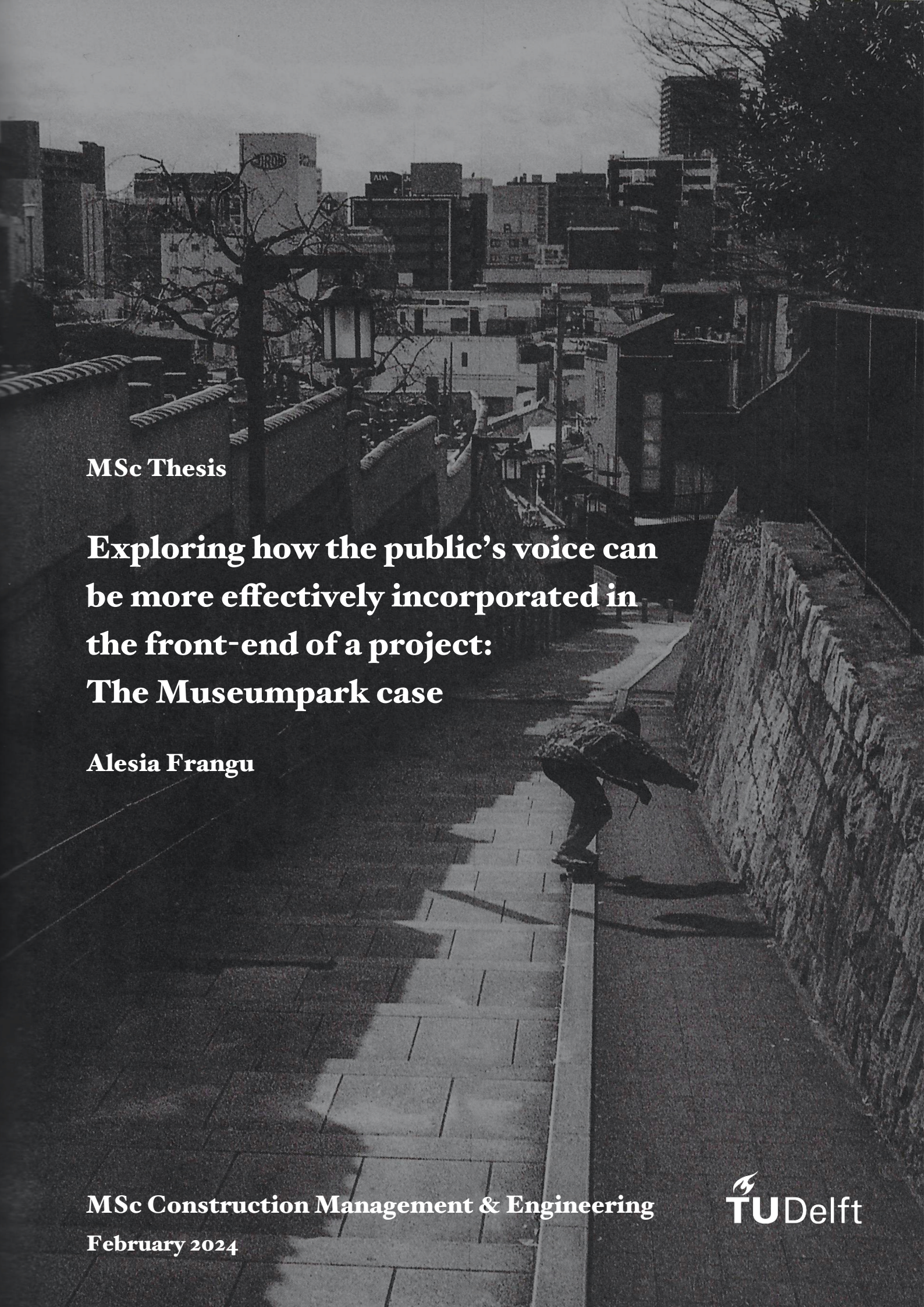

MSc Thesis

Exploring how the public's voice can be more effectively incorporated in the front-end of a project: The Museumpark case

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MSc Construction Management & Engineering

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TU Delft

Exploring how the public's voice can be more effectively incorporated in the front-end of a project: The Museumpark case

Master Thesis Report

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Science degree of
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Alesia Frangu

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Abstract

Infrastructure and urban development projects continue to experience problems and tensions when it comes to external stakeholders, even though the importance of collaboration and dialogue between the external stakeholders and project developers is being increasingly stressed. There seems to be a lack of supporting policy and management strategies for better involvement of the public in public projects and confusion and uncertainty from the project developers' side on how to engage with them in a more constructive way.

This research looks into how the public's voice can be more adequately incorporated in public projects in the front-end, where the course the project will follow is set, and its values and relationships with stakeholders defined, in order to improve the collaboration between public governing bodies and their citizens. It does so by analysing an example of public projects with unsuccessful public participation that resulted in conflict: the Museumpark case, where the municipality of Rotterdam decided to make changes to the previous large asphalted square in- between Rotterdam's most known museums by following standard greening designs. The issue was that this square was one of the most popular skating spots in the city with a growing community. Different disciplines that fall under the skating umbrella could be seen in the square, the main ones being skateboarding, longboarding and rollerskating. Besides these, other urban sports and styles were part of the scene, such as freestyle dancers, hoola-hoopers, and so on. Unbeknownst to the community, the redevelopment plans were progressing, and they only found out about the changes that would happen when the decision was finalised. Because the decision- making was done without consulting the skaters, this led to resistance from them, council debates, a delayed project, and growing distrust about the municipality from the community.

The aim of this research is to to understand current issues commonly faced in projects in the public sector in management, communication and stakeholder participation design, and to highlight strategies to improve public engagement in public projects.

The result of the research is a conceptual framework with strategies derived from the prevailing issues found in literature and what went wrong in practice (as seen in the empirical case). Novel participation methods and alternative approaches for external stakeholder engagement in culturally sensitive projects are needed more in practice in order to reduce the risk of problems occurring in projects or resistance. By testing these strategies in practice, a push is made towards a more inclusive participation, better communication between project developers and the public or the governmental body and the public, more inclusion of social values in projects, higher transparency and authenticity, and implementation of innovative ideas that come from the public's knowledge.

Preface

I am very pleased to present this report as a conclusion to my master's studies. For the culmination of my studies, I wanted to write a story that would be me in this field personified. This report is the result of taking that leap of faith and writing about a topic that is close to my heart, even though in this field it remains mostly in the dark.

First and foremost, I want to express my deep gratitude to my graduation committee. I would like to thank Dr. Johan Ninan, Dr. Audrey Esteban and Shehab Elmohr for the invaluable guidance, support and new lessons. It is because of your insights that I was able to realise my initial vision with this report and fully tap into the potential that the story had. I have learned a lot during this challenge, and these lessons are ones that will accompany me for all the future acts. I would also like to thank all those who contributed in this study by sharing their knowledge and experiences. Without you, this research would not have been possible.

This graduation project was most certainly a challenge. Going through what felt like mountains of paper to then dive in the depths of a niche case within a very short time frame was not easy at all, but that is also where I learned the biggest lessons from all those that I learned: to keep persevering despite everything, because when the end comes, it will all be worth it. I would like to take the chance here to thank my family and friends for their great support during this time. You provided me with encouragement when I needed it most.

And to you, the reader, I hope this thesis will inspire you to pick the thread that is closest to your heart, even if it has not been unravelled before, to write a story of your own. I hope there are new and valuable findings you can extract from this report, but even more so, I hope it unlocks new sights of exploration in the civil engineering world.

Thank you for reading my work.

Alesia Frangu
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Executive Summary

Infrastructure projects are a great tool for furthering urban development in a city or country, however, many of them experience problems when it comes to external stakeholders, an issue which is particularly present in public projects. Often, the input or worries of external stakeholders go unnoticed in projects. If these perspective of external stakeholders is not significantly taken into account or if their expressed grievances are left unaddressed, the dissatisfaction from the public will continue to worsen, and eventually lead to resistance and protest against the project. Collective action against the project is not only detrimental to the project implementation itself (by resulting in significant delays and cost overruns), but it can negatively affect the image of the project and of those who are behind it.

According to literature, projects experience problems in many different natures, and matters complicate even more when it comes to public projects, since these operate under a larger influence of policy and since they are under public domain, come under heavier scrutiny. Because of this, public projects with problematic public involvement or that experience conflict remain a common phenomenon.

The success of public projects relies on transparent collaboration between the government, companies and the public. Although this is something that is widely acknowledged in principle, resistance towards infrastructure projects has risen over the years. Even though resistance is increasing in frequency and magnitude, its causes and effects on public projects remain largely unexplored and oversimplified.

As such, the objective of this research is to understand current issues commonly faced in projects in the public sector in management, communication and stakeholder participation design, and to highlight strategies to improve public engagement in public projects. The first step in reaching this objective was to explore what the most common problems faced in projects are. The second step was to explore how collective action forms, how it takes shape and how it develops. Since different media affects collective action and how information is spread or presented, especially the more so during a digital age, this aspect was examined through the lens of social media vs. traditional media. The third step was going through literature to differentiate traditional and emerging digital methods for public participation, and to find successful examples in practice that have combined the two. The fourth step was to take a public project from practice that experienced conflict and analyse it from the angle of the previous steps. Finally, the research concludes with proposed strategies based on the findings of all the above to improve public participation in projects in the form of a conceptual framework.

Based on the research objective, the following main research question follows:

"How can the input of the public be more effectively incorporated in projects in the public sector while they are still in the front-end phase?"

To answer the main research question, the following methodology was followed. First, literature research was conducted according to the three themes highlighted in the first three steps of the research, until enough results were gathered to generate applicable findings. After that, empirical research was conducted by first selecting a case of public project that fit the needed description for analysis. The chosen case was that of Museumpark in Rotterdam, where the municipality's redevelopment plans were met with conflict and protests from the local skating community as a result of the municipality not being able to recognise them as a stakeholder of the area prior to the start of the consultation process, and as such, them being left out of the consultation. The empirical research was based on data gathered from semi-structured interviews with members of the skating community and the municipality, old reports, news articles, blogs and online posts, and social media posts from the collective action organisers.

