinued (Nauta, 2021; Pastoor, 2021). Recently speculation has resurfaced on whether a tram line should be considered as part of a plan meant to improve the mobility to the Zernike university campus, which perpetually struggles with overly full bus lines. It seems the project refuses to die, at least in spirit.

The fact that this project keeps resurfacing could suggest it is not such a bad idea after all. What factors and complexities then, determined its ‘failure’? And what lessons can be drawn from the discontinuation? This thesis will attempt to provide answers to these questions and perhaps stimulate further discourse on planning processes of large infrastructure projects.

1.2 Societal relevance

It is one of the most fundamental governmental responsibilities to provide accessibility for citizens by having a public transport system that meets the demands, interests and other needs of society (Van der Bijl et al, 2018; Martens, 2017). Subsequently, it is the responsibility of local authorities to be responsive to the call for improvements of a city’s infrastructure. A proper understanding of the process from inception to execution of a public transport initiative such as the RegioTram, and indeed the factors that may determine its failure or success during that process, seems therefore crucial for any government to be able to fulfill its role responsibly. From a tax-payers perspective it seems very relevant indeed to continuously improve the analytical tools needed to determine whether projects such as the RegioTram meet the demands and needs of the public.

Because the tram still reaches the local news 9 years after its discontinuation (Nauta, 2021; Pastoor, 2021), research into its discontinuation could prove useful should plans for a similar project go beyond the stating of intentions and desires.

1.3 Academic relevance

Research on factors of project and process success is abundant, yet research specifically on policy failure is rather scarce (McConnell, 2015). Furthermore, most research on factors of project success is done in different fields such as public administration and process management. In the field of spatial planning, little research is available concerning success/failure factors of spatial projects. Given this lack of success/failure factors in spatial planning processes, gaining insight into factors of process management that can be applied to spatial planning processes would be valuable for contributing to a framework to evaluate and study such processes. This research will use current knowledge on project- and process management approaches and attempt to place it into a spatial planning context as well as provide empirical data through a case study to complement the existing literature.

1.4 Objectives and research questions

This study will analyze factors and complexities contributing to a successful spatial planning process, specifically that of a large infrastructure project (LIP). The objectives are twofold. Firstly, to test if factors and complexities of project/process management can be used to evaluate the planning process of a LIP. Secondly, to provide insight into what factors were most significant in the discontinuation of a specific LIP. This will be done through the case of the RegioTram project in Groningen. The following central question has been drawn up:

Which factors and complexities in the planning process have contributed to the discontinuation of the RegioTram in Groningen?

To help answer this central question, the following sub-questions have been created:

- 1. What factors of a successful planning process can be found in the present literature?*
- 2. What is meant by complexities and what are elements of complexity in a planning process in the present literature?*

To indicate how and to what extent the factors identified in the first part of the research were of importance in the case study at hand, the following questions specifically address the RegioTram project:

- 3. Which factors have been relevant in the planning process of this case?*
- 4. Which complexities have been relevant in the planning process of this case?*

1.5 Reading guide

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter two is a theoretical framework in which relevant literature is discussed. Chapter three discusses the research methods used and describes the case being studied. Chapter four presents the results of the RegioTram case study. Finally, chapter five answers the research question, gives recommendations and reflects on the research process and outcomes.

2. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, relevant literature to this thesis is discussed and a framework that forms the basis of analysis is provided, answering sub-questions 1 and 2. The framework is depicted in a conceptual model.

2.2 Factors of a successful planning process

In large scale planning projects, such as those concerning infrastructure, the project usually starts as a project but develops into a process with many external parties who have their own problem definitions and solutions (de Bruijn, 2008). The dynamic context, scope and complexity of LIPs require the use of a process approach, rather than a project management approach (de Bruijn, 2008). Many factors and criteria concerning process management have been put forth in existing (especially policy administration) literature. Below is a set of factors, based on frameworks by De Bruijn, 2008 & Westerveld, 2003, that will be used to analyze the data collected in this research. This framework of factors was chosen because they form explicit connections to the process of a large scale project, and are not so much concerned with the outcomes but rather with the process itself.

1. **Sense of urgency:** enough of the involved actors and stakeholders need to be aware and have an interest in solving a problem. When there is no sense of urgency, there can be no involvement and ownership in solving a problem (De Bruijn, 2008).
2. **Content relevance:** it is to be avoided that the process becomes empty, the link to the goals and content needs to remain throughout (De Bruijn, 2008).
3. **Openness:** openness and transparency of decision-making means a more democratic process with more integrity (De Bruijn, 2002; Van der Bijl, Bukman & Van Oort, 2014). A well-functioning internal and external organization is also essential to stimulate transparency (Nozeman, 2008).
4. **Progress:** when all the others factors are accounted for, there remains a chance that while there is discourse and negotiation, no decisions are being made that lead to a result, negative or positive. The focus should remain on making meaningful decisions (De Bruijn, 2008).
5. **Core values:** the core values of actors need to remain throughout the process and the process should therefore avoid forcing actors into roles that go against these core values (De Bruijn, 2008).
6. **Resources:** effective and efficient utilization of resources means to maximize the benefits for all involved stakeholders (Westerveld, 2003). Finances are always relevant within the planning process (Dammers, 2004; Van der Bijl & Van Oort, 2014).

2.3 Large infrastructure projects

There seems to be little interest in providing a common definition concerning large infrastructure projects in the literature. Two notable criteria for LIPs are that they involve some kind of infrastructural hardware (rails, roads, etc.) and some sort of minimum level of costs needs to be established (van Wee, 2007). The exact amount does not matter much for this research as it focuses on one specific case, but going by van Wee's (2007) assumption this minimum cost would amount to somewhere around €500 million for it to be considered a LIP, though in Flyvbjerg's research (2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2012) the cheapest LIPs have estimated costs of as little as €1.5 million.

The planning process of LIPs involves many aspects and interests that are to be considered. More often than not, LIPs are completed outside of deadlines, exceed budgets and generally fail to perform as expected (Flyvbjerg et al, 2009). Some potential reasons for these (partial) failures are the high amount of complexity (Alberts, 2006; Daamen, 2005; Terryn et al, 2016) and uncertainty (Abbot, 2005; Flyvbjerg et al 2009), both of which are systematically underestimated in the planning process (Flyvbjerg et al, 2009).

2.4 Complexity in the planning process of large infrastructure projects

Using only the previously outlined factors as an analysis tool would be reductive, as the planning process of (large) infrastructure projects is contingent on multiple actors dependent on each other, making it challenging to achieve a consensus among those actors due to high institutional and spatial complexity (Alberts, 2006; Terryn et al, 2016). Another cause of the far-reaching complexity is that actors have their individual goals, responsibilities, skills and expectations (Daamen, 2005). Complexity in LIPs is largely social, meaning it is closely related to stakeholder dynamics: the changing ideas and preferences of stakeholders involved (Hertogh & Westerveld, 2010). These preferences change and evolve over time, in a non-linear fashion, due to the evaluation of past decisions made under uncertain circumstances as well as external changes that affect the project in question. A change in preference and therefore behavior by one stakeholder may also result in changes among other stakeholders (Hertogh & Westerveld, 2010).

Due to the RegioTram's large scale and dependence on multiple actors, complexity will be analyzed alongside the factors previously explained. Six dimensions of complexity in large infrastructure projects (Hertogh & Westerveld, 2010) are outlined below:

1. **Technical complexity:** construction and geography of a project
2. **Social complexity:** conflicts of interest and how to navigate them and path dependency, the commitment to a view or position from the past, despite a change in situation
3. **Financial complexity:** totality of finances is difficult to calculate; who benefits and who pays, how to allocate costs, cost development differs from calculations
4. **Legal complexity:** changing, nonexistent or conflicting laws, extensive legislation and rules, people involved need space to operate
5. **Organizational complexity:** it is difficult to organize a large project with many stakeholders, decision making can be challenging and there is a lot of interaction and potential contracting
6. **Time complexity:** within a usually long time frame with continuous developments and changes in external situations, a great number of parallel processes have to be coordinated instead of sequential processes.

Resources are of course influenced by complexities and uncertainties, but are also an element of complexity and uncertainty itself. An especially notable aspect of resources in large planning projects is the oft significant time lag between the planning process and the subsequent construction of large infrastructure and transportation projects, meaning that information gathering and the acquisition of funding during the planning process can be subjected to changes throughout the years, possibly (and even likely) requiring updates or revision before the project advances (Grossard & Bailey, 2018; Manderscheid, 2012).

2.5 Conceptual model

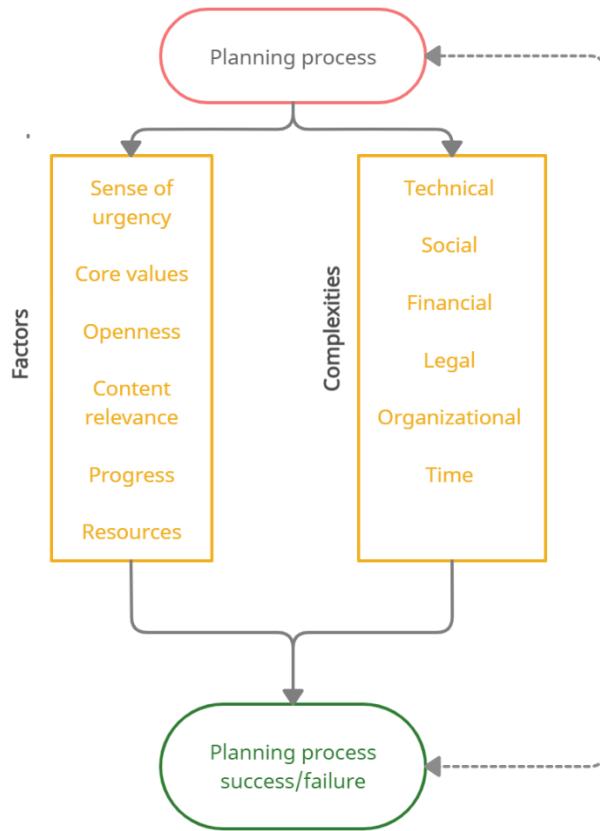


Figure 2.2: Conceptual model. Factors derived from Westerveld, 2003 and De Bruijn, 2008. Complexities derived from Hertogh & Westerveld, 2010

The conceptual model shows the main concepts of this thesis. The influence of the different factors and complexities on the planning process are depicted. The red box shows the start of the planning process, in yellow is shown what will be the basis of the analysis and green is the result of the relations between the factors and the complexities.

2.6 Expectations

It is expected that in the discontinuation of the RegioTram multiple factors and dimensions of complexities of the planning process outlined in the theoretical framework were of significance. Firstly, it is expected that openness will have been a significant factor, as there is a substantial stakeholder constellation of both major and minor players, each with their own (conflicting) interests. Secondly, the time dimension of complexity: the large scale and long term of a project like this likely mean that problems arose due to changing circumstances. The other factors and complexities will likely also have been relevant, but the expectation is that they are lesser contributors to the discontinuation of the RegioTram.

3. Methodology

In this chapter, the methods used are explained. A schematic view of the methodology is given below.

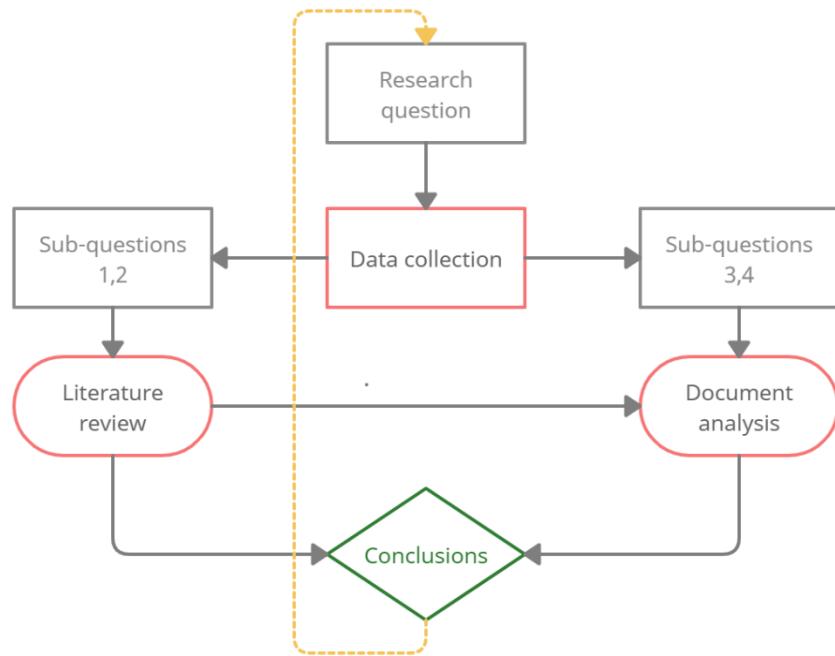


Figure 3.1: Schematic overview of methods used

3.1 Case study method

To shed lights on which factors and complexities are relevant in the planning process of a LIP, a case study method was chosen. A case study offers the possibility to gain profound and integral knowledge on a specific object or process in practice (Clifford et al., 2016), making it possible to reach the level of detail necessary to answer the research question.

3.1.1 Case description

The RegioTram is a discontinued light rail project meant to address mobility shortcomings to and within the city of Groningen. The original plan was to connect Groningen to the region around it using modern public transport to avoid roads becoming too full, as the prognosis was that more and more people would commute to the city. A tram was proposed for its attractiveness, large passenger capacity and sustainable qualities. In 2007 both the Provinciale Staten and the Gemeenteraad Groningen agreed on plans to develop the RegioTram. The project was discontinued in 2012. A short overview of the timeline is shown below. A more elaborate timeline can be found in appendix 3.

3.1.2 Case selection

The RegioTram is a discontinued LIP with high complexity due to its scope and involvement of multiple actors and stakeholders. This and the fact that the project got discontinued while still in the planning process makes it suitable to evaluate on the basis of the factors and complexities derived from the literature.

