

Cultural factors of the social interaction in policy transfer processes: Dutch experts working in Kampala and Cape Town



Natalia Bonilla Porras

June 2017



Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen



Cultural factors of the social interaction in policy transfer processes: Dutch experts working in Kampala and Cape Town

Author:

Natalia Bonilla Porras

Radboud University Student Number: s4645162

Cardiff University Student Number: c1538929

Supervisors:

Radboud University: Dr. Karel Martens

Cardiff University: Dr. Oleg Golubchikov

June 2017

MSc. Planet Europe

European Spatial Planning, Environmental Policy and Regional Development

Abstract

Cultural factors of the social interaction in policy transfer processes: Dutch experts working in Kampala and Cape Town

Policy transfer is a growing method in the field of policy making, especially when developed countries expand their practices to developing countries trying to improve life quality and pace up urban development. This is the case of Dutch experts providing guidance to solve urban and mobility challenges in Kampala and Cape Town. Local policy-makers interacted with Dutch experts in a learning process where both were seeking for options that would help them to solve their planning problems. Understanding the particularities of each culture, enabled a deeper insight on the factors influencing social interaction between experts, namely transfer agents, and at the same time on the impacts over policy transfer processes. Moreover, the research also seeks to get a deeper insight of how cultural preconceptions can facilitate or hinder the understanding of new knowledge and thus on the outcomes of policy transfer processes. The study adopts an integrated scope to understand the phenomena of the research. Previous studies have been putting too much emphasis on isolated topics in policy transfer, such as social interaction, cultural aspects or classification of processes, instead how understanding how these affect each other.

Natalia Bonilla Porras

Radboud University: s4645162

Cardiff University: c1538929

Acknowledgments

Thanks...

To my family: there are no words that allow me to express my gratitude. Gracias mama, papa y Lupita. Los amo. Gracias Sofy, Tatti, Coki, Dani, Pipis, Sebas y Felipin. Los adoro.

To MOVE Mobility and the Dutch team: without your support and patience this would not have been possible. Thanks for letting me be so stubborn, for your guidance, and for changing to English in my presence!

To my supervisors Oleg and Karel: For your guidance, advices, and patience.

To my friends from Cohort 4: Having you around during these past two years have been amazing, you will never be forgotten! Shauny, you're also included here!

To Tony: For being by my side.

In memory of Johnny.

Index

Chapter 1. Introduction	7
1.1 Context	7
1.2 Research Aims and Objectives	9
1.3 Research scope and scientific relevance	9
1.4 Societal relevance	10
1.5 Structure	10
Chapter 2. Literature Review	11
2.1 Knowledge transfer: Conceptual roots of policy transfer	11
2.2 Traditional literature of policy transfer	13
2.2.1 Varity of terms: Classification and connotations	14
2.2.2 Criticisms to policy transfer: a path toward policy mobility	15
2.3 Assemblages, mutations and mobilities	17
2.4 Adding people: a social process	18
2.4.1 Actors in policy mobility: interaction among senders and receivers	18
2.4.2 The foundations of social relations in knowledge transfer	19
2.4.3 Social interaction: a learning process	21
2.4.4 Social conceptions of success and failure	22
2.5. Conclusions: So, where is the gap?	22
Chapter 3. Research Strategy & Methodology	24
3.1 Philosophical models: Epistemology & Ontology	24
3.2 Research strategy: Qualitative Approach	25
3.3 Case Study Design: Kampala and Cape Town	26
3.4 Data Collection	26
3.4.1 Primary data collection	27
3.4.2 Secondary Data Collection	28
3.5 Data analysis	29
3.6 Research Limitations, Reliability & Validity	29
Chapter 4. The cases in context	31
4.1. Kampala	31
4.2. Cape Town	33
Chapter 5. Findings & Discussions	35
5.1. Categorising the cases: <i>multilevel</i> policy transfer	35
5.2 About the knowledge: tacit vs. explicit knowledge	37
5.3. Agents interactions: About social and cultural factors	40
5.3.1. Time & Space	40
5.3.2 Level of friendliness	41
5.3.3 Personal motivations	42
5.3.4 Previous cultural contact	43

Chapter 6. Conclusions	45
6.1 Conclusions over main findings	45
6.1.1 <i>How does the social interaction among transfer agents define the type of policy transfer process adopted?</i>	45
6.1.2 <i>How do cultural preconceptions affect the understanding of the knowledge transferred?</i>	45
6.1.3 <i>What are the cultural factors influencing how transfer agents interact?</i>	46
6.2 Recommendations	46
6.3 Reflections on the research process	47
Bibliography	48
Annexes	52

Table of Figures

Figure 1. Scales of knowledge sharing/transfer processes. Source: Author, based on: (Andriessen, et al., 2002, p. 22; Tuan, 2012, p. 462)	2
Figure 2. Kampala Map City 2014. Source: (KCCA, 2014, p. ii)	2
Figure 3. NMT pilot project study area. Blue: pilot corridor, Red: study area boundaries, Black: major junctions to be analysed. Source: (ROM Transportation, 2012, p. 12)	2
Figure 4. Map of Cape Town. Source: (City of Cape Town, 2017)	2
Figure 5. Map with the three locations for workshops: Bellville, Philippi and Paardevlei. Source: Dutch Consultancy Company A, unpublished internal document, 2017.	2

Cover Image. Source: <https://ecf.com/sites/ecf.com/files/field/image/2.jpg>

"They always told me 'You're like an African guy', only my skin is not good. You must know how to behave... Some come shouting as if everybody is still their servant... We are all in the same level. That's the best of both worlds principle"
(Dutch Consultant 2, personal communications, 2017)

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Context

The complexity of the urban problems facing many African countries is well known, and many developed countries are involved in trying to improve the situation. The Netherlands, as a developed country, has been a big part of this process. The Dutch government incentivises support through the Dutch development cooperation policy (Government of the Netherlands, 2017b), focusing its efforts in countries such as Uganda and South-Africa (Government of the Netherlands, 2017a). According to UN-Habitat (2012), the Netherlands is the biggest donor for investments in Uganda. The relationship built between certain African countries and the Netherlands encourages Dutch companies to work with local companies or authorities from developing countries (Government of the Netherlands, 2017a). In this process of helping create business and strengthening the economy, Dutch companies provide knowledge in which "the Netherlands itself excels" in order to promote sustainable economic growth and benefit both parties (Government of the Netherlands, 2017b). Under these premises, some Dutch consultancy companies have decided to provide guidance for sustainable development. The current research has selected two case studies that has been result of this policy. The case studies are specific projects that two private consultancy companies are engaged with in Uganda and South-Africa, more specifically, the cities of Kampala and Cape Town. In the last decade, these companies have been working in several projects related to urban and mobility issues. Working alongside local authorities of each respective city, Dutch consultants have transferred their knowledge and their methods of problem-solving to these locations.

The practice of transferring knowledge with potential policy changes from one location to another is called policy transfer. It is a widely discussed topic where much information can be found. There is much disagreement surrounding the topic and much room for further input. Knowledge transfer practices are widely-applied and are as old as organised governments themselves. Discussions among scholars and practitioners are about 70 years old (Dolowitz, 2000, p. 1). The topic became more relevant due to the accelerated trans-nationalisation of policies, the effectiveness of urban planners' global networks generated by today's interconnectivity, and the accessibility of information enabled by

media technology (Khirfan, et al., 2013; Peck & Theodore, 2010; Sanyal, 2005; Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Ward, 1999). As Dolowitz et al. write: "policy transfer is a key feature of contemporary policymaking and it is likely to become more common in the future." (1999, p. 729).

The topic's increasing popularity has brought to the table many academic debates that have failed to find consensus (Harris & Moore, 2013; De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007). These discussions have also highlighted that every case presents its particularities where no general formula can be applied to the process. As a result, the concept of policy transfer has been re shaped, reconceptualised, and explained in several forms, not only in nomenclature terms but also with the objective of classifying different policy transfer cases. Due to these differences present in every case, either political or non-political, the concept can be found in the literature through many terms (e.g. policy mobility, lesson-drawing, institutional transplantation, cross-national learning, urban borrowings, among others). These are all referring to the same general phenomenon, albeit from different perspectives.

The debates surrounding policy transfer have divided discussions between traditional theorists of policy transfer (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; Stone, 2004), and critics of the traditional literature from a multidisciplinary perspective (Peck & Theodore, 2010; McCann & Ward, 2013; Faulconbridge, 2013). The traditional literature has served as a basis for the inclusion of sociological, anthropological, and geographical approaches to policy and knowledge transfer debates. These approaches have reconceptualised such a process as not only political but also *social*. This is due to the introduction of constructivist approaches and qualitative and ethnographic research methods into recent studies of policy and knowledge transfer cases (Peck & Theodore, 2010; McCann & Ward, 2013; Kothari, et al., 2011; De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007; Khirfan, et al., 2013). Such approaches argue that policies have to be seen as complex social constructions. McCann and Ward state that when studying such constructions, "geographers focus on the relational co-production of the material and the social" (2013, p. 4). Hence, different disciplines, besides discussing about the importance of the place where policies are travelling and its relation to those policies, they have also underlined the importance of social factors in policy transfer processes.

Empirical research has placed much emphasis on social aspects within these processes such as the actors involved, their respective roles, and their interaction. The actors involved in these policy transfer processes are usually referred to as transfer agents. The role of actors and their institutional dealings have been scrutinised in depth (McCann & Ward, 2013; Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; 2000; De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007; Ward, 1999; McCann, 2011). On the other hand, the interaction of actors has been rather less studied (Khirfan, et al., 2013), leaving an incomplete discussion in the literature.

Social interaction is considered to be highly relevant in policy transfer as it has a substantial impact on the outcomes of the process and the process itself (De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007; Sanyal, 2005; Khirfan, et al., 2013). Two things are being highlighted regarding social interaction and its impact on policy transfer. Firstly, social interaction is considered to be responsible for defining planning cultures, since they are seen as social constructions or as "the collective ethos of professional planners" (Khirfan, et al., 2013, p.

2; Sanyal, 2005). And secondly, social interaction in policy transfer has been related to a learning process whereby transfer agents send and receive knowledge (Khirfan, et al., 2013). Hence, two things have remained scarce in debates: 1) how cultural factors are also responsible of defining the interaction of agents, especially in transnational cases, and 2) how the interaction of agents, in the action of sending and receiving knowledge, also define policy transfer processes.

1.2 Research Aims and Objectives

Based on the premise explained above, this research aims to provide a deeper understanding of how the cultural aspects of the social interaction between transfer agents affect the policy transfer process?

Under this premise, four research questions have been formulated to help to answer the main aim of the study, which are as follows:

Table 1. Research questions

1. How does the social interaction among transfer agents define the type of policy transfer process adopted?
2. How do cultural preconceptions affect the understanding of the knowledge transferred?
3. What are the cultural factors influencing how transfer agents interact?

The first question is centred on the debates built around what is understood as policy transfer. Based on the lack of consensus in debates, this question aims to comprehend in further depth the processes adopted in each case. Question two and three are focused on the cultural factors from the Dutch, Ugandan, and South-African cultures. The second question focuses on the understanding that transfer agents have over the knowledge being transferred. This question seeks to identify any cultural factors enabling, hindering, or impacting the comprehension of the learning process. The third question explores how the interaction among agents is influenced and defined by diverse cultures, or in other words, how cultures interact.

1.3 Research scope and scientific relevance

Scientific debates around policy transfer began in 1940's with state-centred comparative analysis. They later developed towards the scrutiny of other institutions involved (i.e. civil society and market) under a governance analysis scope, began a comprehensive examination of the process itself, and presented research interests in the content of policies being mobilised (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; McCann & Ward, 2013). Today, recent studies have introduced discussions of interaction among the actors involved and their agency within the process under a social and anthropological analysis approach (Peck & Theodore, 2010). As discussions around social interaction in policy transfer are starting to emerge in the academic realm, many factors have been still left out, such as cultural and epistemological factors affecting social interaction. Regardless of the lack of consensus among scholars (De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007; Harris & Moore, 2013), most of the literature reviewed seemed to agree on one aspect: that their study scope has treated

the elements of policy transfer in isolation, such as the transfer agents, the institutions involved, the interaction among agents, the policies transferred, among other. Perhaps this has been with the intention of narrowing the research topic. Hence, this contribution aims to provide an overview of the topic from an integrated perspective of cultural factors, social interaction, and knowledge transferred, how they may affect each other, and thus the policy transfer process.

1.4 Societal relevance

Policy transfer has become very common in contemporary policy-making practices, and it is increasing at a steady pace (Dolowitz, et al., 1999). The practice is most often applied from developed to developing contexts (Dolowitz & Medearis, 2009). This has reinforced new ways of colonisation (Sanyal, 1990, p. 31), or propaganda from the hegemonic or “European diffusionism” (Khirfan, et al., 2013, p. 2), where often questionable intentions. This seems to lead to unwanted results, rather than boosting the development of these areas. Understanding these processes in depth by taking into account the culture of least advantaged contexts can help to avoid irresponsible and unethical practices, and help work towards furthering the needs within developing urban contexts.

1.5 Structure

The document of the research is presented as follows. Firstly, Chapter 2 develops discussions between debates surrounding the phenomena in question written in the literature with the objective of having an overview of what the theory presents so far, and how it can be improved. This review served as basis for the development of the research topic and its consequent analysis. Chapter 3 provides a description of the research strategy and methodology adopted, with a subsection of the limitations encountered during the process of the research. Following, Chapter 4 introduces the case studies in further detail to have a preliminary comprehension of the particularities of each case. Furthermore, Chapter 5 opens the discussions of findings obtained from the data analysis. Lastly, Chapter 6 closes the document with general conclusions and reflections of each research questions, based on the findings from Chapter 5.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

This section seeks to provide an overview of the current theoretical discussions that have been growing around policy transfer. This literature review is divided into two main sections. Firstly, a general discussion of the policy transfer and theories surrounding its conceptualisation is provided. And, secondly, a discussion of social interaction and cultural aspects in policy transfer process is given. The discussion begins with the explanation of knowledge transfer, a concept used to explain the general idea of moving knowledge from one place to another regardless scale or field of application. This provides a better understanding of the wider concept behind policy transfer. Then, an overview of policy transfer in traditional literature is explained. Consequently, the next subsection provides critics made to traditional ideas by broadening debates of policy transfer with multidisciplinary scopes. Following, the discussion is centred in social and cultural aspects intermediating policy transfer, such as the identification of actors participating in policy transfer processes, their motivations to get involved, their social interaction, their cultural background.