Based on the findings from literature and empirical research, strategies were derived for improving public participation. A conceptual framework was devised based on these identified strategies. It must be noted that the framework is only conceptual since these strategies were derived from theory and only one empirical case. Figure 1 below shows an overview of these framework.

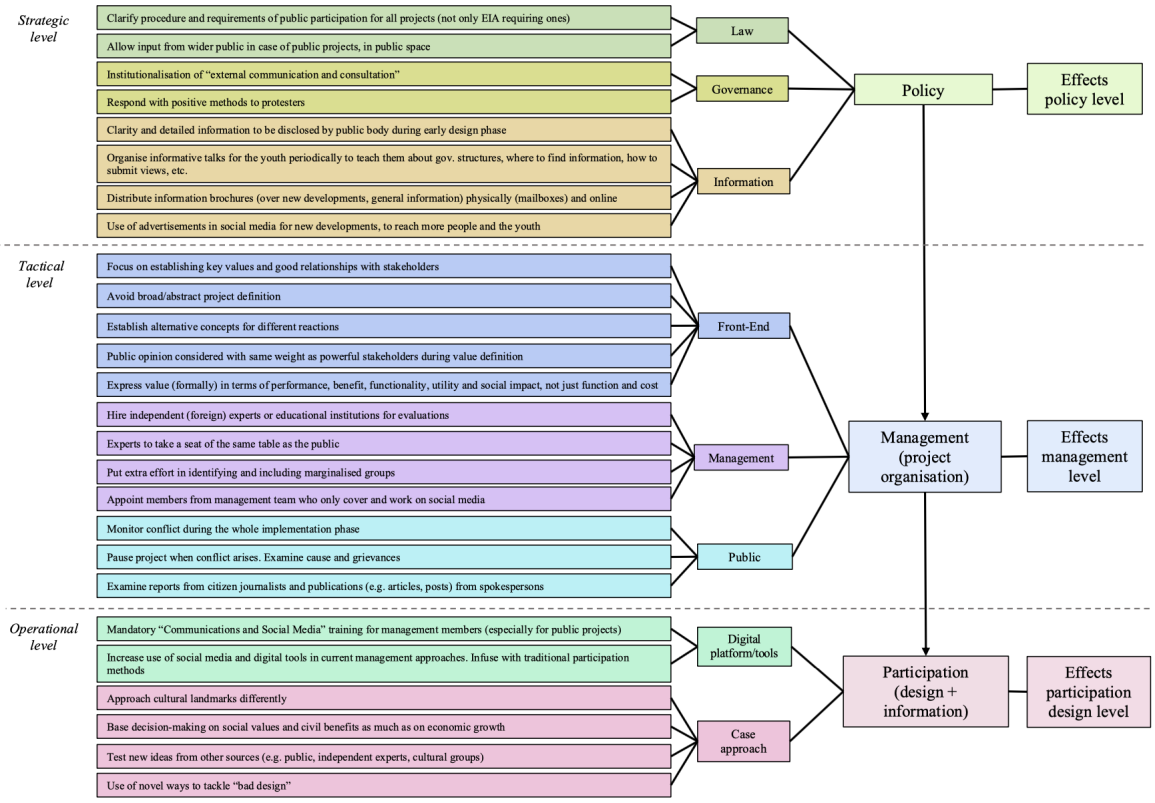

Figure 1: Conceptual framework for improved public participation

Based on all the above, recommendations for practice and further research can be made. Recommendations for practice mainly focus on being more open to incorporating public knowledge and innovative ideas from non-typical sources in design, putting extra effort in including external stakeholders in consultations, and tailoring participation method to the project based on its context, characteristics and the affected communities. Recommendations for further research mainly focus on testing the conceptual framework in practice in public or even private projects (to see how it would translate to them), doing more practical research in the application of novel participation methods in the Netherlands, and how public knowledge and level of input can be more incorporated in projects, especially by using social media.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Project context

Infrastructure projects, especially large-scale ones, are a great tool for taking urban development in a city or country further and to modernize the area around them (Jordhus-Lier, 2015; van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019). On the other hand, infrastructure and urban development projects are often undertaken as a result of chasing the ideals of public decision-makers and powerful private actors, while overlooking the input of the most vulnerable and most affected party: the public. However, if external stakeholders, such as the general public and habitants of the area are not heard adequately, this can lead to different threats experienced by these people, such as cultural, social, political and ecological threats (Grabher & Thiel, 2014), and eventually conflict and resistance (van Den Ende & van Marrewijk, 2019).

External stakeholders should not be overlooked not only for the aforementioned reason, but also because these stakeholders can be even more complex than internal stakeholders that are subjected to contracts and project boundaries (Ninan et al., 2019). External stakeholders are complex, have a different perspective and are directly affected. Furthermore, the general public represents "the entire society and its taxpayers" (Samset and Volden, 2016, p. 297) to the government, meaning that the government must answer before them. As such, after many examples of projects that caused civil unrest and as a result problems for the project itself, simply because transparency was not established with the public and their voices went unheard (Jordhus-Lier, 2015; Hanna et al., 2016; Liu et al., 2018; van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019), more effort is being put into involving citizens more in the process. Attention is shifting and scholars are now focusing more on exploring "the relationship between public administration, public value, and the role of citizens in public governance" (Hafer and Ran, 2016, pg. 206; based on Bryson et al., 2014).

Nevertheless, even though the importance of public participation is recognised, there are different aspects in existing legislature and project management strategies that become obstacles on the way. To begin with, akin to what is presented in the work of Hafer and Ran, 2016, the involvement of a citizen in public governance is not very clear, especially when it comes to citizen participation (Rijkswaterstaat, March 7, 2023; Informatiepunt Leefomgeving, n.d.). Legal rights are well established for citizens in cases where it directly concerns their living or property situation, but not so much when it comes to participation in public domain projects. Also, there are limited legal guidelines about government officials or project managers about involving citizens in discussions for these projects. This incidentally leads to, as Hafer and Ran (2016, p. 207) state, "public administrators and policymakers with ambiguous and debatable direction regarding how to best situate the public in carrying out activities of governance". In other words, dialogue or whole projects may fail even when decision-makers follow the rules for participation process well and try to connect to communities (Samset & Volden, 2016). Since these practices are not consolidated, they might unintentionally overlook important input or not take into account all applicable external stakeholders.

To continue with, also as a result of the previous statement, "there continues to exist a tendency for practitioners to avoid citizen participation due to the potentially messy situations it creates" (Hafer and Ran, 2016, pg. 206; Nabatchi and Farrar, 2011). Although the public can still significantly influence projects, by being taken to the periphery of stakeholder maps like so, their input is left unregistered (Mathur et al., 2021). Consequently, when the public feels like their voices are not heard, conflict is born.

Conflict usually materializes in the form of community protest, which can be thought of as a "mechanism to seek redressive action in contentious situations" (Hanna et al., 2016, p. 218). As the public becomes more educated and informed in the age of digital media, the magnitude of collective actions against projects has increased (Liu et al., 2018; Teo and Loosemore, 2014) and their strides become more visible. Collective actions from the public can lead to a change in the implementation of the

project (Hanna et al., 2016), but it can also lead to detriments to the project's performance and significant drawbacks (such as delays and cost overruns), as well as to the local community itself (Liu et al., 2018). To add to this, government officials and companies have a tendency of becoming defensive when collective action is taken, instead of objectively considering the arguments and the issues raised by the public, which leads to even more conflict (Hanna et al., 2016). That is not to say that the input of the public will always be constructive, nor that it can be fully addressed, but that responding to it in a reactionary way will only lead to more resistance (Hanna et al., 2016) and loss of valuable input. This is part of the reason why it is important to adequately include the public's input in a project. The other part is that as (Gasik, 2016, p 404) states, "the most important stakeholders of public projects are the communities for which these projects are undertaken, and to which public projects are responsible and are accounted for". Public or public-sector projects are after all, "projects carried out primarily for public benefit" (Gasik, 2016, p. 400).

Lastly, there is the matter of values of a project and the ethics surrounding the decision-making by the powerful stakeholders in control (i.e., government and private companies). Firstly, from the perspective of social psychology, dissatisfaction and protests from the public are rooted in injustice from the government (Liu et al., 2018; Martijn, 2015; Martijn et al., 2008). Scholars have documented well how this notion is based on truth. For instance, large public projects have been strategically misrepresented with terminology and business cases that appeal to politics to get them funded (Mathur et al., 2021; Flyvbjerg, 2006), sometimes making them intentionally more non-apprehensible from the public. Social impacts on the other hand, have also been shown to be minimized or ignored (Hanna et al., 2016). In the case of collective actions, governments and companies usually prioritise "economic performance over public opinions and interests" in their decision-making (Liu et al., 2018). Project undertakers (i.e., government officials, private companies and project managers), influence the actions of other stakeholders and decision-making based on their goals and beliefs (Martinsuo et al., 2019). This raises the question: how will the beliefs and values of the affected communities be communicated as effectively as those of the other stakeholders, when they are at the periphery of the stakeholder map and left outside decision-making?

As such, it becomes evident that manners with which to more significantly represent the voice of the public and to reduce the number of resistances towards public projects ought to be explored. The more effective way to do this would be before the conflict occurs and problems in the process arise – at the start of the project (Williams et al., 2019). As a number of scholars point out, the different perspectives of stakeholders need to be taken into account at the front-end of the project and continued to be iteratively addressed as the project continues (Martinsuo et al., 2019; Williams et al., 2019; Veeneman et al., 2009; Kolltveit and Grønhaug, 2004). Hanna et al., 2016 also supports this, by arguing that to prevent arising conflicts and escalations, project undertakers need to actively seek out and engage with the local or affected communities from the very beginning of the project, which is now lacking.