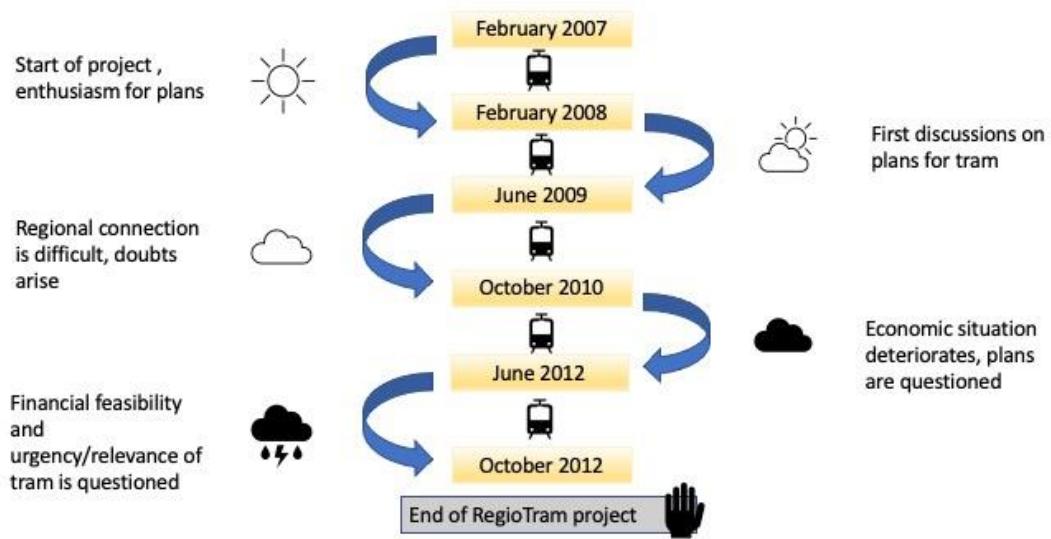


Figure 3.1a: Timeline of the RegioTram project

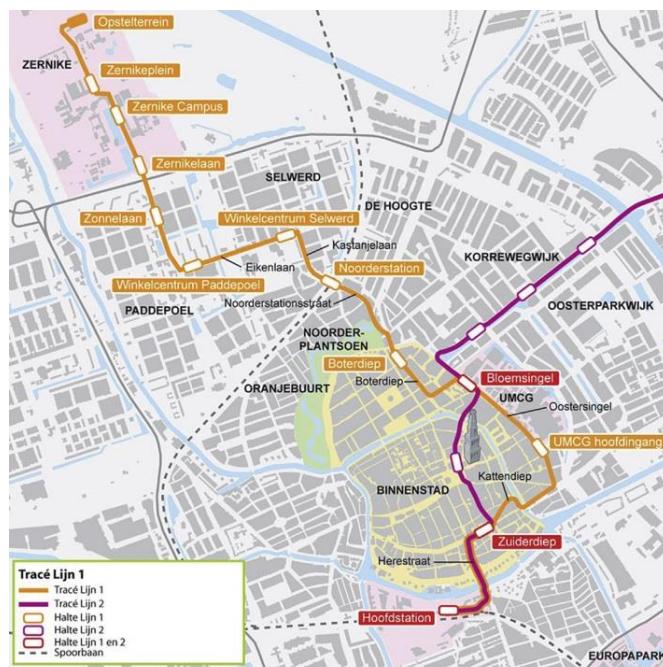


Figure 3.1b: Map depicting the routes of line 1 and 2 of the city tram (Van der Bijl, Bukman & Van Oort, 2018)

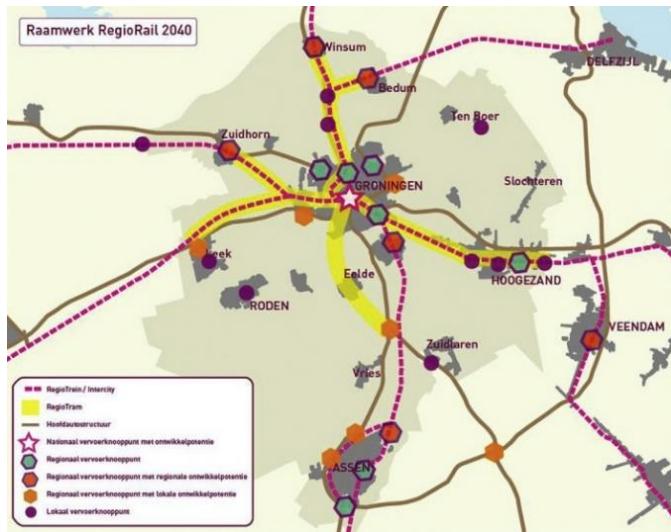


Figure 3.1c: Map depicting the regional tram network (Van der Bijl, Bukman & Van Oort, 2018)

3.2 Data collection

To answer the central research question, the collection of qualitative data is required. A choice was made to use secondary data as the basis for analysis, in order to provide as objective and cohesive a view of the RegioTram process as possible.

3.2.1 Document analysis

The case study was conducted on the basis of a qualitative secondary data analysis. The secondary data consisted of policy documents and was both numerous and diverse. Data consisted of policy briefs, records of board meetings within and outside of the municipality, records of public participation processes, letters to and from board members and news articles. To preserve the limited scope of this study, documents were mainly sourced from the municipality of Groningen. The municipality was chosen as the lead source for documents because it spearheaded the RegioTram project throughout the process and was involved in almost every aspect of the project. All documents are available on the document portal of the municipality of Groningen. Documents dating from within the timeframe of the RegioTram project (beginning of 2007 until the end of 2012) were scanned for relevance to this study. Documents were selected for this study if they contained any relevance to the RegioTram project, both explicitly (where the RegioTram was a topic of discussion itself) and implicitly (where more general mobility and infrastructure topics were discussed). A full list of documents can be found in appendix 1.

3.2.2 Operationalization

In order to analyze the documents for which factors and complexities from the literature were relevant during the planning process, the factors and elements of complexity themselves served as deductive codes. Data that corresponded to a certain factor or element of complexity was coupled to that factor or complexity in tables (appendix 2), providing a cohesive view of when and how factors and complexities were relevant during the planning process.

The RegioTram case spans a large time frame, as is common for large infrastructural projects (Flyvbjerg et al, 2009). To organize the data and to see how the relevancy of the factors developed

over time, a distinction was made between five different rounds that together make up the entirety of the planning process of the eventually discontinued RegioTram project. Because the process is not linear and actors behave strategically, rounds should not be determined in a linear fashion (i.e. based on calendar years) (De Bruijn, 2008). Instead, rounds were defined according to the rounds model (Teisman, 2000), where critical decision moments signify the starting and/or ending of a round.



Figure 3.2: Schematic overview of the rounds analyzed

4. Results

In this chapter, the results of the study are presented. To answer sub-questions 3 and 4, first the factors that were observed in the documents are discussed per round. Thereafter the contribution of the complexities to the discontinuation of the RegioTram is discussed. Data discussed is given a number in the head text that references the sourced policy document. The lists of documents can be found in appendices 1/2.

4.1 Round 1: 21st of February 2007 until 13th of February 2008

The start of the RegioTram process concerned the identification of the problem that the RegioTram was meant to solve, namely the need to reach goals on sustainability and mobility and the prognosis that demands for mobility will lead to exceeding of road capacity (1). Most of the political actors were in favor of a tram as a means to solve this mobility problem (2), showing a shared sense of urgency in both the identification of the problem as well as the primary way to solve it.

Similarly, a shared set of core values among the actors were observed from the documents. The RegioTram was supposed to be a major part of the public transport strategy to reach sustainability and mobility goals, to keep the compact city, to improve regional and intracity high-grade public transport and public transport was seen as public service (1,2). One caveat to this is that some ambiguity in the language were observed, as sometimes the tram was referred to as regional and sometimes just as intra-city (2).

The municipality of Groningen had a policy that involves referenda so the public can vote on the start decision of a large project (2). This is an example of openness. Another element of openness was the installation of a project bureau for the RegioTram, to provide a recognizable entity for the project, still controlled by the municipality and province of Groningen (2).

The start decision for the RegioTram project was made during this round. The first assignment for the project bureau involved the realization of a preliminary design for a central station-Zernike tram line (2). These were meaningful decisions that progressed the planning process of the RegioTram.

Resources required were communicated, €3 million was necessary for the routes of the tram lines and the communication plans, and a total required investment of €150 million for the project (2).

4.2 Round 2: 13th of February 2008 until 17th of June 2009

The problem identification was generally the same among the actors as in the first round. Contrary to the first round, there was more disagreement between stakeholders on how to solve the problem. The Queen's commissioner expressed doubts about the necessity of a tram, which created discussions within the municipality whether a tram was still the best solution to the mobility problem (14). Some political parties had concerns about financing and safety but were otherwise still in favor of a tram (14). Others were more outspoken against the tram project (20,28). An alderman still deemed the tram as inevitable for solving large mobility demand due to its high capacity (15).

Content relevance was challenged in round 2. While discourse stayed true to the original plans and points of discussion contained relevant topics to the RegioTram (26, 28), there were now plans for a city tram first (23), which went against the original goals of connecting the city with the region (26).

Openness first became a factor with negative influence in round 2. Publications on the RegioTram leaked from within which surprised the coalition and the alderman (5). In response to the negative press, it was suggested to go on the offense in charming the public to sway the public opinion on the project. Other issues concerned lack of information on when costs and exploitation would be clear (18) as well as a slight disagreement on what topics to discuss during the public participation process (22) and shortening of the public participation period (26).

Regarding resources, the €150 million budget still was not covered during this round. An agreement with the province had not been reached. There was also uncertainty and questions about who carries the risk for additional costs and the accuracy of them (9,14). Finances remained a point of contention due to (perceived) uncertainty about risks (23).

4.3 Round 3: 17th of June 2009 until 20th of October 2010

Solving the mobility problem remained a priority in round 3, but the sense of urgency with the tram as the solution was challenged further. A tram was compared to a high-quality bus system to solve the issues (42). The conclusion was still that the RegioTram would offer the best solution for the price, but doubts remained. The general sentiment later in this round was that the tram is a good idea, but there was a lot of uncertainty which caused actors to be hesitant to commit to a final decision (60).

There was a larger focus on details in round 3 (58,60,61), moving away from the original goals. An alternative to the tram, the Translohr, was suggested but it cannot function regionally (47,56), which went against the original goals. The core values did remain, most notably the desire for high-quality public transport (48,49,52).

Regarding openness, the completeness of information of experts was questioned in round 3 (40). The mayor and aldermen disagreed and stated that while the investment costs were not clear yet, they would be soon (50). Nonetheless, in a later document, it was again observed that parties questioned whether the council had been informed enough, this time on the risk analysis of the RegioTram (54,55).

Tangible progress was observed in round 3, the first tram line was approved (35), agreements were made with the RUG and Hanzehogeschool on line 1 (46) and the council agreed to buy houses to accommodate the tram line (48,49). These were all meaningful decisions that moved the process along. Even still, delays in decision making were also observed. The development of line 1 took longer due to adjustments of citizens' comments (40,47) and there was still hesitancy to commit to a final 'go' decision (60).

Concerning resources, the financial feasibility of a regional connection was doubted (48,49) and budget cuts were required due to budget cuts on the national level (53). A second opinion on the risk analysis was requested by the mayor and aldermen (57), showing that uncertainty around risks and finances remained an issue. The cancellation of the Zuiderzeelijn project temporarily inspired hope that funding could be transferred to the RegioTram, but instead this went to a railway between Groningen and Heerenveen (59). Moreover, there was a gap in financing of €17,5 million after conducting a business case (60), leading to yet another business plan (61).

4.4 Round 4: 20th of October 2010 until 3rd of July 2012

Similarly to round 3, the tram was not universally seen as the best solution to the mobility problem anymore in round 4. Alternatives were proposed or mentioned in multiple documents (62,63,66). In addition to simply having a different idea on how to solve the problem, the sense of urgency among actors was observed to be lower. There was a motion to postpone the RegioTram altogether (72), the province of Groningen postponed a decision to connect the RegioTram into the region (72) which created more doubts among actors (80), conflicts of interest with other projects (75). There was an anti-tram initiative from the public (98). In response a pro-tram campaign was launched (100). Political parties were divided and the public was more vocal in voicing their concerns with the RegioTram (103,104,105). There seemed to be a different sense of urgency between the province and the municipality (72,80,109). The majority of the council still wanted to move on with the process as of the 25th of April, 2012 (104).

The focus on minute details and ideas that depart from the original goals observed in round 3 was even stronger in round 4. Examples include the proposed investigation into a cable car (73), whether a terrace on Zuiderdiep could remain (62) and the exact location of a tram stop on the Zernike campus (81, 93). That is not to say those details were necessarily unimportant or avoidable, but a deviation from the most relevant content was observed.

As in round 3, openness was characterized by concerns in communication in round 4. It was explicitly stated that communication must be clear to all parties (69) and the project bureau RegioTram presented a comparison to the Edinburgh tram project as an illustration that communication needed to be clear to avoid delays in decision making (91). Despite these intentions for better openness and communication, inhabitants of neighborhoods Selwerd and Paddepoel wanted to be more involved in the plans, as they felt the routes were already a done deal despite participation processes (75). Their sentiment was shared by a citizen stating that citizens are not heard in public participation processes (97). An alderman later explained some of the nebulousness in communication and intentions as a means to retain a competitive advantage (104).

In round 4, the city council agreed to the start of the tendering process (62) and a few months later the province followed suit (64,65). The plans for the trajectories were also agreed upon (81) and an agreement with the RUG was made concerning the Zernike campus (94). While these are examples of meaningful decisions made (i.e. progress), a delay in decision making was observed from yet another independent investigation into the figures of the project (97). There was even a motion to postpone further decisions on the RegioTram until 2015, but it was denied (104).

The carefulness concerning resources was not without reason, as significant budget cuts on the national level (75) created uncertainty in finances for the municipality and province. This combined with the financial issues in previous rounds meant that actors thought risks were still unclear (66, 71). The city council wanted to invest in risk management to build resilience (74). Even though an adjustment of the business case led to a shortage of only €9 million instead of €17 million (78), multiple actors expressed concerns about uncertainties in finances (80). External actors pointed out that calculations by the project bureau were not accurate. This, combined with the economic crisis, should be grounds for the RegioTram to be discontinued, according to them (85,86,87,88). The mayor later acknowledged the financial circumstances had changed drastically (109). The mayor and aldermen disagreed with the calculations made (92,96) but did agree on reviewing the calculations by a third party (97), which later proved the calculations by the project bureau were correct after all (102). The business case was reviewed once again, the results showed a reduction in the funding

shortage of another €1,2 million, making it €7,8 million (99). The mayor and aldermen stated this was acceptable because prognoses were very conservative (99). Also, the province of Groningen kept the ambition to invest in the RegioTram and reserved the budget for it alongside other projects (106).

4.5 Round 5: 3rd of June 2012 until December 2012

Actors in the final round mostly still wanted a tram, but the financial situation changed the sense of urgency enough that a motion was agreed to which stated the tram could not proceed with the current financial situation (111), with actors only wanting the tram with adequate budget and a willingness to look for alternatives (111) as the mobility problem was still seen as an issue. Two aldermen stated in a press conference on the 26th of September, 2012 that they could not support a city budget that included plans for the RegioTram (119), causing three other aldermen to resign because they thought a new coalition was needed (119).

Regarding openness in round 5, a continuation of communication issues between actors was observed. Actors cited problems such as inadequate cooperation between the municipality and province and the attitude of the mayor and the aldermen towards governmental partners was questioned (111).

The main decisions made in round 5 to make progress were those decisions to stop the tendering process (123,124) and a motion was accepted to order the mayor and the aldermen to present a concept budget without the RegioTram (119).

Concerning resources, the need for budget cuts led to a proposal to stop the RegioTram project in round 5 (110), despite another update to the business case which showed plans can be executed cheaper than expected (115,116). Two aldermen did not want to take responsibility for the RegioTram as they feared that expenses would limit other projects (120,121). It was decided that the region, province and municipality will split preparation and execution costs, which was reflected in the proposed budget of the municipality (123,124).

In summary, and to answer sub-question 3: the most relevant factors that led to the discontinuation of the RegioTram process were resources, sense of urgency and openness, with less influence by progress and content relevance. Core values was not much of an influence to the discontinuation of the RegioTram process.

Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Round 4	Round 5
Resources	Sense of urgency	Resources	Resources	Resources
Sense of urgency	Resources	Sense of urgency	Sense of urgency	Sense of urgency
	Openness	Openness	Openness	Openness
	Content relevance	Content relevance	Progress	
		Progress	Content relevance	

Figure 4.1: The factors relevant to the discontinuation of the RegioTram process in each round

4.6 Complexities

The complexities identified in the documents throughout the rounds were primarily financial. Observed elements of financial complexity were mainly the reliance on multiple parties and government levels to fund the RegioTram. This seemingly caused some hesitation as neither province nor government wanted to commit without the other one. Another element of financial complexity was the high uncertainty about finances among decision-makers and stakeholders, leading to slow decision making and reluctance to commit financially.

Complexities that were relevant but less so than those related to finances were the social, technical, legal and organizational complexities. The social complexities observed were mainly conflicts of interest between the RegioTram plans and the external stakeholders such as store owners and other inhabitants of the city. Technical complexities included problems such as the types of rails used to accommodate both a regional tram and a city tram and coordinating the tram lines with other traffic flows. Organizational complexities mostly concerned the problems that arose due to the high number of stakeholders and the different levels of government. Legal complexities were the least significant in the discontinuation of the RegioTram, but perhaps would have gained in significance had the project moved to the implementation phase and the exploitation thereafter.

