



THE ASML EFFECT

A case study on the influence ASML has on the
mobility policy of Eindhoven

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Summary

Ever since the financial crisis of the nineties, the city of Eindhoven in the Netherlands has been rebranding itself from an industrial city to a major technological hub. This development is currently being spearheaded by one company, ASML, or as it was originally known, Advanced Semiconductor Materials Lithography. ASML is the current leading manufacturer of the critical lithography machines used in the production of semiconductors (ASML, n.d.). This has made ASML a key player in the region. The rise and growth of ASML has led to a significant increase in strain put onto Eindhoven's transportation network. The Dutch government has introduced the Beethoven plan to combat this increased strain on the mobility infrastructure and to ensure ASML will want to remain and expand within the Eindhoven metropolitan area (Metropool Regio Eindhoven, 2024).

The mobility policy has to be designed in such a way that the increased strain on the mobility infrastructure is dealt with, but the city remains liveable for its inhabitants. Mobility is critical in life. It is one's ability to move around freely. The influence of a large corporation like ASML, raises questions about fairness in the mobility policy. Béland (2009; 2019) illustrates the importance of powerful corporate actors in policy making. He states that these actors play a undeniable role in the politics of policy change. The research aims to determine how much influence a powerful corporate actor, like ASML, has on the policy making process of the municipality of Eindhoven. It does this with a main question and three sub-questions: *How is the making of Eindhoven's mobility policy influenced by the presence and growth of ASML through the lens of the Multiple Streams Framework?*

- Which mobility problems are recognized by the municipality and ASML?
- Which policy options are being considered to tackle these mobility problems?
- Which political factors and interested parties play a role in the policymaking process?

To determine how much influence ASML has had, the research makes use of the Multiple Streams Framework by Kingdon (2014). It explains why certain problems are more important than others and why one problem does get 'solved' while others don't. The framework studies the dynamics between actors, governments and the context (Smits, 2018). The framework divides the policymaking process into three distinct streams, the problem, policy and politics stream. Kingdon (2014) states that policy change will occur when these three streams are brought together by skilled policy entrepreneurs. These are skilled actors that try and influence governments into introducing policy in their favour. By understanding the way policy entrepreneurs define problems

and open policy windows, it can become clear how ASML has used skilled entrepreneurs to influence the municipality.

This all has been studied with the use of interviews and document analysis. The research uses semi-structured interviews, which is a form of interview that allows for flexibility within the interview. It allows the interviewer to veer off course and ask follow-up questions, but it also allows the interviewer to stick to a predetermined set of questions. It has the best aspects of both structured and unstructured interviews. The interviewees consisted of one council advisor, two civil servants, four council members and one ASML employee. To verify their statements and to further understand the influence ASML has, document analysis has been used. This has consisted of an analysis of several policy documents, internal communications and news articles.

This has led to a number of findings within each stream. In the problem stream, three main problems were identified; a speed mismatch between ASML and the municipality, the car centric nature of the city and the overall growth of ASML and the region. The speed mismatch and growth problems were pioneered by ASML, while the car centric problems has been pioneered by the current coalition within the municipality.

A large number of different policy options were uncovered during the research, but the most important ones retaining to ASML included: the Beethoven deal, a new bus line (HOV4), future improvements to the surrounding highways and ASML specific bike parking at Eindhoven central station. Some of the options for the municipality include: lowering the maximum speed, making it harder for cars to pass through the city centre, improving public transport, dividing the city centre into four quadrants so that cars cannot drive between and improving bike and foot infrastructure.

When it comes to the policy options within the city, apart from the municipality, there are a number of parties that play a role in the policymaking process. When it comes to ASML, of course ASML itself plays a role, but the national government plays an important role as well. The national government is quite keen on keeping ASML within the Netherlands due to their importance, nationally and politically, and has therefore become an important actor in Eindhoven's mobility policy retaining to ASML. When it comes to the policymaking within the city, we see the more traditional parties: inhabitants, public transport authorities, consultation bureaus, stakeholders, etc.

This research illustrates how ASML has defined their problems and used skilled policy entrepreneurs to get policy change in their favour. It shows how ASML has used these skilled entrepreneurs to create a policy window by using their powerful voice in the media to air their problems to the country. By doing this, ASML has activated the national and later the municipal

governments to create a policy benefitting ASML and their growth. The governments have instated this policy makes sure that ASML remains within the Netherlands and the Eindhoven metropolitan area.

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1. Introduction

Ever since the financial crisis of the nineties the city of Eindhoven in the Netherlands has been rebranding itself from an industrial city to a major technological hub. This development at first was spearheaded by the cooperation called “Brainport Eindhoven,” a cooperation between the cities corporations, municipality and its citizens (Gemeente Eindhoven, 2024b). Currently one company is rising above all the others in influence, ASML, or as it was originally know, Advanced Semiconductor Materials Lithography. ASML, is the current leading manufacturer of the critical lithography machines used in the production of semiconductors (ASML, n.d.). This has made ASML a key player in the region. The rise and growth of ASML has led to a significant increase in strain put onto Eindhoven’s transportation network. ASML is planning new expansion with space for 20.000 new employees and this could lead to up to 70.000 new jobs in the region (NOS, 2024). This increasing number of employees, suppliers and business partners traveling to and from the company’s headquarters everyday has led to an increase in traffic jams and public transportation use (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2023). Metropolitan area Eindhoven has already made some improvements, like adding an extra highway exit close by the main ASML factory (Gemeente Eersel, 2015).

The Dutch government has come out with a plan to deal with the growing number of commuters coming to the city, to provide the high tech sector with trained employees and to building housing for these new employees. The plan is called “operation Beethoven.” The plan entails a multitude of different measures, entailing a total of 2.5 billion euros. It will be a cooperative effort between the Dutch government, the municipalities in the Metropolitan area Eindhoven, ASML, Brainport and the educators of the tech sector. The educational and housings parts of the deal will get 450 million and 425 million euros, with the remaining 1.5 billion euros going to mobility and infrastructure (Ministerie van Economische Zaken en Klimaat, 2024). The money reserved for mobility and infrastructure is the most important in this research, as this is part of the mobility policy of the municipality of Eindhoven.

The mobility policy is one of the types of policies that have to take into account the growth Eindhoven has undergone in recent years. This policy encompasses the way people move within the city. As the Cambridge Dictionary (2025) puts it, mobility is the ability to move or walk around freely. In Eindhoven’s case this has been put into writing in the ‘Masterplan Mobility 2050.’ This plan mainly entails different types of infrastructure changes and improvements to improve the health and safety in the city. And to accommodate the growth of the city (Gemeente Eindhoven, 2024c). This growth has mainly been caused by the expansion of ASML. The company currently has about 20.000 employees in Veldhoven but expects to expand to 40.000 employees. The growth of ASML does not

only mean the rise of the numbers of ASML employees but also a rise in the number of employees in supporting companies. It is expected that the number of people in the Eindhoven metropolitan area will increase from 800.000 to 1 million in the coming years. This increase will put major strain on the infrastructure in the area. This all has to be accounted for by the municipalities in the area (Van Son, 2024).

The municipality that will be most affected by this growth will be Eindhoven as it is central municipality in the metropolitan area. So the Eindhoven city planners are in for a challenge to guide the growth and development of the municipality after the influx of money from the government. This will be a delicate balancing act of how to take all of the factors into account. The municipality now faces the difficult task of balancing all of the interest within the city, not just that of a company but also that of its inhabitants. This balancing act is also a debate in fairness across the city. Do the inhabitants have just a powerful voice as ASML or does ASML overpower the inhabitants of the city and build the cities infrastructure in their favour?

ASML's influence and economical importance in the city can create a number of tricky questions for the city council. Wijdeven (2025) shows that while the Eindhoven central station is being expanded to cope with the overall growth of the metropolitan area (Gemeente Eindhoven, 2025a), ASML still has a preferential position. The company can rent a space for ASML dedicated bike parking instead of the area being used for general purpose bike racks. Another issue regarding ASML priorities is discussed by De Koning (2024). In an article in the local newspaper he illustrates the priority of the tech sector over the inhabitants. The article describes a bike lane connecting ASML and the High Tech Campus and the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants of its location. Inhabitants had appealed to the council to change the route, but these appeals were nullified by the council and the route has now been build. These kinds of situations raise questions about the priority of ASML and its employees over Eindhoven's inhabitants.

This raises questions about the fairness of a larger corporation and its influence on the city. Does the life of inhabitants get affected by the presence of ASML. Do these inhabitants and their daily lives still have the priority they need, or has the municipality been influenced to switch their focus to ASML and their needs instead of their inhabitants? Has ASML successfully influenced the municipality and shifted their focus onto their problems? Has the ability of the inhabitants to move or walk around freely been affected by the presence of ASML and their wishes? All of these questions relate to a larger problem of fairness within the city regarding the influence of ASML.