2.1 Knowledge transfer: Conceptual roots of policy transfer

This subsection aims to provide a broad definition of the process of transferring knowledge and the basic elements that compose it (e.g. key actors), and the main differences existing among terms and cases in order to narrow it until getting an accurate description that best applies for the case of Netherlands and Africa.

It is difficult to identify a specific definition that encompasses all cases of transferring knowledge. In fact, it is already mistaken to use *knowledge transfer* as a broad concept, although it does provide a starting point for the discussion. Knowledge transfer can be defined as the process in which one organised unit “learns from or is affected by the experience of another unit” (Argote & Fahrenkopf, 2016, p. 146). This concept, however, is more commonly used when organisations or corporations aim to share experiences whether at inter-organisational or intra-organisational level (Boh, et al., 2013; Fang, et al., 2013; Ismail, 2015). For instance, knowledge transfer can occur when a department from a consultancy company shares the lessons learnt of a problem to another department that might be facing a similar problem (Argote & Fahrenkopf, 2016).

Similar concepts are *knowledge sharing* or *knowledge exchange*, yet they enclose a level of reciprocity when experiences are shared with the purpose of improving preceding knowledge and functioning or developing new concepts and ideas (Andriessen, et al., 2002). A good example of this are transnational networks created by European planners in order to strengthen integration among European cities, such as Eurocities (De Jong &

Edelenbos, 2007). The input that these concepts provide is that they describe a process that can happen regardless of the scale and field of application. These are indeed important aspect within these processes, as it is discussed further. Yet, when explained in the arena of spatial planning, the concept tends to be limited to local, regional, national or international scale, and most of the times implying that the outcomes are new or changed *policies*.

Based on Andriessen et al. (2002) and modified according to Tuan (2012), Figure 1 highlights the different levels of knowledge sharing and transfer. Without leaving any type of unit out of the concept, Figure 1 shows how these units (namely individual, group, organisational, local/regional, national and international) might relate demonstrating that knowledge sharing and transfer can happen at any level and between levels. Moreover, Figure 1 illustrates such relations without the necessity of showing what the outcome should be. Hence, they are mentioned in the following subsections in order to enrich and clarify the discussion.

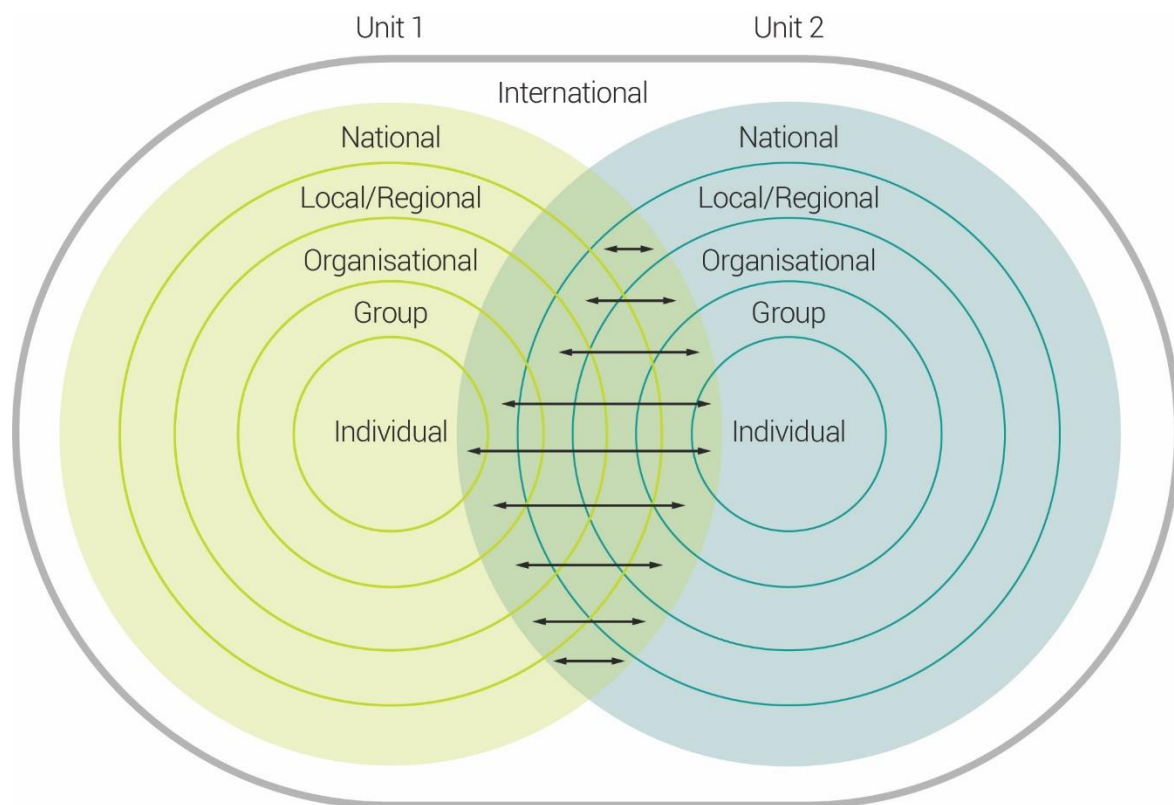


Figure 1. Scales of knowledge sharing/transfer processes. Source: Author, based on: (Andriessen, et al., 2002, p. 22; Tuan, 2012, p. 462)

2.2 Traditional literature of policy transfer

Policy sciences introduced the concept of *policy transfer* which can be seen as an adapted approach of knowledge transfer and sharing (De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007). Probably the biggest expositors of policy transfer are political scientists Dolowitz and Marsh (1996; 2000). They, among other researchers reviewed (Stone, 2004; Masser, 1990; Sanyal, 2005), belong to what has been identified as traditional literature of policy transfer. They have

been subject of criticism whilst also opening important discussions on other arenas of policy-making.

Dolowitz and Marsh defined policy transfer as “a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions [sic] etc. in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place” (1996, p. 344). The scholars exemplify this term with the case of United Kingdom implementing welfare policy programmes from the United States after failing with the previous initiative of make-work programmes. The British government of the 1980s was facing electoral pressures due to a rise in unemployment rates and low international competitiveness, education and training (2000, p. 15; Dolowitz, et al., 1999). Something important to underline in this case is that the British government was keen to find solutions, and to ensure victory in the next general election and avoid trailing behind in the international markets, the Conservative Party turned to policy transfer. The British needed to guarantee better effects. This is what Dodds (2013) defines as policy instruments or “the set of techniques by which governmental authorities [or their proxies, acting on behalf of governmental authorities] wield their power in an attempt to ensure support and affect or prevent social change” (Vedung, 1998, p. 21 cited on p. 23, her modification). The author explains that policy instruments are basically limited by policy-makers' imaginations and resources available, hence it seems logical to imply that policy transfer is just a policy instrument used when alternative solutions need to be found.

It is important to highlight, therefore, that the difference between knowledge transfer practices and policy transfer lies in the fact that in the latter case the purpose is solving *governance problems* (McCann & Ward, 2013; 2015). The reasons behind using policy transfer may be many and obviously differ in each case. For instance, in the case of the UK, the implementation of American welfare policies was driven by political pressure, forcing policy-makers to opt for a quick plan in ready-made policy solutions applied somewhere else. But in general, it can be said that policy transfer is used with the purpose of *maximising* the search of solutions (Peck & Theodore, 2010). Hence, when policy-makers seek for solutions for governance problems, the practice of knowledge transfer or sharing might work as an optional policy instrument, and therefore policy transfer takes place.

2.2.1 Varsity of terms: Classification and connotations

Stone (2004) divides policy transfer into two assemblies of processes, namely *hard* or *soft* forms of transfer. Hard transfer refers to process where tools, structures and policies are drawn to a new context (Stone, 2004). Hence, these forms tend to emphasise on the level of contextual compatibility between the transferring and the receiving place (Khirfan, et al., 2013). On the other hand, soft transfer advocates for spreading norms or knowledge, instead of concrete policies (Stone, 2004; 2010). It puts emphasis rather on the interaction among participant agents of the process (Khirfan, et al., 2013). To avoid confusion, how cases should be classified fully depends on the perspective and emphasis given by their respective author. For instance, a case described as hard transfer could be easily classified for another author as 'soft'. The traditional literature has been too focused on

institutional and political contexts, hence most of the cases presented and concepts presented below are considered *hard transfer*.

One concept found in the reviewed literature is *lesson-drawing*, explained as a process in which governments acquire or borrow policies, institutions or the ideas behind them from others' experiences, usually expected to be as successful as in the original context (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007; Ward, 1999; Dolowitz, et al., 1999). An example of this is the Pegasus Project proposed by the European network Eurocities. The project began in 2002 and aimed to provide a pilot scheme of improvement for spatial planning and environmental problems. It was successfully introduced in 10 areas in the Netherlands and was expected to be applied in seven European cities: Rotterdam, Seville, Malmö, Vienna, Oslo, Birmingham and Genoa (De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007, p. 689). Lesson-drawing can also be found as emulation (De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007; Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000), urban borrowings (Harris & Moore, 2013; Ward, 1999), policy learning (Khirfan, et al., 2013; González, 2011), cross-national and/or cross-regional learning (Dolowitz & Medearis, 2009; De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007; Masser, 1990). Many of these terms have been used based on the level at which the process is applied (e.g. regional or national). Nonetheless, and without digging too deep into each term, lesson-drawing and its peer concepts define knowledge transfer as a voluntary process whereby places (e.g. cities or countries) learn from one another's experiences.

Another type of policy transfer with a voluntary process is *inspiration*. It is defined as the process by which policies from one place "inspire a policy change, but where the final outcome does not actually draw upon the original" (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000, p. 13). A perfect example of inspiration is the case of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, attempted to be implemented in cities such as Santiago de Compostela, Manchester, and Liverpool (Franklin, 2016; González, 2011). Inspiration does not necessarily go through a social interaction between units, implying that the difference between lesson-drawing and inspiration is in the process itself since both share the goal of expecting a positive policy change that has been formerly implemented somewhere else.

In addition to lesson-drawing or inspiration, other types of policy transfer include *copying* or *imposition* (Khirfan, et al., 2013; Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Ward, 1999). In this case the policies are transferred directly and completely (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000). Using the term of policy diffusion and explaining extreme practices thereof, Ward (1999, p. 55) exemplifies imposition with the case of Germans re-planning Polish provinces that were incorporated to the German territory during the Second World War. This is obviously an old example with a level of colonisation or imperialistic tone (Khirfan, et al., 2013). Yet, imposition still takes place in modern practices. Khirfan et al. (2013, p. 2) explains the example of Eurocentric diffusionism, by which knowledge flows from a more advanced Western context to a less advanced context. What both examples have in common is that knowledge transfer happens only one-way, meaning that there is no level of reciprocity as the case of the Pegasus Project presented. Both examples, however, differ on the level of coerciveness or voluntariness. Even though these cases of imposition are unrelated with the cases of Netherlands and Africa studied in this contribution, it is central to be aware of them in order to comprehend the differences among cases and concepts, and the root of existing disagreements -or enrichment - in academic discussions.

As mentioned above, soft transfer of norms puts more emphasis on the interaction among participant agents of the process. Social, anthropological and geographical approaches have put emphasis on such an interaction, thus newer concepts have emerged in the academic discussions: policy assemblages, mutations and mobilities (McCann & Ward, 2015; 2013; Faulconbridge, 2013; Freeman, 2012; Peck & Theodore, 2010). Before defining these concepts, it is important to understand first what has been criticised about traditional literature, in the following subsection.

2.2.2 Criticisms to policy transfer: a path toward policy mobility

The first problem identified in the term policy transfer is, indeed, the word *transfer*. Peck and Theodore (2001) point out how this term and the general definition of policy transfer describe rather an unyielding process of policies travelling from A to B, or as it is demonstrated in Figure 1, from Unit 1 to Unit 2. Critics claim that the process of policy transfer should not always be understood as linear, but rather as more complex and multifaceted process that cannot be bounded in a single type of movement (i.e. transfer) (McCann & Ward, 2013; Peck & Theodore, 2010; Faulconbridge, 2013). A rephrasing of the term transfer is necessary since the word implies a sense of rigidity which does not accurately describe the complex process. Thus, terms such as assemblages, mutations, and particularly mobilities have been used to reformulate the concept in more recent publications to underline the many shapes the process can take.

To continue understanding how these assemblages, mutations and mobilities reshape policy transfer, it is important to clarify what it is being understood by *policy*. The traditional definition of policy transfer of Dolowitz and Marsh, quoted before, implies that policies are whole sets of institutional and administrative arrangements that do not change when going from one place to another. However, such an interpretation happens to present some limitations. Firstly, policies are to some extent during their journey interpreted, reinterpreted, transformed, adapted, reinvented, assembled, and so on. This means that, at the end of the process, policies happen to be pieces of modified and manipulated material instead of fully formed and perfectly replicated information (Peck & Theodore, 2010; Freeman, 2012; McCann & Ward, 2013; 2015; 2012; Faulconbridge, 2013). Freeman even makes an analogy for this journey of policies as “an echoing, shimmering, wave-like phenomenon” (2012, p. 18).