Finally, the time complexity seemed to be a contributor to the discontinuation of the RegioTram, as problems due to a long time-frame such as the impeding financial crisis and the changing social climate arose.

5. Discussion, conclusion and reflection

To provide an answer to the central research question: *Which factors and complexities in the planning process have contributed to the discontinuation of the RegioTram in Groningen?* The factors that contributed to the RegioTram the most were resources, sense of urgency and openness. The complexities that were the most significant were financial and time complexities.

The core values of the project barely changed throughout the entire planning process. The original goals and values of providing sustainable public transport as a way to answer the expected increase of mobility to and from the city of Groningen were almost universally accepted among actors and were not challenged much in any of the rounds of analysis.

Moving past the core values, the impact of sense of urgency was twofold: similar to core values, there was a common sense of urgency in the identification of the problem (the increased demand for mobility). At first there was also a sense of urgency in the solution to this problem, namely the RegioTram. However, as time went on, more and more alternative solutions were brought up and discussed. The RegioTram became less and less “holy” as the process went on.

Openness too became more of an issue over time. There was some level of distrust between involved actors due to perceived lack of communication from the mayor and aldermen. Another observation was that the openness to the public in the context of public participation actually hindered the making of decisions due to a shift from big picture decisions to debating minute details. Openness therefore contributed to the discontinuation of the RegioTram both because there was not enough of it among decision makers, and perhaps because there was too much of it among external stakeholders.

The content discussed was never too far removed from the original goals and intentions. However, as stated in the previous paragraph, a focus on minute details sometimes delayed important big picture decisions to move along in the process. That is not to say that anyone can be blamed necessarily, as there are many stakeholders in a large project like this and perhaps it is unavoidable that their concerns, however minor, have to be considered. Nonetheless, content relevance played a small role in the discontinuation of the RegioTram.

The progress, or the making of meaningful decisions, was delayed multiple times due to reluctance to make a decision by some major actors. This was mostly due to financial and time complexity of the project. Similarly to the previously mentioned focus on details, meaningful decisions were postponed due to newfound complexities multiple times.

Finally, resources were an issue in all rounds analyzed. Even the first round, which did not constitute many other issues, showed a reluctance to commit financially by some major actors. As the process progressed, this only became more prevalent due to unexpected costs, recalculations and new businesses cases. All this contributed to high (perceived) uncertainty among actors which likely made it even harder for them to commit resources to the RegioTram. The precariousness of the financial crisis in later rounds of the RegioTram process exemplified this even further.

In summary, and to answer the central research question, the factors that contributed to the discontinuation of the RegioTram the most were resources, sense of urgency and openness. The

most notable complexities were time and financial complexities, as delays added to an already long time frame and already complex finances were exemplified by an economic crisis and unwillingness to commit budgets. This seems to fall in line with prior research, especially by Flyvbjerg et al (2009), Grossard & Bailey (2018) and Manderscheid (2012), as well as research on complexity and uncertainty (Abbot, 2005; Alberts, 2006; Daamen, 2005; Terryn et al, 2016). Progress and content relevance were also minor contributors to the discontinuation of the RegioTram. The core values of the project were not challenged much throughout the process, so it can be stated that core values were not a reason the RegioTram process was discontinued.

Reflections on the research process

In hindsight, the scope of this subject matter surpassed the scope of a bachelor thesis. The collected data was much larger than can reasonably be condensed into the results section of a thesis with a maximum of 6600 words. Consequently, difficult choices had to be made as to what to include in the written results, which meant it was hard to do justice to the large scope of the RegioTram project.

Reflections on the outcomes of the research and recommendations

The case study method was appropriate for this research question, as it provided a recent case embedded in local context and complexity to evaluate using the factors from the literature. Nonetheless, and as is expected of a case study, it is important not to be too quick to generalize the results of this case to LIPs in general. The same goes for the research model used: while it was suitable for this case study, there might be other factors that you could use to analyze LIPs as well. Further research into factors of success and failure in planning processes of LIPs is therefore recommended, a similar case study where codes, and by extension factors are derived inductively might also provide useful results and it would be interesting to compare factors from the literature with factors found empirically. A multiple case study to compare cases would also be useful.

The factors used to analyze the case were sourced mainly from policy administration and process management literature. This means that they were not created with a spatial planning context, and specifically large infrastructure and light rail projects, in mind. Additionally, it is important to state that this research does not mean to imply that these are the only factors applicable to the success or failure of LIPs. The limited character of the selection of factors made was informed by their relevancy and to preserve the relatively small scope of a bachelor thesis.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 List of documents analyzed in chronological order

Round 1 21 February 2007 – 13 February 2008				
	Date	Event	Document analyzed	Link to document
1 2	21 February 2007	Start of RegioTram project: Approval of gemeenteraad for budget to start project RegioTram Hoofdstation to Zernike complex.	Notitie "Tram in stad en regio" (1) Verslag gemeenteraad Groningen 21 February 2007 (2)	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-RAAD-20070221.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Startnotitie-Tram-in-stad-en-regio.pdf
	1 September 2007	Official start of Projectbureau RegioTram (Director and 12 employees)		
3	7 November 2007	Plan for Project RegioTram discussed in raadscommissie Beheer en Verkeer (B&V)	Verslag commissie B&V, 7 november 2007	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-BenV-20071107.pdf
4	16 November 2007	Zuiderzeelijn canceled. Compensation is 2,16 billion euros in Region Specific Package	Newspaper article in Friesch Dagblad, 5 mei 2019 on history of Zuiderzeelijn	https://frieschdagblad.nl/2019/12/5/terug-naar-toen-afblazen-zuiderzeelijn-was-een-historisch-en-impopulair-besluit-voor-het-noorden
Round 2: 13 February 2008 – 17 June 2009				
	Date	Event	Document analyzed	Link to document
5	13 February 2008	Commissie B&V Groningen	Verslag commissie B&V, 13 february 2008	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/documenten/vergaderset-BnV-20080213.pdf
6	12 March 2008	Commission B&V Groningen on Communication plan Regiotram	Verslag commissie B&V, 12 maart 2008	commissie Beheer en Verkeer - woensdag 12 maart 2008 (groningen.nl)
7	1 April 2008	Notition "Hoofdlijnen Risico-inventarisatie".	Collegebrief B&W Groningen aan Gemeenteraad, 1 april 2008	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrief-Risico-analyse-project-Regio-Tram.pdf
8	22 April 2008	Provinciale Staten wants fast tram between Assen and Groningen	Online News item RTV Drenthe, 23 april 2008	https://www.rtv-drenthe.nl/nieuws/25254/Drenthe-wil-snelle-tram-Assen-Groningen
9 10	21 May 2008	Risk analysis discussed in commissie Beheer en Verkeer	Notitie Hoofdlijnen "Risico-analyse project RegioTram", 1 april 2008 (9)	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-BenV-20080521.pdf

			Verslag Commissie B&V, 21 mei 2008 (10)	
11 12	28 May 2008	RegioTram sketch book	Collegebrief aan Gemeenteraad, 28 mei 2008 (11) Verslag gemeenteraad Groningen, 28 mei 2008 (12)	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Schetsboek-Regio-Tram.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-RAAD-20080528.pdf
13	28 May 2008	First Tram newspaper published and distributed for the public	Tram Newspaper, 28 mei 2008	file:///Users/famvlogman/Downloads/1957_ED0474.pdf
	5 June 2008	Manifestation in Martinikerk and Randstad Rail tram on Grote Markt. Citizens can present ideas.		
14	11 June 2008	Commission B&V 11 June 2008	Verslag commissie B&V, 11 juni 2008)	commissie Beheer en Verkeer - woensdag 11 juni 2008 (groningen.nl)
15	19 June 2008	Risk analysis presented to gemeenteraad Groningen	Brief B&W aan gemeenteraad met risicoanalyse	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Risicoanalyse-Regio-Tram-Groningen.pdf
16	25 June 2008	VVD puts motion forward to compensate entrepreneurs for damage by tram building. Motion not accepted	Verslag7raad 25 juni 2008	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-RAAD-20080625.pdf
17	12 July 2008	Fietsersbond points out problems for bicyclists	Magazine Snelbinder, Juni 2008	https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/fietsersbond/app/uploads/sites/38/2013/02/06121638/snelbinder_juni_2008_schermpdf.pdf
	22 July 2008	Stadjers suggest 13 alternative routes, usually along Grote Markt		
18	17 September 2008	Commission B&V on Risk Analysis RegioTram	Verslag commissie B&V, 17 september 2008	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-BenV-20080917.pdf
	19 November 2008	Steering group Regio Groningen Assen approves notitions "Sporen naar de toekomst", "Raamwerk Regiorail" and Tracekeuze lijn 1 HS-Zernike		
19	19 November 2008	Brief B&W to gemeenteraad about key points for citizen input process RegioTram	Notition Uitgangspunten inspraakprocedure project RegioTram	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Uitgangspunten-inspraak-Regio-Tram.pdf
20	28 November 2008	Stichting Vrienden van de stad Groningen presents objections to tram in inner city	Persbericht Vrienden van de stad Groningen	https://www.vriendenstadgroningen.nl/html/AA_punten/Archiv

				ef_pers/Persbr_28-11-2008.html
21	1 December 2008	RaamwerkRegio Rail on policy in public transport	Report "Raamwerk RegioRail", Project RegioTram, december 2008	https://docplayer.nl/16732775-Raamwerk-regiorail-project-regiotram.html
22	3 December 2008	Commissie B&V Discussion on notion on key points for citizen input procedure	Verslag commissie B&V, 3 december 2008	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-BenV-20081203.pdf
23 24 25 26	13 February 2009	Brief B&W to gemeenteraad on first tram line and regional concept for mobility Raadsvoorstel 2008-2009 on several reports	Notitie "Sporen naar de toekomst" (23) Notitie "Raamwerk Regiorail" 10 februari 2009 (24) Notitie "Tracékeuze lijn 1" (25) Inspraakrapport 1 ^e lijn Hoofdstation-Zernike (26)	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Voorkeurstraat-eerste-lijn-en-regionaal-vervoersconcept.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Inspraakrapport-1e-lijn-Hoofdstation-Zernike.pdf
	23 February 2009	Start citizen input for line 1		
27	26 February 2009	Entrepreneurs from Oosterstraat show hindrance from tram tracks by showing model	Online article Groninger Internet Courant, 26 februari 2009	https://www.gic.nl/nieuws/nau-al-tram-in-groningen
28	4 March, 2009	Commission B&V, 4 March, 2009	Verslag commissie B&V, 4 maart 2009	commissie Beheer en Verkeer - woensdag 4 maart 2009 (groningen.nl)
	5 March 2009	Projectbureau organizes 7 meet ups for citizens		
	16 March 2009	Evening for public in Oosterpoort.		
29	2009 19 March	Letter from Vrienden van de stad Groningen to B&W Groningen to express their discontent with the scope on which citizens can provide input on tram plans	Brief Vrienden van de Stad Groningen aan B&W, 19 maart 2009	https://www.vriendenstadgroningen.nl/html/AA_punten/brf_19-03-09.html
30	25 May 2009	Stadspartij presents alternative plan for tram in form of train to Zernike that is supposedly cheaper than tram	Vragen van de Stadspartij met antwoorden B&W, 25 mei 2009	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Schriftelijke-vragen/VRAGEN-van-de-Stadspartij-betreffende-Tram-en-trein-in-Groningen-met-antwoorden-college.pdf
31	29 May 2009	Protest from entrepreneurs in Oosterstraat	Online newsarticle RTV Noord, 29 mei 2009	https://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/82054/Protestactie-tegen-tram-door-Oosterstraat

32 33 34	3 June 2009	Commissie B&V on report on public input and providing budget for plan preparation project RegioTram	Verslag commissie B&V, 3 juni 2009 (32) Brief B&W Beantwoording vragen raadscommissie B&V, 3 juni 2009 (33) Raadsvoorstel Inspraakrapport 1 ^e lijn Hoofdstation – Zernike, undated (34)	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-BenV-20090603.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Inspiraakrapport-1e-lijn-Hoofdstation-Zernike.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Beantwoording-vragen-raadscommissie-Beheer-en-Verkeer-3-juni-2009-tbv-raad-17-juni-a-s.pdf
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Round 3 17 June 2009 – 15 October 2010

	Date	Event	Document analyzed	Link to document
35	17 June 2009	Gemeenteraad gives final agreement on trajectory line 1 and development line 2 to Kardinge	Verslag gemeenteraad, 17 juni 2009	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-RAAD-20090617.pdf
	September/October 2009	Projectbureau organizes seven neighborhood sessions on preliminary design of line 1 ontwerp trace 1.		
36	1 October 2009	Sketchbook line 2 and start participation round 1 t/m 30 October	Brief B&W aan gemeenteraad, 1 oktober 2009	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Schetsontwerp-2e-tramlijn.pdf
	13 October 2009	Manifestation online 2 in Martinikerk. Start input citizens on line 2 line 2		
37	9 November 2009	Questions of Stadspartij on RegioTram	Vragen door leden van de raad, 2009, nr. 68, 9 november 2009	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/EZ.pdf
	20 November 2009	GroningerTram.com is started in favor of tram		
38	26 November 2009	Final report “De bus als alternatief voor de tram in het Raamwerk Regiorail, on assignment for OV bureau Groningen Drenthe by Goudappel Coffeng	Eindrapport “De bus als alternatief in het Raamwerk Regiorail”, Goudappel Coffeng, 26 november 2009	https://www.archieven.nl/maisi_ajax_proxy0.php?mivast=0&mizig=278&miadt=5&miaet=185&micode=1957&minr=11646878&milang=nl&misort=jaa%7Casc&mizk_alle=trefwoord%3A377.9%20%3A%20verkeersvraagstuk%20algemeen%20en%20te%20and%20%3E%20overige%20ondernemerpen.%20hierbij%20ook%3AA%20forensisme%2C%20forens

				en%2C%20verkeersvraagstuk%2C%20openbaar%20vervoer&miiew=viewer2
39	17 December 2009	Letter on “busknopenmodel” to gemeenteraad from B&W Groningen	Collegebrief B&W aan raad, 17 december 2009	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Busknopenmodel.pdf
40	23 December 2009	Progress project RegioTram, letter B&W to gemeenteraad, report of participation line 2	Collegebrief B&W aan raad, 23 december 2009	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Voortgang-project-RegioTram.pdf
41	January 2010	SP, vision on RegioTram, when possible, yes!	SP visie op RegioTram: als het kan, graag!	tram.pmd (sp.nl)
42	20 January 2010	Commissie B&V	Verslag commissie B&V, 20 januari 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-BenV-20100120.pdf
43	21 January 2010	Letter B&W to gemeenteraad on buying properties for tram line Hoofdstation Zernike	Brief B&W aan raad, 21 januari 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/GR10-2152349.pdf
44	25 January 2010	VVD presents Translohr again (tram on tyres with one rail)	Online artikel GroningerTram.com, 25 januari 2010	https://groningertram.com/2010/01/25/vvd-wil-bandentram/comment-page-1/
45	10 February 2010	Commissie B&V on buying properties for tram project	Verslag commissie B&V 10 februari 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-BenV-20100210.pdf
46	12 February 2010	Letter of Project Bureau RegioTram to gemeenteraad on preliminary design line 1 and proposed trajectory line 2 and connection variant	Brief Projectbureau RegioTram aan Raad, 12 februari 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Gr-10-2178188.pdf
47	16 February 2010	Joint meeting committees B&V and Ruimte en Wonen on RegioTram	Verslag commissies B&V en R&W, 16 februari 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/verslag-16-februari-1.pdf
48 49	17 February 2010	Meeting gemeenteraad on buying properties for line 1	Raadsbesluit verwerving panden, 17 februari 2010 (48) Verslag raad, 17 februari 2010 (49)	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Raadsbesluit-inzake-Verwerving-ten-behoeve-van-de-tramlijn-Hoofdstation-Zernike.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-RAAD-20100217.pdf