In his work Béland (2009; 2019) illustrates the importance of corporate actors in policy making. He states that they play an undeniable role in the politics of policy change. Even though the

local and national institutions remain in a central role of policy making, these corporate actors play an important role in the policy making. In Eindhoven this translates to the council and in this case to ASML. That is why the goal of this research will be to get a thorough insight into the inner workings of the making of mobility policy by the Eindhoven legislators and the influence ASML has on this policy. It is clear as mentioned above that the city and the country will take great measures to make sure that the metropolitan area is future proof and ready for ASML expansion. But are they getting carried away by the growth of ASML and neglecting their inhabitants? This research aims to determine how much influence ASML has on the city council and its mobility policy. One of the ways this influence can be studied is with the Multiple Streams Framework, MSF, a framework that studies the policymaking process and the powerful actors within this process (Hoefer, 2022).

The main question of this research will be answered by understanding how policies are made in connection to different forms of influence. With this in mind, the main question of this research will be: *How is the making of Eindhoven's mobility policy influenced by the presence and growth of ASML through the lens of the Multiple Streams Framework?*

The main question will be answered with the help of three different sub-questions. These sub-questions will follow the line of the so called Multiple Streams Framework, MSF. This is a framework allows the focussing on three distinct aspects of policy making. The framework is divided into a problem, a policy and a politics stream (Hoefer, 2022). So the sub-questions will follow these streams and will therefore be:

- Which mobility problems are recognized by the municipality and ASML?
- Which policy options are being considered to tackle these mobility problems?
- Which political factors and interested parties play a role in the policymaking process?

By researching the making of the mobility policy of Eindhoven, there could be the possibility that the Eindhoven policymakers read the research as a self-reflection of how they deal with the mobility policy and ASML within this policy. It could show a way the council might have chosen ASML's interest over the interests of the city or its inhabitants. In a way the council and civil servants might be able to use this research as a self-reflection on their work and their priorities.

On a broader scale this research might illustrate how large corporations influence local governments. Other municipalities might read the research and learn how Eindhoven is dealing with the presence and influence of a large corporation like ASML. And can therefore adjust their own policies where they think needed or necessary to preserve the needs of their inhabitants.

Although there has been quite some research into the effect a large corporation has on a city. There hasn't been much research that has really delved deeper into the mobility policy making using the Multiple Streams Framework. There has been numerous research regarding the effect a large corporation has on a city, but this has mostly been about economic effects of a large corporation, not about the mobility effects (De Martino et al., 2006; Logan, 2007; Pieterse, 2022; Zukin, 2020). This new perspective will be the analysis of the mobility policy making along the Multiple Streams Framework. The MSF has been widely used and evaluated in other reports, articles and theses (Angervil, 2021; Cairney & Jones, 2015; Chanie, 2024; Herweg et al., 2022; Hoefler, 2022; Smits, 2018). The MSF has however mainly been used to study policymaking on national and international levels. So this research will give a new perspective on how problem, policy and politics converge on a local level, in the context of Eindhoven's mobility policy, through the lens of the Multiple Streams Framework.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Literature review

Before the theory is explained, it is critical to understand what mobility is and how it is important to cities. At its core, mobility refers to the ease and speed with which people, goods and services can move within a city, using the available transportation and infrastructure. "It encompasses different modes of transportation, from walking, cycling and public transportation to driving and logistics" (Puttkamer, 2024). The ability to move around freely in a city is a basic requirement for human life. It is not just about people moving around, but is it about getting people to and from places, including work and leisure activities. It is critical in life.

Fernández-Aguilar et al. (2023) illustrate the importance of a proper mobility network for the overall health within the city. Their research shows that active mobility like walking and cycling improves physical health among the cities residents. They stated that in 13 out of the 16 articles they analysed, mobility changes prioritizing pedestrians and cyclists seemed to have a positive impact on the populations health. This shows just how important mobility and mobility measures can be for a city and its inhabitants. One more way mobility influences the health of a cities inhabitants is through CO₂ emissions. The European Court of Auditors (2020) stated that nearly a quarter of CO₂ emissions within cities are caused by transport. Switching to more sustainable modes of transport can drastically cut these emissions and therefore improve the air quality in cities. Air pollution can be harmful for people and causes diseases and eventually death (World Health Organization, n.d.), so improving the air quality in cities will greatly benefits its inhabitants.

A different way mobility policy impacts cities is economically. Road transport is still one of the most important forms of mobility all over the EU. A result of this reliance on road transport is congestion. This congestion costs society about 270 billion euros every year (European Court of Auditors, 2020). Improving these traffic flows by creating better mobility infrastructure or changing mobility policy can boost productivity and reduce the loss due to congestion. There can be up to a 30% productivity gain in highly congested areas (European Court of Auditors, 2020). By improving mobility policy and infrastructure, a council can directly impact the corporations located in and around their city.

Banister (2007) claims that the existing paradigms surrounding mobility should be more flexible to allow the sustainable mobility agenda to become a reality. He states that an effective implementation of sustainable mobility requires the cooperation of key stakeholders, so they can better understand the reasonings of policy initiatives and support their introduction. He states that coalitions of experts should be formed including: specialists, researchers, academics, practitioners, policy makers and activist. He says that by forming these coalitions, the real debate about sustainable mobility can start to take place. By allowing these parties to help, there will be a willingness to change and an acceptance of responsibility.

Before the theory is explained in detail, it is crucial to understand some of its flaws and strengths. According to Smits (2018) the MSF is a cornerstone in the field of public administration, and has thus been heavily refined and criticized by scholars. The freedom and flexibility that the theory allows are often referred to as its strong and realistic features. However, this causes the theory to be better suited for description than prediction (Smits, 2018; Cairney & Jones, 2015; Zohlnhöfer et al., 2015; Zahariadis, 1998). The theory is better suited to describing, because knowing all of the different relations, conditions and mechanisms in advance is almost impossible. Zahariadis (1998) states that the theory becomes rather complex when the four elements start to interact in context-dependent ways. He states that the MSF leaves room for interpretation by acknowledging the role chance plays in decision-making. This theoretical flexibility explains the delicate and unpredictable nature of policy making according to Rawat and Morris (2016). Weir (1992) raises a critique on Kingdon's model by stating that the theory does not pay enough attention to the effect previous policies have on the current debates and how learning from these affects new policy.

Schiffers and Plümer (2024) have used the MSF to analyse the adoption and reform of the German lobbying register law. They have used the MSF to explain the dynamics in the policy change. In their research, a shift in framing of the 'problem' led to an already prepared solution being put in place. This shows the fact that governments need a policy window to change certain policies. In this case the German government waited for a lobbying scandal to be able to introduce a new lobbying

register. Their paper explains how a different frame of an already existing situation led to a policy shift and therefore explains the large part problem framing plays in the MSF and the policy making process.

Von Malmberg (2024) shows how he used the MSF to analyse the change in EU maritime emissions policy. He showed how two opposing parties influence the politics differently and how one was eventually chosen over the other. He shows that a group of NGO's won more support in the European council than the large companies of the shipping and fossil fuel industries. He shows that these large corporations did not get enough support of the European council and therefore could not push their frame of the problem, while the NGO's did get the needed support and therefore could push their frame. This framing resulted in higher standards for reduced emissions. This research shows that large corporations do not always have the strongest voice in the policy making process.

Peng et al. (2024) use the mechanism of partial coupling within the MSF. They show how a coupling between the politics and problem stream opens the policy window for formulation, driving the policy stream forward. They have studied this in the context of Chinese rural governance policy output. In their research they show how elites open policy windows and how entrepreneurs use these window to incorporate policy solutions into the governmental agenda. They go on to show how the central government has the power to create policy windows before the coupling between problems and politics is complete. This shows how a powerful actor can influence the process of the MSF.

Ackrill et al. (2013) describe several strengths and limitations of the MSF. They state that because of the flexibility the theory offers, it can be intertwined and used with other theories to explore more complex issues the MSF cannot fully describe on its own. Furthermore the theory can accommodate changes in actor preferences and strategies. Because of the separate streams the actors can be seen as a driving force in explanations within the MSF. One of the limitations Ackrill et al. (2013) describe is the lack of context. A situation can play out differently in a different context. A policy actor can do exactly the same but in a different context, it might result in a different or no policy change. This is one of the limitations of the MSF.