This research seeks to address the current lack of active engagement from project undertakers with local and affected communities, as well as to explore how to make the collaboration between the two sides more fruitful and positive, instead of the nature of dialogue being predefined by the basic requirements in policy for the powerful stakeholders.

1.2 Research gap

Good and transparent collaboration between the government, companies and the public is essential for realising projects with all-compassing values for users and for a smoother implementation process. Nevertheless, many public projects face conflicts, large dissatisfactions from the users, and further divide local communities. Thus, it becomes clear that there is room for exploration on what goes wrong in projects in the public domain and how these issues can be combated.

To start with, the potential root cause of this must be explored in scholars' works. It results that literature throughout the years has focused more on the governmental officials' perspective than the citizens' one (Hafer & Ran, 2016), with attention being put on the public as of more recent trends. However, as Hafer and Ran (2016, p. 218) also quote, based on the work of Fung, 2015, "this is only the beginning of the work that lies ahead". Adding to this, the plethora of the different fields of study that can be done on public participation and the many levels of government further divides research (Hafer and Ran, 2016; Nabatchi and Amsler, 2014). As a result, there is no unifying consensus on how to even steer citizen participation outside theoretical boxes (Hafer and Ran, 2016; Nabatchi and Amsler, 2014), which implies that things start to go wrong in the process before the project even starts. Another result of the spread-out literature is that public participation as a concept in itself is not defined clearly in literature (Hafer & Ran, 2016). This might be one of the causes of discrepancies between managers and the public and uncertainties about the extent and manner the public can be involved in a public project.

Policy and legislature restrictions also significantly add to the problem. In the Netherlands for instance, citizens can and are encouraged to submit their "perspectives" over a project or policy, however, these perspectives will be taken into account only if they are directly affected by the project or if the implications are local (for example, within a small radius of the project) (Pesch, 2019). This greatly limits the input of the general public and shows that even in the cases where the project undertakers strive to take as many perspectives as possible into consideration from the public, the legislature will at the end nullify a considerable part of this input. This becomes especially problematic in public projects related to cultural value, a very non-tangible aspect, because current legislature largely supports appeals against more tangible and physical aspects (Pesch, 2019).

As previously mentioned, the frequency of resistance towards infrastructure projects is increasing (van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019; Liu et al., 2018; Teo and Loosemore, 2014). Scholars call for more research on resistance of the public in projects, especially when it comes to empirical research (van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019; Liu et al., 2018), so that more culturally inclusive and fairer frameworks or practices can be developed for managing stakeholders in such projects, that purposefully integrate the voice of the community in practice (van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019; Di Maddaloni and Davis, 2018; McAdam et al., 2010).

As for the causes of resistance and collective action against infrastructure and most specifically public projects, studies have previously overtly simplified and generalized them (Liu et al., 2018), when in reality, differences in projects, their setting, their communities and so on make a difference on the reactions they receive. As Liu et al. (2018, p. 613) state, these factors "can apply to collective actions of all forms but not specifically to construction projects". Furthermore, what exacerbates the situation and brings forth more collective actions, is the general lack of channels for citizens to bring forth their appeals in a way that assures them their point is seriously considered (Liu et al., 2018). Therefore, there is a need to explore how these communication channels can be ameliorated and how to incorporate them more effectively in the project management strategy/framework.

Another aspect that has to be considered more attentively now as opposed to before is the way protests are changing. As Hanna et al. (2016, p. 219) state, "protests generally follow certain accepted norms, but like other performances, the repertoire is subject to innovation and improvisation". Thus, forms of protest are not static and subjected to change over time in accordance with other developments and across different cultural and political settings (Hanna et al., 2016). The biggest influencing factor that has reshaped forms of protests has been the digital revolution (Hanna et al., 2016) – as a result, not only have new forms of protests been born, but the way information over the subject spreads has changed significantly over the years. However, since this is a new and very rapidly evolving development, there is limited research on it, especially in the context of using the online environment (such as digitally accessible information and social media) (Mathur et al., 2021) for project management in public projects and for exploring first-hand the views of the public.

Exploring such different channels and communication mediums to connect with the public will likely improve the value of the project ("value" here used in the context of "value as ideals", as is done in the context of philosophy and social sciences). "Value" in this context is less covered in studies and even less so in practice in comparison with the technical equivalent (i.e., economical and engineering value) (Martinsuo et al., 2019). Martinsuo et al., 2019 also call for more research in exploring values as ideals in projects and project management practices and for more attention on creating social value in projects based on epistemological foundations.

Lastly, researchers call for more studies relating to topics of "agency, power and conflict" (van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019, p. 344). Power, even though arguably the most influential factor in project settings, has often been overlooked in governance literature (Arts & van Tatenhove, 2004). Governance is about exerting power, and in the case of public projects, the way the power of the governmental body is applied is key to the further developments and reactions that will follow the project, making this component a very important one to consider in the analysis. In parallel, van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019 draw attention to the fact that more focused research is needed on local communities and their influence in the public institutional domain. Relating to this, it is important to note that literature almost exclusively focuses on large projects in the public domain with almost no attention being put to smaller ones (for example public projects that only affect the public and cultural aspects of the communities that frequent the area), bar very few exceptions.

All in all, there are considerable knowledge gaps when it comes to the public's perspective, from the causes of citizen participation to the factors causing resistance and collective actions. Why the citizens are still not effectively being heard and the lack of better strategies especially in the fast-developing digital world must also be explored in order to fabricate new ways with which to handle the process that better fit the future setting. Lastly, change cannot be made without considering how public projects bring not only economical and engineering value, but also social value, which is often largely ignored and not transparent.

1.3 Problem statement

The success of public projects relies on good and transparent collaboration between the government, companies and the public. However, more often than not, the public's input is not given the significance it deserves (Mathur et al., 2021), and the project ends up being another portfolio item for those who implemented it rather than a socially beneficial and culturally contributing work. Substantially, resistance towards infrastructure project has risen over the years (van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019; Liu et al., 2018; Teo and Loosemore, 2014). The causes and effects of resistance on public projects still remain largely unexplored and oversimplified (Liu et al., 2018), even though the dichotomy of these is complex and varies greatly from community to community.

There is a general consensus among scholars that there is a lack of policy and management strategies that make sure that the public's voice is heard significantly and can bring a change. Current strategies have had their foundations corroded by the lack of transparency (Mathur et al., 2021; Hanna et al., 2016; Flyvbjerg, 2006) and lack of active engagement from the project undertakers with the public (Hafer and Ran, 2016; Nabatchi and Farrar, 2011), even though these can be greatly facilitated by the digital environment as of now (Mathur et al., 2021; Hanna et al., 2016). By following these threads, the opportunity to seriously include social values in a project arises (Martinsuo et al., 2019), as well as the strive for a more even power distribution (van Den Ende & van Marrewijk, 2019).

1.3.1 Research scope

The start of the research will have no geographical boundaries and will look into findings and examples from different countries, since there is much to learn from comparing public participation in

public projects from different settings and projects. Later on, the research will then take an empirical case from the Netherlands, which will make the country the boundary for the empirical research, since the research will primarily address problems in existing policy and management strategies in public projects in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, theoretical takeaways and management advice will be eligible for consideration in other countries as well (similarly to the start of the research).

1.4 Research objective and questions

1.4.1 Research objective

The aim of this research is to understand current issues commonly faced in projects in the public sector in management, communication and stakeholder participation design, and to highlight strategies to improve public engagement in public projects.

1.4.2 Research questions

From the research objective, the following main research question can be derived:

"How can the input of the public be more effectively incorporated in projects in the public sector while they are still in the front-end phase?""

To help answer this research question, the following sub-questions have been devised:

1. *"What are the contributing factors that currently give rise to dissatisfaction and conflict in public projects from the people?"*
   The first step of the research is to identify what currently goes wrong in different types of projects concerning the public sector. Most importantly, this question will help identify the causes of the initial problems, which occur at the very beginning of the project, the front-end phase, before they snowball and evolve into something different.
2. *"What is the role of digital media in organising collective actions against public projects?"*
   The second step is to explore collective action as a concept, focusing on what pushes the public to take collective action, the standard and emerging forms of collective action (facilitate by technology) and the effect it has on projects that receive public interest. Next, how different types of media that is accessible and is consumed by the public affects collective action and dissatisfaction against the project itself or the project's officials will be explored. This question serves a two-fold purpose: recreating the perspective of the public from a researching viewpoint in order to have a broader understanding on what fuels resistance, and exploring how to utilise such media to the project team's advantage for better collaboration with the public.
3. *"What successful novel methods of doing public participation can be identified from examples in practice?"*
   Here, the aim is to identify novel methods of doing public participation that can either be combined with traditional ways to engage the public in public participation, or that can be applied on their own, or adapted for a project based on its specific needs. These examples will be defined by existing literature based on successful examples of improved public participation as a result of the method(s) being introduced to the process, or its positive promise due to its novelty. Amongst other things, the aim is to identify digital methods too, and how these can be combined with offline methods, to accommodate for the rapid changes in project management as a result of the rise in Internet use.
4. *"How can public participation in public projects be improved?"*
   After causes of problems and ways with which project undertakers can better handle the process

and engagement with the community are identified, an empirical case from practice is taken and analysed against the findings from literature. This case is a case of a public project in the Netherlands that experienced conflict from the public. The case chosen will most importantly have had cultural impacts, in order to explore the overlooked dimension of social value, as explained before. This case will be analysed for potential causes of the problems and issues with engagement from the powerful stakeholders. Through this analysis, areas in policy and management that have to be targeted can be identified.