50	1 March 2010	Letter B&W to gemeenteraad about information RegioTram	Brief B&W aan raad, 1 maart 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Informatie-RegiotramGr10-2194445-pdf.pdf
51	12 March 2010	Questions Stadspartij on RegioTram	Vragen door leden van de raad, 2010, nr. 34, 12 maart 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Schriftelijke-vragen/VRAGEN-van-de-Stadspartij-van-de-heer-R-P-Prummel-betreffende-Regiotram.pdf
52	12 March 2010	Railvisie Drenthe 2040 published by Provinciale Staten Drenthe contains regiotrams to Assen, Roden and Gieten	Railvisie Drenthe 2040, Provinciale Staten, 12 maart 2010	https://www-drentsparlement.gemeenteoplossingen.nl/statenportaal/10-5-6-2010003666-Railvisie-drenthe-2040-DEF.pdf
53	31 March 2010	Gemeenteraad about need to economize	Verslag raad, 31 maart 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-RAAD-20100331.pdf
54	18 May 2010	Letter B&W to gemeenteraad about delay in decision RegioTram	Brief B&W aan raad, 18 mei 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Planning-Regio-Tram-gr10-2265057.pdf
55	19 May 2010	Commissie B&V on key projects City of Groningen (RegioTram one of them)	Verslag commissie B&V, 19 mei 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-BenV-20100519.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/verslag-19-mei-2.pdf
56	25 May 2010	Gedeputeerde Staten Groningen rejects Translohr	Online article GroningerTram.com, 25 mei 2010	https://groningerttram.com/2010/06/18/provincie-groningen-wijst-translohr-af/#more-1339
57	12 July 2010	Decision process Gedeputeerde Staten and B&W delayed. Want second opinion on finances and risk management	Brief B&W aan raad, 12 juli 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Planning-besluitvorming-Regio-Tram-gr10-2312971.pdf
58	24 September 2010	Tram radiation affects research at University of Groningen	Artikel Groninger Internet Courant, 24 september 2010	https://www.gic.nl/nieuws/tram-door-groningen-brengt-rug-onderzoekers-in-problemen

59	7 October 2010	Letter B&W to gemeenteraad about railway Groningen-Heerenveen	Collegebrief B&W aan raad, 7 oktober 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Spoorlijn-Groningen-Heerenveen-gr10-2426135.pdf
60	13 October 2010	Gap of 17,5 million in financing	Notities Raadsvoorstel 15 september 2010 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business case • Regiotram op hoofdlijnen • Doorijken de regio in • Ontwerp • Inspraakrapport • Investeringsraming • Exploitatieraming • Aanbestedingsmethode • Afspraken RegioTram augustus 2010 • Second opinion AT Osborne 	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderstellen/BenV-20101013.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/BusinesscaseRegiotram-gr10-2431047.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/gr10-2383670-gewijzigd-raadsvoorstelpdf.pdf
61	15 October 2010	Letter of B&W to gemeenteraad on questions RegioTram	Brief B&W aan raad, 15 oktober 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Beantwoording-raadsvragen-RegioTram-gr10-2433404.pdf

Round 4 20 October 2010 – 3 June 2012

	Date	Event	Document analyzed	Link to document
62	20 October 2010	Gemeenteraad agrees on tendering process for tram project	Raadsvoorstel nr. 26 2010, 20 oktober 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderstellen/RAAD-20101020.pdf
63	November 2010	Burgerinitiatief Groningen is created against RegioTram project. Ask for independent investigation of alternatives.	Burgerinitiatief Groningen, Petitie tegen tram, november 2010	https://petties.nl/petitions/1878?locale=de
64	7 December 2010	Provinciale Staten Groningen agrees to tendering process RegioTram	Online news item Provinciale Staten Groningen, 7 december 2010	https://www.provinciegroningen.nl/actueel/nieuwsartikel/provinciale-staten-nemen-besluit-over-regiotram/
65	9 December 2010	Tendering directions	Collegebrief B&W, 9 december 2010	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Aanbestedingsleidraad-Regio-Tram-gr10-2482389.pdf
66	4 February 2011	Burgerinitiatief Groningen presents “Plan Beter OV in Stad en Ommeland”, 4 februari 2011	Plan Beter OV in Stad en Ommeland”, 4 februari 2011	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/documenten/plan-beter-ov-in-stad-en-ommeland21.pdf

67	25 February 2011	Citizens of city and province Groningen are not all enthusiastic about RegioTram	Online news article RTV Noord, 25 februari 2011	https://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/98754/Geen-Forum-en-Regiotram-voor-Groningers
	3 March 2011	3 consortia for tendering process are presented		
68	13 April 2011	Commissie B&V 13 april 2011 on Plan Beter OV in Stad en Ommeland	Verslag commissie B&V, 13 april 2011	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderstellen-BenV-20110413.pdf
69	18 April 2011	Plan for second phase of Regio Tram: "Doorrijden de regio in" by Stuurgroep Regio Groningen-Assen	Plan for second phase of fase Regio Tram: "doorrijden de regio in" door Stuurgroep Regio Groningen-Assen	https://openarchivaris.nl/blob/55/d6/a18786e9e0edb5745efcd781a36.pdf
70	21 April 2011	Information on start of public input for design of trajectory parts 3 and 4 with specific focus on fitting tram into streetview	Brief Bureau RegioTram aan leden raden en staten en leden colleges B&W en GS van Groningen en Drenthe, 21 april 2011	https://www-drentsparlement.gemeenteoplossingen.nl/statenportaal/Regiotram-DEF-A-tracedelen-3-en-4.pdf
71	25 April 2011	PvdA suggests postponing RegioTram because of financial problem city of Groningen	Online newstitem RTV Noord, 25 april 2011	https://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/100192/PvdA-wil-mogelijk-uitstel-Regiotram
72	25 May 2011	Gemeenteraad meeting on plan B. B&W disagree with this alternative	Verslag raad, 25 mei 2011	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/verslag-raad-25-mei.pdf
73	30 May 2011	Letter Vrienden van stad Groningen to B&W to react to Kattendiep design	Brief Vrienden van de stad Groningen, 30 mei 2011	https://www.vriendenstadgroningen.nl/html/AA_punten/brf_30-05-11.html
74	22 June 2011	Gemeenteraad meeting on risk management	Verslag raad, 22 juni 2011	Gemeenteraad - woensdag 22 juni 2011 (groningen.nl)
75	29 June 2011	Discussion Spring notion in gemeenteraad on tram in relation to financial problems	Verslag Raad, 29 juni 2011	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/verslag-raad-29-juni.pdf
76	14 July 2011	Letter B&W to gemeenteraad "Doorrijden de regio in RegioTram About coalition agreement Provincie Groningen on regional connection	Collegebrief B&W, 14 juli 2011	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Doorrijden-de-regio-in-de-Regio-Tram-gr11-2681930.pdf
77	20 July 2011	Letter Vrienden van de stad Groningen	Brief Vrienden van de stad Groningen, 20 juli 2011	www.vriendenstadgroningen.nl/html/AA_punten/brf_20-07-11.html
78	20 July 2011	Letter on actualization business case Regio Tram	Collegebrief aan raad, 20 juli 2011	https://openarchivaris.nl/blob/d2/8c/375212bf60099cae2d95a3f739df.pdf

				https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Regiotram-businesscase.pdf
79	8 September 2011	Final design plans streets for tram , report input citizens 17 May 2011	Collegebrief aan raad, 8 september 2011	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/2-Voorlopig-ontwerp-tracedelen-3-en-4-inclusief-inspraakrapport-en-aanpassingen-trac-delen-1-en-2.pdf
80	21 September 2011	Adjusted business case in commissie B&V	Verslag commissie B&V, 21 september 2011	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Verslag-B-V.pdf
81	28 September 2011	Approval of preliminary design trajectory parts 3 and 4 by gemeenteraad	Verslag raad, 28 september 2011	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-RAAD-20111130.pdf
82	4 November 2011	Documents tendering process and three consortia	Collegebrief B&W aan raad, 14 november 2011	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/aanbestedingsdocumenten-regiotram-1.pdf
83	7 December 2011	LINQ withdraws from tendering process	Collegebrief B&W aan raad, 7 december 2011	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Toelichting-uitstappen-consortium-Linq-1.pdf
84	15 December 2011	Tram commission reports to gemeenteraad	Collegebrief B&W aan raad, 15 december 2011	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Brief-tramcommissie-stand-van-zaken.pdf
85 86	20 December 2011	Commissie B&V over toelichting terugtrekken LINQ en aanbesteding tram	Verslag commissie B&V, 20 december 2011 (85) Collegebrief B&W, 24 november 2011 (86)	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-BenV-20111220.pdf
87	3 January 2012	Groninger City Club asks city for postponement of tram during economic crisis	Online artikel OogTV, 3 januari 2012	https://www.oogtv.nl/2012/01/komst-tram-moet-worden-uitgesteld/
88	10 January 2012	Letter to gemeenteraad from Arthur Kamminga	Brief Arthur Kamminga aan gemeenteraad, 10 januari 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/brief-kamminga-januari-2012.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/brief-kamminga-februari-2012.pdf

89	25 January 2012	Gemeenteraad decides parking spaces at Zonnelaan will be canceled for tram	Verslag raad, 25 januari 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/verslag-raad-25-januari-2012.pdf
90	2 February 2012	Projectbureau RT presents Checklist Edinburgh, a comparison to project Regiotram	Verslag projectbureau RegioTram over vergelijking tramproject Edinburgh, 2 februari 2012	https://openarchivaris.nl/blob/26/12/0aa1d89e960485e0df9d6bef4c7a.pdf
91	3 February 2012	Letter from tram commission reporting to commission B&V and ending tram commission	Brief tramcommissie aan commissie B&V, 3 februari 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Brief-tramcommissie-stand-van-zaken.pdf
92	4 February 2012	Letter to gemeenteraad and commissie B&V from Arthur Kamminga	Brief Arthur Kamminga, 4 februari 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/brief-kamminga-februari-2012.pdf
93	9 February 2012	Letter University of Groningen to gemeenteraad Groningen	Brief riksuniversiteit Groningen aan raad, 9 februari 2012	https://openarchivaris.nl/blob/58/4a/f0b9fcfd95278a7b5732bbc3b7f6.pdf
94	14 February 2012	Letter of Stadspartij to city of Groningen on feasibility and tendering, problems with RUG and expectations	Brief Stadspartij aan B&W, 14 februari 2012	https://openarchivaris.nl/blob/58/4a/f0b9fcfd95278a7b5732bbc3b7f6.pdf
95	6 March 2012	Answer B&W to questions of Stadspartij	Brief B&W aan raad met Antwoorden vragen Stadspartij, 6 maart 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Schriftelijke-vragen/VRAGEN-van-de-Stadspartij-van-de-heer-G-J-D-Offerman-betreffende-voortgang-van-de-inpassing-van-de-tram-op-het-Zerniketerrein-van-de-universiteit-antwoord.pdf
96	15 March 2012	Letter B&W to gemeenteraad on reaction to letter Kamminga 4 Feb 2012	Collegebrief B&W aan raad, 15 maart 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Reactie-brief-hr-Kamminga-dd-4-2-2012-inz-Regiotram-pdf.pdf
97	21 March 2012	Commission B&V discusses letter from Kamminga.	Verslag commissie B&V, 21 maart 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-BenV-20120321.pdf
98	3 April 2012	Johan Mostertman posteraction Tram No Way against tram	Online artikel OogTV, 3 april 2012	https://www.oogtv.nl/2012/04/stadje-mostertman-vecht-tegen-tram/

99	3 April 2012	Letter tendering and actualization business case and letter provincie Groningen to Provinciale Staten	Collegebrief aan raad, 3 april 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Initiatiefvoerstellen/Regiotram-aanbestedingsdocumenten-en-businesscase.pdf https://openarchivaris.nl/blob/0d/d1/8f7eedc19c328b8a0720d35b1b2d.pdf
100	6 April 2012	In reaction to "Tram no Way" the editors of the website Groninger Tram.com start a counter-post action: Yes We Tram.	Online artikel RTV-Noord, 6 april 2012	https://www.rtvnoord.nl/nieuws/108979/Yes-we-Tram-is-nieuwe-tegenhanger-van-Tram-No-way
101	17 April 2012	Letter B&W to gemeenteraad with copy of letter to management of University of Groningen about agreements on tram radiation prevention and safety arrangements traffic at Zernike around tram.	Collegebrief B&W aan raad, 17 april 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Afspraken-RUG-inpassing-Regiotram.pdf
102	17 April 2012	Second opinion by bureau InnoV: conclusion: prognoses and figures of project bureau RegioTram are solid and reliable. Gemeenteraad trusts figures after this.	Brief Provincie Groningen aan Provinciale Staten Groningen, 17 april 2012	https://openarchivaris.nl/blob/e8/58/3fd8618db5d237f47421f417eb2a.pdf
103	18 April 2012	Commissie B&V on business case update	Verslag commissie B&V, 18 april 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-BenV-20120516.pdf
104	25 April 2012	Gemeenteraad final approval of conditions for tram. Still doubts about phase 2: connection to region.	Verslag raad, 25 april 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/120512142622.pdf
105	3 May 2012	Joint declaration of Presidents JOVD and CDJA that tram is large financial risk especially when OV card students will be abolished.	Online Parlementaire Monitor, 3 mei 2012	https://www.parlementairemonitor.nl/9353000/1/j9vvij5epmj1ey0/viz7505e3zzs?ctx=vhm6jmqov1x5&tab=1&start_tab0=455
106	16 May 2012	Spring report Provincie Groningen states that it is maintaining large investment projects such as RegioTram	Provincie Groningen, nieuwsbericht, 16 mei 2012	https://www.provinciegroningen.nl/actueel/nieuwsartikel//begroting-provincie-sluitend-maar-onzeker-financieel-perspectief/
107	25 May 2012	Breed Bestuurlijk Overleg decides to cancel the development of the railway Groningen-Heerenveen.	Online nieuwsbericht Groninger Internet Courant, 29 mei 2012	https://www.gic.nl/nieuws/sporlijn-groningen-heerenveen-financieel-onhaalbaar

108	26 May 2012	Interview wethouder Frank de Vries (PvdA) about lack of commitment for tram by province leads to great commotion and concern that PvdA is opposed to tram	Artikel Dagblad van het Noorden, 28 mei 2012	https://www.dvhn.nl/archief/Spoeddebat-tramuitspraken-De-Vries-20719720.html
109	30 May 2012	Gemeenteraad discussion on interview wethouder Frank de Vries	Verslag raad, 30 mei 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/120623094427.pdf
Round 5 3 June 2012 – December 2012				
Date	Event	Document analyzed	Link to document	
110	3 June 2012	Spring Letter B&W about budget cuts. Canceling tram project is one of the options mentioned.	Voorjaarsbrief B&W aan raad, 3 juni 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Voorjaarsbrief-2012-2.pdf
111	27 June 2012	CDA withdraws support for RegioTram because of financial situation. Gemeenteraad agrees to motion that at current state of finances RegioTram can not proceed.	Verslag raad, 26 en 27 juni 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-RAAD-20120627.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-RAAD-20120926.pdf
112	11 July 2012	Commission B&V about railway Groningen Heerenveen	Verslag commissie B&V, 11 juli 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Besluitvorming-spoorlijn-Groningen-Heerenveen.pdf
113	18 July 2012	B&W asks for alternatives for budget for railway Groningen-Heerenveen	Raadsvoorstel Besluitvorming spoorlijn Groningen-Heerenveen, B&W, 18 juli 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Besluitvorming-spoorlijn-Groningen-Heerenveen.pdf
114	19 July 2012	Letter B&W to gemeenteraad on exploring studies about RegioTram going into region	Brief B&W aan raad, 19 juli 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Start-voor-verkenningen-2e-Fase-RegioTram-1.pdf
115 116	20 July 2012	Third actualisation business case RegioTram	Derde actualisatie business case RegioTram 2 juli 2012, projectbureau RegioTram. (115) Brief B&W aan raad, 20 juli 2012 (116)	https://groningertram.files.wordpress.com/2018/12/20120717-derde-actualisatie-business-case.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Collegebrieven/Stand-Van-zaken-aanbesteding-RegioTram-1.pdf