According to Smits (2018) multiple scholars have suggested that the policy stream has to be adjusted. Either into a number of different mini streams or that it should be seen as a policy environment instead of a separate stream (Exworthy & Powell, 2004; Ness, 2010). Smits (2018) states that numerous research has been done, applying the MSF to a vast variety of different cases, but there has also been research where the scholars have taken a specific concept from the framework and have used just that, without placing it in the overarching Multiple Streams Framework.

2.2 Multiple Streams Framework

In this research, the Multiple Streams Framework, will be applied to be able to research the bigger picture of mobility policy, but also to zoom in on different actors. The goal of the research is to determine the influence a certain group of actors has on the policy-making. Being able to separate the multiple streams from one another, but then later on combining the streams gives a boost to the research, by allowing the individual analysis before the streams are combined into a larger policy window. The independent analysis per stream will allow for a more detailed analysis of every stream, by understanding the streams it will be clear how ASML has influenced the municipality. By combining the streams, after the independent analysis, the framework can illustrate how ASML uses skilled policy entrepreneurs to benefit from a window of opportunity and create a policy window. This will help to better understand the effect ASML has had on the mobility policy.

The multiple streams framework, MSF, is an approach to analyse the policy making process (Hoefler, 2022). The MSF explains why certain problems are more important than others and why one problem does get 'solved' while others are not. The theory takes a closer look at the dynamics between actors, the structure of the government and the surrounding environment. In this process, context and time play a crucial role in shaping policy decisions (Smits, 2018). Ackrill et al. (2013) state:

The MSF explores which issues get attention and when, how and which actors are mobilized to participate in a given choice opportunity, how issues are framed and meaning generated, and how the process is politically manipulated by skilled policy entrepreneurs. (p.872)

Ackrill et al. (2013) use this quote to illustrate the complex nature of the framework. They use it to illustrate the important role the policy entrepreneurs play in the MSF and in the policy process. In his book *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*, Kingdon (2014) states that he believes policy making is best understood by structuring these processes into three different streams. He divided them into the problem, policy and politics stream. Kingdon (2014) says policy change will occur when these three streams come together through policy entrepreneurs. He stated that policy entrepreneurs are skilled actors that use different types of influence to bring their frame of the situation to the forefront. Ackrill et al. (2013) state that these "Policy entrepreneurs are skilled and resourceful actors who couple the three streams together" (p.873). These entrepreneurs try to combine the three different streams into their favour and by doing so create a window of opportunity. These skilled policy entrepreneurs can then use the created window of opportunity to push their desired policy and use this window to try and stimulate a policy change in their favour. Kingdon named this moment a 'policy window' (Kingdon, 2014).

Kingdon says policy entrepreneurs are motivated by a number of different things:

Their straightforward concern about certain problems, their pursuit of such self-serving benefits as protecting or expanding their bureaucracy's budget or claiming credit for accomplishment, their promotion of their policy values, and their simple pleasure in participating (Kingdon in Smits, 2018, p.14).

Kingdon states that policy entrepreneurs are people or organisations who are willing to invest their resources in return for favourable policy in the future (Smits, 2018). These entrepreneurs can come up during several stages of the policy-making process. They can influence the political environment, they can give policymakers certain ideas or they can even be the overarching actor who couples the three streams. Kingdon states that these entrepreneurs can play a number of different roles in the policy-making process that they don't necessarily match a predefined characteristic. They can have different roles like, journalists, scholars, civil servants, lobbyist, researchers of elected officials (Smits, 2018).

Kingdon has divided the Multiple streams framework into three separate streams, the problem, policy and politics stream. These streams all serve a different purpose in the greater framework. Hofer (2022) says that a bad situation is objectively not a problem in the MSF. He says that the situation must be defined as a problem before political action will be taken. If a situation isn't seen as a problem, the government won't see a reason to deal with the situation, so the situation has to be defined as a problem first. Entrepreneurs define these situations as problems in the way they see the problem. In the case of this research the growth of ASML might be defined as a problem both by the council and ASML while having different definitions to said problem. Different actors may see this situation as a different problem and try to convince other actors that something needs to be done. The different views on the same situation can in turn lead to different policy outcome depending on the 'winning' policy entrepreneur. Once a policy entrepreneur has established their frame as the most important frame of the problem and it has made its way onto the governmental agenda "it may be seen as a problem in search of a solution" (Hofer, 2022). A different 'winning' frame can therefore lead to a different policy change. That is why the problem entrepreneurs can be so important in the MSF. According to Hofer (2022) problem definitions can come to be in two ways, either the slow development of information over time, or a sudden focusing of events.

Brunner (2008) says that "when a problem is identified, the search for a solution begins." The policy stream is the process in which policy proposals are made and considered. According to Kingdon (2014) there is a 'policy primeval soup' in where all the alternative policy solutions to a problem reside. From within this 'soup' a policy proposal will eventually float to the top when a fitting problem presents itself. According to Ackrill et al. (2013) it can also be the other way around. In some cases there might already be an solution for a situation, but the problem is not yet the main frame. So the

policy entrepreneurs have to either wait for the problem frame to shift or have to shift it themselves in order for them to implement their policy solution.

Hoefer (2022) says that just like the problem entrepreneurs there are policy entrepreneurs who believe their solution to a certain problem is the most useful, and so will push for their solution to be used by the policy-makers. These policy entrepreneurs likely have an ideological focus, therefore they must not only influence and persuade decision-makers, they also need proper timing. "Many good proposals have fallen on deaf ears because they arrived before the general public, the specialized public, or the policy communities were ready to listen" (Kingdon, 2014). Researchers also note that even with the proper timing, not all policy ideas are equally likely to be used. Some policy is beyond the acceptable limit, some lack feasibility and some are just too expensive (Hoefer, 2022).

According to Hoefer (2022) the political stream is the hardest to explain. He states that it is a combination of the national mood, the elected officials active in the decision-making process, and the interested groups. Kingdon (2014) says that the political stream is mainly there to facilitate the convergence of the other two streams. Hoefer (2022) states that the main point to remember about the politics streams, is that policymaking is not a rational process with clear goals. It is a process that is random and dependant on skilled entrepreneurs. By their framing and coupling of problems and policy, they can appeal to a majority of the decision-makers during a brief policy window.

By understanding the way policy entrepreneurs define problems, it can become clear how ASML has used these skilled policy entrepreneurs to define their problems. By understanding how ASML has defined their problems, it can become clear how they have used these problems to influence the municipality into implementing fitting policy changes. Once a problem is identified and on the governmental agenda, it is merely waiting for a policy solution (Kingdon, 2014). So understanding how ASML can define their problems and put these on the governmental agendas, can explain how ASML influences the municipality. That is how the multiple streams framework can help answer the main question of this research.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Approach

The goal of this research is to get an in-depth understanding of the mobility policy making process in Eindhoven and the influence ASML has had on this process. To get such a thorough understanding of this process, qualitative methods are needed. Qualitative research draws on language and small samples and is used when focussing on events, contexts or individuals (Gerring, 2017). A method within qualitative studies that allows for the focussing on a specific case, is the case study. A case study allows the in-depth focus on a specific subject. By allowing this in-depth focus, the case study can give a greater understanding of certain phenomena within the MSF, linking causes and outcomes (Flyvbjerg, 2011). This is why the case study has been used in this research.

Within the qualitative studies there are a number of different data collection methods, but the most wide spread are interviews and document analysis (Gerring, 2017). These two methods will also be used in this research as it allows for policy analysis and first hand data on the policymaking process from respondents within ASML and the municipality.

There are a number of different types of interviews, but this research used the semi-structured interviews, SSI. According to Adams (2015) the semi-structured interview uses closed- and open-ended questions and follows these with why or how questions. The open- and closed-ended questions function as probing questions and as a guideline to keep the interview on track. Unlike structured interviews the SSI gives the freedom to veer off course and ask questions not previously thought of or allows for a more in-depth follow-up question. Where the unstructured interview gives complete free reign to the interviewer, the SSI makes the interviewer stick to a certain central line within the interview, making sure that all the important questions have been asked (Adams, 2015). This combination of flexibility and freedom makes the semi-structured interview a good choice for this research.

Before the interviews could get started, an interview guide had to be constructed. To make this interview guide, the plan of Kallio et al. (2016) has been followed. The researcher started by collecting research about policy research, mobility and the MSF. Once this had been collected, a draft of an interview guide was made using this data and following the MSF. Following the MSF allowed the interview guide to be specified to the different streams within the MSF and this allow more specific question. Then this preliminary interview guide was tested on a fellow student and with their feedback was adjusted and finalised. During the interview process, the interview guide was updated multiple times following feedback from the respondents on questions.

Interviews were not the only means of data collection. There has also been document collection. This is a form of data collection where documents like, policy documents, internal communications, news paper articles, research articles are collected. This is a very broad way of data collection but it can help verify certain findings and specific quotes (Bowen, 2009).

