

# **The Light Rail Revolution**

## **Innovating with public transport in Europe**

**SINTROPHER WP1A23**

**Findings Report**

# Short summary

Why is light rail considered by most local authorities as a successful solution to achieve greater accessibility in their region? What are the main barriers and opportunities linked with this hybrid technology? What factors account for the success of existing light rail design in Europe?

This report seeks to understand patterns of innovation in Light rail networks and policies across Europe: 1) how, by whom and through which mechanisms they are planned and implemented, 2) the extent to which they shape the growing integration of national and urban transport networks or contribute to creating additional need for integration and coordination, and finally, 3) the long-term effects on restructuring forms of territorial governance and policy-making in Europe.

The development of light rail across five EU member states highlights a visible paradox. To be sure, each light rail scheme remains embedded into a set of constraints and opportunities faced locally by a large variety of stakeholders. City-regions demonstrate their ability to design and implement light rail infrastructure projects as part of a larger approach to mobility. While leadership emerges as the most important enabling factor in all cases, it nevertheless covers a large diversity of innovations in public transport, e.g. forms of governance (institutional), pragmatism / creative with resources, technical etc. In the absence of a “one best way”, these pioneering city-regions demonstrate the vitality of subnational levels of government in developing new and innovative approaches to mobility.

In addition, light rail schemes also contributes to go beyond geographic and sectoral borders in order to develop hybrid technologies, bypassing the challenges raised by interoperability, exploring original finance schemes and developing new forms of cooperation with other levels of government, the private sector and civil society. All the examples that are reviewed in this study demonstrate the difficulties linked with the formal recognition of light rail at national level, and its integration in existing regulatory frameworks and policies.

In other words, the development of light rail faces a classic public policy issue, namely going beyond experimentation in order to achieve the institutionalization – and the normalization – of innovations. In a context in which former institutional arrangements have been – or are currently – profoundly challenged by rail devolution and liberalization, the further development of light rail is sometimes met with strong scepticism, if not with open resistance. It opens numerous opportunities for new entrants, procedural innovations and original forms of cooperation that threatens existing arrangements in a highly regulated industry.

As a result, the institutionalization of light rail is shaped by a power struggle over the definition of new rules and norms, the allocation of resources and competences, and the resolution of conflicts between the private and the public sphere, between the technical and the political spheres, between levels of government, and finally, between territories and social groups.

Major findings can be summarized as such:

1. Public transport is a priority for many stakeholders across Europe, as opposed to EU policies and investments
2. Light rail is considered as a promising public transport solution. It is hybrid solution to a multidimensional problem.
3. Technical innovation is not enough.
4. Institutional change as a major enabling factor, yet it does not automatically benefit to local authorities
5. The politics of Light Rail solutions should not be underestimated

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# Introduction

**Why is light rail considered by most local authorities as a successful solution to achieve greater accessibility in their region? What factors account for a renewed interest in Light rail policies across European cities and regions? What are the main barriers and opportunities linked with this technology?**

## What is Light Rail?

Defined in a broad sense, Light Rail or Light Rail Transit refers to subnational (urban or regional) forms of public transport, which can be developed in stages from a tramway to a rapid transit system operated partially on its own right-of-way. Another generic understanding of light rail suggests defining it as a form of regional rail public transportation that offers lower capacity and speed than heavy rail, but a higher one than urban trams (Jemelin, 2008). According to the International Association of Public Transport, some 400 networks are already in operation across the world, among which some 100 are located in Europe (UITP, 2013). In those European cities, light rail initiatives are now a reality and contribute to the slow reinvention of rail transport as part of a larger integrated approach to mobility.

As the challenge for European societies increasingly lies in their ability to adapt existing public transport networks and systems to new social and economic demands – instead of adding yet another layer of technology – light rail offers major opportunities for local authorities to promote a larger integrated approach to mobility. The introduction of hybrid technologies, the increasing use of new technologies of information and communication (NTIC), and the construction of missing links directly contribute to increasing accessibility to, from and within city-regions across Europe. As part of a larger integrated approach to mobility, public transport plays a crucial role in addressing the challenges raised by an ageing population, increasingly urbanized societies and economies, and the climate change agenda.

Indeed, Light Rail constitutes a major opportunity for local authorities in Europe and beyond. First as a broadly defined technology that allows for infinite adjustments (power-supply, track gauge, interoperability with heavy rail, etc.), Light Rail offers a large room for maneuver to local decision-makers. Second, such technical innovations strengthens political capacity in a given territory, understood here as the ability to mobilize a large variety of stakeholders, both horizontally and vertically. Third, Light Rail technologies are neither restricted to urban areas nor should they only serve cross-country journey, but this hybrid mode of transport follows and shapes urbanization dynamics across institutional frontiers.