It is important, therefore, and as a second remark, to define what exactly is “travelling” across places. Rather than just mere policies as strictly formal political measures and documents, scholars have referred to it as knowledge (Faulconbridge, 2013; Harris & Moore, 2013; Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; 1996). This seems obvious yet should not be taken for granted. Knowledge can come in the form of institutions (De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007); ideas (Freeman, 2012); techniques (Harris & Moore, 2013); guidelines, and models (McCann & Ward, 2013; González, 2011). In fact, this is another reason why many terms, including knowledge sharing and transfer, refer to the same problem in nature. For instance, it is common to find in the literature both policy mobility (McCann & Ward, 2015) or knowledge mobility (Faulconbridge, 2013), depending on each author’s preference. Despite policies equalling knowledge, the word policy is used because, as mentioned before, the goal in the field of planning and policy-making is to search for solutions to governance problems. Thus, it can be understood that policies are defined as dynamic

knowledge able to mutate across contexts (i.e. people, places and time) during its journey and being put into action (i.e. governance problem-solving or policy-making) when they "arrive" to another place.

Another criticism of the traditional literature is the lack of appreciation for spatial components that policy transfer involves, especially when seen from a planning perspective. This is an element that unarguably was brought to the table by geographers (McCann & Ward, 2013), showing that different disciplines debating about the topic has provided fruitful discussions. Years later, Dolowitz and Marsh rephrased their definition from *time and/or place* to "political system (past or present)" (2000, p. 5). This switch demonstrates the influence the political science perspective had over the concept. However, it also suggests that the authors had, at some point, a notion of space (and *time*) that was discarded for unknown reasons and reclaimed by geographers. McCann and Ward (2012; 2013) explain the importance of space in policy transfer as a concept linked with scale (e.g. local), during the journey of policies. The reason why policies mutate is due to spatial elements (e.g. identity and territory (Wise 2005, p.77 cited by McCann & Ward, 2013)) and political structures (e.g. institutions) that the context in which they are attempted to be implemented provides (McCann & Ward, 2013). Thus, mutations in policies develop according to the destination place's particularities.

The geographers explain that mutation of policies is also about *detritorialisation*, or as Peck and Theodore state: "policies... are not simply traveling across a landscape-they are remaking this landscape" (2010, p. 170). A clear example of this is the case of Japanese planners picking basic ideas of German policies for land readjustment techniques. The purpose was to reallocate individual land holdings and thus consolidate fragmented agricultural holdings. For several decades, Japanese planners improved this technique and by 1980 around 43% of the new developments was carried out under these adapted policies (Masser, 1990, p. 28). Geographers highlight that policies are "necessarily also about 'moorings', stabilities and territorialisations" (McCann & Ward, 2013, p. 9). The Japanese case shows a modification in the landscape that would have probably been different if German policies would not have been used, by either remaining the same or taking other paths. Japanese planners detrterritorialised their landscape by adapting foreigner ideas, yet during the process they modified and improved such ideas to the point they secured policies that would suit the Japanese context. They territorialised those ideas to the Japanese territory. The implications *of* and *in* space as part of the mobility process are rather scarce in the literature reviewed, leaving it unclear how applicable the analysis of space is in every field of policy-making. This means that these arguments are so far limited to spatial planning arenas of study, as the Japanese case shows. However, the cases of Netherlands and Africa studied in this contribution are indeed cases of spatial planning, making such arguments highly relevant to the review. Nonetheless, scholars point out that policies in planning are intended to cause, to some degree and at some point, changes in space. Thus, it can be implied that there is a dichotomy between space, in the sense of territory, and policies. Both work in a relational basis that cannot be split since space condition policies to-be-implemented, yet those policies will *re* condition space as well.

2.3 Assemblages, mutations and mobilities

Being the critics that geographers have made to political scientists explained, it is easier to understand the definition of policy assemblages, mutations and mobilities. It is important to clarify that in the literature reviewed these three concepts are treated as one, since they complement each other. The once mostly used is policy mobility (or mobilities) for pragmatic reasons, same as the one used in this contribution hereinafter.

It is necessary to define *assemblage* first before putting the three concepts together. McCann and Ward defined it as "the *process* of arranging, organizing, [and] fitting together" (Wise, 2005, p. 77, his emphasis, cited in 2013, p. 8). Foreigner knowledge is modified when travelling to the indigenous place, and at the same time claims territory and identity (McCann & Ward, 2013) in order to adopt an interpretation that suits its context (De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007). Hence, policy mobility seeks to analyse how policies mutate as they travel and thus are assembled in a place, rather than study how they are transferred (McCann & Ward, 2013; 2012; Peck & Theodore, 2010). In conclusion, policy mobility, as a term based on policy transfer and as the term that encapsulates a better application for the cases of Kampala and Cape Town, is here understood as a process in which knowledge from a specific place mutates and is assembled in another place in order to maximise the search for solutions to governance problems.

2.4 Adding people: a social process

The following discussion aims to complement previous arguments of policy mobility by discussing the literature regarding how policies relate to the social or, more accurately, to the people and their interaction when assembling knowledge. As previously structured, the discussion is developed between traditional arguments and the criticisms that have evolved from them.

2.4.1 Actors in policy mobility: interaction among senders and receivers

What is meant by 'actors' in policy mobility processes? The technical name that has been given to participants of such processes is *transfer agents* (Stone, 2004; Khirfan, et al., 2013; Khirfan, 2011; McCann & Ward, 2012; Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996) sometimes referred to as *knowledge agents* (Stone, 2012). For traditional scholars these have included potential transfer agents, namely consultants, experts, policy entrepreneurs, civil servants, bureaucrats, think-tanks, pressure groups, political parties, researchers, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), transnational corporations, supranational institutions, transnational advocacy networks (TANs) (Harris & Moore, 2013; Stone, 2004; Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996; 2000), among others. Moreover, categorisations have been made between state agents, non-state agents, international or supranational organisations, and networks (Stone, 2004; Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000).

While acknowledging that such typologies are necessary to understand who transfer agents are and how they mobilise policies, other scholars have tried to build a definition by putting attention on the social practices that mediate the agency of transfer agents (McCann & Ward, 2013, p. 6). For instance, De Jong and Edelenbos have defined transfer agents as "academic and/or policy experts operating in communities in different policy arenas" (2007, p. 688; for academics in policy transfer processes see also Tripp, 2013;

Stone, 2012; for knowledge sharing communities see also Andriessen, et al., 2002). Such a definition advocates for a social relation of transfer agents when underlining their professional agencies within an organisational unit such as a community. As a preliminary understanding, actors can be seen as transfer agents operating in different fields of policy-making and with some sort of institutional affiliation, yet, regardless thereof, they act under social circumstances.

Furthermore, as illustrated in Figure 1, transfer agents have tended to be divided into two groups according to their role: those who send knowledge or *senders*, and those who receive knowledge or *receivers* or recipients (Ismail, 2015; Khirfan, et al., 2013; De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007). They are also known as *transferring agents* and *acquiring agents* (Khirfan, et al., 2013, p. 3). As represented in Figure 1, the process has traditionally been classified according to the direction knowledge travels between transfer agents. It can either be unilateral (i.e. one way), bilateral (i.e. two-way) (Ismail, 2015; Khirfan, et al., 2013) or multilateral (De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007). In a one-way process, knowledge travels from one place to another, usually with the assumption that senders *know more* than receivers (Khirfan, et al., 2013). Examples of imposition can be seen as unilateral processes, where the imposing party does not receive any knowledge back. Bilateral or two-way processes imply “that both parties in the knowledge transfer process possess similar functions in a reciprocal manner” (Ismail, 2015, p. 2). Multilateral can be defined as bilateral with the difference that there are more than two parties involved. For instance, the Pegasus Project mentioned above was described as multilateral, where multiple planners, part of the network Eurocities, were sharing their experiences and learning from one another (De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007, p. 695). Nonetheless, as discussed previously, stating that someone sends and someone else receives knowledge falls again into the assumption that policies travel from A to B in a linear way and either way.

Khirfan (2011) and Khirfan et al. (2013) have referred to transferring agents as *external* and acquiring agents as *indigenous*. Khirfan (2011) has exemplified this reconceptualization with the case of Jordanian authorities working along with Canadian experts for a planning strategy for Amman. After receiving more than 16 requests for high-rise developments due to oil influx from the Arab Gulf investments, the city needed to develop “appropriate planning mechanisms” (Khirfan, 2011, p. 533). Canadian consultants were thus invited to contribute to the formulation of a regulatory strategy for Amman’s growth. Canadian consultants were identified by the author as international (i.e. external) agents, for being foreigners in Amman, and Jordanians as indigenous for being the local planners.

Some aspects of this reconceptualization of transfer agents’ roles are notable. First of all, it removes the assumption of a linear process with a strict division of roles between a sender and receiver. Instead, it suggests that policies, in any policy-making process including policy mobility, should be seen as a “shared understanding of the problem” (Freeman, 2012, p. 13) between agents involved as tasks in this case were shared and not strictly divided. In the Jordanian case, both parties (i.e. Jordanians and Canadians) understood that the high-rise development outburst needed regulation somehow and worked together on a regulatory plan. This reinforces the concept of policy mobility where policies mutate and are assembled.

Moreover, the reconceptualization implies that transfer agents operate in and for a specific place where some are outsiders (i.e. externals), and others are locals (i.e. indigenous). Following the example, Canadians were international consultants that brought in expertise and experiences from other places, whereas Jordanian planners provided the local knowledge of Amman's situation. Yet, both assemblies combined efforts to produce a master growth plan for the city (Khirfan, 2011). Hence, in the case of policy mobility cases, it can be said that agents are being understood not as two separate groups but as a collective combination of knowledge searching for solutions of governance problems in a specific context.

2.4.2 The foundations of social relations in knowledge transfer

The field of knowledge sharing provides a valuable insight into the types of social relations applicable to policy mobility cases. Andriessen et al. (2002) proposes four models that explain the motivations for agents to share knowledge with others. They are explained as follows with no particular order and exemplified once again with the example of De Jong and Edelenbos (2007), the Eurocities' Pegasus Project.

The first type of social relations is *communal sharing* relationships. In this model, knowledge is shared willingly among the community with the expectation that rewards may be given in return. In this case, agents consider themselves as equals under the assumption that they all belong to the same 'community'. In the case of the Pegasus Project, De Jong and Edelenbos state that a "feeling of a shared mission, significance and identity arose" (2007, p. 695). All participants involved in this case shared experiences and best-practices because they all formed part of the Eurocities community.

Equality matching is the second model, where an agent shares knowledge only if this will be reciprocated by another agent. It can be considered as a peer-to-peer relationship (Andriessen, et al., 2002). Following the same example (De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007), participants of meetings and workshops considered themselves as equals to the point spontaneous discussions led to collaborative planning and exchange of other sorts of themes.

The third model is *authority ranking*. The more an agent knows the higher the rank and therefore the more power or status they can gain. An agent could be reluctant to share knowledge if they believe it could threaten their elevated position. During the Pegasus Project, each host city put extra effort on organising successful workshops and delivering high-quality reports as it "became a matter of honour" (De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007, p. 695). The quality of the knowledge shared soon also became a synonymous of status.

Lastly, *market pricing* as the fourth model where knowledge "has a value and can be traded" (Andriessen, et al., 2002, p. 24). Agents' willingness to share knowledge is dependent on the value of the reward. During the Pegasus Project, Dutch-Flemish parties assumed responsibility of the edition of the final document of the project as they were the commissioning body that was being funded by the European Commission (De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007, p. 698).

Andriessen et al. (2002) remarks that these models are diversified in several ways. The intensity, the intentions, and the formality on which the interaction is based differs in each relationship. Moreover, relationships are usually founded over the hierarchal combination

of more than one model at a time. Using one case to exemplify all types of relations is proof of this. It is important to highlight that all models seem to present a level of compensation (e.g. money, status, recognition, power, new knowledge, favours), which implies that policy mobility, and therefore the interaction among agents, happen due to reciprocal beneficial reasons. This might seem obvious; however, it raises the question to what extent this exchange of benefits affects the role of agents, the mobility process itself, and consequently policies.

Intra and inter cultural aspects also play an important role in social interactions. In terms of the intercultural level, Andriessen et al. (2002) adds that each culture has its own rules of implementation for each model of relations. Rules are set within cultures to know when to apply each model and how to execute it. For instance, the Dutch-Flemish team alone assumed the responsibility of editing the final report because they were the ones being paid for that job, by means of being part of the commissioning body receiving the funds. It was implied somehow the application of *market pricing* in this case. On the other hand, at the intracultural level, agents are predisposed to their respective ideological and institutional contexts (Masser, 1990). These wider contexts shape and mediate the personal agency and performativity of agents in policy mobility processes (McCann & Ward, 2013, p. 6; González, 2011; Faulconbridge, 2013; Dolowitz & Medearis, 2009; Andriessen, et al., 2002). As an example, Dolowitz and Medearis explain the case of policy-makers in the United States (US), where cultural preconceptions have made them "believe that the US is 'exceptional': having little or nothing to learn from other nations or political systems" (2009, p. 685). Such an arrogance has affected their performativity in attempts of policy transfer, leading to messy processes. Hence, it can be implied that culture conditions agents' actions, and therefore interaction, through the rules set. However, it is undefined in the literature how rules are set in the case of interaction between two or more cultures.

2.4.3 Social interaction: a learning process

Besides models of social relations, interaction has also been studied from the distinct stages that transfer agents go through during a policy mobility process. It is necessary to understand what it is being defined as *interaction* in the literature reviewed. In general words, interaction is a communicative exchange of knowledge between individuals at interpersonal level, and during this exchange knowledge is therefore converted into action (Khirfan, et al., 2013, p. 2). Such a communication can be oral or textual (Freeman, 2012; Khirfan, et al., 2013). Interaction among transfer agents can be thus understood as social relations where knowledge is exchanged orally or textually.

Authors agree on the fact that interaction should be encouraged face-to-face communication where agents share the same physical space. In case actors are physically dispersed, means of communication are as infinite as technology allows it. For instance, communication in a professional network could easily be facilitated by videoconferences (Faulconbridge, 2013) and written reports. Nonetheless, there is a slight difference in the mobilisation process when agents are physically dispersed, as creating social tissues among agents can promote more positive outcomes (Faulconbridge, 2013, p. 341; De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007). De Jong and Edelenbos (2007) exemplify this statement with the Eurocities' Pegasus Project, mentioned before. The interaction in this

case occurred in meetings and workshops in different cities, and followed by written reports with lessons learned of best-practices. Another good example is the Jordanian case, where the physical presence of Canadian experts in Amman was rather necessary. In fact, some Canadian consultants resided permanently in the city, others for periods of several months, and others travelled occasionally (Khirfan, 2011, p. 543). Hence, physical presence of actors enhances such a communication and therefore the mobilisation of policies.