117	4 September 2012	Commissie B&V on decision railway Groningen-Heerenveen	Verslag commissie B&V, 4 september 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-BenV-20120904.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Verslag-4-september.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-BenV-20120904.pdf
118	19 September 2012	Commissie B&V on preparation Joint Agreement Provincie and Stad Groningen on RegioTram	Commissie B&V, 19 september 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Vergaderingen/commissie-Beheer-en-Verkeer/2012/19-september/20:00 https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Verslag-19-september-1.pdf
119 120 121	26 September 2012	Press conference: wethouders Jannie Visscher (SP) and Ton Schroor (D66) don't want to take responsibility for budget 2013 because of financial situation and Regio Tram. Other B&W participants (PvdA en GL) want to continue with RegioTram. College of B&W falls: three wethouders quit. Gemeenteraad meeting on situation in city agrees on motion to order B&W to draw up a budget 2013 that contains no specific policy items and without RegioTram.	Verslag raad, 26 september 2012 (119) Online nieuwsbericht OOGtv, 26 september 2012 (120) Online nieuwsbericht RTV Noord, 26 september 2012 (121)	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Verslag-26-september.pdf https://www.oogtv.nl/2012/09/sp-en-d66-dreigen-uit-stadsbestuur-te-stappen/ Bom onder college B&W Groningen - RTV Noord
122	12 October 2012	Letter Regio Groningen Assen to B&W Groningen	brief Regio Groningen-Assen aan college B&W Gemeente Groningen, 12 oktober 2012	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/vergaderset-RAAD-20121029.pdf
123 124	29 October 2012	Wishes and concerns of political parties on stopping Regio Tram project and meeting gemeenteraad with motion to cancel tendering process RegioTram project	Document Wensen en bedenkingen fracties stopzetting RegioTram, 29 oktober 2012 (123) Verslag en stukken raad, 29 oktober 2012 (124)	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Wensen-en-bedenkingen-fracties-m-b-t-stopzetting-RegioTram.pdf https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Voornemen-tot-besluit-stopzetten-lopende-aanbesteding-RegioTram.pdf

				<p>https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Brief-Regio-Gron-Assen-aan-college-12-okt-2012.pdf</p> <p>https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Besluitvorming-aanbesteding-RegioTram.pdf</p> <p>https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Motie-1-van-SP-en-D66-stoppen-lopende-aanbesteding-Regiotram-binnen-n-maand-wordt-aangenomen-hoofdelijke-stemming-29-voor-8-tegen.pdf</p>
125	28 May 2013	View on tendering process Regio Tram by director project bureau RegioTram	Brief B&W aan raad, GS en Regio Groningen-Assen, 28 mei 2013	https://gemeenteraad.groningen.nl/Documenten/Evaluatie-tramtraject.pdf

Appendix 2: Detailed analysis of documents per round

Round 1	
21/2/2007-13/2/2008	Factor
<p>Startnotitie Tram in stad en regio, stukken vergadering raad 21 februari 2007 (1)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development of a new public transport system is an urgent necessity for reaching goals on sustainability and mobility. - Prognosis is that increased demand for mobility will lead to exceeding of capacity of roads in and surrounding Groningen, therefore improving public transport is necessary “If we don’t do anything, the city will close up due to too much traffic” - Making public transport better is part of sustainability goals - Tram major part of public transport strategy - Three major points Kolibri network: improving regional public transport through tram and bus lines, development of transferia in periphery, introduction of the tram in the city’s major axis <p>Startnotitie conforms to the municipality of Groningen’s policy on involving public through referendum during the beginning phase of large projects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Sustainability, protecting geographical and ecological values, compact city, high grade public transport 	<i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Core values</i>
<p>Verslag vergadering raad, 21 februari 2007 (2)</p> <p>PvdA, CDA are in favor of tram idea. CDA has concerns about the width and weight of the tram.</p> <p>SP is in favor but needs guarantees and financial security</p> <p>GL is enthusiastic about the tram.</p> <p>VVD supports tram but has concerns about regional connection and trajectories.</p> <p>D66 historic decision. Is not convinced tram is solution to mobility problems.</p> <p>Stadspartij is concerned and asks if this is the right time to decide on start of tram project.</p> <p>Student en stad is in favour of tram.</p> <p>CU is concerned about feasibility of project but supports proposal</p> <p>Motion to ask B&W to report on political and financial support of region, about financial support of national government and to make sure enough go/no moments are built into the process. Motion is agreed</p> <p>Raad agrees on startnotitie Tram in stad en regio and to 3 million to start project bureau REgioTram</p> <p>Clear goals: answer for future mobility demand while taking into account sustainability goals</p>	<i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Core values</i>

Already some ambiguousness on regional vs city tram (terms used interchangeably, goals are listed regionally sometimes and city-wide other times etc.)	<i>Content relevance</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Beginning phase of large projects involves referenda coupled to a start decision for the public to vote on, to avoid making costs and contracts with third parties for nothing. - Project bureau Regiotram: recognizable entity mainly controlled by city and province Groningen <p>Decision to start RegioTram project Part of the Kolibri network to improve mobility in the region. - Assignment for project bureau RegioTram is to come to realization of Regiotram with first step a central station-Zernike line, which the project bureau will do the essential work for: preliminary design with accompanying research, spatial implications in collaboration with RO/EZ, take care of tenders in relation to concession policy, communication, public participation processes and the concept of the Regiotram with a connection to the regional railways</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Goals on sustainability and mobility are clear - Transport as a public service, those without cars should have good mobility - Keep compact city, so increasing capacity for cars is not an option 	<i>Openness</i> <i>Progress</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Allocation of funding: 3 million necessary for choice of tram lines, preliminary design and communication plans of the aimed tram lines. - Required investment of 150 million euro with realization in 2014 - Regio-Groningen-Assen, province Groningen potentially national government. Municipality can invest 50 million, after 2011 300.000 a year. - RegioTram part of Meerjaren Investeringsprogramma Regio Groningen-Assen (<i>Core values</i> <i>Resources</i>
<p><i>Verslag commissie B&V, 7 november 2007 (3)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -CDA asks who decides on city tram or region tram, CU agrees. CU stresses importance of go/no go moments. VVD asks if there are doubts on RegioTram. D66 does not see advantage of RegioTram above original Kolibri plan Wethouder states it will be a RegioTram, investments are covered. Go/no go moments will be planned in February 2008 (<i>verslag commissie B&V, 7 november 2007</i>) -CDA is concerned about budget in first phase Consultation with involved parties on how to find the other 100 million necessary., goal is to have this taken care of end of 2007. 	<i>Sense of urgency</i>
Complexities	
A tram system can provide opportunities on social-economic front	<i>Social complexity</i>

Exploitation coordination projectbureau RegioTram with OV-bureau: effects on environment: sound, emissions. Building tram requires generally an entire restructuring of a street, both surface level and underlying cables and pipes.	<i>Technical complexity</i>
Financing needs to be covered regionally, so multiple parties.	<i>Financial complexity</i>
Exploitation coordination projectbureau RegioTram with OV-bureau: lots of possible claims	<i>Legal complexity</i>
-Regional tram system means more parties involved in the region than just Groningen - Exploitation coordination projectbureau RegioTram with OV-bureau: security	<i>Organisational complexity</i>

Round 2	
13/2/2008-17/6/2009	Factor
Verslag Raadscommissie B&V 13 februari 2008 over proces Regiotram (5) - CDA being surprised by publications on Regiotram. Incident showcases vulnerability of the process. Communication plan is important for the whole process. PvdA emphasizes to be diligent and careful. Wethouder was also unpleasantly surprised by publications. Stuurgroep felt it was important to immediately respond. Projectbureau will avoid "mistakes" like this in the future and will try coordinate better.	<i>Openness</i>
Verslag Raadscommissie B&V over communicatieplan Regiotram, 12 maart 2008 (6) CU has confidence in public participation plans, PvdA and CDA and Student&Stad agree Stadspartij is not enthused by the project GroenLinks stresses the importance of transparent information SP warns of overenthusiasm for the tram and wants to include risk analysis VVD is happy with the communication plan and thinks communication plan is important. D66 thinks plan timeline could be influenced by participation. Citizens say is now in order. Good PR from projectbureau RegioTram, sketchbook looks good. Wethouder ; plan is the framework for the participation process and guides the debate with all stakeholders. Is still flexible. SP thinks risk analysis is missing D66 warns to make sure plans remain realistic	<i>Openness</i> <i>Resources</i>
Drenthe-wil-snelle-tram-Assen-Groningen, RTV Drenthe 22 April 2008 (8) Motion by PvdA in Provinciale Staten Drenthe, college GS needs to find extra funding for fast tram between Groningen and Assen	<i>Resources</i>

Notitie hoofdlijnen risico-analyse, bij brief B&W 1 april 2008 (stukken bij verslag commissie B&V, 21 mei 2008) (9) 44 risks in following areas: financing, political decision making, public support, contribution to mobility, legislation, technical and spatial. Finances: 150 million is necessary. Further research needs to dictate if this is accurate. Budget has not been covered, meeting with province will follow soon. Who pays for extra costs hasn't been decided, there's ambiguity on finances concerning additional costs like adjusting car, cycling and pedestrian structures to accommodate tram	Resources
Verslag commissie B&V, 21 mei 2008 over risico-inventarisatie (10) Values of prognosis mobility demand needs to be accurate	Content relevance
Tramkrant project bureau RegioTram mei 2008 (13) Reasons for tram in Tramkrant: tram has high passenger capacity, tram is aesthetically better than bus, fits in pedestrian areas, doesn't produce exhaust gases, attracts visitors, tram is preferred according to research from Den Haag	Openness
Verslag commissie B&V, 11 juni 2008 (14) -Sketchbook RegioTram on the agenda as well as risk analysis of RegioTram (notation 1 April 2008) D66 is in favor of tram, but not sure of Regiotram's added value. Student en Stad is enthusiastic on manifestation (display event) RegioTram june 2008. Likes the involvement of the city. Stadspartij understands Commissaris van de Koningin backtracking, would the council have approved had they known the sewer system would have to be redone? Stadspartij is concerned on the consequences for the city and store owners. PvdA complements work on risk analysis and sketchbook, emphasizes to take citizen participation seriously. SP likes the sketchbook but shares concerns on the financing. CU puts emphasis on safety RegioTram. VVD is in principle in favor of RegioTram. Citizens say is now in order. Good PR from projectbureau RegioTram, schetsboek looks good. GroenLinks likes trajectory through the city center. PvdA complements work on risk analysis and sketchbook, emphasizes to take citizen participation seriously. Student and Stad: happy with manifestation on trams. If costs will be higher a decision is needed. CDA is fan of the RegioTram. Sketchbook is good for discussion. Wonders what citizens will say. Wethouder: elaboration on traffic flows will follow in autumn, we should start citizen participation process now, province and municipality do not yet have a position. There is no decision made on the introduction of the tram, just that we want a tram to increase mobility and accessibility. We chose this because of facts. GCC was enthusiastic about tram. "We can't remove all risks"	Sense of urgency

<p>VVD wants insight into costs of the exploitation tram GroenLinks: costs and exploitation need to be accounted for very accurately. Combining tram with cycling is very important. Stadspartij: trams are hard to maintain and the maintenance costs are high. Tram only partially solves mobility problem. College Geduputeerde Staten has made the tram plans very difficult. SP likes the schetsboek but shares concerns on the financing.</p>	<i>Resources</i>
<p>Rapport risico-analyse RegioTram, 19 juni 2008 (15) Suggestion to put forth a “charmeoffensief” in public participation, by for example putting positive publicity in the media from internal. Suggestion is also made to find weak points of opposing parties and use those against them</p> <p>Accessibility of the city from the region makes improving regional public transport a necessity, RegioTram is an important part of that. The risk of changing priorities is explicitly stated (<i>rapport risico-analyse Regiotram 19 juni 2008</i>)</p> <p>Risks on following aspects are scored: design, quality and execution; financial, planning, chances of risks, consequences</p> <p>In report slow or unclear political decision making is mentioned as a large risk</p>	<i>Openness</i> <i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Content relevance</i> <i>Progress</i>
<p>Raadsvergadering, 25 juni 2008 (16) VVD asks for compensation of losses because of lesser accessibility during building of tram (motion nr. 17) Motion denied (<i>Raadsvergadering 25 juni 2008</i>).</p>	<i>Sense of urgency</i>
<p>Commissie B&V, 17 september 2008 (18) CDA wants a date on which the commission will be informed about costs of exploitation, as well as the city tram compared with the regional tram. VVD wants clarity on choice of lines/routes: are we talking about the end result or line 1? (<i>commissie B&V 17 september 2008</i>)</p> <p>Wethouder: keep regional concept mobility public transport. The first line needs to fit in that concept and be coordinated with regio Groningen-Assen. All calculations (red: finance prognoses) are done taking RegioTram into account. Mentions complicated project structure. (<i>commissie B&V 17 september 2008</i>)</p>	<i>Openness</i> <i>Sense of urgency</i>
<p>Vrienden van stad Groningen tegen tram, 28 november 2008 (20) Vrienden van de stad Groningen think tram is a bad idea: takes up too much space, is in the way of pedestrians and cyclists, can not be possible financially, no sight into building- and exploitation costs, tram to Zernike dependent on OV card students, bus is a better alternative. They think the unconditional belief in tram by municipality is a threat. Only possible way they see a tram as a feasible option is to Meerstad and transferia outside the city.</p>	<i>Sense of urgency</i>
<p>Verslag commissie B&V, 3 december 2008 (22) Uitgangspunten inspraak RegioTram (collegebrief 19 november 2008) discussed in commissie B&V 3 December 2008. Discussion on participation process on trajectory line 1 or on tramproject as a whole. Wethouder wants to proceed. D66, PvdA and VVD say participation is important and should be open. D66 stresses that participation process is</p>	<i>Openness</i>