Yet, local authorities also face numerous challenges in order to successfully design and maintain light rail infrastructures and networks. Going beyond a strict technical approach, this report accounts for innovations in light rail intervening at many levels. It seeks to explain why and how stakeholders were able to overcome institutional, political and financial barriers by drawing on

a comparative analysis of emblematic case studies in five European member-states. By focusing on the strengths and weaknesses of light rail as a sustainable mode of public transport, it provides a comprehensive analysis of the role played by public transport in achieving a larger integrated approach to mobility.

## Experimenting with Light rail across Europe

While much attention has been given in the literature to major European cities, and the challenges they face in adapting to evolving mobility patterns, little work was done on small and medium-sized cities, which are characterized by their poor integration into national, European and sometimes even regional networks. By contrast, we argue that small and medium-sized cities present an exacerbated situation of the issues at stake when it comes to adapting public transport solutions to evolving patterns of mobility as well as forms of urban and economic development. Indeed, cities such as Veurne, Diksmuide and Koksijde (Belgium), Valenciennes (France), Nijmegen (Netherlands), Karlsruhe and Kassel (Germany), Blackpool and Manchester (United Kingdom) have explored various alternatives in order to introduce, maintain and/or expand Light Rail systems. They have done so by mobilizing consistently over time, in order to enrol a large number of stakeholders (e.g., neighbouring local authorities, rail industry, private and real estate developers, local communities etc.) both horizontally and vertically.

The solutions developed within these local communities address two somewhat contradictory issues: on the one hand, the need to increase their integration and connectivity to national, European and regional hubs and high-speed networks; on the other hand, the need to address an increasing demand for internal mobility. As a result, the transport solutions they wish to develop lies at the crossroads between urban, regional and national rail networks. Indeed, developing tram-based transport solutions as an answer to the issues raised by evolving patterns of mobility, these local communities contribute to the emergence of hybrid transport networks, which allow to bridging the gap between highly differentiated transport systems. Yet not all of these cities and regions were able to successfully plan and develop Light Rail networks. Only some initiatives led to successful outputs, while others ended miserably. Among those cases that are universally considered as best practices and advertised as such by the light rail community, only a few have effectively proven to be reproducible within their respective national and/or European contexts.

This raises the need for further empirical and comparative investigation.

## Light rail as enhancing scope for innovation?

The development of light rail across five EU member states highlights a visible paradox. To be sure, each light rail scheme remains embedded into a set of constraints and opportunities faced locally by a large variety of stakeholders. City-regions demonstrate their ability to design and implement light rail infrastructure projects as part of a larger approach to mobility. While leadership emerges as the most important enabling factor in all cases, it nevertheless covers a large diversity of innovations in public transport, e.g. forms of governance (institutional), pragmatism / creative with resources, technical etc. In the absence of a “one best way”, these pioneering city-regions demonstrate the vitality of subnational levels of government in developing new and innovative approaches to mobility.

In addition, light rail schemes also contributes to go beyond geographic and sectoral borders in order to develop hybrid technologies, bypassing the challenges raised by interoperability, exploring original finance schemes and developing new forms of cooperation with other levels of government, the private sector and civil society. All the examples that are reviewed in this study demonstrate the difficulties linked with the formal recognition of light rail at national level, and its integration in existing regulatory frameworks and policies.

In other words, the development of light rail faces a classic public policy issue, namely going beyond experimentation in order to achieve the institutionalization – and the normalization – of innovations. In a context in which former institutional arrangements have been – or are currently – profoundly challenged by rail devolution and liberalization, the further development of light rail is sometimes met with strong scepticism, if not with open resistance. It opens numerous opportunities for new entrants, procedural innovations and original forms of cooperation that threatens existing arrangements in a highly regulated industry.