3.2 Data collection and analysis

At first, the possible respondents had to be found and contacted. A list had to be made of possible interviewees. A selection was made of government officials, civil servants and ASML employees. These people were contacted by filling out contact forms on the municipalities website, emailing the support of the council and searching on LinkedIn. The aldermen were unfortunately not available to be interviewed. The council support replied with a list of possible council members and civil servants and one member of ASML replied on LinkedIn. In the end, one council advisor, four council members, two civil servants and one ASML employee were interviewed. These interviews all followed roughly the same format, a formal introduction, some small talk before starting, an introduction to the interview including consent to record, the semi-structured interview itself and an ending of the interview. Most of the interviews were between 30 and 45 minutes with an outlier of 52 minutes. Two of the interviews were online and were recorded online, the rest of the interviews were in person and were recorded on the researchers phone. Once all the interviews had been completed, they were all transcribed with the help of Amberscript, a website that transcribes audio files. Once the transcripts were done, they were checked by the researcher on any mistakes and these were corrected. Once this was complete, the interviews were analysed using multiple layers of codes with the use of the ATLAS.ti software. Following Williams and Moser (2019) and Plochg and Van Zwieten (2007) the documents were first coded into larger passages of text to fragmentize the text. After this, documents were coded again but this time looking for meaning within the text instead of categorizing the text. After this final round of coding, the different results were described along the central themes of the Multiple Streams Framework.

The documents were collected by searching through news, government, municipality and corporate websites. Eventually a collection of internal communications, policy documents, research and news articles formed. All of these articles were read and the most important parts of these articles were written down and categorized. These statements were in turn used to support and elaborate on the findings of the interviews. In some cases these findings were presented separately as they explained parts of the policy making process the interviews could not.

4 Results

Once finished with the data collection, eight interviews were conducted and a number of documents had been analysed. The interviewees range from city officials to a mobility worker at ASML. The interviewees consist of 4 council members, 1 council advisor, 2 civil servants and 1 mobility program managers at ASML. Speaking to this wide range of people from within the municipality has given a broad understanding of the way the municipality views mobility and everything that it encompasses. The ASML respondent has also given a clear view of their position.

4.1 Problem stream

The problems Eindhoven experiences surrounding mobility are varied. Three main problems seem to have been defined and brought to the governmental agenda by policy entrepreneurs from either ASML or the municipality itself: a speed mismatch between the municipality and the growth of ASML, the car centric nature of Eindhoven and the sheer growth of ASML.

4.1.1 Speed mismatch

The speed mismatch between the municipality and ASML mainly lies with the inability from the municipality to keep up with ASML's growth. The company is simply growing too fast for the municipality. The municipality has to undergo a long and arduous process to implement any kind of change while ASML would like to have things done as fast as possible. One of the civil servants has mentioned this and said that a problem in working with ASML is a different definition of the word quick. When ASML wants something done quickly, it is usually complete within half a year and they can move on, while the municipality takes much longer. According to them, the municipality has introduced a new package which they call the ultra short term package. Although the name suggests a highly efficient and speedy process, in actuality the municipality is happy if the process is completed within two years. According to them it is quite rare that something is finished within two years. Almost all of the other respondents that have been interviewed have either agreed with the statement that there is a speed mismatch or brought it up themselves when asked if there were any problems caused by the growth of ASML. The other civil servant also stated: "You see that the implementation sometimes lags behind the resources made available." This demonstrates that even though the municipality is willing to implement certain strategies, they, at this moment, do not have enough resources to keep up with the growth of the city and ASML. They stated that it is not just as simple as throwing money at a problem. They stated that the municipality does not have the manpower to keep up with the growth.

The ASML respondent has also mentioned this issue. In some cases a civil servant goes on holiday and the municipality simply does not have the manpower to fill the gaps, which leads to a backlog of

work. They state that in some cases the municipality is too slow and they can't wait to implement something while the municipality lags behind because "We can't wait on them and say, ok then we won't grow." This means that sometimes they have to deviate from the deals made with the municipality, simply because they are too slow. This can sometimes mean that, even though the municipality and ASML have decided to try and reduce the number of employees coming by car, ASML has to build a new parking garage because the alternatives aren't delivered fast enough to keep up with the growth. The ASML respondent does state that it isn't always the fault of understaffing within the municipality. A municipality simply takes longer to realize certain plans because they have to undergo a long and arduous legislative process. A plan has to be drafted, it has to pass the council, a participation process, etc. This process automatically leads to longer development times. This then contributes to the already present speed mismatch.

This speed mismatch problem has really been pioneered by ASML. The ASML respondent has said that they constantly try to urge the municipality to speed up and to adapt faster. One of the ways ASML has really brought this problem to the governmental agenda is when the ex ASML CEO threatened to expand elsewhere if the government could not provide adequate mobility and infrastructure. He said "We are an international company and we go to spaces with the possibility of growth." This bombshell is said to have activated the national politics and eventually led to the creation of the Beethoven deal and the injection of billions into the greater metropolitan area and 1.5 billion into its infrastructure and mobility (Wijdeven & Van Houtert, 2024). ASML has used the media to bring their problem to the governmental agenda. By dropping this bombshell of a statement, ASML has simultaneously activated the national and local governments to respond to their problem and find a suitable solution. ASML has in this case used their powerful voice to directly catapult their problem to the forefront of the media and the governmental agendas.

4.1.2 Car centric

One of the problems the municipality of Eindhoven is currently facing, is the fact that Eindhoven was build with the car in mind and this does not fit in the modern vision of a healthy and liveable city. As put by the commission member of the workers party, Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA), that was interviewed, Eindhoven is a new city and grew exponentially after the second world war. This growth was different to other older cities because a lot of the infrastructure wasn't in place yet. The city planners had a lot of, relatively, open space to work with. At the time the main urban planning paradigm in the Netherlands was influenced by the US, and in the US the car was the absolute top priority with any kind of development. The Dutch urban planners followed this example and built and adapted the Dutch cities to the car. However in the modern day, the car is becoming an unwanted entity within cities. Eindhoven is no different. The municipality states that this car centric nature of

the city leads to other problems like a lack of space, pollution, noise pollution and problems with traffic safety. They then go on to give an example of the lack of space and traffic safety issues. They state that there is a lack of space in some of the waiting area for bikes at crossroads. According to the PvdA respondent, the car has too much space and the bike and pedestrian have too little space. On the traffic safety front, the PvdA respondent mentioned speaking to parents in the city that don't feel comfortable having their kids bike around the city because they feel it has become unsafe for non-car traffic. This really illustrates the fact that the car centric nature of the city is no longer wanted by the municipality and its inhabitants.

There are of course a different political outlooks on the problem. The researcher has also spoken to a member of the party for freedom and democracy, the VVD, and their statement is quite different to that of the PvdA. They do believe that in some way, shape or form it might be good to deter cars from entering the city centre, but they also believe in freedom and that everyone has the right to choose their own means of transportation. They believe the car should not be impeded but the other forms of transport have to be improved, so people will choose an alternative because it is better than the car. However the VVD did not receive enough votes in the previous election and is therefore not in the coalition, so their frame of the issue is not the main frame within the city. The main frame within the municipality is the frame of the PvdA because they are part of the coalition. The frame of a city that has been designed around the usage of cars which does not fit in the modern day society and therefore has to shift to a city that uses more alternative modes of transport.

Multiple of the interviewees have also mentioned that the growth of the city and the growth of ASML adds fire to the already existing problems. The member of the PvdA mentioned that even without the explosive growth ASML is providing, the car centric nature of the city would still be a problem. They state that the city has made a mistake in the 60s and 70s that has led to the car centric nature of the city and that without ASML, that would still be a problem. They state that the growth of ASML has sped up and strengthened the issue. The PvdA interviewee says "But ASML does strengthen it, they bring it to the surface." Even without ASML the car centric nature would be a problem but because of the growth of ASML, the problem is more clearly visible and worse than it would be without ASML.

All of the remaining respondents within the municipality have reiterated this problem in some shape or form. Not specifically as a problem that the city is facing because of the growth of ASML but a problem the city is facing regardless. The municipality has taken some measures to tackle the problem, but it has not been enough and the car centric nature of the city is still seen as a problem by the current coalition. In this case the municipality themselves have pioneered this problem of a car centric city. As the PvdA respondent has said, the municipality has seen the problems that a car

centric city can cause on multiple fronts and has therefore decided to adapt this problem. The problems a car centric city can cause themselves have not been pioneered by the council, but rather by researchers, two of these are Nice et al. (2025) and Sheller & Urry (2000). The council has simply chosen to accept this as a problem and put it on the governmental agenda themselves.