Khirfan (2011, p. 535) and Khirfan et al. (2013, p. 4) describe four stages for a "transfer-acquisition" process in a face-to-face interaction. The first stage is *socialisation* where individuals get to know each other one-on-one. The following two stages are centred rather on the knowledge and not so much on the individuals. The second stage is *externalisation* of new knowledge, and consequently in stage three the new concepts generated in the previous stage are *combined*. Lastly, participant agents *internalised* concepts acquired where 'new prototypes' are created according to the institutional context. Nonetheless, even though it would be mistaken to generalise these stages for every policy mobility case, they provide an important insight for similar cases.

Such a learning process, however, is affected by the nature of the knowledge being transferred and how agents comprehend that knowledge. The creation of new prototypes is something that, as Khirfan (2011) states, happens due to the role of transfer agents during the learning process when filtering knowledge. It was mentioned before that, during a policy mobility process, places claim territorialisation until 'foreign' policies are adapted to their context. Hence, what the author (2011, p. 526) states is that such an adaptation is the agents' role of synthesising knowledge to the point it fits their own planning culture. However, for the creation of new prototypes are crucial both types of existing knowledge: tacit or explicit (Tuan, 2012; Faulconbridge, 2013). The discussion about tacit and explicit knowledge in policy mobility processes, more specifically, remains scarce in the literature reviewed. Nonetheless, the two other types of knowledge were found. Khirfan (2011) makes a differentiation between experiential and expert planning knowledge. Experiential is defined as knowledge created in a participative way, where non-experienced individuals in planning acquire it when affected by planning decisions. On the other hand, expert knowledge is explained as the knowledge that professionals in the topic have, either theoretical concepts, approaches, practices, or any form of technical knowledge (Khirfan, 2011, p. 526; Masser, 1990). Expert knowledge, thus, can come in form of explicit or tacit knowledge. The difference rather remains in the way knowledge is *learned*, by casualty or deliberately. Most of the literature reviewed surrounding policy transfer or policy mobility has focused its discussions in expert knowledge, as can be seen in all the examples presented so far, and explained in the cases studied in this contribution. Hence, it can be implied that, regardless of the type of knowledge, a learning process allows to filter and synthesize the knowledge until agents adapt it to the destination context.

2.4.4 Social conceptions of success and failure

Studying the interaction of agents has shown that policy mobility processes are not only successful when changes in policies are effected or new policies are implemented (Khirfan, et al., 2013). Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, p. 17) explain that *failure* happens when the process leads to unwanted results (Faulconbridge, 2013) or when the acquiring part

(e.g. a government) does not meet the objectives set prior the mobility process. Failure is thus classified as uninformed, incomplete or inappropriate transfer. However, even though the authors state that failure is something judged by the participating key agents, the definition is mostly measured in the malfunction of institutional and organisational factors such as differences between contexts, and insufficient or misused information (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000), rather than in social factors as bad interaction of transfer agents.

Obviously, the definition of *success* and *failure* is highly subjective and varies in each case, however, two things remain unclear. First, failure or success can be something perceived and therefore decided by agents yet the level of agents' responsibility over it is poorly understood; and second, it is vague if failure or success can happen in social, cultural, or even professional levels regardless of the achievement of the process' goals. Hence, the process might not reach positive outcomes but it might be a positive process; implying that agents involved get to acquire, to some extent, new knowledge, and its application may not be visible in the implementation of new policies.

2.5. Conclusions: So, where is the gap?

Policy transfer and/or policy mobility is a growing field of knowledge with much room for further development. However, some inconsistencies were found in the literature reviewed. Firstly, policy mobility is a highly complex process and very difficult to compartmentalise under simple definitions. There is clearly a lack of consensus in the field of policy mobility (Harris & Moore, 2013; De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007). The fact that many terms have been proposed only suggests a strong level of dissatisfaction among authors regarding what concept could fit their case study. This has resulted on the creation of new concepts and classifications, also influenced by the many disciplines talking about policy mobility.

Secondly, there seems to be an obsession with classifying the elements conforming policy mobility processes, leaving aside an integrated way of understanding the processes. This means that the many terms created are dependent on the aspect the authors are interested in, for example, either in the actors involved, the motives behind a policy mobility process, the goals set, or the knowledge (or policies) itself. Themes and approaches are studied in isolation from one another, and less to the point that their relation has rather been disregarded. In other words, studies have given most attention to either the definition of the process, the agents, the interaction among agents, the knowledge being mobilised, the institutions involved, etc. and less to how these components may affect each other.

Thirdly, culture as a factor influencing the interaction of actors and therefore the process of policy mobility, especially in cross-national processes, has been somehow overlooked. This ignores the fact that if senders and receivers from different contexts interact, means that inevitably two cultures also interact. Probably the reason behind this is that discussions about the interactions of agents in policy mobility process from the social perspective are rather new. This goes hand in hand with the interrelation of policy transfer components affecting each other during the process. Because, at the end, when policies mutate and are being assembled to a specific place, the components surrounding the process (e.g. context, goals, knowledge, motives) are being assimilated by people with distinct cultural background, as it is in the cases of Cape Town and Kampala.

Chapter 3. Research Strategy & Methodology

3.1 Philosophical models: Epistemology & Ontology

The epistemological and ontological approaches considered for the methodology of this study draw the foundation on which the design of the research is based. This sub-section aims to broadly explain such philosophical assumptions to provide a better understanding of the strategy selected.

The research follows an **interpretivist** epistemological stance based on the conviction that the study of social perspectives is different from those of natural science. An alternative to positivism, which suggests the social world can be measured objectively and advocates a natural science approach to social studies, interpretivism supports the research practice of people and their institutions as "one that reflects the distinctiveness of humans as against the natural order" (Bryman, 2012, p. 28). Whereas positivism seeks to *explain* human behaviour by discovering external laws that condition it, interpretivism seeks to *understand* human behaviour through the perception of individuals (Bryman, 2012). This entails that the research relies as much as possible on participants' subjective views (Creswell, 2003). This research seeks to develop an understanding of social aspects from the perspective of participants in policy mobility processes, hence an interpretivist approach is considered most suitable.

Additionally, **constructionism** is the ontological position leading this research, as it is the belief that policy mobility processes are a social construction (McCann & Ward, 2013). In fact, much of the discussions around the topic, even in other applicable fields, have increasingly adopted a social-interaction-based approach due to researchers grounding their studies on a constructivist position (Kothari, et al., 2011). Such a stance advocates for the production of knowledge in social research as a reflection of the dynamics of social relationships (Bryman, 2012; Kothari, et al., 2011; Creswell, 2003), where internal and external factors (e.g. cultural contexts) shape these interactions (McCann & Ward, 2013). It is important to highlight that not only the participants involved in the cases studied provide the say that helps to answer the research question but also the researcher's perception and political values have an influence over the analysis (Silverman, 2000; Bryman, 2012). Both inner characteristics (e.g. agents' interaction) and outer relations (e.g. cultural preconceptions) are considered to understand the phenomena of the current study.

In summary, a constructivist/interpretivist approach forms the basis of this methodology since the main goal is to understand social policy mobility processes from participants' perspectives, their interactions, and their cultural backgrounds.

3.2 Research strategy: Qualitative Approach

Following the guidelines settled by the epistemological and ontological stances considered for this study, this section provides a description of the methods used to answer the research questions. A constructivist/interpretivist approach is usually seen as consistent a qualitative methodology, since it allows the meanings of the participant individuals' experiences to be examined in depth. Considering that the study aims to provide a better understanding of how social aspects, such as actors' interaction, define a spatial strategy, a qualitative approach enables the process of data collection and therefore of data analysis.

Moreover, the theory is developed through a process of induction, in that it is generated from an analysis of the research findings, as opposed to a deductive approach whereby a theory is first formulated and then revised in accordance with the research findings (Bryman, 2012; Silverman, 2000). This allows us to understand the complexity of the case studies without having preconceptions of the phenomena. This, however, does not mean that there is not a degree of deduction (Bryman, 2012), since once data collection started further data was needed to shape and reshape what the theory holds.

To summarise, qualitative methods with an inductive approach are applied here to the two case studies, Kampala and Cape Town, related to spatial planning, which data collection methods are discussed further in depth.

Table 2. Research Questions & Methodology

Question	Epistemology & Ontology	Research Strategy	Research Design	Methods	Data Type
1. How does the social interaction among transfer agents define the type of policy transfer process adopted?	Interpretivism & Constructivism	Qualitative Approach: Inductive Grounded Theory	Case Study	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Semi-structured interviews	Qualitative
2. How do cultural preconceptions affect the understanding of the knowledge transferred?				<ul style="list-style-type: none">Semi-structured interviewsDocuments' content analysis (reports)	
3. What are the cultural factors influencing how transfer agents interact?				<ul style="list-style-type: none">Semi-structured interviews	

3.3 Case Study Design: Kampala and Cape Town

The cases analysed here are locations that have both been subject to policy transfer processes, Cape Town in South Africa, and Kampala, Uganda. This allows for an examination of the phenomenon as it relates to a location (Bryman, 2012; Gerring, 2007)

where the cultural, social, and spatial particularities of each specific context are examined. Moreover, case study design is flexible enough to adjust and re adjust the research procedure, allowing for greater insight of the phenomena as it progressed (Gerring, 2007). The cases, among other reasons explained below, were selected in part because of personal convenience of the researcher. She holds an academic internship in one of the Dutch consultancy companies involved in the case, facilitating access to data. Moreover, it is important to clarify that even though ethnography was not selected in the research design due to time lag between cases, being involved in the company during the research period enabled a better understanding of the companies' dynamic and thus on their approaches with both cases.

The cases have similarities and differences allowing a stronger comparison between results. In both Kampala and Cape Town, Dutch experts were invited to work alongside local authorities for a planning strategy. Planning strategy is understood here as the formulation of projects that will conclude in physical interventions with the objective of improving life quality in the city and/or solve any other related urban problem. The differences between cases provide an enrichment of the collected data. For instance, each case is in a different stage of the process. The case of Cape Town is currently on-going, whereas the case of Kampala is in implementation phase yet Dutch involvement finished in 2015. Moreover, the case of Kampala included the detail design of the project, whereas the case of Cape Town is limited to the formulation phase.

Moreover, the cases allow to analyse two contrasting cultures and their interaction. Dutch culture on one hand, and Ugandan or South African on the other, and therefore of two different assemblies of actors that interacted during the process (i.e. outsiders and locals). Moreover, despite the fact both cases are African, there are cultural differences between them in terms of historical and political situation, explained in further detail in Chapters 4 and 5. Given these reasons, the cases provide interesting findings for both the academic and the private practice realms related to urban and mobility planning, policy-making, and policy mobility processes.

3.4 Data Collection

In Table #, a summary of the research questions broadly illustrates their respective philosophical approach, data type and data collection methods. The first question acknowledges a more descriptive input where agents themselves provide their point of view of their experience, their own role and their counterpart's role. This reflects the chosen method of semi-structured interviews with open-ending questions. Question two and three are instead linked with contextual factors that affect the process itself and how participants perceive those factors. Semi-structured interviews are conducted as well yet the analysis of reports elaborated by the participants and other documents complement the data provided during the interviews. The last question compiles findings of the previous research questions along with conclusions from the literature review as a deductive reasoning.

In alignment with the research strategy and to answer each research question, the use of both primary and secondary data is implemented.

3.4.1 Primary data collection

Semi-structured interview with open-ending questions

As a primary source of data collection, semi-structured interviews were conducted. The interviews had the intention of eliciting interviewees' points of view and opinions (Creswell, 2003, p. 188; Bryman, 2012) of the participants regarding their involvement in policy mobility processes. Using a story-telling style with open-ended questions, the interviewees provided the information of their own experience. Every interviewee followed the same structure: they would first recount the story of their experience, then respond to open-ended questions from an interview guide to account for other important topics that the interviewee may not have had referred to initially. All interviews followed a similar outline of questions with similar wording, albeit with different adaptations depending on the interviewee (Bryman, 2012). The format of semi-structured interview was flexible enough to adjust questions according to each assembly of experts (i.e. Dutch, Ugandan, and South-African), and individually-wise, to each interviewee's personal characteristics (e.g. nationality, field of expertise). The interview guide enabled a focus on the topics and made sure that every interviewee discussed all topics of interest. Moreover, the structure of the interview guide also created a level of comparability between both cases (Bryman, 2012). The interview guide used can be found in the Annexure.

Most interviews were carried out in a direct way, either via Skype, phone call, or face-to-face meetings. Table 2 lists the interviews conducted and participants' general background. The first four interviewees were interviewed twice, as they all participated in both cases, Kampala and Cape Town. Doing so provided more data for the case of Cape Town, as the second interview allowed to update the data. Every interview was audio recorded and transcribed to facilitate the data analysis.

Due to limitations experienced amid research and explained in subsection 3.6, in the case of Cape Town the researcher was unable to conduct interviews with South-African authorities. This unexpected situation demanded an alternative to collect data from the African side. The only feasible solution found was a written questionnaire with five key questions, carried via email by 4 South-African participants. The questionnaire can be found in the Annex.

The list of interview participants is shown in Table 2.

Table 3. List of interviewees.