As a result, the institutionalization of light rail is shaped by a power struggle over the definition of new rules and norms, the allocation of resources and competences, and the resolution of conflicts between the private and the public sphere, between the technical and the political spheres, between levels of government, and finally, between territories and social groups. Furthermore, these struggles are highly unpredictable, inasmuch as they contribute to reshaping forms of leadership and

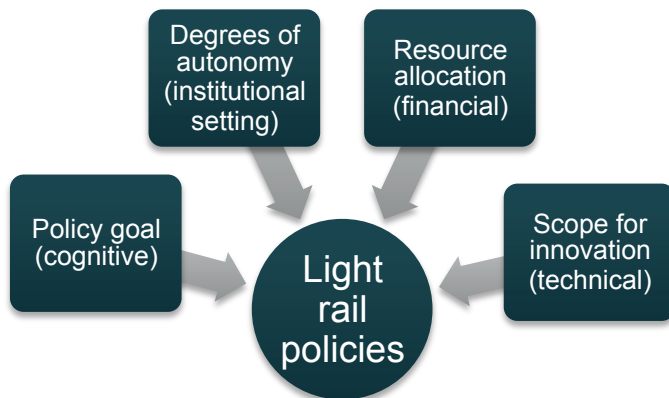
redistributing resources across levels of government and between the private and the public sector.

## Research Framework

This study seeks to explore the relationship between policy innovation and restructuring forms of governance and policy-making in the field of transport, by comparing highly differentiated light rail policies across Europe. It questions: 1) how, by whom and through which mechanisms they are planned and implemented, 2) the extent to which they shape the growing integration of national and urban transport networks or contribute to creating additional need for integration and coordination, and finally, 3) the long-term effects on restructuring forms of territorial governance and policy-making in Europe.

More precisely, drawing on the literature on varieties of urban capitalism (Lorrain, 2005), it focuses on four dimensions of Light Rail policies that allow combining in-depth knowledge of the processes under scrutiny as well as ensuring some level of generalization

1. Policy goals (cognitive),
2. Degrees of autonomy (institutional),
3. Resource allocation (financial),
4. Scope for innovation (technical).



The comparative analysis of Light Rail policies across five European member states (e.g., France, Germany, Belgium, The Netherlands and the United Kingdom) seeks to understand how these four policy dimensions interact with one another, thus enabling – or constraining – policy innovations.

## Four contrasting hypothesis

The demonstration is organized around **four contrasting hypothesis**, which explore the relationship between light rail technologies and restructuring forms of policy-making from three different perspectives. Each hypothesis will be introduced in more details.

- Hypothesis 1 – Scope for experimentation

Innovation in transport (technical, political, organizational) impacts on existing patterns of behavior, sets of rules and norms, and cognitive schemes, thus leading in a long-term perspective to major (& sometimes unpredicted) outcomes.

- Hypothesis 2 – Convergence/fragmentation as a result of EU intervention

In its attempt to further integrate railways and local transport, EU institutions compete with a large variety of actors and policy communities in shaping domestic policy change and the diffusion of policy solutions such as Light Rail.

- Hypothesis 3 – Path dependency and/or inertia.

The choice and the selection of transport solutions is deeply embedded in local and/or national institutional settings. There is very little scope for innovation.

- Hypothesis 4 – Governance

As part of a wider development strategy, the introduction of light rail policies is explained by the emergence / the institutionalization of alternative forms of governance and policy-making.

## Report outline

The first part of the report briefly explains why and how light rail has emerged as a possible solution to the challenges posed by new mobility patterns in Europe. In a rapidly changing economic, regulatory and institutional environment, light rail provides a solution to a multidimensional problem.

The second part of the report focuses on the in-depth analysis of paradigmatic case studies in five European member states (Belgium, Germany, France, United Kingdom, and the Netherlands). In all these countries, light rail initiatives are now a reality and contribute to the slow reinvention of rail transport as part of a larger integrated approach to mobility.

In the third and last section, the report focuses on two transversal issues raised by the development of light rail as to reveal the full implications of these larger challenges.





# Part 1 - A contextual framework for a comprehensive analysis of light rail in Europe.

In this section, the aim is to explain why recent changes in the “European model of public transport” (Mees, 2010) have opened new opportunities for major policy change in the rail and the urban transport communities. Indeed, privatization, territorial and regulatory reforms have deeply transformed why, how, where and by whom such transport offer is planned, funded and operated.

1. We start by examining the recent shift from transport planning policies towards mobility policies, and the challenges it entails for existing forms of policy-making.
2. We focus on why and how Light Rail systems have raised much attention across Europe.
3. We question the relevance of the notion of a single European urban transport model by examining processes of EU integration in the field of rail and urban transport.
4. We assess the robustness of pre-existing national approaches to public transport, thus explaining highly differentiated scopes for innovation.
5. We explain in more details the framework and the methodology we use in order develop a comparative framework for analysis.