4.1.3 Growth

Eindhoven itself and the Eindhoven metropolitan area has grown and will continue to grow massively. The city itself has grown from 224.788 inhabitants in 2016 to 246.412 inhabitants in 2024 (*Buurtvergelijker - Bevolking - Eindhoven*, n.d.). This is only within the city itself, the overall growth of the metropolitan area is much larger. This growth is not going to stop. ASML has announced that they will be adding 20.000 new jobs over the next few years, partially on their current campus in Veldhoven, but mainly on a to be realised campus within the municipality of Eindhoven. The area designated for this growth will be part of the Brainport Industries Campus (BIC). The specific area will be the northern most part of the campus and will therefore be called BIC North. According to multiple of the interviewees these 20.000 new jobs at ASML can lead to up to 50.000 jobs in other sectors. They state that one job at ASML provides 2,5 jobs elsewhere. Because ASML wants to expand, 70.000 new jobs will be created in the metropolitan area (Brainport Industries Campus, 2024). This will attract more people to the city and metropolitan area. This will in turn lead to an increasing demand in housing, transport, facilities, etc. This can also lead to more congestion caused by all the new workers commuting to and from work by car.

The growth of ASML has in the past already led to increased congestion in the crucial highway nodes surrounding the city and bordering the current and the future ASML campus (Studio Bereikbaar, 2018). One of the council members has also mentioned that these highways have already been expanded once, but that there is a new research into a possible new expansion because the highways are continuously clogging up.

The ASML respondent has also stated that their ongoing growth has impacted the congestion surrounding their campus. They stated that they noticed the 'Kempenbaan,' the road towards ASML, was starting to get clogged up. Following this, ASML started exploring new options for employee transport. They started to encourage their employees to leave the car at home and start coming by public transport and bike. This has in turn led to busier trains, busses and bicycle lanes and parking. These problems have been categorised within the greater growth problem, as this is mainly due to the growth of ASML and the city.

The growth problem has once again been pioneered by ASML. The council has seen and registered the issue as evident from the interviews, but the council is more focused on the car centric nature of

the city. ASML has really put their foot down on this problem. They have done this in the same way as with the speed mismatch problem. The problems of a speed mismatch and growth are intertwined and have been put on the governmental agenda in the same manner. When the ex ASML CEO said: “We are an international company and we go to spaces with the possibility of growth” (Wijdeven & Van Houtert, 2024), this was referring to both the problem of growth and the problem of the speed mismatch. ASML has used this window of opportunity to define both problems and create a policy shift in their favour.

4.2 Policy stream

The city of Eindhoven faces a multitude of problems surrounding mobility. Partially caused and defined by ASML and partially because of the inherent flaws in the cities design. Quite obviously the municipality and ASML are hard at work to tackle the aforementioned issues, to increase public wellbeing within the city. But also to make sure ASML’s problems will be solved after ASML has expertly brought these problems to the governmental agenda. This means that there are a number of different possible solutions. Because there are so many, the policy options and already approved plans will be clustered into different types of groups. These will be put into one of four categories: biking, cars, public transport or overall.

4.2.1 Biking

There are a lot of different kinds of biking solutions within the city, partially tailored towards ASML and other companies and partially tailored to the overall city. One of the more ASML focussed biking solutions is the biking highway that connects De Run, the industrial estate where the main ASML campus is located, and the High Tech Campus, located in the southwest corner of Eindhoven. This biking highway was specifically constructed in between these two technological powerhouses in the area, to connect them and improve the traffic flow between them. ASML itself is partially funding this project, as part of one of the development deals made with the local and national governments. ASML itself is also heavily involved in the so called modal shift. They try to get their employees to use public transport and/or the bike and leave the car at home. One of the ways they try to accomplish this, is by biking lessons for their new foreign employees to try and get them integrated into the Dutch biking system and to encourage them to use the bike as the main mode of transport to and from work. ASML also provides lendable electric bikes to their staff as a means to complete their commute or to switch between offices. One of the civil servants has pointed out that, to provide ASML with the possibility of using these e-bikes as a means to commute between Eindhoven train station and the ASML campus, they have provide ASML specific e-bike parking. An example of this is the 140 new parking spots for ASML and High Tech Campus e-bikes close to the Eindhoven central station. ASML is leasing the ground from the municipality after it had been turned down by the Dutch

Railways (Wijdeven, 2025). ASML itself has also build a massive network of 17 different e-bike hubs wherefrom their employees can pick-up one of the bikes (Drop Mobility, n.d.).

The municipality itself is, like ASML, heavily invested in a so-called modal shift. They want to entice the car users to leave the car and either, walk, bike or use public transportation. One of the ways they try to improve the bike usage is to build more biking highways. As the member of the PvdA said in the interview, “We aren’t doing it just in Eindhoven, because the biking highways are mainly outside of Eindhoven.” What they are trying to say, is that in order to make this modal shift a success, adapting the biking infrastructure only within the city won’t suffice to entice more biking and less car usage. Most of the cars are coming from outside the city and by building these biking highways they can entice the car users to switch to biking because the infrastructure provides a safe biking space.

The municipality also wishes to create a safer mobility environment for its residents and one of the ways they plan to accomplish this, is by creating crossroads with a height difference. They want to create safer crossing of the ring road by elevating or lowering the bike and foot lanes. The vision behind this is to create a safer and faster crossing, so people will feel safer and be faster when biking then they would have felt before and thus enticing them to leave the car and use the bike (Gemeente Eindhoven, 2024c).

4.2.2 Cars

The car centric nature of the city has been deemed a problem by the municipality. As stated in the masterplan mobility 2050 (Gemeente Eindhoven, 2024c), the municipality has a multitude of options to try and tackle the issues surrounding the car centric nature of the city. One of those is to lower the maximum speed on the main roads within the city. They want to lower the speed on almost all of the important roads within the city. The only roads that will get an exemption will be the “real main roads.” These real main roads form the main lines to and from the highways surrounding the city. They are some of the busiest roads within the city and have mostly been made car only roads, so there is less of a safety concern when keeping the maximum speed higher. The ‘less’ important main road that will be receiving a speed reduction will be the Ring road, from 70 kph to 50 kph. Almost all of the roads within the Ring road will be reduced from 50 kph to 30 kph, all in an attempt to create a safer city for non car users (Gemeente Eindhoven, 2024c).

One of the other ways the municipality will try to tackle this problem is by dividing the city into four separate quadrants. This is part of the traffic circulation plan. This plan aims to deter the car from the city centre, take back space from the car infrastructure and make it available for more greenery, squares, parks, pedestrians, bikes and public transport. By dividing the inner city into four quadrants, the municipality hopes to make four borders which cars cannot pass beyond, thus forcing them to use

the Ring road and avoid the centre. The city centre will almost be divided into two, north and south of the train tracks. By closing the underpasses to cars the city is once again forcing the cars to the Ring road and out of the centre. All of the sector borders and the train tracks will still be passable by bike, foot and bus. The municipality calls these points traffic filters (Gemeente Eindhoven, 2025b). Unfortunately this plan has only just been approved, 20-05-2025, so all that is known are the rougher ideas and not the specific details.

Both of these solutions will, hopefully, lead to less cars going through the city and more cars going around the city. This together with the expansion of ASML to the BIC campus, will lead to more congestion on the highways surrounding the city. To combat this congestion the municipality and the national government have agreed that a part of the money from the Beethoven deal will go to a widening of the main highway bordering both the ASML campus, BIC and the city, the A2 and N2 (Adema, 2024). According to Adema (2024) who has spoken to alderman Stijn Steenbakkers, the exact plans aren't final, but they are at least adding one lane per side. On top of this, the ASML respondent has mentioned in the interview that there are concrete talks about a new on and offramp complex at the new BIC site where ASML will be expanding.

4.2.3 Public transport

Public transport is quite a difficult thing to tackle as a Dutch municipality. It would seem obvious that a municipality would be the main deciding vote in bus routes within a city. However, this seems to be untrue. The province is the main decider in the bus lines. The member of the socialist party, the SP, has made it clear in the interview that the bus line within the city fall under the direction of the provincial government. This can make it quite difficult to organize certain bus routes. A high quality public transport, Hoogwaardig Openbaar Vervoer (HOV), line however is much easier for the municipality to organize because it is the infrastructure. The upcoming HOV4, from Eindhoven station to De Run, ASML's industrial estate, is purely the infrastructure that allows the busses to drive freely to and from the station and De Run on bus only traffic lanes (Gemeente Eindhoven, 2025b). This allows the busses to skip most of congestion within the city and allows them to be more efficient and reliable than a normal bus, which has to follow the normal roads. HOV4 is one of the examples of the new public transport infrastructure improvements. Not only will this allow the workforce to travel to and from De Run much more efficiently, along the route the municipality is planning to build up to 11.000 new houses. The construction of HOV4 allows for a greater access to the area along its route so the municipality thought to capitalize on it and build housing along the route. One of the civil servants said that, the choice of location for HOV4 is not a coincidence. The municipality could have build it anywhere in the city, but they chose to build it towards the ASML campus. They have said the municipality sees the fact that the ASML campus is a busy space and a lot of people commute there

daily and for a successful modal shift, there needs to be proper public transport. So as a way to fulfil the modal shift and make sure the commuters can reach their destination, HOV4 is being build.