5. *"What are the strategies that emerge from literature and practice that can improve public participation in projects?"*
   Based on the findings from the previous questions, a conceptual framework that aims to serve as a general guideline for managers in the field by advising on different strategies that improve participation by targeting key problematic points in a project, such as value definitions in the front-end, communication with external stakeholders, areas to target in policy and preventing resistance. These strategies are linked to positive effects, which all can contribute to reducing the risk of dissatisfaction from the public and hence of collective action.

1.5 Thesis outline

What was presented so far in this chapter was the research background and its design (Chapter 1). Chapter 2 continues with a description of the methodology followed for conducting the literature and empirical research and their analysis. Chapter 3 presents the findings of the literature study, while Chapter 4 those from examining the empirical case. Based on the findings presented in Chapters 3 and 4, a conceptual framework can be devised, the elaboration for which is given in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 is the discussion section, where it is reflected upon the findings from literature and empirical research, research limitations, and researcher's bias. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the report with the answers to the research questions and recommendations for further academic and practical research. Below, the thesis outline is shown in a graphic form (Figure 2).

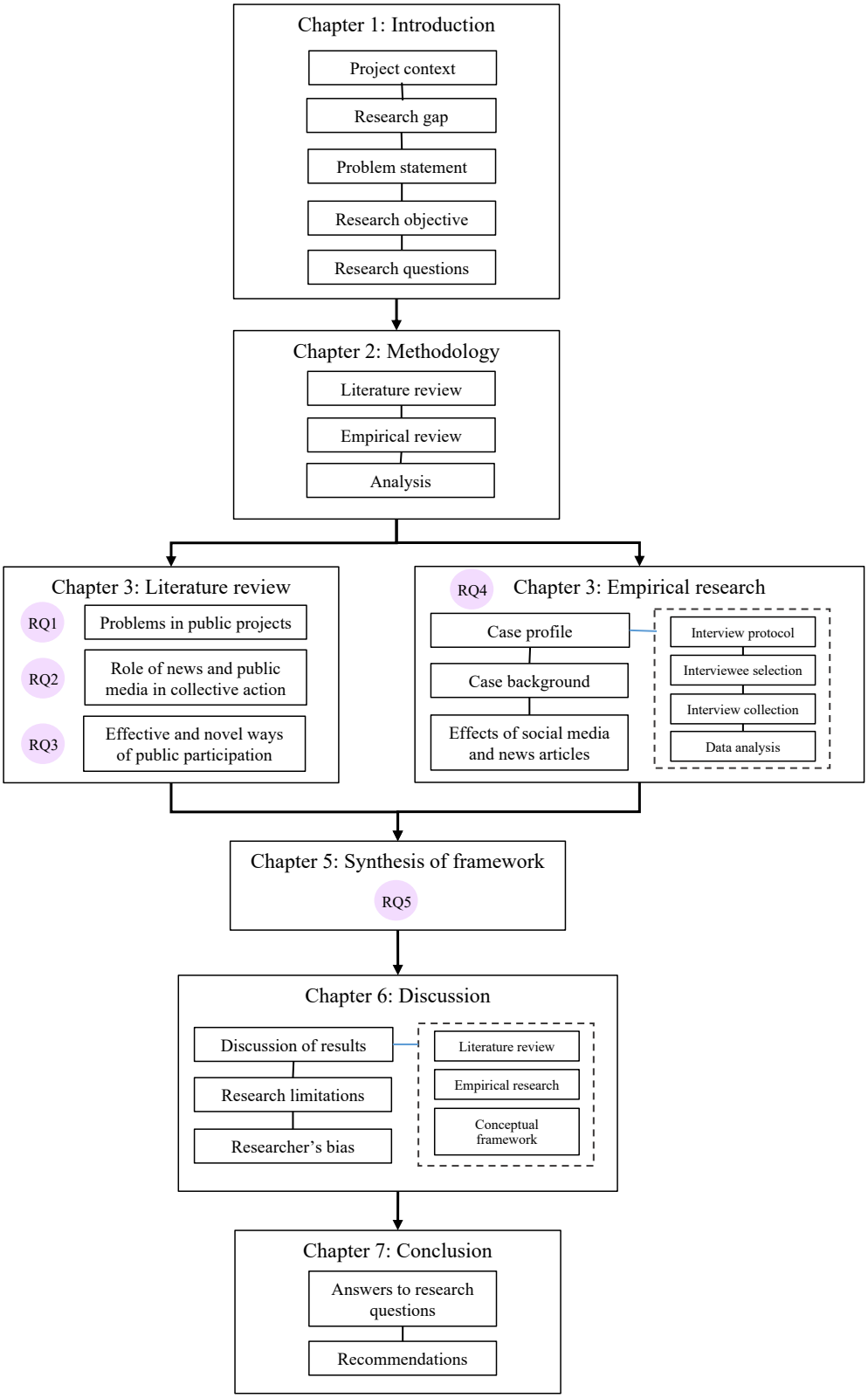

Figure 2: Thesis Outline

2 Methodology

In this section, the methodology of the study will be explained. This has been divided into three parts: the methodology behind literature review, the one behind the choice of empirical case and the data gathering concerning the case, and how data analysis was done.

2.1 Literature review methodology

In order to answer RQ 1, RQ 2 and part of RQ 3, a systematic literature review was conducted. The method behind this systematic literature review and the analysis was guided by Stingl and Geraldi, 2017. According to Stingl and Geraldi (2017, p. 123), a systematic literature review allows for the identification of "different streams of research and develops a coherent synthesis of research in a systematic, transparent and reproducible way".

The search and selection of literature was done via keyword search in Google Scholar and snowball sampling. Keywords and phrases used for the search were: "public participation", "public projects", "small projects", "urban development projects", "external stakeholders", "social value", "social impact", "problems in projects", "front-end", "early phase", "infrastructure projects", "collective action", "social protest", "affected community", "news articles", "social media", "digital communication", "internet", "participation design", "digital tools" and combinations of them. The keywords were looked for matches in papers in their title, abstract, or list of keywords. From the papers that were found solely from keyword searches, if there was a match in the aforementioned fields, the papers were selected for further reading of the abstract. Similarly, papers found from snowballing were also examined first through the title, abstract and keywords, to determine at first glance whether the paper had potential for being applicable to this research. In both cases, after reading the abstract, it was decided whether to select the paper for further reading and afterwards analysis, or whether to drop it.

In order to not limit the results and the perspectives found, no restrictions were made in terms of selection of the publishing journal. Also, no hard restriction was put on the selection of papers based on their geographical setting: while papers that had information about policy, project management practices and empirical cases in Europe were preferred, due to the scope of this research and the setting of the empirical case in the European context, papers from other continents were examined in the process, provided that they fit the selection criteria as explained above, for a richer perspective. Similarly, while newer references were favoured, due to the information being more revised and relevant, old ones were also examined, as many of the concepts, definitions and elements explored by this research do not become outdated simply as a result of time.

2.2 Empirical research methodology

For this research, a qualitative research approach was chosen, because such an approach allows the researcher to better gain familiarity with a problem and eventually generate new insights for future research (Eisenhardt, 1989), by better understanding people's lived experiences (Pink et al., 2010). For this purpose, a single case study was used, as this allows for great contextual understanding, due to the depth found in data collecting and analysis (Lundin & Steinthórsson, 2003). These case studies are analysed in detail by dividing the data in different groups according to their themes and nature. This division is otherwise referred to as subunits. Subunits are different elements of the larger case which, when analysed within the context of the larger case, give sufficient insight for theorisation (Scholz & Tietje, 2002). Examples of subunits (taken from the examined cases in this research) include participation process, municipality's agenda, social media engagement and communication, to name a few. Since this approach involves paying attention to more than one subunit, this becomes an embedded case study (Yin, 2009; Mui and Sankaran, 2004).

The in-depth case study chosen for this research is the case of Museumpark, situated in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. This unfinished municipal project situated in the very central area of Rotterdam, where many of the museums of the city (such as Kunsthal, Het Nieuwe Instituut, Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen) are found, took the previous asphalted square to make one with added green carpets following standard greening designs. However, the open area with the smooth, concrete flat ground was one of the most popular spots of the city for sports falling under the skating umbrella, such as skateboarding, long-boarding and roller-skating, due to its unique combination of the smooth ground spread over a large area, the central location, and the pleasant scenery surrounding it. This spot, synonymous with skating in Rotterdam, was also a popular meeting spot for the youth. Nevertheless, the urban community of Museumpark was not recognised as one of the external stakeholders when the participation process began, which led to the decision- making being done without consulting the skating communities who greatly utilised the space. The new chosen design for Museumpark caused great indignation in the affected communities and sparked collective action. At the end, the project went through as was intended originally. This case, which in the context of this research is considered an one with unsuccessful public participation, was chosen because it is very suitable to the explored themes: it is a public project that experienced vocal resistance from the public, it is relatively small in scale and it is a unique project in terms of exploration in literature (be it in size or character), it is a complex environment with a plethora of stakeholders, all with different needs, wishes, and uses of the area, and it has cultural value.

Diverse data was collected for this case through different sources to understand the citizen participation process and influence. These included semi-structured interviews, reports, news articles and posts (including comments), observation of a neighbourhood committee meeting, and social media communications and exchanges. An overview of these sources can be found in Table 1.

Table 1: Different data sources - overview

Data Source	**Number**	**Details**
Semi-structured interviews	10	Total time: 3 hrs 39 min 41 s
Observation of neighbourhood council meeting	1	Total time: 2 hrs 40 min
Reports	771 pages	Municipal reports, previous research, old and new design information
News articles/ Posts	24	Articles by traditional media, independent journalists, blogs, social media posts

In total 10 semi-structured interviews were conducted, all related to the Museumpark case, with people who were involved in the project or resistance movement, and members of the general public who were affected by the change of design. Effort was put into securing interviews with a diverse set of respondents, in order to get as many different perspectives as possible within the time frame of the research. The interviewees were asked open-ended questions, and further inquired upon when they brought up important points for the analysis that were not directly addressed by the original set of questions. The choice for open-ended questions comes from the fact that these allow respondents to present their perspective without constraints and to bring up new points or takes, which might have otherwise been missed by the interviewer, while semi-structured interviews help keep the interviewee focused (Aberbach & Rockman, 2002). The interview questions were tailored according to the interviewee's expertise or the kind of involvement they had with the case, in order to get as much nuance from their perspective as possible. The interview questions can be found in Appendix A.