## This first part leads to the following findings:

1. Innovation can only thrive through a realistic account of the design and implementation of light rail projects within given territories.
2. Light rail is considered as a way to bridge the gap between highly differentiated transport systems.
3. Innovations in public transport are not only technical, in the sense that other factors contribute to enlarging scope for innovation, namely institutional, regulatory and financial factors.
4. Light rail lies at the crossroads between highly demarcated transport policies (vertical) and emerging forms of territorial governance (horizontal). As such it offers new opportunities and raises specific issues of coordination.

This in turns suggest that only a comparative analysis of emblematic of national case studies helps identifying factors that either facilitated or constrained the introduction of Light Rail systems. More precisely, the analysis raises the need to combine two different approaches to Light Rail policies in order to fully assess decision-making processes:

1. A short-term perspective that focuses on the project itself, namely why, how, where and by whom light rail projects were introduced or abandoned.
2. A long-term perspective that assesses the potential (minor / major) and scale (local / national) for policy change.



**Table 1 – Five Light Rail schemes compared according to four strategic policy dimensions**

	<b>A solution to which problem?</b>	<b>Cooperation / leadership</b>	<b>Financing scheme</b>	<b>Scope for innovation</b>
<b>Fylde Coast</b>	Urban regeneration	Competitive / BCC (planners)	Public (local, national) / CBA	Low (organizational, political)
<b>Nijmegen-Kleve</b>	Urban & regional development	Cooperative / Stadsregio (political)	Public (local, national) / SCBA	Medium (organizational, technical)
<b>North-Hesse</b>	Transport	Cooperative / KVG then NVV (transport)	Public (regional) / SB	High (technical)
<b>Valenciennes</b>	Urban & territorial development	Cooperative / SITURV (political)	Mix (4 levels, fiscal) / CBA	Medium (organizational, technical)
<b>West Flanders</b>	Rural & economic development	Competitive / De Lijn (transport vs. planning)	Mix (local, regional)	Medium/high (organizational)

# Part 2 - Innovations in light rail across five European member states.

This section focuses on paradigmatic national case studies in five European member states (Belgium, Germany, France, United Kingdom, and the Netherlands). In all these countries, light rail initiatives are now a reality and contribute to the slow reinvention of rail transport as part of a larger integrated approach to mobility. Not all of these cities and regions were able to adapt as much as subnational levels of governments were aware of these opportunities, only some initiatives led to successful outputs, while others ended miserably. This raises the need for further comparative empirical investigation.

## Case study analysis

The in-depth case study analysis follows a similar pattern, allowing for some minor discrepancies in order to highlight the specificity of each region.

A first series of general information is first given on *the general context*, which includes patterns of local governance in each Member State, the organization of transport (planning, funding, operating, etc.), and finally, some facts and figures (economic structure, demographic trends, organizational setting, etc.).

A second series of information then concerns *the development of light-rail policies* in this particular member state and/or region. This broadening in focus puts the project under scrutiny into a broader perspective in order to assess scope for innovation, the

pre-existence of a specialized policy community, as well as previous experiences, which might be drawn upon, as a result of studies, study trips, consultancy firms, conferences and workshops, etc. etc. This is particularly interesting in order to identify pioneer regions, as well as to identify the extent to which expertise, information and knowledge is diffused and transferred in the case of Light Rail. This series of information also contributes to a better understanding of the role and the position of such modes of transport within the broader transport sector: are there specific rules and norms? Who are the main actors in charge of planning, maintaining and operating such transport systems? What is the role of the public vis-à-vis the private sector?

Thirdly, *the project itself* is explored at length through the four above-mentioned indicators. The aim is to achieve sufficient in-depth knowledge of the processes under scrutiny as well as to ensure some level of generalization in order to highlight their specificity and to identify common trends.

## What is it a case of? Five innovations in Light Rail compared.

Drawing on the experiences of two pioneer cities in Germany, namely Karlsruhe and Kassel, the first chapter analysis explores **the role of light rail technologies in adapting existing infrastructures and networks**. It highlights the role of professionals resisting the dismantling of public transport. As a result, the invention of the Tram-Train technology constitutes a technical-based approach to mobility issues. It is a case of bottom-up innovation process in a context of rail devolution and liberalization.

By contrast, developing light rail policies in medium-sized cities is highly constrained in the Dutch context. Despite their ability to successfully engage in **building up sustained political leadership at city-region level**, decision-makers in Nijmegen have not been able to advocate their right to a regional tram. In this context, scope for innovation in light rail is primarily organized at the national scale. In other words, capacity building at city-region level is not enough. Political competition as well as evolving State-market relationships account for the location of light rail systems.