Some of the interviewees have also stated that there has been some deliberation about a possible tram or subway on the same route as HOV4, but in the end as a civil servant and the ASML respondent said, the bus is at this moment the easiest and fastest solution that does the job.

However, one of the civil servants has said that when the HOV4 infrastructure is ready, it would be easier to transform the already existing route into a tramline. But they and the ASML respondent agreed that in the short term the bus would be the best and easiest option and therefor are happy with the plans for the HOV4 bus line.

One more bus line that is going to connect ASML with the station is the future Brainportline. This is going to be a bus route that connects the high tech hotspots in the region. This bus route will run from north to south and to the central station. This route will have bus stops at the High Tech Campus, the ASML campus, the airport and the Brainport Industries Campus, thus connecting all the locations. One of the most important aspects of the Brainportline is the connection to nearby towns. The current bus system in place uses the Eindhoven station as a central point wherefrom all the busses leave and comeback to. This results in workers having to transfer at the station and losing time in their commute. The Brainportline and its connections to nearby towns lead to a more efficient public transport route for the workers at these high tech locations. This might entice them to take the bus instead of the car and it reduces their time spent commuting to and from work using public transportation (Brainport Eindhoven, n.d.-a).

There are also plans for Eindhoven central station to undergo a major transformation. This will be necessary, because the number of daily travellers is expected to rise to 200.000 people in 2040. The bus station will be moved underground to create space for more greenery, housing and bike parking, plus it will be expanded. Once completed, the public transport within the city will have gotten a boost in its efficiency. The train station itself will see an increase in trains, national and international. There will be more trains to and from Den Haag and Nijmegen, plus new international trains towards Düsseldorf and eventually Aachen. To accommodate this, there are plans of building a new railway platform. This complete transformation will make Eindhoven the busiest and largest transport hub in the southern Netherlands (Gemeente Eindhoven, 2025a; Wassmann et al., 2022).

One of the civil servants is involved in the creation of the new ASML campus in the BIC location. They said that due to the close proximity to the airport and the other parts of the Brainport Industries Campus it would, in their eyes, not be more than logical to extend this HOV line towards the new ASML development, if already there. The civil servant said that the future BIC north area is, at the

moment, devoid of any public transport and that they have the ability to start from scratch. They have the ability to begin with a strong public transportation network. They said that because of the strong public transportation network from day one, they hope they can convince people to use it.

4.2.4 Overall

The options above might not seem entirely connected, but they are. Both ASML and the municipality are hard at work to effect a modal shift. ASML is trying to accomplish this within their own workforce and the municipality in the entire city. ASML is providing e-bikes and biking lessons to foreign staff. According to the ASML interviewee, this is the one thing they do, that they have quite a lot of control over. They can encourage staff, provide bikes, move the bicycle parking closer. Their numbers on bike usage are already quite good, about 30%. The public transport however is a more daunting task. In this task they are highly dependent on other parties, the local, the provincial and national governments and the public transportation providers. This makes it so that number is between 10 and 15%. They said that it is now really up to the governments and providers to improve the public transportation to get this number up.

The municipality itself has realised that the physical changes to the city won't be enough to really change the way people use their cars. They believe the people need a mindset change, so the city is planning an add campaign in which they will try to persuade people to leave the car and choose a different mode of transportation when travelling within the city (Gemeente Eindhoven, 2025b). One of the civil servants has coined the term, hassle factor. They said that, to make sure that the most amount of people use public transportation, it has to be hassle free. They gave example such as making sure the bus runs frequently, having sheltered waiting areas, having bus stops close to the offices. It should be easy, it shouldn't be difficult to use the public transport to commute to and from work. They believe that if it is easy, more people will use the public transport.

One of the 'solutions' the national government has put in place to help the city and the region, is the Beethoven deal. A deal made with the national government, ASML, the municipality and the metropolitan area. In this deal the national government has pledged to invest a lot of money in the wider region in three different areas; housing, mobility and education. In total the mobility investment will amount to 1.6 billion euro, with 1 billion of this coming from the national government and the rest being put up by the metropolitan area. 198 million euros is reserved for the greater central station area. 157 million euros is reserved for HOV4, the ASML bus line. 503 million euros is for a follow up Multiple year Infrastructure, Space and Transport research, MIRT in Dutch, into the feasibility of the expansion of the highway A2/N2, including the future Brainportline bus route and future north western access. Finally, 200 million euros for extra hubs and bike infrastructure. This

money is also being used to speed up the already existing projects listed above. (Gemeente Eindhoven, 2024a; Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2023; Ministerie van Economische Zaken en Klimaat, 2024).

The hubs are meant as a way to combat the congestion in Eindhoven and its encompassing highways. These hubs were originally planned in 6 different locations surrounding Eindhoven where commuters could park their car and join other modes of transport, either public transport or cycling. These were planned in strategic locations along the bus and train lines. By building these in strategic locations, the government and ASML were hoping to prevent a part of the cars from reaching the city itself and thus dampening congestion (Zo slim bereikbaar, 2020). According to the ASML respondent however, these hubs have unfortunately not been realised yet and this delay has forced ASML to realize more carparking on their campus.

4.3 Politics stream

The politics stream is the stream where one can really start to see the influence ASML and its growth on the region and the municipality. To be able to fully describe everything that the stream entails, one first has to divide the stream into different sub streams, the opinions of the municipal respondents that were interviewed, the opinion of the ASML interviewee and the national position. Once all the opinions have been mapped, the actual processes and cooperations can be mapped.

4.3.1 Opinions

The mobility representatives from four different parties within the Eindhoven city council have been interviewed; the freedom party (VVD), the workers party (PvdA), the socialist party (SP) and the pro Europe party (Volt). On top of this, two civil servants working on mobility projects were interviewed.

The VVD represents itself as the party of free choice. In the Eindhoven context this means that, while they do understand the notion that some cars might have to be barred from the city centre, they don't support the way the current council is going about it. They don't want the council to deter people from using the car but they want the council to provide proper alternatives and have the people be able to choose what mode of transport they will be using. The VVD representative has said to be happy ASML has chosen to stay and expand in the Eindhoven region, because it provides so much to the local economy. They also said that, if they were to leave, the "whole tower" would collapse. So the VVD is positive about the ASML expansion, and has said to understand the consequences, but hadn't mentioned these in the interview. The council advisor had also said it would be quite logical that the VVD is pro ASML, as they are traditionally a pro economy party.

The PvdA has also stated to be happy ASML has chosen to stay in the region. The representative said it is the future of the city's prosperity and it should be cherished. In the 90s and 00s Eindhoven was a ruined city. Philips was on the down turn and economically the city wasn't doing well. This new growth the city is experiencing, has made Eindhoven one of the cities to be. It has made Eindhoven a very popular region. The PvdA respondent was one of the main advocates against the car centric nature of the city within the interviewees. Their party is part of the current coalition and can therefore create the main frame within the city. Currently this is the 'mistake' made in the 60s and 70s, creating a car centric city. The PvdA is now, along with the rest of the coalition, trying to rectify this and to change the city to a walking and cycling oriented city. They have stated that although ASML is so important to the region, that even without ASML, this mistake would still have to be rectified and there would still have to be a modal shift towards a walkable and bikeable city.

The SP is on completely the other side of the spectrum, which once again is to be expected. The SP sees the expansion of ASML itself as a problem for the region. They believe the decision to allow them to expand had been made before the consequences on the daily life in the city had been properly studied. They believe the deals made with the national government put too much focus on the expansion of the tech sector and too little focus on the needs of the 'regular' inhabitants of the city. They said that a lot of money is being pumped into the HOV bus lines and into the supporting infrastructure, but that the residential areas aren't seeing any improvements. They believe the residential bus lines are an afterthought to the current council. They also stated that they believe the current council has gotten carried away by the threats of ASML expanding elsewhere and believes other parts of the country might have benefited from this expansion.