<p>complicated with many governmental bodies and other organizations. Regional aspect should not be included in participation process. Wethouder says citizens of Groningen can participate in local trajectory. (<i>Verslag commissie B&V, 3 december 2008</i>)</p>	
<p>Inspraakrapport 1^e lijn Hoofdstation-Zernike, 13 februari 2009 (26)</p> <p>Response municipality to questions public: trams can transport more people than buses, are more sustainable, can be applied in all road types and have a preferred treatment by travelers. The proposals by the public do not provide enough benefits to outweigh the costs and do not solve our mobility problem.</p> <p>Multiple people from the public indicate that there are plenty of alternatives for sustainable public transport like electric buses etc. Recurring question is if the tram necessarily needs to go through the city center: municipality response: yes because it attracts shoppers which is one of the most important goals of traveling for people. This means many people would forego the car and use the tram.</p> <p>Another recurring question is why a student tram? Municipality response is that it is not in fact a student tram but prognoses indicate that there will be plenty of others users of line 1 to Zernike that would otherwise take the car.</p> <p>Another question is if UMCG and Kardinge (line 2) should be realized first?</p> <p>Municipality response is that a faster realization of line 2 is possible but line 1 needs to come first to avoid further delays in both lines.</p> <p>Another question is the loss of bus lines: municipality response is that there will be extra attention to connecting bus lines to tram lines.</p> <p>Another question is the worries about the double railway in the Oosterstraat: municipality response is strengelspoor and a stop in the Oosterstraat to appease store owners.</p> <p>Period where objections can be made is only two months and then a decision will be made. Twenty problems have been identified by the public. 50% of entrepreneurs is against the tram, 100% in the Oosterstraat. Sentiment is that the Groningen residents have to pay while the Gemeente does yet another project that costs millions with irresponsible risks.</p> <p>Citizen (speaker): suddenly there is a double regional tram track while it was just a single track before.</p> <p>Multiple parties think line 2 is also essential.</p> <p>Wethouder: if we do only a city tram now, there will not be a regional tram later</p>	<p><i>Content relevance</i></p> <p><i>Openness</i></p> <p><i>Core values</i></p>
<p>Brief met notities sporen naar de toekomst, raamwerk regiorail en tracekeuze lijn 1, 13 februari 2009 (23, 24, 25)</p> <p>Until 2020 two lines going through the city, after 2020 RegioTram can be enlarged through the region</p>	<p><i>Content relevance</i></p>
<p>Brief B&W met notities sporen naar de toekomst, raamwerk regiorail en tracekeuze lijn 1, 13 februari 2009 (23)</p> <p>-Uncertainty on budget Regiovisie, if it is not realized (42 million) then it needs to be financed out of the province and the municipality, the municipality has a risk of 23,5 million if this fails. The assumption is that the money will become available.</p> <p>More funding needs to come from resources on the station area plans, that also carries risk and uncertainty. Risk of investment station area concerning tram connection is 20 million, coverage has been agreed upon with the province: some</p>	<p><i>Resources</i></p>

<p>will be covered by region and market, external subsidies, budget reductions elsewhere in the Regiorail plans. The amount is split 50/50 between the municipality and the province. Can lead to 10 million extra. Additionally, the costs of exploitation are higher than anticipated, the project bureau RegioTram has been asked to reduce these costs</p>	
<p>Verslag commissie B&V, 4 maart 2009 (28)</p> <p>SP also asks for alternative covering of finances because the sale of Essent stocks is uncertain. GroenLinks: Finances: province wants all risks covered, will the College come with a separate proposition for financing? Using finances initially meant for central station area is fine but means problems for the station area. Finances remain a point of contention.</p> <p>CDA is also a proponent of tram, but emphasizes to look at risk allocation responsibilities between city and province.</p> <p>D66 is in favor of tram but is worried that this means the city will be responsible for other risks, such as station Assen Zuid. Emphasis in this document is on that risks, costs and benefits should be much clearer.</p> <p>Wethouder: large amount of people come to the city from the region, tram is inevitable.</p> <p>Social aspects like connecting neighborhoods is important, not just economically.</p> <p>The tram is part of a broader transport concept, if we choose a city tram now then a regional tram is almost impossible because the rails are broader: that's why a regional tram is necessary now.</p> <p>Finances are being looked into through general risks in the region and specific risks in the city.</p> <p>Stadspartij remains unhappy about tram: too heavy, doesn't solve traffic jams, does not want a double tram line in shopping streets</p> <p>SP: public support for tram is in downward trajectory because it means bus lines are getting worse, thinks that second line (red: Kardinge, UMCG) needs to come first..</p> <p>Groenlinks: second line route variants need to be viewed by the commission.</p> <p>PvdA is proponent of the tram, awaits public participation moment.</p>	<p><i>Resources</i></p> <p><i>Sense of urgency</i></p> <p><i>Content relevance</i></p> <p><i>Core values</i></p> <p><i>Resources</i></p> <p><i>Sense of urgency</i></p>
<p>SP also asks for alternative covering of finances because the sale of Essent stocks is uncertain</p>	<p><i>Resources</i></p>
<p>Brief Vrienden stad Groningen aan B&W, 19 maart 2009 (29)</p> <p>Why only public participation on the route of the lines? Vrienden van de stad Groningen would like public involvement on the entirety of the traffic flows in Groningen. According to them the head issue is commuters and traffic jams, why does the tram have to enter the center to combat those issues? They propose tram around periphery city instead. Insight into finances is lacking because of missing integral traffic and transport concept, the choice for a tramline is an absurd choice.</p>	<p><i>Openness</i></p>

Vragen van Stadspartij aan B&W over RegioTram, 25 mei 2009 (30) Stadspartij sees four problems: do the tram and train use the same rails? There are multiple organisations with different interests using rails, there are multiple concessions with different interests. Proposes alternative line between Euroborg and Zernike.	<i>Content relevance</i>
Verslag commissie B&V, 3 juni 2009 (32, 33, 24) Citizens speak about resistance against tram for several reasons Talk about advantages and disadvantages of tram by several parties. Wethouder: Groningen still grows, there will be mobility problems with economic consequences. Tram also has disadvantages but advantages are stronger. Guarantees that tram will go into region are impossible. Offers solutions for detail problems. Wethouder will provide more information on financial situation and answers to other questions.	<i>Openness</i> <i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Sense of urgency</i>
Complexities -Public support demands attention -There's ambiguity on finances concerning additional costs like adjusting car, cycling and pedestrian structures to accommodate tram. Integrating tramlines with street demands extra attention, public support will go down if this fails. High coordination with spatial matters is necessary, namely other large projects such as the East side of the Grote Markt and the station area	<i>Social complexity</i>
-Changing technologies and the fact that RegioTram requires other facilities than city trams -Coordination with other traffic flows, especially cyclists might lead to complex situations -project organization there is enough funding for line 1, including potential setbacks and the high technical ambitions. This also goes for the end picture of the RegioTram, for costs and exploitation. How much higher are costs for a regional tram compared to just a city tram? The tram is part of a broader transport concept, choosing a city tram now means that a regional tram is almost impossible because the rails are broader.	<i>Technical complexity</i>
-Zuiderzeelijn compensation money is being assumed to be allocated to RegioTram from province, this is still unsure -There's ambiguity on finances concerning additional costs like adjusting car, cycling and pedestrian structures to accommodate tram. -The project organization should have enough funding for line 1, including potential setbacks and the high technical ambitions. This also goes for the end picture of the RegioTram, for costs and exploitation. -The prognoses for exploitation costs lead to additional ambiguity on finances -Sale of Essent stocks is uncertain.	<i>Financial complexity</i>
-Knowledge of legislation and rules is necessary for a successful project -Dependency on procedures and legal protocols is a risk for delays	<i>Legal complexity</i>

<p>-Political/policy making risk: pluriformal constellation regio Groningen-Assen with provinces and municipalities who share financial and inhoudelijke involvement.</p> <p>-New developments, implicit decision making about scope enlargements and dependencies on other projects and parties and political decision making cost a lot of time due to stakeholders wanting to play a bigger part in decision making than foreseen</p>	<i>Organisational complexity</i>
<p>As concessions last a certain number of years, organizational changes in the future need to be accounted for. Coupling regional rails to central station is needed. In the first phase these systems can be separate according to the finance prognoses but in 2020 de current concession comes to an end and the new one will have to accommodate the tram and the train together.</p>	<i>Time complexity</i>

Round 3	
17/6/2009-20/10/2010	Factor
<p>Verslag vergadering raad, 17 juni 2009 (35) Proposal plan preparation budget is agreed. First tram line Main Station to Zernike has been approved.</p>	<i>Progress</i>
<p>Brief B&W aan raad, 1 oktober 2009 (36) Start participation process for line 2 RegioTram Neighborhood meetings organized by Tram bureau and information meeting in Martinikerk</p>	<i>Openness</i>
<p>Brief B&W aan raad, 1 oktober 2009 (36) Sketch book line 2 presented to Raad</p>	<i>Progress</i>
<p>Brief vragen Stadspartij, 9 november 2009 (37) Stadspartij has doubts about the completeness of information of experts to city council. They don't want a situation as in the Amsterdam North-South line. (brief vragen Stadspartij, 9 november 2009)</p>	<i>Openness</i>
<p>Brief B&W voortgang project RegioTram, 23 december 2009 (40) Development of line 1 has taken longer due to involvement inhabitants and adjusting to their comments</p> <p>Cost estimates for design line 1 will be done by probabilistic methods to deal with uncertainties within budgets. It will be possible to have a clear view of budget overrides</p> <p>Participation process had many participants. 2600 visitors to exposition in Martinikerk. Website visited by 10.000 visitors, 852 people have filled out reaction form. B&W decided to present preference for trajectory line 1, preliminary design of line 1 to the public in Feb/March 2010 in order to be open (this was at first not the plan)</p>	<i>Progress</i> <i>Resources</i> <i>Openness</i>

<p>SP visie op RegioTram: als het kan graag, januari 2010 (41)</p> <p>SP does house to house action in favour of tram</p> <p>SP wants to limit growth of car mobility and sees mobility problems as big issue. Tram is good solution but needs to fit in the city</p> <p>SP thinks tram is affordable due to cancelation Zuiderzeelijn. City will have money through sale of Essent shares. Plans for tram are dependent on finances being completely clear</p>	<p>Sense of urgency</p> <p>Core values</p> <p>Resources</p>
<p>Notitie Busknopenmodel, 20 januari 2010 (42)</p> <p>On request of GS province Groningen steering group RegioTram gave public transportbureau Groningen Drenthe orders to compare RegioTram in Groningen to high quality bus system from the goals of spreading mobility and more straight connections</p> <p>In Busknopenmodel a comparison is made between three models: Three models compared: buslinks, buslinks light, train model and RegioTram. Train connection Groningen-Heerenveen and new bus hubs Europapark and Hoogkerk as well as connection regional trains have been included. Exploitation costs will grow but lowest in the Tram option. Busknopenmodel light is cheaper. The tram is expected to get 5% more people out of their car.</p> <p>End image of regional transportation connections will not be reached with busknopen model</p> <p>RegioTram will strengthen economic development of inner city. Busmodel more in outer areas of the city. Problems with mobility will remain with busmodels. Train model will enlarge problems in inner city.</p> <p>Conclusion: doing nothing is not an option, RegioTram offers best quality for price</p>	<p>Sense of urgency</p> <p>Sense of urgency</p> <p>Core values</p>
<p>Brief B&W verwerving ten behoeve van tramlijn HS-Zernike, 21 januari 2010 (43)</p> <p>City wants to buy 24 houses and 6 arks within budget RegioTram in order to secure the trajectory of line 1. This will partly be done before the next go/no go moment.</p>	<p>Progress</p>
<p>Verslag commissie B&V, 10 februari 2010 (45)</p> <p>VVD suggests option of Translohr (tram on wheels). Has financial and technical advantages.</p> <p>Wethouder: Translohr has been looked into and has disadvantages. Most important: cannot go into region</p> <p>-CDA wants clarity from B&W that regiotram can ride on regular train tracks so regional connection can be established later</p>	<p>Content relevance</p>
<p>Brief B&W aan raad, 12 februari 2010 (46)</p> <p>Agreement with RUG and Hanzehogeschool about line 1</p> <p>Report on progress and what was done with suggestions from the public, resulting in some changes in the plans</p>	<p>Progress</p> <p>Openness</p>

<p>B&W expects to present a risk analysis, financing plan and contracting proposal to the council in June/Juli 2010 In February 2010 the public can give their views on the preliminary design of line 1 and the proposed trajectory of line 2. Also the connection variant</p>	<i>Openness</i>
<p>Verslag commissie B&V en R&W, 16 februari 2010 (47) D66, VVD, CDA, CU wonder why city needs to buy houses for tram trajectory at this moment. Student en Stad, GroenLinks en SP are in favour of providing credit for this purpose Wethouder wants to act correctly towards owners of houses.</p> <p>Wethouder: participation can lead to changes in the plans</p> <p>D66 wants clarity about plans and finances from City, NS, Prorail and RWS. VVD: Before elections things must be clear on the exploitation of the tram CDA wants figures to be studied more</p>	<i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Progress</i> <i>Resources</i>
<p>Verslag vergadering raad, 17 februari 2010 (48, 49) PvdA is happy with progress CDA thinks Translohr is too late and cannot be a feasible alternative</p> <p>All agree that city mobility problems must be addressed</p> <p>SP wants tram but only if costs are according to plan. Wants regional tram because province and region won't pay a share in city tram or Translohr.</p> <p>Stadspartij is against tram Many questions of different parties about details in the plans for the tram GL concludes tram is necessary (from busknopenmodel)</p> <p>D66 has doubts about financial feasibility of regional connection</p> <p>A citizen points out that participation is missing in the project</p>	<i>Progress</i> <i>Core values</i> <i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Resources</i> <i>Openness</i>
<p>Raad agrees with buying houses (<i>Raadsbesluit inzake verwerving ten behoeve van tramlijn Hoofdstation Zernike, 17 februari 2010</i>)</p> <p>CDA wants clarity on the possibility of tram going on train tracks. Wethouder reassures that this is possible</p>	<i>Progress</i> <i>Content relevance</i>
<p>Brief B&W aan raad, 1 maart 2010 (50) B&W reacts to doubts of Stadspartij about openness that they don't agree on lack of information. Investment costs are still not completely clear. This will happen in the next months. Also B&W is working on several issues regarding details on localities for the tram</p> <p>Final decision on the tram by raad will take place in June 2010</p>	<i>Openness</i> <i>Progress</i>

Elections City Council Groningen, 3 maart 2010 Results still show support for RegioTram	<i>Sense of urgency</i>
Railvisie Drenthe 2040, 12 maart 2010 (52) Larger role of rail transport in Groningen-Assen area: need for better and more frequent rail connections around Groningen and from Drenthe to Groningen RegioTram Groningen is important feature Lightrail potential for Groningen Assen and Groningen Emmen In Railvisie Drenthe 2040 a need for development of sustainable mobility system and spatial and economical development of Drenthe is expressed	<i>Content relevance</i> <i>Sense of urgency</i>
Brief vragen Stadspartij, 12 maart 2010 (51) Stadspartij is very critical on tram project. "City has been torn apart for years and creates work for itself".	<i>Sense of urgency</i>
Verslag vergadering raad, 31 maart 2010 (53) B&W: budget cuts are needed because of cutting the budget by national government. Stadspartij wants to economize on physical plans like RegioTram. Stadspartij chooses busknopenmodel. PvdA thinks most budget cuts are done.	<i>Resources</i>
Verslag commissie B&V, 19 mei 2010 (54, 55) Wethouder: Tram decision postponed, not the realization of the project (brief B&W aan gemeenteraad 18 mei 2010) CDA and CU point out that risk analysis is of great importance Some parties ask detail questions on parts of the tram (stops, corners etc.) PvdD thinks council has not been informed enough about risk analysis of RegioTram project	<i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Content relevance</i> <i>Openness</i>
Online artikel GroningerTram.com, 25 mei 2010 (56) Gedeputeerde Staten Groningen rejects Translohr because it would only be suitable as a city tram, not a regional tram	<i>Content relevance</i>
Brief B&W aan raad, 12 juli 2010 (57) B&W: A second opinion will be asked about risk management and financing because the importance, scope and complexity of the project require the utmost preparation	<i>Resources</i>
Artikel Groninger Internet Courant, 24 september 2010 (58) Tram radiation affects research at University of Groningen	<i>Content relevance</i>
Brief B&W aan raad, 7 oktober 2010 (59)	<i>Resources</i>