In France, the development of light rail policies remains extremely limited as opposed to the multiplication over the past decades of new urban tram systems. **As a case of a politically-led innovation**, the development of a regional tram in Valenciennes is strongly linked with

dynamics of metropolization and the politics of resource allocation.

In Flanders, the development of light rail directly shapes regionalization dynamics and the recentralization of policy-making at the regional level. As **a case of a public-led innovation**, light rail policies that is, the Spartacus project and the reinvention of a heritage tram into a highly subsidized regional tram, contribute to the accumulation of resources at the regional level. It constitutes a major driver for learning and policy change, as well as it raises the need for additional mechanisms of coordination.

Opening up spaces for innovation in a highly regulated and a-territorial rail industry constitutes a major challenge for Light Rail advocates. In this context, the development of Light Rail in England constitutes **a case of costs-led innovation** that is driven by both anticipation strategies within the State administration and sustained capacity-building at city-regions level. The opening up of experimentation spaces such as the Tram-Train Trial and the Manchester Metrolink results from an original combination between forms of interests representation: knowledge production and aggressive lobbying.

# Part 3 - Boosting diversity.

## Enabling experimentation as a major driver for innovations in public transport.

The development of light rail across five EU member states highlights a visible paradox. On the one hand, each light rail scheme remains embedded into a set of constraints and opportunities faced locally by a large variety of stakeholders. City-regions demonstrate their ability to design and implement light rail infrastructure projects as part of a larger approach to mobility. While leadership emerges as the most important enabling factor in all cases, it nevertheless covers a large diversity of innovations in public transport, e.g. forms of governance (institutional), pragmatism / creative with resources, technical etc. In the absence of a “one best way”, these pioneering city-regions demonstrate the vitality of subnational levels of government in developing new and innovative approaches to mobility. On the other hand, each light rail project contributes to go beyond geographic and sectoral borders in order to develop hybrid technologies, bypassing the challenges raised by interoperability, exploring original finance schemes and developing new forms of cooperation with other levels of government, the private sector and civil society. All the examples here above reviewed demonstrate the difficulties linked with the formal recognition of light rail at national level, and its integration in existing regulatory frameworks and policies.

In other words, the future development of light rail faces a classic public policy issue, namely going beyond experimentation in order to achieve the institutionalization – and the normalization – of innovations. The development of light rail opens numerous opportunities for new entrants, procedural innovations and original forms of cooperation that

threatens existing arrangements in a highly regulated industry. In a context in which former institutional arrangements have been – or are currently – profoundly challenged by rail devolution and liberalization, the further development of light rail is sometimes met with strong scepticism, if not with open resistance. The institutionalization of light rail is shaped by a power struggle over the definition of new rules and norms, the allocation of resources and competences, and the resolution of conflicts between the private and the public sphere, between the technical and the political spheres, between levels of government, and finally, between territories and social groups.

The last section of the report focuses on two transversal issues raised by the development of light rail as to reveal the full implications of these larger challenges.

# Findings & Recommendations

## 1. Public transport is a priority for many stakeholders across Europe

### Recommendations

- Increase support from EU policies and investments, through the redirection of funding from High-speed projects towards transport and infrastructure in support of economic and territorial growth

## 2. Is Light rail considered as a possible solution to overcome mobility issues in European cities and regions?

- Light rail is considered a promising public transport solution for European cities and regions, yet it is more a label than a standardized solution. It is a hybrid solution to a multidimensional problem.
- It covers a large variety of situations across North Western Europe
  - a) Use existing rail tracks for local transport
  - b) A missing link between existing networks
  - c) Develop interoperability between urban and rail systems.
  - d) Develop public transport in peri-urban & rural areas
  - e) Service a place of interest, e.g. airport.
  - f) Cross-boarder connections
- Kassel and Karlsruhe are confirmed in their position as pioneer regions.
  - a) Both experiences a source of inspiration and a prime destination for study trips
  - b) Both cities enjoy a first-mover advantage, which justifies their systematic input and contribution to workshops, research and working groups, etc. at national and European levels (and beyond).

- c) This status is maintained through the work done by TTK in contributing to the diffusion of knowledge, the provision of expertise, the training of a new generation of transport experts, and regular publications in specialized journals.

- However inspiring, diffusion is not an automatic process, it requires adjustments and creative thinking.