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Field of expertise</i>	<i>Institution</i>	<i>Case Study Relation</i>	<i>Cultural background</i>	<i>Times interviewed</i>	<i>Media Used</i>
Dutch Consultant 1	Urban planning	Dutch Private consultancy company	Cape Town/ Kampala	Dutch	2	Face-to-face Interview
Dutch Consultant 2	Mobility (Traffic and Transportation)	Dutch Private consultancy company	Cape Town/ Kampala	Dutch	2	Face-to-face Interview
Dutch Consultant 3	Mobility (Traffic and Transportation)	Dutch Private consultancy company	Cape Town/ Kampala	Dutch	2	Face-to-face Interview/ Skype interview
Dutch Consultant 4	Urban design	Dutch Private consultancy company	Cape Town/ Kampala	Dutch	2	Skype Interview
Dutch Consultant 5	Environment	Dutch Private consultancy company	Cape Town	Dutch	1	Face-to-face Interview
Italian Consultant 6	Urban planning	Dutch Private consultancy company	Kampala	Italian (education) Dutch (working experience)	1	Skype Interview
Ugandan Consultant 7	Urban designing	Dutch Private consultancy company	Kampala	Ugandan	1	Phone Interview
Ugandan Civil Servant 8	Traffic and transportation	Kampala traffic authority	Kampala	Ugandan	1	Phone Interview
Ugandan Consultant 9	Secretary	-	Kampala	Ugandan	1	Phone Interview
South-African Consultant 10	-	Cape Town transport authority	Cape Town	Dutch (Has lived in South Africa for about 4 years)	0	Written Questionnaire
South-African Civil Servant 11	Engineering	Cape Town transport authority	Cape Town	South-African	0	Written Questionnaire
South-African Civil Servant 12	Urban Planning & Designing	Cape Town transport authority	Cape Town	South-African	0	Written Questionnaire
South-African Civil Servant 13	Manager Industry Transition	Cape Town transport authority	Cape Town	South-African	0	Written Questionnaire

3.4.2 Secondary Data Collection

Documents' Content Analysis

As complementary data for the interviewees, the analysis of documents' content was made. The content of documents is considered in this contribution as secondary data. It can be understood as that one that has "not been produced at the request of a social researcher" (Bryman, 2012, p. 543), unlike the interviews. The main reason of using documents' content for analysis is to have a critical understanding on the purposes and positions of the institutions behind the documents (Clough & Nutbrown, 2012). Hence, the main objective for the selection of documents' content analysis is to complement potential missing data from the interviews, and to provide descriptive data of each case for the understanding of the situation of each city. Although, the documents analysed did not provide a different reality from the one stated during interviews. This means that documents provided considerably less input than the interviews, for the data analysis.

The documents analysed were official including both documents deriving from the state and from private sources. The sampling for the documents was based on the available data of state of the matter, and what has been written before and after the involvement of Dutch consultants. The proposal made by Dutch consultants for the NMT pilot project in Kampala was never written, thus not able to include it. Moreover, the interviewees also provided input in the selection of the documents, as they commented along the interview regarding what has been written about what they were saying. For instance, the short film documentary "Cycologic" (2016) was highly recommended by Dutch Consultant 2 and Ugandan Consultant 7. Therefore, it was included for analysis. The full list can be seen in Table 3, where its source, type of document and case relation is specified.

Table 4. List of documents for data analysis.

Case relation	Name of Document	Type of official document	Source	Year	Nature of document
Cape Town	Integrated Annual Report 2015/16	State	City of Cape Town-Website source	2016	Report
	Bellville Integrated Transport and Land Use Plan	Private	Dutch Consultancy Company A – Archive/Unpublished	2016	Strategic plan
	Draft proposal for project	Private	Dutch Consultancy Company A – Archive/Unpublished	2016	Proposal
	Urban Accelerator Bellville: Draft report	Private	Dutch Consultancy Company A – Archive/Unpublished	2017	Workshop report
	Integrated Public Transport Network Plan 2032: Annexure B	Private	Dutch Consultancy Company A – Archive/Unpublished	2014	Strategic plan
Kampala	Strategic Plan 2014/15 – 2018/19	Public	Kampala Capital City Authority – Website source	2014	Strategic plan
	Smart Moving Kampala: Design of NMT –zone in	Private	Dutch Consultancy Company B – Archive/Unpublished	2013	Project report

	Nambirembe Road and Luwum Street				
	Smart Moving Kampala: Design NMT pilot project – Extension Speke Road and Shimoni Road	Private	Dutch Consultancy Company B – Archive/Unpublished	2015	Project report
	NMT Pilot Corridor: Model development report	Private	Dutch Consultancy Company B – Archive/Unpublished	2012	Report of data collection
	Cycologic	Private	Dutch Consultancy Company B – Website source with limited access	2016	Video/Documentary

3.5 Data analysis

Grounded theory was selected as the analysis of data approach for this contribution. Grounded theory is defined as the “theory that has been derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.12, cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 387). According to Bryman (2012) grounded theory is a method that ties the whole research together, from the data collection, to the analysis and consequently the theory.

By coding, it was possible to classify the data by concepts, descriptions, and important events regarding the experience of all the actors involved. Since two were the cases analysed, the classification was divided into general topics (e.g. social interaction) and thus divided into the particularities of each case (e.g. working with Ugandans versus working with South-Africans). This enable a first understanding of each case and later a comparison between findings. Moreover, as the interviews were going on, some concepts started to emerge to the point it was not necessary to divide it by cases but to generalise it from the beginning of the coding stage (e.g. multilevel in policy transfer).

In order to carry out coding, each interview was first recorded by audio. Then, the audios were transcribed by hand, selecting the most important parts and excluding dialogues irrelevant to the topic. The digital software NVivo was used for the management of the data transcriptions, and data classification. For this, every transcription was saved in separate Word files and then importated to NVivo, where nodes were created according to the topics discussed in the interviews. This enabled the researcher to have a deeper understanding of every case and filter the classified the most important topics by hand until getting to the final theory. Documents were consulted in case there were doubts about very specific questions, but as it was highlighted before, they matched with the information provided by the interviewees.

3.6 Research Limitations, Reliability & Validity

The limitations here explained are divided into two types. Firstly, issues encountered amid research process that represented a challenge for the reliability and validity thereof. And secondly, limitations of means to carry out the research, yet keeping the study reliable and valuable.

The data collection process faced an unexpected situation amid research process. At the beginning of the study, it was projected in the methodology only one case study (i.e. Cape Town). The research methods available now were semi-structured interviews from both sides, Dutch and South-African, documents' content analysis and video observation of the workshops. However, since the case was on-going by the moment of the study, some political sensitiveness surrounded the project and access to data was limited to interviews from the Dutch side and documents' content analysis, with the alternative of written questionnaires from the South-African side. As data was not enough for the formulation of a proper theory, it was necessary the inclusion of the case of Kampala that would provide sufficient data. However, this reinforced the theory as it was possible to compare similarities and differences between cultures and situations, and formulate stronger concepts.

In terms of limitation of means, the most important limitation of this research is time constraint. The research was developed from March to mid-June of 2017. Such a period allows to get snapshots of long-lasting cases that usually take years. In the case of Kampala, it was only possible to get a post project insight. Whereas, in the case of Cape Town, it was only possible to get a fragment of the still on-going process.

Moreover, the physical presence for interviews (or lack thereof) marked an important limitation as well. By the moment of the research, the author was residing in the Netherlands. Interviews with Dutch consultants were easier to accept than interviews and questionnaires with African actors. The lack of physical presence of the researcher in the African countries forced to carry the interviews by Skype, or phone call when the internet connection was poor from the African side. Some phone calls experienced poor audio, and respective recordings did not allow a proper transcription of some intervals.

Chapter 4. The cases in context

4.1. Kampala



Figure 2. Kampala Map City 2014. Source: (KCCA, 2014, p. ii)

Kampala is the capital, largest urban centre, and only city of Uganda (KCCA, 2014), a country located in East Africa. The city represents the most important economic and political centre of the country, with 80% of the industrial and commercial activities generating 65% of the country's GDP (KCCA, 2014, p. 1). As it is appreciated in Figure 3, the city is located at the South of the country. It is rich in topographical terms, as it encompasses seven hills and a waterfront to Lake Victoria. Around 1.5 million people inhabit in the city, and another 1.5 million commutes during the day, as they are economically dependent of the city yet living in neighbouring districts (Consultancy Company B, 2015; KCCA, 2014). There is an increasing rural-to-urban migration in the city that at the same time copes with the natural population growth. Moreover, the city is fully urbanised only a 23%, about 60% is considered semi-urbanised and the rest is classified as rural settlements (KCCA, 2014, p. 1). The informal sector in the city's and country's economy is growing and dynamic, conforming trade, manufacturing and services. Over 2.5 million Ugandans work in the informal sector, with 55% of them located in Kampala (KCCA, 2014, p. 32). Moreover, around 560,000 families live in informal settlements (slums), without "the minimum humanitarian standards set for access to water, shelter and sanitation" (KCCA, 2014, p. 23).

The project with Dutch consultants consisted on the formulation and design of a Non-Motorised Transport (NMT) pilot route, hoping that it will organise space, encourage people to cycle more, and reduce the use of motorised transport. The roads to-be-intervened are sections of the Namirembe Road and Luwum Street with an extension for Speke Road and Shimoni Road, visibly in Figure 4. The main goal of the project was to provide the design of the NMT pilot route. However, to reach an integrated designed the

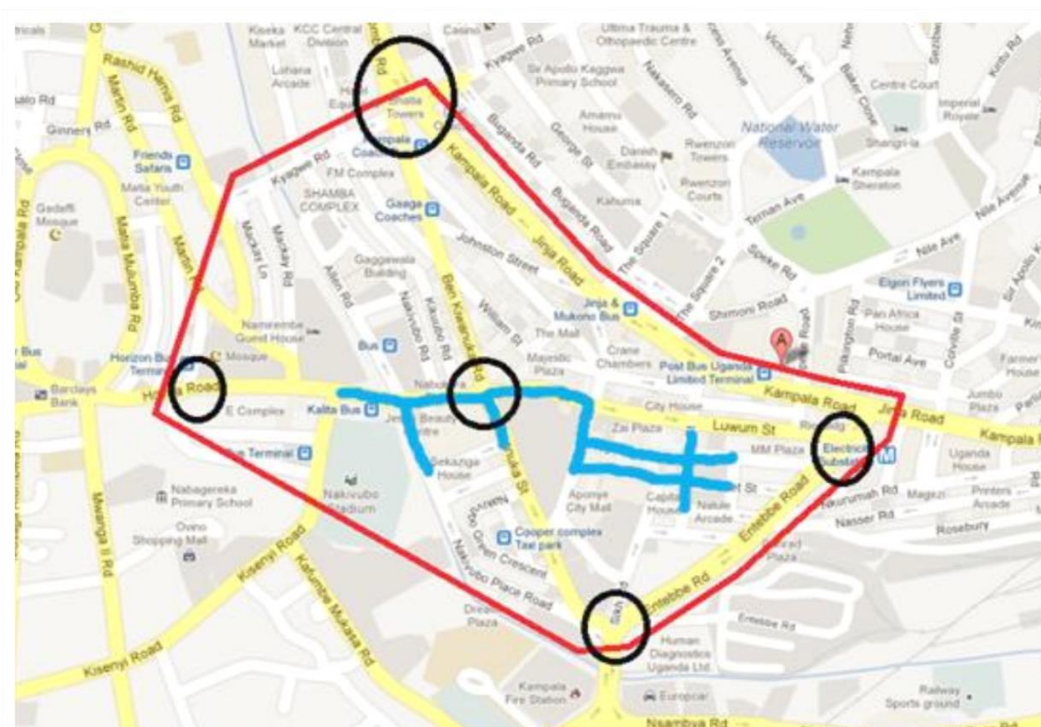


Figure 3. NMT pilot project study area. Blue: pilot corridor, Red: study area boundaries, Black: major junctions to be analysed. Source: (ROM Transportation, 2012, p. 12)

project also included an agenda for policy adjustments, some even at national level, for NMT, parking, public transport connections (working along with a parallel project: the BRT plan –currently on-going), motorised transport network adjustments, boda-bodas zoning, and public space regeneration. The project started in 2011, and construction works are currently on-going.

4.2. Cape Town



Figure 4. Map of Cape Town. Source: (City of Cape Town, 2017)

Cape Town is one of the South-African capitals located in the South-West area of the country, and is the second largest South-African city, in terms of population. For 2016, the city of Cape Town reached around 4 million inhabitants (City of Cape Town, 2016, p. 16). It is considered an important economic hub at national and global level with 12 airports and 2 maritime ports (City of Cape Town, 2016, p. 13). As visible in Figure 5, the city is rich in nature with mountains, coastlines, natural reserves and biodiversity fynbos, making it one of the most-visited cities in the continent. In fact, tourism represents a relevant industry for economic development within the city. Nonetheless, the city copes with important levels of poverty. Around 26% of households were considered for indigent support in 2015 (City of Cape Town, 2016, p. 17). Informal economy is considered to play

a key role by opening employment opportunities and access to income. Nonetheless, poverty challenges still cope with a steady growth rate that has resulted in a substantial proportion of households living in informal shelters. In addition, the city has important levels of crime, mostly related to drugs or thefts. For 2011/12 the city almost doubled the crime national average (City of Cape Town, 2016, p. 17).

The city of Cape Town has had the initiative to regenerate punctual locations around the city based on the Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) approach, with the objective of helping the city to “ignite urban renewal, economic growth and job creation in these areas” (City of Cape Town, 2016, p. 21). Such an initiative began during 2015 and five locations were identified to develop TOD projects: Bellville, Philippi East, Paardevlei, Athlone Power Station, and Cape Town central business district (CBD). Even though master plans were proposed for each location, Dutch consultants were included into the project in 2017 to start the formulation phase again. The purpose of inviting foreign expertise was to provide guidance on how to successfully formulate the planning strategy for the first three locations, visibly in Figure 6. For this, three workshops of three days each were arranged –one workshop per location. According to the proposal made by the Dutch consultants to South-African authorities, the main goal of the workshops was to “create a wider range of potential development scenarios based on actual data and considered in a design thinking setting” (2017, unpublished internal document). Moreover, Dutch consultants proposed to combine the concept of TOD with what they call *urban accelerator*, basing the workshops and punctual projects also on this approach. The concept, presented hereinafter as TOD accelerator, is developed in further depth in Chapter 5.