<p>-After the cancelation of Zuiderzeelijn an alternative package of projects has been created, the Regional Specific Package (RSP). This also contains a railway between Groningen and Heerenveen. This project is run by provinces Groningen and Friesland. The estimated costs are over budget but market parties have shown interest in realizing the project at budget. Therefore provinces strive to realize a tender in an early stage. B&W has expressed their concern regarding financial risks.</p>	
<p>Verslag commissie B&V, 13 oktober 2010 (60)</p> <p>B&W: RegioTram is necessary to improve mobility in region based on several research projects</p> <p>B&W ask of Council to decide on preliminary design line 1, and trajectory line 2 and the prognosis of investment and exploitation.</p> <p>B&W: need to start working quickly on the next step (tram in region) after decision on lines in city.</p> <p>B&W say tendering will lead to more clarity on business case. Based on that a ceiling for pricing will be determined end 2011 Gap of 17,5 million in financing</p>	<i>Sense of urgency</i>
<p>Trajectory line 2 still not chosen definitely, but collecting all pros and cons</p>	<i>Resources</i>
<p>PvdA is not happy with 17,5 million extra needed in business case for RegioTram. How will this influence decisionmaking?</p> <p>CU: agrees with PvdA.</p> <p>CDA: large problem but good that we were informed. Where did it go wrong? What are chances of another debacle like this?</p> <p>SP: hard to see the consequences. What if no coverage is found?</p> <p>D66: how could this have happened and what is B&W going to do?</p> <p>Wethouder: This fallback has to become clear in the coming months, otherwise large problem for the project.</p> <p>Commissie B&V decides to go on with decision process on October 20, 2010 in commissie and city council. Condition: B&W explains in letter how issues like these will be prevented. This letter will arrive in November 2010 at the latest.</p> <p>B&W agreement with province over extra money: 2/3 paid by city, 1/3 paid by province</p>	<i>Progress</i>
<p>B&W Reaction to questions of council members:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City wants to incorporate suggestions from Cyclist's organization • Means have been reserved for unexpected measures for RUG and the problem of radiation • Tram through inner city is important feature • Researching UMCG and Meerstad accessibility • Train alternative of Party of the North has been denied <p>Wethouder assures commissie B&V that there hasn't been a decision yet: Raad gives the final GO.</p>	<i>Content relevance</i>

Bewonersorg. Beijum (citizen): wants to postpone tram until it can be implemented as a regional tram. PvdA in principle positive about RegioTram. Doesn't want to start with building the two lines in the city until the lines outside the city will also start. Raad can not yet decide until there is a complete picture	<i>Progress</i>
<p>Student en Stad is positive about tram. Safety of bicyclists important. Financing should be in order.</p> <p>GroenLinks still support the tram, important that regional connection will be established. CU positive about tram as solution to mobility but asks if there is a plan B (not according to wethouder). Also wants to know when finances will be clear and wants to investigate business case</p> <p>SP does not want to make a final decision now that cannot be reversed and wonders if a simpler plan is an option.</p> <p>D66 is pro tram but wants commitment from B&W to get go/no go moments in writing. Does not want to postpone, but wants to move on. Even if it is first a city tram and the decision on regional connection comes later.</p> <p>CDA wonders if RegioTram is the most suitable concept for Groningen. They are not happy with financial background of business case.</p>	<i>Sense of urgency</i>
<p>Wethouder: Tram is necessary for mobility in city. There is no plan B: that would be a city congested with buses</p> <p>VVD values openness and attitude wethouder on alternative Translohr.</p> <p>PvdA and GroenLinks are positive about the public's opportunities to express their opinions</p> <p>Stadspartij thinks council has not been informed in time about financial problem in business case RegioTram</p>	<i>Sense of urgency</i>
<p>GL: why didn't steering group know about the 17 million extra in the business case?</p> <p>CDA is concerned that business case still is not complete and that certainty comes as late as Spring 2011.</p> <p>PvdA expresses concern that postponing decisions until more clarity will mean the project will be delayed by more than a year.</p> <p>Stadspartij concludes that tram plan is not yet ready</p> <p>B&W tried to limit risks as much as possible, using second opinion. Need for extra 17,4 million (11,6 million paid by gemeente Groningen. Extra investments necessary to include tram in the city of 2,5 million (Gedempte zuiderdiep) Large amount of risks will be taken by private market, such as the uncertainties of calculating in advance. This can be bought off by a premium. Plan costs of the staff ROEZ and province staff will have to be clear and controlled. CU: concerned about need for extra means in business case in relation the future of the tram project Wethouder: despite extra money in business case the amount is fixed at 307 million, so no extra money in total. CDA thinks this is a concerning way to handle risks. Wethouder: Some risks are difficult to determine. Council is asked to accept this. There will be updates on business case</p>	<i>Openness</i> <i>Resources</i> <i>Resources</i>

Brief B&W aan raad, 15 oktober 2010 (61) B&W: a new business plan will be made regarding the 17,5 million shortage and what this means for the plan in economizing. Tendering will give more insight in exact costs. In the new business case national policy expectation on the continuation of student OV will be taken into account	<i>Resources</i>
Raad will be informed as much as possible with limits of tendering process	<i>Openness</i>
Brief B&W beantwoording vragen 15 oktober 2010 Many questions of parties and external stakeholders about details like greenery, bicycling along tram trajectories, location of stops , trajectory over Grote Markt, place of taxi's in the plan, reaching UMCG, Ramblas, connection Meerstad.	<i>Content relevance</i>
Complexities	
Rijksuniversiteit Groningen concerned about electromagnetic radiation from tram	<i>Technical complexity</i>
Complexity because of long term exploitation and uncertain prognoses. Some risks are difficult to determine. Council is asked to accept this. There will be updates on business case	<i>Financial complexity</i>

Round 4	
20/10/2010-03/06/2012	Factor
Verslag raad, 20 oktober 2010 (62) City council agrees to start of tendering process (Stadspartij is against this). -Motion agreed : by Christenunie to install a temporary committee RegioTram to check parts of the plan that can be determined a in later stage - Motion denied : Stadspartij states in a motion that goals regarding less car mobility will not be met by RegioTram. Stadspartij says in another motion (also denied) that they are worried about the lack of options when plans for the RegioTram cannot be implemented. -Motions by Stadspartij to research option of three axel busses and that tendering is too early: denied Motion of Christenunie, SP and Student en stad is agreed : make sure that Adviesraad voor Gehandicaptenbeleid are consulted regarding accessibility of RegioTram - Motion of Christenunie to involve Boards of Advice is agreed . Motion from VVD, Student en Stad and Stadspartij is agreed : Ramblas at Kattendiep should remain and requests to apply this to the design of line 1 of RegioTram	<i>Progress</i> <i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Openness</i> <i>Content relevance</i>

Petitie Burgerinitiatief Groningen, November 2010 (63) Burgerinitiatief Groningen asks in a petition for indepent research into serious alternatives fort he tram. Canceled projects in Kassel and Braunschweig make them worried. They are also worried about the possibility for the RegioTram to go into the region	<i>Sense of urgency</i>
Verslag Provinciale Staten Groningen, 7 december 2010 (64, 65)) Provincial Council agrees to start of tendering process	<i>Progress</i>
Burgerinitiatief Groningen, Beter OV in Stad en Ommeland, februari 2011 (66) Burgerinitiatief Groningen presents alternative plan B. Alternatives are better than RegioTram and cheaper. Changes in existing railway lines and busses. Less busses on Grote Markt. Through lightrail immediate connection to region. Burgerinitiatief Groningen thinks risks are too unclear for RegioTram both financially as in a new tendering system	<i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Resources</i>
Verslag commissie B&V, 13 april 2011 (68) Stadspartij agrees with Burgerinitiatief Groningen Wethouder reacts to Plan B of Burgerinitiatief Groningen: plan is too late. Trying hard to be a consistent government. Plan does not offer solutions for the city, only for students	<i>Sense of urgency</i>
Plan van aanpak tweede fase RegioTram, "Doorrijden de regio in", april 2011 (69) Connection tram in city with region is important. After 2020 (end of concession Arriva) the tram can be connected to Hoogezand-Sappemeer, Zuidhorn, Winsum and Bedum. When train connection between Groningen and Heerenveen is established tram can also go to Leek. New rail is necessary to connect Roden, Martiniziekenhuis and de Punt. Provinces Groningen and Drenthe coordinate the programming of the second phase of RegioTram with a project group Second Phase. Communication must be clear to all parties, especially councils of provinces and city Plans for the second phase will be financed by Regiofonds, provinces Groningen and Drenthe, European subsidies	<i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Openness</i> <i>Resources</i>
RegioTram aanbestedingsdocumenten en business case, april 2012 (72) B&W says accuracy and prudence are the main core value in the process. This can be seen in the way the trajectories and the design of the tram lines are handled and how all parties have been involved and in the financial accounting with second opinions	<i>Core values</i>
Brief bureau RegioTram aan leden Staten en Raden en colleges B&W Groningen-Assen, 21 april 2011 (70) Start of public input (inspraak) on preliminary design of trajectory parts 3 and 4 and the design of tram incorporated in streets	<i>Openness</i>

RTV Noord, 25 april 2011 (71) PvdA suggests possible delay RegioTram because of budget problems City of Groningen	<i>Resources</i>
Verslag raad, 25 mei 2011 (72) Motion of Stadspartij to postpone RegioTram until clarity on support of province for regional connection and exploring alternatives is denied. VVD, PvdD and Stadspartij were in favour. CDA says they don't want to invest in an expensive and heavy RegioTram when provincie doesn't want the tram to go into region. Budget problems are addressed in city council	<i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Resources</i>
Province of Groningen has decided not yet to decide whether to connect RegioTram into the region. Regio Groningen-Assen has the ambition for the tram to go into the region	<i>Sense of urgency</i>
Brief Vrienden van de stad Groningen, 30 mei 2011 (73) Vrienden van de stad Groningen wants an investigation into the influence of a cable car on the exploitation of the RegioTram	<i>Content relevance</i>
Verslag raad, 22 juni 2011 (74) Parkeerbedrijf, Meerstad en Damsterdiep, Openbaar Onderwijs all are financial risks City council wants to invest in risk management so the city is more resilient regarding risks	<i>Resources</i>
Verslag raad, 29 juni 2011 (75) PvdA worries about severe budget cuts from the national government. VVD mentions that RegioTram is not mentioned in the MIRT money from the national government. Wants to know all the options and their effects, also for the postponing of the RegioTram. GroenLinks says that postponing or canceling RegioTram will lead to more costs in the future. Stadspartij wants to break off plans for the tram. If this won't happen, than more checks and very good agreements on go/no go moments. SP: "I can't imagine a Groningen without good social policies, I can imagine a Groningen without a tram".	<i>Resources</i> <i>Core values</i>
CDA: time to overthink all the large projects at the same time. Motion CDA/VVD to actualize the expected development of numbers of travellers before decisions are made CDA People in Selwerd and Paddepoel want to be involved in the plans, now they feel like the plan for the tram is a done deal despite all the participation efforts	<i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Openness</i>

Brief Vrienden van de stad Groningen, 20 juli 2011 (77) Vrienden van de Stad Groningen don't want a large tram in the historic inner city but if this is going to happen they want to ensure the conservation of the historic qualities	Core values
Brief Gedeputeerde Staten Groningen aan Provinciale Staten Groningen, 20 juli 2011 (78) Adjustment of the business case leads to a shortage of 9 million instead of 17 million.	Resources
Brief B&W en Inspiraakrapport en aanpassing tramtracedelen 3 en 4, 8 september 2011 (79) Reactions from the public: Some are for a RegioTram, some very much against. Some think the project must be postponed because of financial uncertainties. A networkorganisation worries about logistics of transport in relation to the tram. Topics for other objections: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Safety of bicycling around the tram• less parking facilities• Loss of trees and greenery• Reactions to local situations	Openness
Verslag commissie B&V, 21 september 2011 (80) Wethouder: when province backs out they will have a problem with our board. They have an interest in a reachable Groningen . The RegioTram will come. PvdD has sometimes doubts about RegioTram in the current economic climate and because province doesn't decide about regional connection PvdA, Groen Links, VVD, D66: Business case is better, but still uncertainties about finances and uncertainties around traveler revenues remain Stadspartij does not believe the figures are correct	<i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Sense of urgency</i> Resources
Verslag raad, 28 september 2011 (81) Stadspartij presents a motion that with the decision that RegioTram is not going to land at the main railway station there will only be a city tram well into the years 2020 Motion is denied . PvdA and CDA are convinced that a new step is taken towards the tram. PvdA stresses the enormous importance for the city's economic development and the accompanying employment. VVD stresses negative publicity in media around the tram. Has parked their alternative the Translohr and cooperates with tram plan GroenLinks stresses once more their commitment to the tram. D66 still has doubts about the tram as long as there is no clarity on consequences of continuation or cancelation. Are in favour of tram but only if affordable.	<i>Sense of urgency</i>

<p>PvdD: now that more and more people start having doubts, we have to discuss whether to continue with the tram. Loss of green areas is also an important disadvantage.</p> <p>All parties address details in the plan they want to have changed.</p>	
<p>Plans for the trajectories are agreed (only Stadspartij and VVD disagree)</p>	<i>Progress</i>
<p>Disagreement with RUG on Zernike stop for tram</p>	<i>Content relevance</i>
<p>Motion agreed about exploring the possibilities of an alternative trajectory keeping parking places at Zonnelaan and presenting results to the Council</p>	<i>Progress</i>
<p>Commissie B&V, 20 december 2011, Brieven Kamminga, januari/februari 2012 (85, 86, 88)</p> <p>Plan B writer points out in committee B&V that calculations of tram bureau are not correct and that RegioTram project should be discontinued. Canceling would cost 20 million euros but that should be no reason to continue.</p>	<i>Resources</i>
<p>OOG-tv, 3 januari 2012 (87)</p> <p>Groninger City Club asks B&W to postpone tramproject because of economic crisis and problems in accessibility of Groningen during construction in recession</p>	<i>Resources</i>
<p>Verslag raad, 25 januari 2012 (89)</p> <p>Changing plans for the parking on the Zonnelaan related to the tram. Parties conclude there are many different interests of stakeholders. However, council agrees with plans Zonnelaan of B&W and parking spaces will be lost.</p>	<i>Progress</i>
<p>Brief Tramcommissie aan raad, 3 februari 2012 (91)</p> <p>Trambureau presents a comparison with Edinburgh tramproject to avoid delays in decision making through clear communication with political factions</p>	<i>Openness</i>
<p>Brief B&W aan Kamminga, 4 februari 2012 (92, 96))</p> <p>B&W disagrees with calculations <i>Plan B writer</i></p>	<i>Resources</i>
<p>Brief RUG aan raad, 9 februari 2012 (93)</p> <p>RUG is still concerned about electromagnetic radiation of the tram and about vibrations. If tram continues RUG will have to realize new facilities. RUG prefers tram to go around borders of campus instead of through. Speed of tram should be reduced. RUG will not agree with transfer of property before things are agreed. RUG is concerned about their involvement and opinions in the tram project</p>	<i>Content relevance</i>