Potential interviewees were approached by looking at events/activities organised within the skating community or popular locations where skaters gather, and asking in these events/locations whether people had used Museumpark before and if so, if they would be willing to give a short interview relating to the topic, or via social media based on the suggestions from people within the community

who were familiar with the case and could give a full account of their perspective. As a result, some of the interviewees preferred to do a street interview due to otherwise difficulties with scheduling one outside of this set-up, meaning that the same set of prepared questions were asked during a meet-up (such as for example, the square next to Maritiem Museum in Rotterdam, which has now become a popular skating spot as one of the only flat-ground surfaces remaining in the centre of the city). An overview of conducted interview details can be found in Table 2 [1]. Interviews were conducted until thematic and theoretical saturation was reached (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), meaning that interviews were conducted until additional data points did not develop the analysis further (Ninan et al., 2023).

Table 2: Overview of interviews

Code	**Role/Position**	**Duration**	**Street interview?**
R_1	Rollerskater	13:24	No
S_1	Skateboarder; Anthropologist	27:59	No
S_2	Skateboarder	09:18	Yes
L_1*	Longboarder	08:44	Yes
L_2*	Longboarder	08:44	Yes
S_3	Skateboarder	53:16	No
S_4	Skateboarder; rollerskater	14:30	No
O_1	Organiser of events (skating community); rollerskater; longboarder; skateboarder	29:47	No
M_1*	Municipality - Project Manager	01:02:43	No
M_2*	Municipality - Communications Officer	01:02:43	No

All the interviewees had to fill an Interview Consent Form, which informed them of their rights as a participant of the study and about the pseudonymisation of the data, and asked for their permission to conduct the interview after they had been fully informed about how data would be handled and the form with which it would be presented in the report. This form and the Interview Protocol can be found in Appendix A. Each interview was audio recorded, and then transcribed with Descript. Descript is a software tool which can be used to automatically transcribe audio files (recorded with the software itself or with other devices), and to edit them. The transcriptions produced by the software were then exported and turned into a Word file for further editing. The transcriptions' text was then manually checked for errors, and afterwards was coded and edited out of personal information to prevent tracing it back to the participants. Hereinafter, "they" will be used as a gender neutral pronoun to refer to interviewees, in order to conceal the gender identity they identify with and further protect them from backtracking.

To gain more insight into an established form of public participation processes in Rotterdam, a Neighbourhood Council meeting (in Dutch: *Gebiedscommissie*) was attended. Museumpark falls under the area of the Dijkzigt-Oude Westen Council (in Dutch: *Wijkraad Dijkzigt-Oude Westen*). The attended meeting took place on Monday, November 6th, 2023. The researcher was a silent observer of the meeting and took extensive notes. Afterwards, the researcher stayed longer to talk with a member of the committee about Museumpark, to ask them questions about the case and to better understand the role of the committee.

Furthermore, news articles and posts (Table 1) about the case were retrieved through Google News by searching the name of the case, in order to a build case profile first and secondly, to understand how readers of this media obtained information about the cases (Ninan et al., 2022), and how the coverage of the case was. As Ninan and Sergeeva (2022, p. 524) state, "Google news is one of the major aggregators of news on the web and used as a scholarly source for research" (based on the work of Bandari et al., 2012). Social media posts, interactions and engagements were also studied,

[1] *L_1 and L_2, and M_1 and M_2 were interviewed together.*

because these give a better understanding about the project in the context of the digital era (Mathur et al., 2021). What is more, digital news media serves as an archive of retrospective data, and helps to better understand (relatively) recent projects (Ninan, 2020; Ninan and Sergeeva, 2022)

2.3 Data analysis

This research anchors new theory in literature, by using existing literature as the starting point and solidifying of findings to increase internal validity and the extent of generalisation, a method which follows the guidelines suggested by Eisenhardt, 1989. Here, the methods followed for analysing the data and the reasoning behind choosing them will be explained.

For the data analysis of literature review, firstly, the findings were divided according to the major components of RQ1, RQ 2 and RQ 3. Then, these were analysed thoroughly separately to further divide the findings into groups/schools of thought, according to themes, a method which is otherwise known as thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method for analysing qualitative data by identifying and interpreting the themes or patterns that emerge in the data examined - by doing so, new insights can emerge and understanding can be deepened (Naaem et al., 2023).

Thematic analysis was also used to analyse the data of the empirical case - in this case, the thematic analysis was based on the steps provided by Naaem et al., 2023. Interview data was chosen as the foundation of the empirical data analysis, because this was the most in-depth data by far in the considered data set. After the transcripts were prepared and the author became accustomed to the contents after the initial read, the transcripts were read again to highlight the important emerging points, and from these extract quotes and arguments from the interviewees. Next, these highlighted points were further examined for key words. These key words were in turn used to identify emerging patterns and to thus create codes that captured the theme of the point in short. The points and arguments that had the same code assigned to them were grouped together to form a theme. Then, within these themes, all the points and arguments that were selected were analysed and compared to one another. Examples of such themes which are seen in Section 4.2 include “New design” and “Community”.

While interview data served as the foundation for building themes and within them for setting up arguments and points from all sides, data from other sources (Table 1) was used to build up on these points, to provide missing context or information, or to check the validity of the information. This method of consulting several sources in qualitative research is otherwise known as triangulation (Verschuren et al., 1967). Based on the triangulation forms explicated by Flick, 2004, the following explanation over the method can be derived: triangulation combines data gathered from different sources and settings, in order to limit the influence of subjectivity from human subjects, to then assess different points from the data side by side and ultimately reach a conclusion that has considered different perspectives. In the context of the empirical case considered, this was done by analysing the data obtained from news articles, online posts, and written work (reports, previous research, municipal documents), as explained in Section 2.2. The findings that were extracted from these sources were added as part of the argumentation and information presented in the already-established themes they would fit best in.

During the analysis, the observations of the neighbourhood council meeting proved to be the only data source out of those listed in Table 1 that did not contribute to the empirical analysis substantially. This is because this data did not fit well within the established themes and argumentation, and did not provide new information relevant to the case discussion, which is why it was decided not to further elaborate upon this in Section 4.

3 Literature Review

3.1 Problems in public projects

A public project is defined by Gasik (2016, p. 400) as a "project that is undertaken, managed or supervised by one or more publicly funded organisations," and as a project that "is carried out primarily for the public benefit", while Min et al. (2018, p. 1) define it as "a project executed and maintained by the government to enhance public services that is based on social and economic needs". As (Klakegg et al., 2016) point out, public projects continue to become more complex and difficult to manage, have a longer duration and are being conducted by more and more organisations.

While public projects can serve as beacons of urban development, especially large-scale ones, they can be detrimental to external stakeholders and their environment (van Den Ende & van Marrewijk, 2019). They can pose threats not only structurally, but also socially (especially to people's livelihoods), culturally, ecologically and politically (van Den Ende & van Marrewijk, 2019). Indeed, one of the biggest issues public projects face, although underplayed, is inadequate handling of external stakeholders. For instance, a substantial reason why megaprojects perform poorly is because of bad management of external stakeholders (Mahalingham and Ninan, 2019, June; Mok et al., 2015).

Akin to what Klakegg et al., 2016 wrote, Gasik, 2016 also found that public project management has become more complex than private project management. This happens due to two main reasons. Firstly, public projects ought to rely on the performance and cooperation of multiple organisations outside the project team, with these organisations starting from areas of procurement to large institutions (Gasik, 2016; Wirick, 2011), which comes coped with an egregious amount of paperwork. Secondly, public projects experience more pressure from external factors than private projects (Gomes et al., 2012) and they have a greater number of stakeholders than private projects (Gasik, 2016). Gasik, 2016 elaborates on how the communities are the most important stakeholders of public projects - these projects are accounted for and are responsible to these communities, as they are the reason these projects are undertaken. As such, it is necessary for a public project to secure support of both internal and external stakeholders in order for it to be successful (Gasik, 2016).

However, the construction sector is still ill-equipped for managing community concerns, even though it arguably has the most direct and large impact on people's lives than other industries (Close & Loosemore, 2013, September). As Close and Loosemore (2013, September, p. 849) quote, "unlike most industries, its products are procured in the heart of the communities in which they will remain embedded for decades and even hundreds of years, influencing the social, cultural, economic, and ecological environment in which people live, work and play". Nevertheless, although the impact on a citizen's life of a work pertaining to the construction sector is well-established, the current management pathos does not reflect this - in other words, the impact on a citizen's life, irrespective of their background, is not treated with the criticality and principles that it demands. This is substantiated by the fact that social opposition or collective action are continuing to increase in number and magnitude, even more exacerbated when it comes to large-scale infrastructure projects (van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019; Teo and Loosemore, 2014).

The initial cause of problems can be traced back to the dominant strands of thinking in project management. Green and Sergeeva, 2019 show in their work how Winter et al. (2006, p. 638) identify "three dominant strands of thinking in project management". Traditionally, project management has followed a "hard" management style, which follows a very planned, controlled and technical approach. The second one, or the "soft" management style focuses on forms of project organisations (Green & Sergeeva, 2019) and pays more attention to the relationships within the project. The third one, an emerging one that is primarily influenced by the work of P. W. G. Morris, 1994, advocates for a broader view of the project. Specifically, this strand calls for emphasis on the front-end of projects and for awareness of external factors which lie beyond the control of the traditional project management styles (Green and Sergeeva, 2019; Winter et al., 2006). Most importantly, P. Mor-

ris, 2005 specifically mentioned "value management" as an aspect to focus on in the front-end of projects. However, since little explicit attention has been paid to the public when it comes to public values, there remains much uncertainty not only on how to generate and implement this value, but on what this value constitutes of to begin with.