The three-day workshop for Bellville took place on the second week of March, Philippi on the third week of May, and Paardevlei on the first week of June, all in 2017. The workshops were so successful that negotiations for more workshops have started among Dutch consultants and South-African authorities. Concrete strategies remain still on formulation phase.



Figure 5. Map with the three locations for workshops: Bellville, Philippi and Paardevlei. Source: Dutch Consultancy Company A, unpublished internal document, 2017.

Chapter 5. Findings & Discussions

5.1. Categorising the cases: *multilevel* policy transfer

It was mentioned before the tendency of scholars studying policy transfer on proposing terms that fit their respective case studies. This has suggested a lack of consensus among researchers (De Jong & Edelenbos, 2007; Harris & Moore, 2013), but at the same time it has strengthened discussions. With the purpose of understanding some of the existing terms and how they might be applicable to the case studies of this contribution, the differences and similarities between terms were reviewed in Chapter 4. At the beginning of this research, policy mobility was considered the most appropriate definition for several reasons explained further. However, the empirical data suggests that it is mistaken try to enclose the entire process in only one 'concept'. The projects in Kampala and Cape Town have been a result of several types of policy transfer due to the complexity that encompasses these processes. This has already been pointed out before by Ward (1999, p. 58) who explains that "not surprisingly, therefore, many countries have simultaneously experienced more than one diffusional episode, often overlapping and involving multiple sources" (1999, p. 58). Although, this contribution has shown that not only countries, as in national scale, experience more than one diffusional episode, but so too does a project.

In both cases Dutch consultants got involved in the projects with the purpose of providing guidance for technical solutions. In the case of Kampala, the technical solutions sought were the design of a NMT corridor, as the main output of the project. In Cape Town, it was solutions for the formulation of TOD accelerator projects. Dutch consultants, however, also shared a way of solving planning problems, or in other practical words, an approach to solve problems. Most of the interviewees identified this as the *integrated planning approach*. It was not stated in any report or proposal, but most interviewees identified this approach as the Dutch way of doing things. The concept was defined by one of the interviewees as follows:

In general, what you see by public bodies is that they are organised in pillars, for water, pillar social, pillar security, whatever, and on the top, there's one director and that's it. That means that the horizontal cooperation isn't there. We call it integrated if you work in projects by taking out people, specialists, out of the pillars and bring them together to deal with the plan.

Dutch Consultant 5

The concept is, in fact a key tool promoted by the EU to achieve sustainable urban development among member states (Boeve & Middelkoop, 2010). However, none of the interviewees mentioned the EU influence, and it was clear that the concept is so embedded

within the Dutch practice that its nature was rather identified as something properly Dutch. This is, perhaps, because the integrated approach leads the way for individual solutions according to the particularities of each city's problems (Boeve & Middelkoop, 2010). In addition, the Netherlands is constantly adapting it within their planning culture according to their planning challenges (Nillesen & Kok, 2015). Hence, the Dutch are so used to the integrated approach that it comes as no surprise that it has driven their role in both cases.

The integrated planning approach shares the fundamentals of policy mobility. According to the concept explained by McCann and Ward (2013) mentioned before, policy mobility is the process where the knowledge from a certain place mutates and is assembled to another place, with the purpose of maximising strategies that solve governance problems. Integrated planning is an approach flexible enough to allow adapting a technical solution to any reality. Thus, it is understood in the cases of Kampala and Cape Town, as the *main* knowledge being mobilised, and coming from the Netherlands. This is in principle, what could be the *main level* of a multilevel policy transfer, as this approach facilitated the assemblage of technical concepts in the respective needs of Kampala and Cape Town.

Furthermore, the technical knowledge requested to Dutch consultants by the authorities of both cases, was influenced by other ways of policy transfer, adding other levels of policy transfer to the process. For the case of Kampala, the interviewees stated that the NMT pilot project began when one of the interviewees, a Ugandan urban planner, completed her master's degree in the Netherlands. During this period, she was part of a *knowledge transfer* programme that her university organised, and several companies shared their expertise related to traffic and transportation issues.

It's a process, and it's interesting because it started with knowledge transfer. It was a student... she did her masters study, and she saw this city of Deventer, and she saw people biking and cycling to school; while in Kampala everything is [spoiled] by congestion. So, she was so convinced that she [wanted] to bring this knowledge to her country.

Dutch Consultant 2

The knowledge learned from the knowledge transfer programme would have been enough to change the policies for NMT modes in Kampala, as Ugandan actors suggested. They clarified that without Dutch help the output would have been the same, yet the pace in which it happens was considerably faster than without their involvement.

In terms of consistency of the output, we would get the same output [as Dutch], but it takes a bit longer in Uganda because of the long decision-making at various levels.

Ugandan Civil Servant 8

[Without the Dutch] it would have happened - but the pace in which it happened, it was so fast.

Ugandan Consultant 9

On the other hand, the case of Cape Town was influenced by another type of policy transfer. In this case, it was the Dutch consultants who drew ideas from other places and then translated that to the projects, besides the integrated planning approach. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the TOD concept was merged with the concept of urban accelerator, with the idea of turning the TOD projects into accelerators of urban regeneration. Urban accelerators are defined by interviewees as punctual urban

interventions that will catalyse regeneration in its surrounding areas with a 'rippling effect'. The concept was proposed by Dutch consultants, who were admittedly inspired by the regenerative process of Bilbao after the construction of the Bilbao Guggenheim Museum and the organic-shaped metro stations.

And this process is a reaction of the traditional master planning... But then Africa doesn't have the money for it, time for it, so that's why we came up with this urban accelerator approach. And in fact, we learned that from Bilbao.

Dutch Consultant 2

This has become known as the Bilbao-effect, studied by many scholars after several cities have attempted to implement it (González, 2011; Franklin, 2016). Interviewees stated that in Cape Town the participants of the workshops were so motivated by Bilbao that they were planning to visit the city.

Empirical data has suggested that in policy transfer cases diverse types of mobilising knowledge influence the process, as it was the programme of knowledge transfer (Boh, et al., 2013), or the inspiration (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000) from Bilbao. As McCann and Ward state: "It is [a process] that involves a wide range of practices and sites. It is about fluidity [and] mobilisation" (2013, p. 9). Moreover, the types of knowledge being mobilised also mark levels of policy transfer. Whereas mobilising integrated planning seems to fit in the concept of policy mobility or any type of soft transfer, the technical solutions suggest fitting rather in lesson-drawing concepts or any other form of hard transfer.

5.2 About the knowledge: tacit vs. explicit knowledge

In Cape Town, it's more a process we do for education and for reorganisation. That's the main issue, and then the second one is about the content of these urban accelerators.

Dutch Consultant 2

The differences between the integrated planning approach and technical content also seem to have a direct influence on how it is assimilated and used by transfer agents (Khirfan, 2011). Empirical data shows that, in both cases, there were more difficulties trying to understand and apply the integrated approach than the technical knowledge. Moreover, two main factors were common on the way knowledge were assimilated and embraced by local actors: the type of knowledge, and their cultural backgrounds.

Tacit and explicit knowledge are the two types of knowledge reviewed in Chapter 2 (Tuan, 2012; Faulconbridge, 2013). Tuan defines tacit knowledge as "intuitive, unarticulated and can not [sic] be verbalized... as well as acquired through experience sharing, and through observation and imitation" (2012, p. 461). The integrated planning approach, even though it can be explained in words, seems to be something closer to tacit than explicit. Dutch interviewees pointed that the integral way of doing planning is strongly embedded in their culture and are convinced that it is the state-of-the-art in planning. When one of the interviewees was asked why, he replied:

It has to do with water management. Because this country is 50% below sea level so we always have to manage our land use very well, otherwise we simply would be below sea level. So, it's in our genes to plan our cities very well. And plan the water management system well... In the 60's and 70's we developed a theory and a way of planning our city which seems to be the way to do it.

Dutch Consultant 2

Hence, integrated planning has been an accumulation of years of experience. Indeed, Dutch Consultant 1 commented that the Dutch have been doing spatial planning for 500 years. Therefore, the use of integrated planning as an approach to solve governance problems was something new to the Ugandan and South African actors and not easily applied by them.

Interviewees pointed that the reason why integrated planning was hard to digest is because it is not in the 'mind-set' of Ugandans and South-Africans. They underlined that such a mind-set, in both cases, is a result of cultural and institutional contexts. Both Kampala and Cape Town happen to have the opposite of an integrated planning culture, where sectors do not communicate between each other. In the case of Kampala, the problem lies in the dependency the government has over foreign funding (e.g. donations from developed countries or international organisations) for developing programmes and projects. Interviewees advocated that this situation has caused Ugandans to only focus on projects with funding, being "scattered around" (Dutch Consultant 1), and a way a working "little by little" (Italian Consultant 6, personal communication), and "small project by small project" (Dutch Consultant 2, personal communication).

In a situation like in Uganda doesn't help to bring in all the donors and all the parties. If you look at 40 years of donors... It is silo, silo, silo... also the donors have been bringing money in silos.

Dutch Consultant 1

Furthermore, in the case of Cape Town, interviewees described the lack of interaction between government sectors because of the divisions that existed during the apartheid. Today, there is still a lack of collaboration between the various sectors in South-Africans, a lack of discussion other about complex planning issues, and a dependence on an established political hierarchy. It was underlined by South-Africans themselves the dependency of decision-making on higher political authorities.

I think today, although apartheid is officially over, those guys have new apartheids, groups are not used talking to each other. Whilst mixed in the office, they are still not mixed and closed like [Dutch] are used to.

Dutch Consultant 4

Hence, since Ugandans and South-Africans have never had experience in solving governance issues by integrating sectors, the Dutch approach was hard to comprehend. Especially in the case of Cape Town where interviewees described how local actors were reluctant, to some extent, to change what they have done so far, combined with the still embedded apartheid influence.

They have to put so much courage in it to continue with this process. Because some really love it and others hate it... Integrated planning can be very threatening. When they don't know what you are talking about [and] they're very used to work in this sectoral thing... They fight against you.

Dutch Consultant 2

In my opinion, the main cultural difference that stood out was the ease with which the Dutch consultants, in our planning and institutional interactions could "integrate" the remnants of our apartheid planning into the new generational thinking. It was more natural and easy for them to propose and encourage integration of Cape Town's racial

divide due to the apartheid planning and infrastructure provision. It seemed more difficult for the local actors to purposefully “undo” the injustices of the past.

South-African Civil Servant 13

Moreover, in both cases it was implied that the comprehension and application of tacit knowledge (i.e. integrated planning approach) requires more than just projects. In the case of Cape Town, it was stated by Dutch consultants that they do not believe South Africans will apply integrated planning on their capabilities after three workshops of three days each. The Ugandan civil servant interviewed did not mention the integrated approach whatsoever nor did relate it when asked for parallel achievements from the project besides the design of the NMT project and its construction.

On the other hand, knowledge for technical solutions was rather easier to comprehend in both cases. Explicit knowledge can be defined as the one “codified and expressed in formal language” (Tuan, 2012, p. 461). Technical solutions, such as the design of the NMT corridor for Kampala and the conceptual phase of TOD accelerator projects for Cape Town, be knowledge explicitly formulated. Its easiness of comprehension makes explicit knowledge not difficult to adapt to specific contexts as well.

In addition, Khirfan (2011) stated that a learning process is carried out until new prototypes are created (Khirfan, et al., 2013). Empirical data suggests that this is achieved mostly with explicit knowledge. The reason is because local experts, from both cases, happened to provide more input with technical knowledge for the creation of new prototypes that fit their respective contexts. For instance, the concept of TOD accelerator was an idea developed by previous works from the South-African planners, shown in the City of Cape Town Annual Report (2016), and later merged with the concept of urban accelerator brought by Dutch consultants. In Kampala, the situation was similar, as Ugandans also provided technical knowledge to find local solutions. One of the consultants of the project, with Italian background, commented:

Maybe sometimes you cannot even see if the person who is talking is Ugandan or is Dutch, because when you go [through] technical stuff, the background that we have is the same.

Italian Consultant 6

Tacit and explicit knowledge are complementary to each other, and usually tacit knowledge takes precedence over what has been explicitly learned (Zeira & Rosen, 2000; Tuan, 2012). Hence, technical ideas were dependent on the integrated planning approach to implement them. When both knowledge types were combined then solutions were proposed.

For the case of Kampala, the proposals were presented to different stakeholders to get feedback. This stage of the project, according to interviewees, also goes through a phase of resistance due to cultural beliefs.

Most of them are strong motorists. They think moving around in a city in a car driving is prestige. We assume, virtually, they will go on and transform a community. But... they have still that negative attitude toward cycling... Because a bicycle, in the local setting, it's used to bring the water... and people in the city, think the bicycle is only for that borrow.

Ugandan Consultant 9

By the time of this research, no proposal had yet been made for Cape Town. Hence, it was not possible to analyse how stakeholders reacted towards them.

To summarise, the integrated planning approach and the respective technical content of each case were assimilated and manipulated differently by key actors. The former, as embodying a tacit form of knowledge, was harder to assimilate and thus to apply by local experts than technical explicit knowledge. Khirfan et al. state that a learning process requires a combination of "willingness and an absorptive capacity for an effective acquiring of new knowledge" (2013, p. 4). Nonetheless, such a capacity is highly influenced by cultural factors, as discussed above. This means that although a willingness and technical capacity may be present, cultural differences in how planning issues are addressed can represent a challenge. Moreover, the data collected suggests that technical knowledge is the one that goes through most of the changes to achieve adaptation. This is because local experts also provided input with their local and technical knowledge. In fact, Dutch interviewees stated that in the end technical ideas must be mostly led by locals as they know what is best for them. Whereas, the integrated approach ended up being mostly led by Dutch, as this is why they were included in both projects. It was, however, implied by Dutch consultants interviewed that solving problems integrally is still not part of either planning culture in Uganda nor South-Africa, although they could see how locals' design had improved.