Antwoorden vragen Stadspartij, 6 maart 2012 (in vergaderstukken 14 februari 2012) (94) B&W: Agreement has been reached with RUG on February 22	Progress
Verslag commissie B&V 21 maart 2012 (97) A citizen speaks in committee meeting and thinks citizens are not heard in tram process Several political parties want independent investigation of figures of the tramproject. Wethouder warns for delays and more costs. Already 3 bureaus investigate. Override in costs. B&W says plan needs to economize in order to stay within 307 million budgeted. B&W agrees to external reviewing of calculations of Plan B.	Openness Progress Resources
OOG-tv, 3 april 2012 (98) Tram no way-initiative is started. Thinks Groningen will be in financial trouble, traffic will be less safe and neighborhoods will be cut in half by the tram. Posters with Tram No Way are distributed for citizens to show	Sense of urgency
RTV Noord, 6 april 2012 (100) In reaction, a Yes We Tram poster campaign is started	Sense of urgency
Regiotram-aanbestedingsdocumenten en businesscase, April 2012 (99) Business case review: now shortage of 7,8 million euros. B&W thinks this is acceptable because prognoses are very conservative. Ceiling price is now 430 million euros (was 430 million euros in last business case)	Resources
Brief B&W aan raad over afspraken RUG inpassing regiotram, 17 april 2012 (101) B&W has come to agreement with RUG	Progress
Brief B&W aan raad, 17 april 2012 (102) Conclusion of second opinion on calculations Plan B (citizen) by external bureau Inno-V is that project bureau calculations were correct	Resources
Verslag commissie B&V, 18 april 2012 (103) Citizen (Trots op Nederland) expresses that project RegioTram negatively reflects on politics and democracy in the city. Citizen thinks tram should not be implemented now, too expensive Citizen points out that consortium parties may not be reliable Citizen (FNV) stresses the risks for employees of the public transport companies	Openness
Stadspartij and VVD are critical of tram project. PvdA still wants tram if it's affordable. CDA stresses the resistance against the tram in the city. CDA still supports tram if affordable but is reluctant to be committed.	Sense of urgency

<p>D66 realizes tram might not go into region. They don't think this is a problem. Student en Stad is still in favour. SP, CU and GroenLinks agree with tram. PvdD struggles with tram: important to limit cars but also financially risky.</p>	
<p>Verslag raad, 25 april 2012 (104) Many parties praise B&W for their openness. Wethouder explains that some secrecy was needed for competitive reasons</p> <p>Parties want commitment of province and region. VVD points out that B&W and Council decided on expensive RegioTram despite many objections like Oosterstraat and the fact that RegioTram is too big for the small inner city of Groningen. Support for RegioTram is failing. The two consortia are too big for Groningen and will be strong legal adversaries if things go wrong. On the second phase of the tram too much is unclear. VVD does not want this tram project. PvdA supports RegioTram. Economic trend is positive despite the situation at the moment. Tram will provide economic impuls. Signs from region and province are positive. But only when financially feasible. SP is worried about redundant busdrivers Student en Stad is in favour of tram CU: mixed reactions from inhabitants. CU wants update from B&W to get insight on effects of all mobility decisions and confirmation from B&W that tram will go into region. CU is in favour of going to the next stage. GroenLinks: In favour of tram. CDA: difficult to say yes to tram when the regional component remains unclear and is only based on intentions and expectations. D66 is in favour of tram even if it won't go into region but financial situation must determine whether tram is feasible. PvdD does not want the tram project because of uncertainty about regional connection. Conclusion: majority of the council wants to move on with tram process Wethouder says that at this moment there is no money ready for the regional aspect of the tram. In December 2012 more insight in this</p>	<p><i>Openness</i></p> <p><i>Sense of urgency</i></p> <p><i>Resources</i></p> <p><i>Progress</i></p>
Motion from PvdD with support of VVD and Stadspartij to postpone decision on RegioTram until 2015 is denied	
<p>Parlementaire monitor, 3 mei 2012 (105) JOVD and CDJA (youth organizations from VVD and CDA) are against tram project. They are concerned about the financial consequences for the city and the financial risks in combination with other large projects such as cable car, Meerstad and Forum. They fear budget cuts on social facilities</p>	<p><i>Sense of urgency</i></p>
<p>Provincie Groningen, Nieuwsbericht voorjaarsnota 2012, 16 mei 2012 (106) Province of Groningen keeps the ambition to invest in the RegioTram. Budget is reserved for RegioTram among other investment projects.</p>	<p><i>Resources</i></p>

<p>Verslag raad, 30 mei 2012 (109)</p> <p>Burgemeester stresses that relations met province are important and that he has had talks with province about statements in Dagblad van het Noorden of one wethouder.</p> <p>CDA thinks interview is bomb under plans for tram.</p> <p>Burgemeester indicates that financial situation has changed drastically and that interview must be seen in this light. It is important for all parties, also Province, to improve accessibility of the city.</p> <p>Burgemeester says that financial circumstances have changed drastically in the years since the tram project started.</p> <p>Gemeenteraad is worried about financial situation and the large scale projects in the city. The meeting is largely about how to expand the city's financial resilience capacity.</p>	<i>Sense of urgency</i> <i>Resources</i>
<p>Complexities</p> <p>Conflicts of interest emerge between people in favour and people against the RegioTram</p> <p>The different requirements for trams that can travel on train rails in the region make it technically and financially more difficult to install a tram in the city of Groningen.</p> <p>Due to the worsening of the economic situation the tram project becomes increasingly complex financially. Also the resources from the national government are instable and unpredictable.</p> <p>The tender contract is new and legally complicated. Also legal issues around agreements between ProRail, NS other transport companies and the city and region arise.</p> <p>The different public partners in the project</p> <p>Because of the long time period for planning of the RegioTram priorities and the economic and social climate and political priorities change over time</p>	<i>Social complexity</i> <i>Technical complexity</i> <i>Financial complexity</i> <i>Legal complexity</i> <i>Organisational complexity</i> <i>Time complexity</i>
<p>Round 5</p> <p>03/06/2012-December 2012</p>	Factor
<p>Voorjaarsbrief B&W aan raad, 4 juni 2012 (110)</p> <p>Needs for budget cuts because of economic situation. Need to find 80,6 million euros to add to reserves and to cover expected shortages. One of the proposals is to stop RegioTram project. This will allow for 67,4 million euros to spend elsewhere. A part of this might be needed for alternative solutions to transport problems.</p>	<i>Resources</i>

<p>Verslag raad, 27 juni 2012 (111)</p> <p>VVD As long as tram is still in the planning, we will not support any further budget cuts.</p> <p>Motion agreed to say that council thinks tram cannot proceed with the current financial situation (22 in favour, 17 against)</p> <p>Council wants clarity on which priorities B&W has in large projects and on relation with province.</p> <p>SP only wants tram if there is budget.</p> <p>D66 says tram is not the only solution to the mobility issue but the issue needs to be addressed.</p> <p>CDA was supporter of tram bus does not see possibilities to keep the project.</p> <p>CU is in favour of tram unless it's financially not feasible. But with region. Proposes to wait for tender and discussion with province.</p> <p>Wethouder says tram is not holy but is needed to solve mobility problem. If tram won't go through measures still need to be taken.</p> <p>Wethouder says stopping the tram can only be done in cooperation with province. Province has decided they want to go through with it. If Groningen decides onesidely to cancel they may have to pay for the consequences by themselves.</p> <p>PvdA wants to continue with tram using the money from the canceled railway Groningen-Heerenveen. VVD says they would choose social city above tram.</p> <p>Alternatives have not been researched properly</p> <p>VVD: how will city council be involved in the decision on the tram</p> <p>CDA thinks something is wrong with the attitude of B&W towards governmental partners.</p> <p>PvdA stresses that cooperation between city and province is not good. CU is disappointed in relation city and province</p> <p>CDA mentions that B&W has left the decisions too long</p>	<p><i>Sense of urgency</i></p> <p><i>Openness</i></p> <p><i>Openness</i></p> <p><i>Progress</i></p>
<p>Raadsvoorstel Gemeente Groningen, besluitvorming spoorlijn Groningen-Heerenveen, 18 juli 2012 (112, 113)</p> <p>Breed Bestuurlijk Overleg decided on May 30 2012 to advice provinces to not continue plans for railway between Groningen and Heerenveen because of financial gap between prognosis of costs and budget and the grim financial situation. City of Groningen B&W supports this. B&W asks Raad to request alternative proposals for the reserved budget.</p>	<p><i>Sense of urgency</i></p>
<p>Verslag raad, 18 juli 2012 on decision on "bestemmingsplan RegioTram, trajectory parts 3 and 4 (113)</p> <p>CDA is worried that objections of University of Groningen still aren't satisfied because of letter from university. CDA is okay with the plan</p> <p>VVD agrees with CDA and is also okay with the plan.</p> <p>PvdD is in favor of RegioTram but against a city tram. Won't agree with plan because it will allow tram to go through city centre.</p> <p>D66 is in favor of the "bestemmingsplan". Stadspartij is against.</p> <p>"Bestemmingplan" is approved</p>	<p><i>Sense of urgency</i></p> <p><i>Progress</i></p>

Brief B&W aan Raad start voorverkenningen 2e fase RegioTram, 19 juli 2012 (114) Stuurgroep Regio Groningen-Assen has decided to start with exploration studies into corridors Groningen-Zuidhorn and Groningen-Hoogezand-Sappemeer	Progress
Brief B&W aan raad, 20 juli 2012 (115, 116) Consortia have worked on plans (dialogue products). The next phase is the actual tender, deadline 28 September 2012.	Resources
Derde actualisatie business case, 2 juli 2012, brief B&W aan raad, 20 juli 2012 (115, 116) Business case has been updated for the third time. Second opinions have been included. Plans can be executed for 10 million euros cheaper.	Resources
Verslag commissie B&V, 4 september 2012 (117) On proposal to raad 4 June 2012: discontinuation of rail line Groningen-Heerenveen. Parties agree that this is understandable but are disappointed. Want to spend the extra budget on accessibility of city.	Core values
Verslag commissie B&V, 19 september 2012 (118) Wethouder: contenders submit their products and financial bids on September 28, B&W can communicate to Raad about bids. B&W decides on contender on October 30. Preparation of joint agreement RegioTram Municipality Groningen and Province Groningen: Most parties agree on proposal, final decision will be in meeting of Raad on September 26.	Progress
Several citizens express their worries on tram.	Openness
RTV Noord and OogTV, online artikelen 26 september 2012 (120, 121) In press conference, two aldermen don't want to take responsibility for the RegioTram. They fear that expenses will limit other budget goals and facilities.	Resources
Verslag raad, 26 september 2012 (119) Gemeenteraad advises provincial council to cancel further investigations into railway Groningen-Heerenveen and requests B&W, province and region to prepare alternative proposals for the means that will be available Gemeenteraad approves Gemeenschappelijke Regeling RegioTram. Two wethouders have stated in a press conference on 26 September 2012 they cannot support a city budget which incorporates plans for the RegioTram. Three other wethouders have handed in their resignation to the burgemeester because they think new coalition cooperation is needed. The two wethouders who have held the press conference consider it their task to present a budget that can be supported by a majority of the city council.	Sense of urgency
Motion 7a (D66, SP, CDA, VVD, Stadspartij): orders B&W to present a concept budget that is policy light and does not contain a tram is agreed.	Progress

<p>Brief stuurgroep RegioTram aan B&W Groningen, 12 oktober 2012 (122) Steering group Regio Groningen-Assen asks college B&W Groningen to decide in the steering group about the RegioTram. Steering group points out that B&W cannot decide by themselves</p>	<i>Openness</i>
<p>Brief B&W Groningen aan GS provincie Groningen, 17 oktober 2012, in stukken gemeenteraad 29 oktober 2012 (123, 124) B&W Groningen has asked province to prepare decision about stopping the tendering process but has not yet come to agreement. Province states that steering group Region Groningen-Assen has authority to decide. B&W thinks the tendering process legally says that province and city are joint responsible and that province will have to take consequences of not deciding in time</p>	<i>Progress</i>
<p>Brief B&W Voornemen besluit stopzetten lopende aanbesteding RegioTram, 17 oktober 2012 (123, 124) B&W states that region, province and city will pay 1/3 each of the preparation costs of the REgioTram and province and city will share the (already made) execution costs together. This is also shown in the proposed budget of the city for 2013. This means 16,9 million will be on the city budget.</p>	<i>Resources</i>
<p>Verslag raad, 29 oktober 2012 (123, 124) Motion to stop ongoing tender process RegioTram in cooperation with province Groningen as soon as possible but within a month at the lastest agreed (29 in favour, 8 against)</p>	<i>Progress</i>
Complexities	
Different interests of parties arise in this round under influence of economic difficulties. Also province and city don't agree on cancelation of the project at first.	<i>Social complexity</i>
The financial complexities are large because of many large projects that need finances in an economic difficult period	<i>Financial complexity</i>
Legal complexity of ending the tendering process	<i>Legal complexity</i>
Due to different levels of governance and external stakeholders it is complex to determine who makes final decisions	<i>Organisational complexity</i>
The timing of canceling the project is difficult considering the stage in which the project is (on the brink of choosing one partner in the tendering process)	<i>Time complexity</i>

Appendix 3 Timeline of the RegioTram Groningen

History leading up to the RegioTram project (outside scope of case study): 1997- 21 February 2007

Exploration of tram options

In the period of ten years leading up to the start of the RegioTram project in 2007 the focus was on exploring options to ensure continued mobility in the region Groningen-Assen. Multiple studies were done to evaluate options to address the prognosed problem of threatened mobility. As early as 1998, a tram was mentioned as one of the options in plans for STOV (Stadsgewestelijk Openbaar Vervoer) and a tram was also part of the Kolibri plan around the year 2000. In 2002 two trams were shown on the Grote Markt in Groningen. In 2005 plans for a tram connecting city and region became more concrete and research is done in the years after to explore options. The RegioTram project as such started in 2007 with the decision of the gemeenteraad of Groningen to fund the start of the project and the development of the first tram line and to establish a project bureau RegioTram. This moment was therefore chosen as a starting point for the first round to be analyzed for this document study.

Round 1: 21 February 2007- 13 February 2008: Start of the official RegioTram project

On 21 February 2007, the gemeenteraad of Groningen approved the start of the RegioTram project with the development of the tram trajectory line 1: Hoofdstation to Zernike Campus. This marked the official start of the project. 3 million euros was made available to start the exploration phase. A project bureau for the RegioTram was installed. In this round the options for line 1 were explored. The end of this round was chosen at the beginning of 2008 because at that moment the public became involved and the participation process began.

Round 2: 13 February 2008-17 June 2009: Participation process and further development of plans

In February 2008 the participation process accompanying the planning process was officially started with a communication plan. The project entered a new phase in communicating and discussing the project with citizens and stakeholders. The trajectory was discussed which resulted in changes in the trajectory. The end of this round is the final agreement from the gemeenteraad on the trajectory for line 1 and the preparation for the development of line 2 in June 2009.

Round 3: 17 June 2009- 20 October 2010: Further development of plans and preparing for implementation

In round 3 stakeholders were discussing and working on the further development of the plans and trajectories for both lines. There was a lot of discussion on the feasibility of the regional connection in this round. This round ends on 20 October 2010 when the City Council agreed to starting the tendering process of RegioTram project.

Round 4: 20 October 2010- 3 June 2012 Discussion, financial worries and alternatives

With the tendering process on the way, the project continued to further detail the plans. The economic situation of the city of Groningen worsened significantly in this round due to the worldwide economic crisis and doubts among stakeholders about the financial feasibility of the project were voiced more often.

For the tram project this round ended on 3 June 2012 when B&W of Groningen stated in their annual Spring letter that the RegioTram project might have to be discontinued if the financial situation of the city would not improve.

Round 5: 3 June 2012-December 2012 Doubts and discontinuation of the RegioTram project

In this round the project continued under strong financial concerns. Discussion on priorities and risks dominated this round. In September 2012, B&W fell apart after disagreement on the continuation of the RegioTram project. The city council lost confidence in the project after that and requested B&W to present a 2013 budget without the tram project in it. This marked the end of the project, eventually ending the tendering process in December 2012. The city of Groningen was left with financial obligations and no tram.