Public projects need to become more connected to their environment and subjects and move away from the technocratic perspective (van Den Ende & van Marrewijk, 2019). In order to do this, different contributing problems are explored. In order to identify these problems, a "timeline" of management for an unidentified public project that experiences social opposition was formed. The first and most explicit indication of a problem with a public project is resistance. Then, the moment where things potentially go askew according to literature, as presented above, is explored: the front-end. The next aspect explored is the defining characteristics of the undertaking public institution(s), namely power, governance and politics, since the public institution sets the tone and precedent for the following courses of actions in public projects. Public institutions must operate under legislature, which is also drafted by them. Hence, the next aspect to consider is legislature and how this connects to the behaviour of public institutions in projects and how it affects the involvement of the public in said projects. After this, the next most influential side of the project is considered: management. Management of public projects will be analysed in terms of prevailing strategies adopted and constructions of narratives used to paint the project in a light that is beneficial for those who undertake the project. Management however, is rooted in existing preconditions of the powerful players of the project and what they consider good or bad. Therefore, as such, it is imperative to turn to ethics for a reflection, with a large focus on value. Lastly, the other side of the project is explored, that of public involvement.

3.1.1 Resistance

Public opposition is not very predictable, which is why it is one of the main political risks of infrastructure projects (Liu et al., 2018; Cuppen et al., 2016). As mentioned earlier, protests against construction projects, especially public ones, are becoming increasingly prevalent (Liu et al., 2018). The public uses these protests as a way to express their opinion and to try to influence decision makers or the powerful stakeholders (Liu et al., 2018), in absence of meaningful methods through which their concerns can be voiced and heard.

Conflicts over public constructions are multidimensional (Min et al., 2018). They can be qualitative (e.g., institutional aspects, local culture, project perception) as well as quantitative (e.g., land acquisition appropriateness and compensation, unfavourable cost-benefit ratio) (Yousefi et al., 2010; Min et al., 2018). As such, they cannot be generalised and easily formulated ((Min et al., 2018)). For instance, risk perception over a project where there is room for potential negative impacts of the affected environment and health can contagiously affect the public's cause and may escalate into long-term and heavy protests (Liu et al., 2018). This risk perception is in many cases difficult to anticipate and to formulate, but can have complicated consequences nevertheless, something that does not facilitate a manager's position.

Indeed, most technical challenges encountered in a project can be tackled - the biggest issues occur due to opposition and mobilisation of the public (van Den Ende & van Marrewijk, 2019). If the needs and concerns of external stakeholders such as the general public and local community are dismissed or ignored, this will most likely generate resistance (Mahalingham and Ninan, 2019, June; Liu et al., 2018). Community here can be defined according to the definition provided by Close and Loosemore, 2013, September, which was based on the work of Barzilai, 2003. In essence, "community usually refers to a social unit that shares common values and interests and normally lives in close proximity to each other" (Close and Loosemore, 2013, September, p. 850). It must be noted here that "proximity" does not necessarily mean physical proximity, but rather, proximity in terms of interests and shared common ground and ideology.

When conflicts occur, the public takes measures to convey their dissatisfaction, such as demonstrations (Liu et al., 2018). Collective actions from the public can greatly impinge a project - they can pose egregious financial setbacks and significantly sour the relationship with powerful project stakeholders (Liu et al., 2018), which are public institutions in the case of public projects. The biggest conflicts in construction projects occur due to the infringement of the benefits of the public. Liu et al., 2018 found that there are seven main factors that make up the benefits of the public. Those are "interest expression channels", "disregarding public opinions and interests", "not fulfilling commitments", "decision-making style of the government" and "compensation and resettlement" (Liu et al., 2018, p. 622). If any of these factors are infringed, citizens will at the very least express resentment (depending on the weight of the infringed factor), but what is most probable is that they will take collective action (Liu et al., 2018). In sum, powerful project stakeholders that will only pursue benefits of the project in loose terms rather than properly take into account impacts on the public will face opposition (Liu et al., 2018; Maignan and Ferrell, 2004).

Some other factors that generally lead to public opposition are the transparency surrounding the project and visual affects (Mukhopadhyay, 2016) and the location of the project (van der Horst, 2007; Liu et al., 2018). Moreover, projects taking a large area are likely to face more opposition than smaller ones, because not only are more local residents affected, but the overall social impact is greater the larger a project area is (Dear, 1992; Min et al., 2018)). How land is acquired is also a common cause of conflict, where in many cases property owners were not able to relocate because of lack of support or strategy in place for helping with this problem (Mangioni, 2018). Another common cause of conflict are cultural aspects and cultural landmarks. For instance, in the case examined by Novy and Peters, 2012, the controversial demolition of a historical part of Stuttgart's old central station to give place to a generic, "easy" design is presented. They further argue how architects worldwide condemned the destruction of parts of this station, solidifying the argument based on Ostertag, 2008 by stating that this course of action was "a continuation of destructive, modernist urban renewal" (Novy & Peters, 2012).

Another case amongst many that experienced a similar course of action was the implementation of the East metro line in Amsterdam (van Den Ende & van Marrewijk, 2019). In Amsterdam too, demolitions were planned for historic neighbourhoods like the Nieuwmarkt (van Den Ende & van Marrewijk, 2019). The issue was exacerbated by the fact that it was plausible that even more damage could be done to other residential and historic areas, when there were already problems with housing (van Den Ende & van Marrewijk, 2019). Although The East line project was completed amid fierce opposition, the ramifications were felt for decades after, especially due to the broken trust by the citizens of Amsterdam towards the responsible governmental institutions (van Den Ende & van Marrewijk, 2019).

Besides the already-mentioned factors that can lead to project opposition by the public, there are more factors identified in literature, albeit with a smaller reaction force. For instance, a long project duration, accompanied by large financial implications on taxpayers, leads to dissatisfaction and deepened anxiety experienced by the public (Liu et al., 2018). Relating to this, normally, conflict is analysed only at the beginning of the project or until the beginning of the construction stage, even though conflicts may arise later on and even amplify (Lee et al., 2017), meaning that it is essential to continue monitoring conflict during the whole project implementation phase (Min et al., 2018). Furthermore, the reasons for opposition from the public are over-simplified and greatly undermined by those in power when it comes to project development (Friedl & Reichl, 2016), even though it is known in literature and practice that a design will not always have a fair distribution of consequences (Vermaas & Pesch, 2020). Vermaas and Pesch (2020, p. 542) state, "public anger should be received as an invitation to discuss these consequences and their societal equity" (cf. Cuppen et al., 2016). A lack of channels for expressing their interests and appeals contributes to this problem (Liu et al., 2018).

3.1.2 Front-End

The front-end is now considered to be the most important stage of establishing success in a (major) project (P. W. G. Morris, 1994), which is why it comes under focus (Klakegg et al., 2016). Most factors that seriously affect what the project outcome will be are set-up at the front-end (P. Morris, 2011). Scholars have also increasingly acknowledged that the project's value is greatly established at the front-end, since the front-end contains important decisions regarding key aspects such as project execution and operation and desired outcomes (Zerjav et al., 2021). However, P. Morris, 2011 also clarifies that issues arise because managing the front-end is still under murky waters. There is also very limited understanding currently on which aspect of the early phase affects the total project performance the most (Kolltveit & Grønhaug, 2004). Edkins et al., 2013 echo this by claiming that front-end knowledge is inadequate, although the front-end possesses the greatest opportunity for creating value.

But what really constitutes the front-end phase? Kolltveit and Grønhaug (2004, p. 547) declare that the front-end phase can be traced back to the very first decision to start the main project and "lasts until the activities and processes immediately following the decision to execute the project are completed". They further indicate that major projects in the construction industry can be further divided into sub-phases when it comes to this early phase, namely "the innovative sub-phase" and "the planning sub-phase" (Kolltveit and Grønhaug, 2004, p. 547). The end-point of the front-end can be taken to be "the point at which final sanction is given to authorise the project" (Williams et al., 2019, p. 1140).

There are many contributing factors that materialise during the front-end that can later on cause problems in projects or that can lead to the resistance from the public further down the line, as explained above. To start with, inadequate input during the front end, especially when it comes to construction input, can significantly contribute to the fragility of plans and constructability (Williams et al., 2019). What is more, Klakegg et al. (2016, p. 283) list "lack of political support, unclear success criteria, changing sponsor strategy, poor project definition and control, and weak quality assurance" among the main contributing factors to project failure that are established during the front-end, based on the work of P. W. G. Morris and Hough, 1987. Besides these, the way up-front stakeholder management is conducted will determine how successful a project's outcomes are (Williams et al., 2019). Ideally, good up-front stakeholder management requires avoiding and mitigating stakeholder problems while satisfying their expectations (Williams et al., 2019), although it is recognised that this is "easier said than done". When it comes to external stakeholders, the potential to set up a good relationship and influence them is the highest during the front-end, before the tone and agenda for handling the situation are solidified and insofar as the costs for making changes are still low (Williams et al., 2019).

Even when these are kept in mind, projects usually suffer at the front-end from too broad and abstract project definitions and of its consequences thereof (Novy & Peters, 2012). According to Williams and Samset, 2010, for project owners the choice of concept is the most important decision that they can make. After all, the project has to be approved on the basis of the premises of a successful business case (Volden, 2019), which entails amongst other things expected benefits and strategic outcomes (Jenner, 2015). Relating to this, because little is known at the start of the project about the project activities and execution, project performance is riddled with high uncertainty during the early stage, even more so when it comes to very novel project cases (Kolltveit & Grønhaug, 2004). As Friedl and Reichl (2016, p. 191) call upon, "project planners and the political level should therefore aim at the provision of comprehensive information" (including negative aspects) as early as possible. Lastly and relating to this, another contributing factor to project failure set up in the front-end is setting overoptimistic initial plans and forecasts, a caveat that infrastructure tends to fall for (Stingl & Geraldi, 2017).