5.3. Agents interactions: About social and cultural factors

It was mentioned before that the scarce information there is regarding how cultural aspects influence the interaction of transfer agents and thus the outcomes of a policy mobility process. The empirical data suggests that time, cultural level of friendliness, personal motivations, and cultural closeness play a key role in the agency of actors when interacting, and on the facility of carrying out the process. Both cases were in separate phases of the process when this research was carried out, allowing for a better understanding of the differences of social interactions in policy mobility cases according to the stage of the process.

5.3.1. Time & Space

One of the biggest differences marked between the case of Kampala and Cape Town is the importance of how actors have been interacting. De Jong and Edelenbos describe that in the Pegasus Project case during meetings and workshops "people began to get to know one another better, discussions were more spontaneous and... [As] the social tissue of the group developed, people became more productive and livelier" (2007, p. 695). The authors highlighted that such a positive interaction led to high-quality reports and facilitated the assimilation of the knowledge shared.

According to the analysis, the cases of Kampala and Cape Town expose a similar experience as it shows that the longer they have been interacting, the closer the relationship, and thus the milder and easier the process. Dutch consultants have been working in Kampala for over 5 years. One interviewee, in fact, commented that he had been working with Ugandan people for around 10 years. Whereas, in the case of Cape Town, Dutch and South-Africans have only been interacting for less than a year. It was evident, especially in those Dutch interviewees that have worked in both places, that the level of

closeness was higher with actors from Uganda than with South-Africans. One of the interviewees working in Kampala mentioned:

They get used to you little by little. The first workshop maybe they are a little bit [shy], but then the next one they really know what [is] expected

Italian Consultant 6

Interviewees pointed that the more time they spent together allowed consultants to sense when to discuss sensitive topics that cannot be discussed at the first moment. Moreover, sharing the same physical space to interact also made the relationship stronger and the process easier. One interviewee resided in Kampala, with the intention of collaborate in case something happened, on which she stated:

It was good for them to know that there was always someone [in Kampala] in case of problems that you can call and that is also able to understand their way of living because you're living here... It was nice to them to see that the team was very involved because we had also someone on ground... More in terms of image than in real work

Italian Consultant 6

5.3.2 Level of friendliness

In addition, empirical data shows that the social closeness was also influenced by the cultural level of friendliness. In the case of Kampala, most of the Dutch interviewees underlined that Ugandans are very friendly people, a characteristic that facilitated the work despite their oftentimes lack of high professional level or enough professional capacity.

Uganda is fantastic because of the people, I'd like to emphasise that... open people, really willing to cooperate, very friendly, always space for social talk and a joke, etcetera... so the atmosphere is very nice. I like it a lot because then you've got a good situation to collaborate and to work together.

Dutch Consultant 1

Ugandan actors also highlighted the ease of working with Dutch consultants, as they considered that there was not much of culture shock and that both cultures are very social. Moreover, one of the interviewees pointed the importance of language for social interaction. Dutch consultants possess a high command of English, making it easier to work in the Ugandan (and South-African) contexts.

Also, the language. There's not much of a language barrier. The English language binds us. We don't have so much differences. Both cultures are social, and they both want to plan a new thing, so that helped the project to go on.

Ugandan Consultant 9

In the Cape Town case, on the other hand, the level of social friendliness appeared to be lower, combined by the fact that Dutch and South-Africans have not yet interacted for that long. One of the interviewees commented that he considered South-Africans less friendly than Ugandans, underlining that, as they are highly influenced by British culture, they tend to be polite yet more reserved.

In Uganda, it is easier to be very direct. If we talk about South Africa... they're very English so to speak, so everything is always around the subject... In Uganda we laugh, with human interaction there's where you can actually make strong connections and there's a lot of directness in that.

Dutch Consultant 1

Hence, empirical data shows that high level of friendliness, where actors 'get along', makes the process easier and nicer. Yet, this does not mean it affects the collegiality among assemblies of actors.

5.3.3 Personal motivations

The data suggests that personal motivations and economic benefits might have a more direct influence on the outcomes of the process. As mentioned before, when knowledge is being shared, social relations are based on the expectation of receiving compensation in return (Andriessen, et al., 2002). For this, Andriessen, et al (2002) provide a description of four types of social relations when knowledge is shared. Market pricing, as the social relation where the sharing of knowledge is based on a monetary price, is the one on which relationships were mostly based.

In the case of Kampala, it is important to clarify that money usually comes from international sponsors willing to fund the project. The situation in Uganda is that sponsorship is not constant as it does not always come from the same source nor at the same time. One interviewee specified that when they work in Africa they do it being part of networks, where international organisations (e.g. UN-Habitat, World Bank, developed countries' governments) provide funds. The NMT pilot project was so complex that the funding organisations only participated at some stages of the entire process. Hence, agents, both Dutch and Ugandans, did received a payment for their consultancy fee, yet their agency was not directly dependent on a 'client's' interest, but on their own motivation of carrying out the project.

We were funded by [several organisations]. After five or six years, we got paid by the Kampala city authority... I do exactly what I want to do. But we put a lot of volunteering in it. Because you have a dream to make your city... and it's my second hometown.

Dutch Consultant 2

This facilitated the key actors' agency as they did what they considered best for the city without the pressure of external interests. Nonetheless, according to Dutch interviewees, funding from abroad has made Ugandans rely on it, look for it in any possible chance, and work only when there is funding. This is reinforced by one interviewee who mentioned that for workshops in Uganda participants are paid to assist, otherwise nobody would participate. Some Dutch consultants commented that it is hard to measure whether there was authentic willingness to participate in the project. Interviewees stated:

We assume that when they come to the workshops is because people are interested. But some of them are interested into what it can be.

Ugandan Consultant 9

[Ugandans] look at you as if you can bring a lot of money. 80% of all the work they do in the administration is strange money from outside. So, when I'm coming there they think 'Hey, maybe he has a project and what it's in it for me?' So, that makes it very strange.

Dutch Consultant 2

Some Dutch consultants confessed that this situation may lead to a lack of sharing of ideas with Ugandan participants sometimes, as they do not feel comfortable enough for doing it.

It was not clear for me whether they are more interacting with me because I've got money or if they are interacting with me because I've got good ideas... These ideas are influencing the way I look at them... because I'm in doubt of their motivation I treat them differently if I don't doubt it... so, it's more my point than what it is affecting them... they probably don't have any trouble with it... Maybe I treat them differently, a little bit hesitating or a little bit not really saying 'Yes, okay we're going to do this together' because you still have some sort of different role in this

Dutch Consultant 3

The situation with Cape Town was different as Dutch consultants were directly hired and paid by the city authorities. Hence, the entire process has been more organised to the point Dutch consultants know until what point they would share their knowledge. Andriessen et al. (2002, p. 4) states that in a market pricing relation, as the compensation is material, agents' willingness to share knowledge is dependent on the perception of the reward's value. According to interviewees, this is one of the reasons why they provide mostly guidance for integrated planning instead of purely technical solutions for the TOD accelerators, alongside the need for local knowledge.

A plan needs a lot of local knowledge, and if you want to engineer everything it would be very expensive because our fee is more expensive than the locals', and it's also that you have to keep employment in that [place].

Dutch Consultant 5

Nonetheless, interviewees claimed that this situation did not affect their role in the project, as they were doing what they were asked to provide without the expectation of getting further benefits. When Dutch interviewees were asked if their condition as private consultants influenced their role in the project, most of them replied that it did not. They highlighted the advantage of being a small team able to operate with a lot of freedom without the "sorrows of a big organisation" (Dutch Consultant 5, personal communication).

We are small... we can operate very flexible and that's very nice... We don't have to make return of investments to earn a salary... that means we can let fly in people for the project... it's always a very flat organisation working on a different way than the traditional organisation. We don't have extra costs

Dutch Consultant 5

It can be concluded that good social relations can make the process nicer, yet they do not necessarily lead to a better outcome of the process. Other factors such as personal motivations and economic benefits can have a bigger and more direct impact on the agency of actors and thus on the outcomes of the project.

5.3.4 Previous cultural contact

Data indicates that local agents with a prior contact with Western culture and approach are more likely to get along with Dutch people, more able to understand their approach, and more able to facilitate the process. Coincidentally, in both cases, the local leader of the project studied and had experience in Europe before starting-up the projects. In the case of Kampala, as stated before, the Ugandan leader completed her studies in the Netherlands in urban planning before the commencement of the NMT pilot project. Moreover, one of the Ugandans interviewees added:

The two cultures may be different, but we didn't have that culture shock. Why? Because Uganda has a relationship with the Dutch. Even through the institutional planning [...]

much of our students went to the Netherlands. So, in a way, the shock is not that strong and therefore we easily interact.

Ugandan Consultant 9

It was also stated the other way around, where Dutch were considered suitable because they had previous experience with the Ugandan context and culture:

The same Dutch people had been involved in previous activities in Kampala so they already had information and the backup for the formation for the project so we couldn't have been better experts than the Dutch.

Ugandan Consultant 7

Similarly, the South African leader of the TOD accelerators had also worked in Europe. A Dutch consultant commented, referring to him:

[He] was an African developer with experience in Europe, he came back to Cape Town and he understood our approach... he became a friend of our work from the first hour and up 'til today.

His person is a mix of Capetonian and European. He does understand both worlds.

Dutch Consultant 4

Some scholars (Khirfan, et al., 2013; Stone, 2004) have distinguished between the hard transfer of policies and the soft transfer of norms, as described in Chapter 2. The former process puts more emphasis on the compatibility between contexts, whereas the latter depends more on interaction among agents, as facilitators of knowledge. However, empirical data implies that for a soft transfer of norms, a cultural compatibility between individuals facilitated the process and the assimilation of knowledge being transferred. Empirical data suggests that, the fact that locals were learning a foreign approach, forced them to adapt to Dutch culture more than Dutch consultants adapting to local cultures.

Chapter 6. Conclusions

6.1 Conclusions over main findings

Social interaction in policy transfer, as a learning process in which actors communicate and transfer knowledge, is affected by cultural preconceptions and way of problem-solving of each culture. Cultural aspects such as the level of friendliness and language-spoken can facilitate the process in terms of amenity and easiness. However, they do not guarantee a positive or high-quality outcome from the process of policy transfer. Other cultural factors, such as motivations, level or capacity of trained actors, and cultural beliefs may have a more direct impact on the agency of actors, capacity of understanding, application of the knowledge acquired, and thus on the outcomes of the project. Moreover, there must be a previous level of adaptation from the local agents to the culture of the outsiders, which will facilitate the understanding of the knowledge being transferred. Yet, the level of adaptation is considerably less the other way around. In addition, the fact that local agents 'acquired' new knowledge of how to solve problems does not necessarily guarantee its application for further projects, as their problem-solving culture is highly dependent on wider contexts.

6.1.1 How does the social interaction among transfer agents define the type of policy transfer process adopted?

It was found that an understanding of a policy transfer process is more complex than a single definition can provide. Social interaction, and thus, acquiring knowledge, happens anytime anywhere. It is hard to track the history of acquiring knowledge of one singular agents, for a planning project must be unmanageable. However, the many terms found in the literature provided a deeper insight of the diverse types and levels of policy transfer. Instead of trying to classify both cases on one singular case, it was found that singular cases can have diverse levels of policy transfer. The levels depend on who is bringing the knowledge to the project, from where that knowledge was acquired, what type of knowledge is, and how is that knowledge transferred, assimilated, and applied by agents.

6.1.2 How do cultural preconceptions affect the understanding of the knowledge transferred?

The knowledge being transferred was assimilated differently depending more on the type of knowledge than on the cultural setting of each case. There is a contrasting result between tacit and explicit knowledge. Despite the fact that both types of knowledge are highly connected and complementary, this was not perceived by local agents. Tacit knowledge is harder to assimilate and incorporate in the mind setting of agents since

wider cultural contexts have a stronger influence on their agency. On the other hand, explicit knowledge was easier to assimilate and thus to go through different stages of manipulation, resistance, convincement, and adaptation. Moreover, previous contact of agents with the culture of the outsiders provides a clearer understanding of their culture and eases the assimilation of both types of knowledge transferred. This allows to conclude that the knowledge itself, regardless of its type, cannot be separated of the culture from which it was formerly generated.

6.1.3 What are the cultural factors influencing how transfer agents interact?

Several factors were found to influence the interaction of agents; however, it is important to clarify that the factors mentioned in this contribution should not be limited to the only existing ones or considered applicable to every case of policy transfer.

Four main factors influenced the way agents interact. Firstly, the time they have been knowing each other and sharing time in the same physical space make relationships stronger. This allowed agents to discuss important topics that no one wants to discuss at the beginning, and to make the process easier as the relationship develops. Secondly, the level of friendliness of each culture makes the process less challenging. This allows actors to carry out the process more easily and motivates them to cope with potential challenges, as there is always space for humour. Nonetheless, this does not guarantee a good result of the process or willingness to collaborate. The third factor is the personal motivations to be involved in the project. Willingness to collaborate is highly dependent on the motivation each agent has. Economic benefits may be a strong motivator, but if it is the only factor, then real intentions are questioned by other agents, hindering their own enthusiasm. And finally, when cultures are highly contrasting, there must be a level of adaptation of agents from the less advanced culture to the more advanced. This factor, however, could be subtle and unconscious new ways of colonisation, where developing contexts are the ones forced to adjust their settings to developed ones.

6.2 Recommendations

For further experts working in the policy transfer field, some lessons can be learned from the cases studied. In the first place, policies or knowledge should never be imposed even if it is considered the unique and ultimate way of solving problems. Reluctance and failing on the transferring the knowledge can be challenges encountered. Furthermore, tacit knowledge should be made as explicit as possible. It was not possible to measure how cultures coped with it, but projects present more positive results in technical solutions than in the changing their mind setting for solving problems.

There is still a lot of input that can be provided to existing theories surrounding policy transfer. Firstly, there are many cases that could provide significant input on the literature and help to integrate the disagreements currently existing. For instance, cases of voluntary imposition, or in other words, cases where colonisation is voluntary. It is a very debatable topic that has remained elusive in the literature reviewed, perhaps because most of the literature comes from developed countries for developed countries. Another case worth to analyse are those of experiential knowledge in policy transfer cases, where knowledge does not come from experts but has been learned when non-experts face planning problems.