### Recommendations

- Promote standardized / uniform procurement procedures at EU level
- Promote standardized standards, norms and rules at EU level for building and operating Light Rail systems, preferably through regulatory tools (regulation, if not, directive).

## 3. Technical innovation is not enough

- Many technical barriers, (power supply, signalling, gauge systems, etc.), but these can usually be overcome.
- However, there are many other barriers needing to be overcome by project designers wishing to introduce Light Rail solutions in their cities/regions/countries.
  - a) Economic barriers as Light Rail policies are more expansive than bus systems and urban trams.
  - b) Assessment procedures and funding opportunities vary from one country to another, thus explaining the reluctance to introduce innovative technologies as opposed to standardized solutions for which infrastructure and operating costs are well known.
  - c) The provision of vehicles appears as a major obstacle to the development of Light Rail systems, as it remains an underdeveloped market at EU level.
  - d) Policy objectives and priorities at national/regional/local level.
- There is no universal answer. The introduction of Light Rail solutions is characterized by multiple pathways and the absence of a "one best way".
- Interoperability is still considered as the "ultimate frontier" in political and technical spheres, especially when safety issues are concerned.

### Recommendations

- Combination of different strategies in order to encourage innovation through incentives and coordination mechanisms
- Concentrate efforts on interoperability as a technical, an organizational and an institutional challenge. The psychological dimension of resistances to interoperability, which is usually linked with major accidents and safety issues, should not be underestimated.

## 4. Institutional change as a major enabling factor

- So far the role of the EU appears as extremely limited in explaining the introduction of Light Rail solutions
  - a) No direct role
  - b) At best indirect by putting urban mobility high up on domestic political agendas in relationship with climate change and carbon emissions reduction
  - c) The EU model of local public transport is a myth, as it is mainly characterized by heterogeneity.
- In all five case studies, the introduction of Light Rail policies is channelled by major institutional change such as:
  - a) Regulatory and privatization reforms,
  - b) Devolution, regionalization and territorial reforms
  - c) Economic crisis and austerity packages
- These institutional changes operate as major enabling factors through:
  - a) The reallocation of power and resources among actors
  - b) The opening of opportunities for first movers (transport companies, local authorities, manufacturers, etc.).
- This is particularly true in cases in which these changes are introduced jointly with short-term/exceptional funding mechanisms that support first movers' initiatives.
- All cases prove that such experimentation-led policy-making also increases the risks associated with the multiplication of highly differentiated systems at local level, unexpected costs linked with operation and the system's ex-post integration in strategic territorial planning and policy priorities.

### Recommendations

- Promote Light Rail technologies as an opportunity to save costs in relationship with austerity packages, railway reforms etc.
- Promote Light Rail technologies as an opportunity to strengthen newly-created transport organizing authorities at subnational level
- Promote active involvement of EU institutions in the development of Light Rail through current discussions on fourth railways liberalization package

## 5. To what extent did cities and regions benefit from the opportunities opened by major institutional changes?

- It depends on the collective ability to seize « a lifetime opportunity ». As such, first movers are favoured.
- Four critical factors can be identified in explaining success or failure
  - a) Forms of leadership (Political / Transport-led / Planning)
  - b) Types of strategies: muddling through or radical change (governance, institutional)
  - c) Level of financial autonomy
  - d) Degrees of organizational autonomy
- Among these factors, leadership understood as the ability to promote Light rail solutions both horizontally and vertically is a necessary condition.
- Innovation does not necessarily come from local authorities
  - a) Standardization scenario (top-down process), through national states/regional authorities, railways industry (infrastructure manager)
  - b) Differentiation scenario (bottom-up process), through manufacturers, operating companies, local authorities

### Recommendations

- Combination of different strategies in order to encourage experimentation at subnational level through incentives and coordination mechanisms

## 6. The politics of Light Rail solutions should no be underestimated

- Public transport is often considered as a technical issue, it often remains confined within technical spheres with long-term unexpected effects
  - a) Enrol political representatives, referendums, loss of political majority
- In all Member states, the introduction of light rail solutions is directly linked to the rescaling of state intervention. They constitute highly visible consolation prizes in a context in which transport policy priorities and investments are directed at reinforcing high-speed networks and strategic infrastructures.

- a) Experimentation-led policies encourage growing competition among levels of government in accessing funding (private/public) according to the principles of evidence-based policies and good value for money principle
- b) Experimentation-led policies raise the need for additional coordination mechanisms in order to ensure spatial and social equity

### **Recommendations**

- Ensure regular consultation and participation
- Explain the benefits (short- and long-term) of Light Rail policies