The last political party interviewed is Volt, a pro European party. They profile themselves as a pro alternative transport party. The representative has said they aren't anti car, but pro alternatives. They agree with the current council that the way to move forward is with the 'stomp' principle, walking, cycling and public transport. On this front they are on the same broad line as the coalition. They did state that the legislative processes aren't keeping up with the growth of the city and that they hope to see a speed increase on this front. They stated that they are happy ASML has chosen to stay in the region but also stated that this should not be the most important thing. They want to at least keep ASML in Europe and preferably in the region because they have build such large supporting networks here.

Both of the civil servants have expressed to be happy ASML has chosen to expand in the region. One of them said: "if the economy is good, the city is good. But if the economy is bad, the city is also doing badly." This, and the statements made by the PvdA respondent, illustrates the dependence

Eindhoven has on its local industry. In the past this was Phillips, nowadays it is the high tech sector with ASML as its frontrunner. This quote can illustrate a belief within the government that for the city to prosper, ASML has to prosper. This can give ASML an advantage over other companies or inhabitants in policy development. Civil servant 1 had also mentioned they believe ASML might have gained a bit more influence than the municipality would have wanted. They stated this in relation to the bike parking at Eindhoven central station. They stated that ASML started with a number of bike parking rack and that this number kept growing and ASML kept demanding more. They stated that in this situation, the municipality might have put ASML's needs above the overall needs of the rest of the users of Eindhoven central station.

The respondent spoken to within ASML is the program manager Access and Mobility, who in this role is responsible for improving the accessibility of ASML within the Brainport region, eventually aiming for a modal split of 33%, 33% by car, 33% by bike and 33% by public transport. One of the problems they are experiencing in their work is the time it takes for the municipality to get things done. The HOV bus line isn't going to be ready until at least 2030, and for ASML this is too slow. That is why one of the founders of the programme said that it would mostly be about red asphalt instead of black, also known as bike lanes. They are definitely in favour of the public transport project, but the growth of ASML can't wait until these projects are finished. So at the moment, ASML is investing heavily in biking infrastructure. Both their own and trying to get the municipalities to do the same. They have stated that because the municipality is too slow for ASML expansion rate, ASML has had to revert back to building more parking spaces for cars, even though ASML is committed to creating a modal split. If the municipality does not deliver on their part, ASML cannot wait and has to take action in a different form, in this case, unfortunately, more car parking. Because the municipalities developments aren't ready, ASML has also started their own employee transport. At the moment there isn't any bus line connecting the towns of Uden and Veghel directly to the ASML campus, so they have started a van pooling service where they pick up their own employees. This in an effort to get people out of the private car.

The national government has been quite vocal about trying their very best to keep ASML in the Netherlands and more specifically to keep them within the Brainport region. At the start of the Beethoven deal one can see how ASML claimed they might want to look elsewhere and as a reaction to that, the national government sprung into action to make sure ASML didn't leave. The national government is so keen on keeping ASML in Eindhoven, they will do virtually anything necessary to make sure they stay (Wijdeven, 2025). As multiple interviewees mentioned, ASML is critical in the way that the Netherlands makes its money. But it is also critical in geopolitics. The machines ASML makes are critical in the manufacture of microchips and these chips are used in almost every piece of

technology that we use. From a phone or car to fighter jets and tanks. The United States became quite worried when China was interested in the newest machines ASML made, so the US put certain export restrictions on these machines (Anp, 2024). This level of importance in the geopolitical playing field is partially why the Dutch government is so keen on keeping ASML in the Netherlands. This is shown in two quotes, one made by the prime minister at the time, Dick Schoof, and the other made by the mayor of Eindhoven, Jeroen Dijsselbloem.

What's happening here in Brainport is of national and international importance. It is the technology and the cooperation that are crucial to the revenue model of the Netherlands and across the world

Dick Schoof in (Van Houtert, 2025), own translation

The innovative production industry with mainly the semiconductor sector are growing steadily and are in an increasing amount part of the geopolitical development. And thus decisive for the future of the Dutch economy

Jeroen Dijsselbloem in (Metropool Regio Eindhoven, 2024), own translation

These two quotes illustrate just how important ASML and the tech sector are to the city, the metropolitan area and the country. They illustrate why the national government is so keen on keeping ASML within the Netherlands and more specifically within the Brainport area.

4.3.2 Outside pressure

One of the main things the municipality suffers from is outside pressure. Be it from the national government, companies or the media. When asked about this, all of the political interviewees either didn't answer directly or denied any such pressure. While it is understandable that they might not be willing to talk about the inner workings of their political party, there might be some pressure on the council members especially when it comes to ASML related problems. Both the mobility council advisor and a civil servant have said that in practice, it is very hard to say no to the ASML expansion.

In theory it is always possible to say no, but in practice it is very hard to now, at this moment say no to the development of ASML

Civil servant 1, own translation

They said, when a deal like the Beethoven deal presents itself, it is once again almost impossible to say no to, especially when coming from the national government. Illustrated by one of the civil servants in this quote:

And then the national government presents a decision. Then the council can accept or deny the plan. But the council has to be in quite a strong position to turn down the plan

Civil servant 1, own translation

And even more so, when the deal is painted as such a wonderful thing to happen to your city by the media. The council advisor also said that when these large agreements are presented to the council, the council members are almost afraid to refuse. On the one side because it is painted as such a good

thing for the city and region, on the other side because the council members aren't experts. They are normal people who besides their daily jobs are council members. They do not have the time to become an expert on every subject. They said that because of this, it is very difficult for the council members to make decisions on these kind of subjects.

One of the other pressure related issues the council is facing, is the speed at which ASML is expanding. One of the civil servants mentioned that because of this speedy expanse and its importance, it is quite difficult for the council members and the civil servants to say no.

4.3.3 Cooperation

Apart from the pressure ASML puts on the municipality, ASML also has cooperations with the municipality. These cooperations come in all kinds of different forms. On one side ASML has talks with the civil servants about certain developments they are involved in. On the other side ASML just puts money up as a safety net and leaves it be.

One of the civil servants that was interviewed is responsible for things outside of the Ring road. One of the projects they are involved in, is the new ASML development at BIC north. They said that in this specific case the municipality and ASML have signed a statement of intent and have been working, behind closed doors, on the project for about a year now. They said it is a very cooperative process, an example of this is the fact that just before the interview was meant to start, they got a call from their ASML counterpart. The specifics cannot be discussed in this research, but the call was about the required number of parking spaces and the influence this was going to have on congestion on the surrounding highways. They did say this was not only done for ASML, but is normal for any kind of larger development. It shows how ASML and the municipality work together on developing the projects. They do say working with ASML can sometimes be a challenge because as a company they have a different method and constraints then a government would have. This has to do with the fact that ASML is a public company and has to work in a financially viable manner. They said that despite the differences, they try to work together the best they can.

Multiple of the interviewees have mentioned that HOV4 itself is a government project and ASML has no real influence of how and when it is developed. They have said that in its core, the project is run by the municipality and ASML does not run the project or does it intend to run the project. The ASML respondent confirmed this by stating that they are waiting for the government to finish the project and that it is purely a municipality project without their contribution. They however did go on to say that in the details, ASML did get consulted. They gave the example of the locations of the bus stops. They said they were in talks with the municipalities about locations of the bus stops, to make sure they won't be in the wrong locations and therefore would miss their goal. They said that in some of

the projects, ASML is directly involved, like HOV4 and BIC north, but in other projects like the mobility hubs they aren't. As it is their job to develop the modal shift, they are really trying to encourage the municipality to focus more on biking and to really take big leaps in this as they feel this would be the quickest solution.

5 Discussion

The results show how ASML has used their powerful voice to influence the national and municipal governments into implementing policy beneficial for ASML. They show ASML has used their powerful voice in the media to air their problem to the world. ASML threatened they would be forced to expand elsewhere if the conditions in the Netherlands and the Eindhoven metropolitan area wouldn't change in their favour. The national government then panicked and quickly responded to this by creating a taskforce meant to retain ASML in Eindhoven. Later on, the municipality was added to this taskforce and together with ASML they created the Beethoven deal; a deal to invest 2.5 billion euros into the metropolitan area, with 1.5 billion of this being in mobility and infrastructure (Wijdeven & Van Houtert, 2024). This shows how ASML has used skilled policy entrepreneurs to frame their problem and bring it to the governmental agenda. It also shows how large the role is of the national government in Eindhoven's mobility policy. Apart from this, it illustrates the cooperation between the municipality and ASML on shared projects and projects that effect ASML, like the development of BIC North. It shows how the municipality actively involves ASML in the development of their plans. But it should also be said that the municipality does this with other stakeholders as well, it is not exclusive to ASML. Along with these findings one of the civil servants said "if the economy is good, the city is good. But if the economy is bad the city is also doing badly." The respondent from the PvdA has shown a belief in their statements that for the city do to well, ASML has to do well.