There is still a lot of what could be written in social interactions, cultural factors, and the influence of the knowledge being mobilised. Especially in extra-ordinary cases when a learning process has not taken place or when the formulation of new policies are not co-created but imposed. At the end, what most of the participants of this research pointed is that policies must to be co-created by merging the best of both worlds.

6.3 Reflections on the research process

Qualitative research where semi-structured interviews must be conducted can be frustrating to some extent, as the data collection depends on the willingness of key participants to collaborate. Moreover, it would have been convenient to be able to conduct all interviews face-to-face. However, in cases where more than one country is included is complicated in terms of time constraints and economic resources. The most complete information was obtained from face-to-face interviews as conversations developed more fluently.

Moreover, policy transfer is, at the end, a policy making process. Political interests and sensitiveness may hinder the process of the research. Interviewees can be reluctant to collaborate if they are not appropriately approached. The selection of simplistic and neutral language can help to approach interviewees without making them feel threaten or investigated.

Manipulating data can lead to a distorted version of the reality. Interpretation and subjectivity over the data is present from the moment data is being transcribed to the analysis of the data already converted into text and codified. Inevitably, there is a level of bias on the findings and conclusions presented, from the perspective of the researcher, and the cultural factors that also influence on her assimilation of the data.

Total word count: 18,160 -Without cover, Abstract, Acknowledgements, Index, Table of Figures, Bibliography, and Annex

Bibliography

Andriessen, J. E., Soekijad, M. & Keasberry, H. J., 2002. *Support for knowledge sharing in communities*. 1st ed. Delft: Delft University Press.

Argote, L. & Fahrenkopf, E., 2016. Knowledge transfer in organizations: The roles of members, tasks, tools, and networks. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 136(2016), pp. 146-159.

Boeve, M. & Middelkoop, L. v., 2010. Sustainable Urban Development, the Dutch Method: Best Practice for the European Integrated Approach?. *Journal for European Environmental Planning Law*, 7(1), pp. 1-23.

Boh, W. F., Nguyen, T. & Xu, Y., 2013. Knowledge transfer across dissimilar cultures. *Journal of Knowledge Management*, 17(1), pp. 29-46.

Bryman, A., 2012. *Social Research Methods*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burger, R., Berg, S. v. d., Walt, S. v. d. & Yu, D., 2016. The Long Walk: Considering the Enduring Spatial and Racial Dimensions of Deprivation Two Decades After the Fall of Apartheid. *Soc Indic Res*, 2017(130), pp. 1101-1123.

City of Cape Town, 2016. *Integrated Annual Report 2015/16*, Cape Town: City of Cape Town.

City of Cape Town, 2017. *City of Cape Town*. [Online]
Available at: <https://citymaps.capetown.gov.za/EGISViewer/>
[Accessed 5 June 2017].

Clough, P. & Nutbrown, C., 2012. *A Student's Guide to Methodology*. 3rd ed. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Company D, 2016. *Bellville Integrated Transport and Land Use Plan: Report (Final Draft)*, s.l.: Unpublished internal document.

Consultancy Company A, 2017a. *Draft Proposal*, s.l.: Unpublished internal document.

Consultancy Company A, 2017b. *Urban Accelerator Bellville: Workshop report*, s.l.: Unpublished internal document.

Consultancy Company B, 2015. *Smart Moving Kampala: Design NMT-pilot project. Extension Speke Road - Shimoni Road*, s.l.: Unpublished internal document.

Creswell, J. W., 2003. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc..

Cycologic. 2016. [Film] Directed by Elsa Löwdin, Veronica Pålsson. Uganda & Sweden: Independent.

De Jong, M. & Edelenbos, J., 2007. An Insider's Look into Policy Transfer in Transnational Expert Networks. *European Planning Studies*, 15(5), pp. 687-706.

Dodds, A., 2013. *Comparative Public Policy*. 1st ed. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dolowitz, D., Greenwold, S. & Marsh, D., 1999. Policy Transfer: Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed, But Why Red, White And Blue?. *Oxford University Press*, 52(4), pp. 719-730.

Dolowitz, D. & Marsh, D., 1996. Who Learns From Whom: a Review of the Policy Transfer Literature. *Political Studies*, Volume XLIV, pp. 343-357.

Dolowitz, D. & Marsh, D., 2000. Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy-Making. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration*, 13(1), pp. 5-24.

Dolowitz, D. P., 2000. Introduction. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration*, 13(1), pp. 1-4.

Dolowitz, D. P. & Medearis, D., 2009. Considerations of the obstacles and opportunities to formalizing cross-national policy transfer to the United States: a case study of the transfer of urban environmental and planning policies from Germany. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 27, pp. 684-697.

Fang, S.-C., Yang, C.-W. & Hsu, W.-Y., 2013. Inter-organizational knowledge transfer: the perspective of knowledge governance. *Journal of Knowledge Management*, 17(6), pp. 943-957.

Faulconbridge, J., 2013. Mobile 'green' design knowledge: institutions, bricolage and the relational production of embedded sustainable building designs. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 2013(38), pp. 339-353.

Flick, U., 2004. Triangulation in Qualitative Research. In: U. Flick, E. v. Kardoff & I. Steinke, eds. *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publication Ltd, pp. 178-183.

Foundation A, 2013. *Smart moving Kampala: Design of NMT-zone in Namirembe Road and Luwum Street*, s.l.: Unpublished internal document.

Franklin, A., 2016. Journeys to the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao: Towards a revised Bilbao Effect. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 59(2016), pp. 79-92.

Freeman, R., 2012. Reverb: policy making in wave form. *Environment and Planning A*, Volume 44, pp. 13-20.

Gerring, J., 2007. *Case Study Research*. 1st ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.

González, S., 2011. Bilbao and Barcelona 'in Motion'. How Urban Regeneration 'Models' Travel and Mutate in the Global Flows of Policy Tourism. *Urban Studies*, 48(7), pp. 1397-1418.

Government of the Netherlands, 2017a. *Partner and focus countries in development cooperation*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.government.nl/topics/development-cooperation/contents/partners-in-development>

[Accessed 27 May 2017].

Government of the Netherlands, 2017b. *Dutch development cooperation policy*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.government.nl/topics/development-cooperation/contents/the-development-policy-of-the-netherlands>

[Accessed 27 May 2017].

Government of the Netherlands, 2017c. *Development cooperation partners and partnerships*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.government.nl/topics/development-cooperation/contents/development-cooperation-partners-and-partnerships>

[Accessed 27 May 2017].

Harris, A. & Moore, S., 2013. Planning Histories and Practices of Circulating Urban Knowledge. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(5), pp. 1499-1509.

Hayes, A. F., 2013. *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: a regression-based approach*. 1st ed. New York: The Guilford Press.

Ismail, M., 2015. Conceptualizing knowledge transfer between expatriates and host country nationals: The mediating effect of social capital. *Cogent Business & Management*, 2(1101803), pp. 1-16.

KCCA, 2014. *Strategic Plan 2014/15-2018/19*, Kampala: Kampala Capital City Authority.

Khirfan, L., 2011. From Toronto to Amman: The Cross-National Transfer of Planning Knowledge. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 12(4), pp. 525-547.

- Khirfan, L., Momani, B. & Jaffer, Z., 2013. Whose authority? Exporting Canadian urban planning expertise to Jordan and Abu Dhabi. *Geoforum*, 50(2013), pp. 1-9.
- Kothari, A. R. et al., 2011. Uncovering Tacit Knowledge: A Pilot Study to Broaden the Concept of Knowledge in Knowledge Translation. *BMC Health Services Research*, 11(198), pp. 1-10.
- Kowal, S. & O'Connell, D. C., 2004. The Transcription of Conversations. In: U. Flick, E. v. Kardoff & I. Steinke, eds. *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 248-252.
- Masser, I., 1990. *Cross national learning for urban policy making*. s.l.:Butterworth & Co.
- McCann, E., 2011. Urban Policy Mobilities and Global Circuits of Knowledge: Toward a Research Agenda. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 101(1), pp. 107-130.
- McCann, E. & Ward, K., 2012. Assembling urbanism: following policies and 'studying through' the sites and situations of policy making. *Environment and Planning A*, Volume 44, pp. 42-51.
- McCann, E. & Ward, K., 2013. A multi-disciplinary approach to policy transfer research: geographies, assemblages, mobilities and mutations. *Policy Studies*, 34(1), pp. 2-18.
- McCann, E. & Ward, K., 2015. Thinking Through Dualisms in Urban Policy Mobilities. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, pp. 828-830.
- Nillesen, A. L. & Kok, M., 2015. An integrated approach to flood risk management and spatial quality for a Netherlands' river polder area. *Mitig Adapt Strateg Glob Change*, 2015(20), pp. 949-966.
- Pearce, B. & Stubbs, M., 2000. The role of mediation in the settlement of planning disputes at appeal: the debate and research agenda. *Environment and Planning A*, Volume 32, pp. 1335-1358.
- Peck, J. & Theodore, N., 2001. Exporting workfare/importing welfare-to-work: exploring the politics of Third Way policy transfer. *Political Geography*, 20(2001), pp. 427-460.
- Peck, J. & Theodore, N., 2010. Mobilizing policy: Models, methods, and mutations. *Geoforum*, 41(2010), pp. 169-174.
- ROM Transportation, 2012. *NMT Pilot Corridor: Model Development Report*, Kampala: Kampala Capital City Authority.
- Sanyal, B., 1990. Knowledge transfer from poor to rich cities: A new turn of events. *Cities*, pp. 31-36.
- Sanyal, B., 2005. Hybrid Planning Cultures: The Search for the Global Cultural Commons. In: B. Sanyal, ed. *Comparative Planning Cultures*. New York: Routledge, pp. 3-25.
- Silverman, D., 2000. *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. 1st ed. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Stewart, C. J. & William B. Cash, J., 2008. *Interviewing: Principles and Practices*. 12th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Stone, D., 2004. Transfer agents and global networks in the 'transnationalization' of policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 11(3), pp. 545-566.
- Stone, D., 2010. Private philanthropy or policy transfer? The transnational norms of the Open Society Institute. *The Policy Press*, 38(2), pp. 269-287.
- Stone, D., 2012. Agents of Knowledge. In: D. Levi-Faur, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 339-352.
- TCT, 2014. *Integrated Public Transport Network Plan 2032: Annexure B*, Cape Town: Transport for Cape Town.

TDA, 2016. *Transformation of the Bellville Public Transport Interchange (PTI): Conceptual Design Report*, Cape Town: TDA.

The World Bank Group, 2017. *Urban population growth (annual %)*. [Online]
Available at: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.GROW?end=2015&locations=NL-UG-ZA&start=2000&view=chart>
[Accessed 27 May 2017].

Trippl, M., 2013. Scientific Mobility and Knowledge Transfer at the Interregional and Intraregional Level. *Regional Studies*, 47(10), pp. 1653-1667.

Tuan, L. T., 2012. Behind knowledge transfer. *Management Decision*, 50(3), pp. 459-478.

UN-Habitat, 2012. *Uganda*. [Online]
Available at: <https://unhabitat.org/uganda/>
[Accessed 27 May 2017].

Ward, S. V., 1999. The International Diffusion of Planning: A Review and a Canadian Case Study. *International Planning Studies*, 4(1), pp. 53-77.

Zeira, A. & Rosen, A., 2000. Unraveling "Tacit Knowledge": What Social Workers Do and Why They Do It. *Social Service Review*, pp. 103-123.

Annexes

Questionnaire for Dutch and Ugandan consultants

1. Before this interview, have you ever heard of any of these concepts: policy mobility, policy transfer, policy diffusion, lesson-drawing, institutional transplantation, policy-learning, cross-national learning, among others?

ABOUT YOUR ROLE IN CAPE TOWN

2. How did you get to work in Africa? Why Kampala/Cape Town? (Only Dutch)
3. Why do you think Dutch experts were considered for this project and no other consultants from other place/country? How would you describe the main purpose of Dutch consultants in Cape Town/Kampala? (*Integrated planning approach?*)
4. Who is the leader of the project?
5. What is your personal role in the project?
6. How would you define the role of Dutch consultants in the project?
7. How would you define the role of South-Africans/Ugandans in the project?
8. Do you think that your condition as private consultant/civil servant affect your role in this process? How?

ABOUT CULTURAL DIFFERENCES NL-SA

9. Can you point in your own words the main differences between the Netherlands and South Africa/Uganda in the following topics?
 - Organisational and institutional structures
 - Ideologies (political and economic way of seeing urban-related topics)
 - Planning cultureHow do you deal with this? Is it part of your proposals to 'change' it?
10. Where there any previous "rules" of what could or could not be discussed during the workshops? If so, was it a spoken agreement or just something implied by both parts? *What type of rules were suggested?*

ABOUT TOD WORKSHOPS

11. Can you describe the process of go/no-go decisions for definite proposals? *Who decides? Who has the last word? Is there any structure?*
12. Can you tell me, in your own words, what is a TOD accelerator? Where did you get this idea from? (For Cape Town case)
13. Did this definition change to some extent after the workshop in Bellville? *Did it change for Bellville?* (For CT case)
14. What follows? *Next stages*
15. At the end, what is the main purpose of the workshop? Did it change to the original idea of how to implement a TOD accelerator? (For CT case)

ABOUT YOUR GAIN

16. Besides the economic benefit, do you, personally, consider to be gaining other benefits in this project? Which ones?
17. Regardless of if this project will be implemented or not, could you mention any positive or negative results from the workshop?
18. From your own experience in this project, what recommendations or lessons learned could you give to future experts involved in similar cases?

Questionnaire to South-African Participants

1. How would you describe your role as a South-African actor and your counterpart's role (Dutch consultants) in the project of Cape Town during the workshops?
2. What do you think are the main cultural differences between Dutch consultants and South-African actors in terms of planning and institutional interactions?
3. Can you describe in your own words what an urban accelerator is and how this concept has been adapted for Cape Town?
4. Can you mention any achievements and/or challenges from the workshops?
5. What have you learnt so far, in personal and professional terms, with this project?