These being said, it is time to turn to value generation in itself. First of all, it must be noted

that value generation does not necessarily have to be constricted only to the front-end, but innovation during the execution phase can and has been shown to stipulate value generation (Kolltveit & Grønhaug, 2004). However, the issue is that projects more often than not experience low degrees of flexibility, which leads to waste of available potential (Kolltveit & Grønhaug, 2004). The work of Kolltveit and Grønhaug, 2004 shows some common notions among project managers about less than effective early phase execution to be a conservative culture that sticks to what they already know how to do, that prevents more daring exploration of early involvement and new models.

On the other hand, scholars emphasise how important it is to work with stakeholders from the very start to define needs and expectations (Green and Sergeeva, 2019; Cleland and Ireland, 2002; Jugdev and Müller, 2005. However, the biggest challenges when it comes to working with stakeholders at the front-end is that even an established management strategy is of little use if the ones who benefit from the project are unknown (Green and Sergeeva, 2019; Gillier et al., 2015), and it is very difficult and rare to be able to identify the ones who benefit from the project at the front-end (Green & Sergeeva, 2019). Even in the rare cases when the project management team can identify the beneficiaries from the beginning, the preferences of these beneficiaries can, and usually do, change with time (Green & Sergeeva, 2019). Furthermore, because of the position they hold, management tends to solidify the positions of the most affluential stakeholders, which in itself, can be a subject to manipulation due to vested interests (Green & Sergeeva, 2019). Another issue is, supposing that beneficiaries are identified from the start and no manipulation or lobbying occurs, there is a lack of culture that supports identifying and going for alternative concepts even if that would be more beneficial overall for the project's system (Williams et al., 2019).

This issue materialises with the use of CBA (Cost Benefit Analysis) for choosing alternatives. The CBA, as Volden (2019, p. 550) claims, is "particularly relevant for state-funded projects, as they are regarded in an overall national perspective". A CBA seeks to quantify the impacts of a project and to monetise them as much as possible (Volden, 2019), in order to construct a business case. Nevertheless, some impacts are not commensurable and cannot be quantified (Volden, 2019), especially when it comes to social implications. Hence, a positive CBA does guarantee that the project will contribute to social welfare. The last criticism that CBA has received from critics is that it needs to include qualitative and ethical aspects into consideration, such as fairness, justice and autonomy (Roeser & Pesch, 2016). Doing this will also affect the perception of the general public positively (Roeser & Pesch, 2016). Managers ought to also distinguish better between MCA (Multi-Criteria-Analysis) and CBA. Nevertheless, one must remember that there is no one singular early warning sign that indicates project failure: rather, the signs will very for each project, depending on contextual factors (Klakegg et al., 2016).

3.1.3 Public Institutions

Essentially, the role of the political system is "to offer democratic procedures for making collectively binding decisions, and to maintain legitimacy by being responsive to the public sphere in its operations" (Huitema et al., 2007, p. 288, based on the work of Mason, 1999). Even though the public sphere is made of multiple intersecting small clusters besides the large combinations that institutions can be considered to be made of, the focus of research when it comes to the public sphere has thus far been on the macro level of institutions (Huitema et al., 2007), such as trends, responses and behaviour in institutional level which is much further beyond what individuals and organisations intertwined with those institutions can control (Fung, 2003). This has occurred despite the fact that changes and influences begin at individual level, with acts falling on practitioners' shoulders remaining largely unheeded (Huitema et al., 2007; Fung, 2003).

As Pesch (2008, p. 181) states, "the public sphere essentially consists of everything that is not private", where it is important to note the absence of an explicit mention of the political domain. The political domain is simply speaking an "*attribute* of society" which is there to prevent conflict from breaking out and to settle it in case it does (Pesch, 2008, p. 181). He further quotes Mill

(1985, p. 68) about the power of the political domain: "The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilised community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others" (Pesch, 2008, p. 181). This then leads one to wonder, what if conflict breaks out because of developments pertaining to the political domain and unfair exercise of its power? This question will be explored through a public projects' lens in order to uncover the dialectic side of the political domain and its influence in such projects. Before diving into the relevant aspects of the political domain for public projects, some facets of public administration will be described.

First of all, it must be noted that deliberative democracy as the representative political system, which is the system in which this research is set in, is based on the principle that citizens are engaged in deliberation in order to decide on a common course of action (Huitema et al., 2007). That being said, this deliberation exists amongst influences and constraints that the system experiences in practice, due to the very nature of the system. It is important to understand the nature of this system and the influences/constraints thereof in order to form a clearer picture on initial causes that affect the behaviour of institutions and in turn public projects. Modern organisations are influenced by both political and economic power, regardless of their type or sector which they belong too (Pesch, 2008, based on the work of Bozeman, 1987). The opposite is also true: any organisation is capable of exerting both political and economic power, the degree of which varies based on the prolificness of the organisation. Pesch (2008, p. 177) conceptualises the public part of public administration in a two-fold manner: "first, there is the publicness of organisations connected to the publicness of goods; second, there is the publicness connected to the publicness of the public interest". Publicness of public goods is what the economist take is all about, whereas publicness of public interest is what the political take is concerned with (Pesch, 2008). The latter is what interests the scope of this research, so further on the focus will be on the political perspective.

In the political version of publicness, the purpose of public administration is to decide which goods serve the public interest, and thus producing and safeguarding these goods by means of public institutions (Pesch, 2008). According to Rainey, 1997, it is in the public's interest for the government to provide certain goods and services. The term "public interest" is used by politicians often, by which they mean the interest of the communities in their jurisdiction as a whole. However, public administration is not as neutral as theory would like it to be - after all, policies are influenced by the ethos of the public organisation which makes them (Pesch, 2008), which in turn, are influenced not only by the (lobbying) characteristics of the responsible individuals, but also by the hidden cogs in the system. In this sense, public organisations can be considered as political agencies, which is why they should be continuously assessed (Pesch, 2008). Pesch, 2008 also raises an important point about how public organisations may not be as effective in providing goods and services as they are thought to be due to them having essentially no competition and many political restrictions, or even pressure.

It is no surprise that public projects are affected by these hidden strings. To begin with, public projects are subjected to influencing from politicians and their interests, even though these politicians are often not affiliated with principles of project management (Gasik, 2016). Furthermore, public projects have direct implications on the image of the responsible governmental body for these projects (Gasik, 2016), which is why politicians may try to influence the project to take a route that fits well with whichever narrative is being told at the moment, to put the governmental bodies in a positive light, which runs the risk of the project ending up being performative. To continue with, one must remember that public projects, like all other types of projects, must adhere to rules and requirements and rules set up by legislators, as well as the wants and needs of public agencies (Gasik, 2016), which further meanders the flow of the public project. Last but not least, the very essence of the politics of deliberative democracy, discoursive interaction, is becoming more and more threatened, because the opportunities to have meaningful deliberation with the public have subsided (Huitema et al., 2007).

Power

Power is an important factor to consider in projects, because power is directly related to decision-making. Those with more power have more say in the direction the project takes. Mahalingham and Ninan (2019, June, p. 2) use Max Weber's (1947) early definition of power, which is "the probability that one actor within a social relationship would be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance". From this it can be derived that different parties will always try to delegitimise issues that other parties raise, so that in a way, they make theirs more legitimate (Mahalingham & Ninan, 2019, June).

The issue with trusting project front-runners with the power they are trusted with is that they can act arbitrarily and how they see fit, skipping in this way important steps that are there to ensure transparency and accountability in case things turn sour. Usually, they dovetail the project's agenda with theirs and skip these steps either because they are convinced that these lengthy practices are counterproductive and require too much time (and their knowledge should already suffice), or because of ignorance (Novy & Peters, 2012). Because of this way of thinking, power is exercised through political and administrative decision-making without the people having any say in it, even though this power is derived from the people in the first place (Novy and Peters, 2012; Flyvbjerg et al., 2003).

Similarly, previous research has found that stakeholders that hold large power in a project do not put considerate efforts in elucidating their arguments and reifying their positions, but rather expect these to just be accepted (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011). Relating to this, what also causes great contentiousness in public projects is the tendency governments have to take unilateral decisions in a top-down approach (Min et al., 2018). An example of this would be the site selection for a facility behind closed doors in a "decide-announce-defend" (DAD) procedure (Min et al., 2018). If power was seen as something which can be used in a productive way and to make positive changes instead by these front-runners (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011), this would translate positively in how these projects are managed and governed.

Governance

The role of local communities as important stakeholders has only recently garnered attention in research when it comes to the way these communities can influence organisations and how they can act as catalysts for institutional change (van Den Ende & van Marrewijk, 2019). In parallel, the moral issue of justice relating to such communities that institutions now face as a challenge has also garnered attention (Pesch, 2019). Institutions position individuals according to their judgement, with the individual having no option to negotiate this position, which is the essence of this challenge (Pesch, 2019). This leads to some groups becoming vulnerable, with these vulnerabilities having limited chances at being addressed at best, to even being reinforced time and time again in some situations (Pesch, 2019) - and the less power an individual or community holds, the more their vulnerabilities are shunned from light.

Institutionalisation of forms of responses, strategies and practices is not the only work needed towards a better environment for a (public) project, but also "improved stakeholder management, external communication and consultation, public relations and participation, and more cooperative and inclusive approaches" (van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019, p. 334). Institutionalisation occurs when something becomes widely accepted, legitimised and resilient to change (van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019, based on Greenwood et al., 2008).