These results show how important ASML has made itself for the national and municipal governments. It illustrates how far the governments are willing to go to provide ASML with whatever they need to prosper and expand. This shows how important ASML has become within the national and local economy and it shows how ASML has become an important aspect in geopolitical factors. These reasons are why the local and national governments have become so keen on giving ASML whatever they need. The quote from the civil servant mentioned above, and the statements made by the PvdA respondent have clearly shown a high reliability on ASML for the economical wellbeing of the city. This reliance has resulted in ASML having a permanent place in the councils mind. This means that when the council is drafting a new policy plan, they will automatically think of ASMLs needs. This has resulted into ASML having structural power within the metropolitan area. This is a type of power where the municipality will automatically think of ASMLs wishes and take these into

account when implementing new policy (Shukla, 2022). This can lead to greater unfairness in the daily life in the city between ASML employees and inhabitants, by policy implementations that favour ASML employees.

The results build on the existing multiple streams framework. They show that despite the limitations named by Ackrill et al. (2013), Exworthy & Powell (2004), Ness (2010) and Smits (2018) the framework can still be used in the traditional matter to study the policy making process. The results also show that unlike traditionally, the MSF can be used to study local and mobility policy making, instead of the traditional national economical scale the MSF is used in. The framework helps explain the results by understanding how the policy window was opened. ASML saw their problems and was waiting for a moment to air these problems to the wider public. That window of opportunity arrived when the CEO, at the time, was giving a presentation on the yearly numbers. He then used the already present media to air their message to the wider public, but most importantly to the national government. By seizing this window of opportunity, ASML created a policy window. This policy window was then used by ASML and the national and municipal governments to create new policy and accelerate existing policy. This policy window resulted in mobility and infrastructure policy in favour of ASML and its employees. ASML used skilled problem entrepreneurs to announce their problem at exactly the right time. As a consequence, skilled policy entrepreneurs from ASML, the municipality and the national government created a deal in favour of ASML.

Concerning the local mobility policy and its realizations it is best to use Peng et al. (2024) and their view on the MSF, as an example to help explain the findings. Peng et al. (2024) state that elite powerful actors can open policy windows even when there is not a window of opportunity. They state that these powerful actors can use the policy windows they opened to incorporate policy solutions onto the municipal agenda. This can illustrate how ASML can incorporate their policy solutions into the municipal agenda. ASML in Eindhoven is a very powerful actor, and they have the tools and skilled entrepreneurs to make this succeed.

On top of this, the SP respondent stated that these skilled entrepreneurs more than likely have the contact information of their counterparts at the municipality. By having these, they can contact the municipality and preform a partial coupling where they first couple their problems and get the politics on their side. This can then lead to a policy window opening allowing ASML to formulate the policy so that it is beneficial for them (Peng et al., 2024).

A practical implication of the findings could be that ASML has gained a higher priority within the city than the inhabitants, but this has to be studied further to be able to confirm this. This could result in situations where ASML's needs are more important than the needs of the inhabitants. This might

even result in situations where inhabitants have less mobility freedom because of the needs of ASML. This could however also be the other way around. The infrastructure build to facilitate ASML, is not ASML exclusive, everyone can use it. Inhabitants in the region can use this infrastructure, like the bike highways and bus routes to travel to and from wherever they want. This can in a way result in a reduced use of cars because people can now use these improved alternative methods of transport, but once again this has to be studied further to confirm this.

As Øvald (2023) puts it, there is one main inherent flaw within the MSF; it mainly uses single case studies. This research is no different. The use of a single case leads to weaknesses in the generalisability of the study. Because of the specific actors, context and environment, the study does not lend itself well to being generalised. Another limitation was also described by Øvald (2023). They stated that the use of interviews can lead to a considerable bias by the interviewees. This has been counteracted as Øvald (2023) recommended by using news articles and official policy documents to verify what was said. One of the main limitations of the research has been the inability to interview the most important link within the municipality. An alderman is the person responsible for the negotiations between the municipality and the larger stakeholders. A large part of how ASML influences the municipality has been mapped, but the information the aldermen could have provided would have been instrumental in revealing the inner working between ASML and the municipality.

Avenues for future research include studies on how the Eindhoven natives feel about the expansion of ASML and what this means for their future in the city. Both on the topic of housing and mobility. Another avenue for future research could be a comparative case study using the MSF to study the policy making process in other area with dominant tech firms like Silicon Valley. This could be done to compare how corporate influence shapes mobility policy in a different context. Future research could also focus on the fairness question; has ASML's influence on the city created a situation where a corporation is more important then the people living in the city?

6 Conclusion

The main research question is supported by three sub-questions. These sub-questions follow the streams in the MSF; the problem, the policy and the politics streams. The main and sub-questions:

How is the making of Eindhoven's mobility policy influenced by the presence and growth of ASML through the lens of the multiple streams framework?

- Which mobility problems are recognized by the municipality and ASML?
- Which policy options are being considered to tackle these mobility problems?
- Which political factors and interested parties play a role in the policymaking process?

There are three main mobility problems within the city. One of these is only recognised by the municipality and the others are recognized by both the municipality and ASML. The car centric nature of the city is an issue framed by the current council. The council has stated that the city has been designed with the car in mind in the 60s and 70s and that this car centric nature of the city does no longer fit in the modern view of a healthy and liveable city. The respondents part of the municipality have said that at this point to create an improved city centre for its residents, the car has to be deterred from the city centre. This has to be done in order to create a healthier and safer city where people can more safely and easily walk, bike, be, shop and live. One of the problems ASML and the municipality recognize, is the overall growth of ASML and the city. They both recognize this as an important issue within the city. ASML sees the congestion its workers face in how they get to work, and with their new expansion the employees will, likely, face more congestion. The city sees these problems in a number of ways. They see an increase in overall commuters in the city using every mode of transport available; car, bike and public transport. On the other hand, they also see the problem the increased number of people bring to the city itself and the added pressure this puts on the infrastructure. But the most important issue for ASML is the speed mismatch between them and the municipality. The municipality and ASML both see this problem. The respondents have said that there is an inherent difference in the speed of operation between ASML and the municipality, simply because they are a different type of organization. ASML is a high paced efficient company, while the municipality has to follow long legislative procedures. This creates an inherent speed difference between the speed at which ASML grows and operates and the speed the municipality can facilitate this growth.

There are a number of different policies going to be implemented in the coming future. These will be clustered into growth policy and car centric policy. A couple examples of policy to combat the growth related issues in the city and surrounding ASML, are the new bus infrastructure, HOV4, that will run from the central station to the industrial estate ASML is located on, possible expansions of

the surrounding highways and the expansion of the central station and the bus station, to name a few. These infrastructure changes are all in the trend of dealing with the growing mobility question. Because of the new ASML expansion, an extra 70.000 jobs will be added to the region and all of these people need to commute to and from work. The municipality has chosen for these options partially under pressure from the national government but also partially in collaboration with ASML and the public transport providers. The city has chosen for these expansions to combat the ever growing number of people coming to the city and commuting to the city everyday. The policy options to combat the car centric nature of the city that have been chosen, like dividing the city into quadrants and enacting a modal shift in the city, have been chosen by the municipality itself to combat the car centric nature and to try and discourage people from using their car within the city centre and choosing an alternative mode of transport. The city has chosen these options to create a healthier and more liveable city.

The main political factors and interested parties that play a role in the policymaking process in context of the main research question, are the municipality, ASML and the national government. The overall mobility policy within the city and the city centre is fully in the hands of the municipality itself. They do, of course, follow the proper participation procedures and consult stakeholders. But in the end, the municipality has their mobility policy in hand. Where ASML and the national government come in, is in the highway policy and in the mobility infrastructure used by ASML.

The mobility policy is influenced by ASML in a number of ways. On one hand, the normal type of influence that can be expected. When a municipality is developing new policy or infrastructure, they contact all of the stakeholders that will be affected by this new project and ask for input. In this way ASML can cooperate with the municipality on how to implement certain projects, like HOV4, and where to place the bus stops so they will be the most effective. Or where and how many e-bike racks ASML needs at the train station to facilitate ASML's modal shift. On the other hand, ASML employs some very skilled policy entrepreneurs that know how and where to put pressure to get what they want from the national government. They have used these skills to pressure the national government into making sure they have whatever they need to stay and expand in the region. The national government has put the pressure on the city council and their task is now to make sure ASML has what it needs to expand. ASML has obtained a spot in the councils subconscious that for the city to do well, ASML has to do well. ASML has obtained a type of structural power in the region and their needs are being considered without the need to beg the municipality.

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