As mentioned before, external stakeholders (especially local residents), are the group that is most vulnerable in front of laws and policies in public projects (Liu et al., 2018). Even though the field of management science has long recognised that the improving public participation is the most effective way to control opposition of construction projects (Liu et al., 2018; Ekung and Effiong, 2014). Traditionally, governance was the natural tool for societal problem solving (Vermaas & Pesch, 2020), operating by means of regulations and policy (Klakegg et al., 2016). However, with the emergence of entrepreneurial market forces and spirit of innovation, policy deliberation has been taken over by

business strategies (Vermaas & Pesch, 2020). Under the pressure of these market forces on one hand and the electorate on the other hand, many governmental institutions have not been able to adapt to the rising expectations of what public services should cover because of constraints in budget and time (Min et al., 2018). Nevertheless, governments still tend to prioritise economic performance and political appeal over the public interest and opinion during the decision-making of these projects (Liu et al., 2018; Hanna et al., 2016; Awakul and Ogunlana, 2002). Consequently, many public projects follow a top-down, authoritative decision-making style, focusing largely on economic growth rather than ameliorating the lives of affected local communities or the final product (Min et al., 2018).

Before resuming, it must be noted that differs per country and is relative (Klakegg et al., 2016). For example, the Netherlands has been peculiarly active in searching for ways to improve in this aspect (Klakegg et al., 2016). The Dutch framework for governing infrastructure and urban projects puts in main foci the means: i.e., "faster, better, and with coherence between different policy fields" (Klakegg et al., 2016, p. 285). Nevertheless, to further the positive effects and to continue improving, calls have been made for the Dutch political culture to change with regards to handling projects, because the political nature of governance in itself can always become detrimental to these positive developments (de Vries et al., 2013; Klakegg et al., 2016). In the Netherlands too, like in other countries, the implementation of new ideas is hindered greatly by bureaucratic barriers, ingrained deeply within administration (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011). Another issue which stems from the already saturated nature of governance frameworks is complex procurement management (Gasik, 2016). Procurement processes, which greatly affect public projects, are defined outside the realm of the institution that takes care of the project (Gasik, 2016). Hence, such aspects, although very influential, are outside the reach of both the project team and the responsible institution for implementing the project (Gasik, 2016).

Another important point that should be discussed when it comes to governance is transparency. It is known that project managers have to think carefully about how they design the communication with other parties to ensure transparency (Gasik, 2016). Naturally, the importance of this is amplified in the case of public projects. Nevertheless, although this is agreed upon in principle, it is not always executed in practice. Lack of clarity and non-disclosure from the government are reoccurring problems in the policy-making phase, and lack of adequate public involvement riddle the policy-decision stage (Min et al., 2018).

Thereafter, when conflicts occur (which is catalysed by lack of transparency or elaboration on the front-runners side), these tend to be badly managed in a reactionary way. For conflicts originating locally in the project area, governmental institutions have a tendency to push through with the project, irrespective of the nature of the conflict (Min et al., 2018). If the conflict escalates to a city-wide or national scale, the government is then forced to seriously consider the conflict and to respond to it (Min et al., 2018). However, by this time, more often than not the conflict will have become significantly more difficult to handle and opposing groups will have become more and more heterogeneous, with many opposing stances - rendering the government's response ineffective (Min et al., 2018). If the government continues to push through with the project in these conditions, the project will become a "mark" in the relationship between the people and the government (cf. van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019; Min et al., 2018). Even when conflict reaches a critical point, in the past, governmental institutions have in numerous cases used policy as a tool to argue that the project was legitimised in front of the law, in order to justify pushing forward with it (Novy & Peters, 2012). What is also important to note is that, upon examining empirical cases, scholars have found that in a considerable number of cases, the new changes brought upon a project do not make the situation better, but rather, a smaller intervention (be it through construction or use of new technology) would have been a better solution (Zerjav et al., 2021). Ergo, policy procedures "must be improved to minimise and resolve conflicts" (Min et al., 2018, p. 3). Besides policy, project front-runners can minimise the risk of conflict by exploring flexible designs and technologies, which guarantee room for applying input from the public in the project's design.

The main takeaway from this is that institutions should use contestation and conflict as input for reflection and improvement on how they answer emerging social demands (Pesch, 2021). Democracy, once "the active pursuit of individuals developing themselves as citizens", has turned into the "active pursuit of individuals to be *recognised* as citizens - to be taken seriously not only as recipients of policy but also as producers of such policy" (Pesch, 2021, p. 7). Specifically, in public projects, where the public is directly affected, decision-making authority ought to be shared and include different (local) external stakeholders in order for the process to be democratic (Rothschild and Russell, 1986; Gil, 2015).

Politics

Klakegg et al. (2016, p. 293) state that in the Netherlands, "the balance between conceptual project planning and political decision-making is still unsolved". Friedl and Reichl, 2016 have in the meantime shown through their work that the conflicts of interests that some politicians have a pressing matter. They further argue that some politicians may publicly support a project which falls under their area of influence in order to fortify their re-election chances (Friedl & Reichl, 2016). Supposing that there are no conflicts of interest as such present in a project, there is still the risk of local officials being "carried away" by the lustrous potentials of urban and economic development of a new project, overlooking the concrete implications of said project (Novy & Peters, 2012). Novy and Peters, 2012 exemplify not only how easy it is to make this mistake, but also how when officials lose sight of the real situation based on future premises, important concerns voiced by experts about the apposite risks can be overlooked or completely ignored (cf. van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019).

In the case of large-scale public projects, costs can drastically escalate because of these reasons. Drastic costs are not the only issue in these cases, but also the possibility of costs being underwritten in order to make the situation seem better than it realistically is in front of the public, or in worse examples, even almost collusive coalitions between the governmental institutions and leading private entity, as Novy and Peters, 2012 present in their work. Another caveat presented by these authors is how the project undertakers, especially private ones, can restrict information that is harmful for their interest and position through a number of ways, such as contract clauses, cloaking devices and coalitions with newspapers (Novy & Peters, 2012).

What is more, as touched upon above, when city administrators and project developers "get lost" in their plans of urban renewal, social unrest does not necessarily affect the implementation of their plans (van Den Ende & van Marrewijk, 2019), because they often view it not as an indicator that something might be substantially wrong, but as something to be expected "against" what these parties come up with. An issue that is commonly looked over is, frankly speaking, bad design. Novy and Peters (2012, p. 132) give a flagrant example, which is when it was decided that for the new design of Stuttgart's historic central station, large parts of this station with historical and architectural significance would be demolished and replaced with a "minimalist, 400 m concrete shell structure". This is a good exemplification of a current trend in urban development: designs with cultural, historical, art or architecture significance being replaced by more generic and less unique design, that fit the idealised, albeit not much questioned, aesthetics of "green design".

As Klakegg et al. (2016, p. 293) state, "the political aspect may not be solved by project management at all, but the project management community needs to consider seriously how to play its role in the decision-making process". Another lesson that can be extracted is to opt for more incremental steps to carefully try what works and what not, instead of overtly-ambitious plans (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011).

3.1.4 Law

Power, governance and politics operate within the sphere of law, which is why a closer look is mandated into how existing law and policy enable or hinder public participation in projects. The existing law that is examined is that of the Netherlands, in accordance with the setting of this research. The issues with public participation in the Netherlands start with the fact that "with the exception of the EIA - no clearly defined 'mandatory' regulatory regulations exist with regard to an 'active' participation" (Friedl and Reichl, 2016, p. 189). Incidentally, for projects that are not required to conduct an EIA, the orchestration of public participation, and its extent thereof, fall solely under the responsibility and initiative of the project management team (Friedl & Reichl, 2016).

That being said, when taking into consideration the public's input during decision-making, the decision-maker has to make an assessment of the public at interest, without really knowing who constitutes this public (Pesch, 2019; Wüstenhagen et al., 2007; Devine-Wright et al., 2017). What is meant by this is that in order to fulfil legal requirements, decision-makers have to determine the stance of the community that is directly affected by the project (Pesch, 2019; Barnett et al., 2012). These directly affected communities are defined by the decision-maker, who classifies these communities as the local public, separating it in this way from the wider public, which evidently can be affected, at least in an indirect way (Pesch, 2019). In separating the local from the wider public, some common steps are followed, which are (1) setting a boundary to differentiate the two, (2) transforming the wants and needs of the public to singular, simplified expressions and (3) enabling the (local) public to forward its sentiments to the decision-makers (Pesch, 2019). However, in doing so, a number of problems arise, that can later on in the process give rise to conflict.

First of all, filtering down the wants and needs of the public into singular and simplified expressions erases vital nuances as to where these wants and needs originate from. The public's input is complex and diverse (Pesch, 2019) - the effect on livelihood cannot be captured in simple, short sentences. Secondly, separating the local public from the wider public based on the principles of geographical distance and whether a community is directly or indirectly affected (which is also heavily rooted in vicinity), already puts the wider public at great disadvantage for expressing their voices, even if they are considerably affected by the project (which is always an aspect that can be miscalculated by decision-makers at the start of the project). This is where the technical nature and formal restrictions of Dutch legislature comes in play. In Dutch legislature, the formal procedure of submitting perspectives is an important tool for allowing citizens to voice their opinions, which then have to be taken into consideration (projects that require an EIA are bidden to adequately respond to these perspectives) (Pesch, 2019). However, only members of the local public, which in the Dutch context is considered to be those living in the vicinity of the project's site, can express their perspectives formally - the rest will be discarded (Pesch, 2019; Cuppen et al., 2019). What this does is not only limit who can formally submit a perspective even when other members of the public further than the local radius are affected, but it also excludes the possibility of a wider set of concerns being voiced (c.f. Pesch, 2019). In a sense, it becomes a matter of who belongs in the small local public and who does not (Pesch, 2019), with the rest of the public being pushed to the sidelines.

In parallel, this means that a member of the wider public may not be eligible for direct consultation or even voicing their opinions, nor for compensation, like members of the local public may be (Pesch, 2019). A good example of this is provided by Pesch (2019, p. 2): "when the implementation of a wind project means that a patch of trees in the immediate vicinity has to be removed, Dutch legislation instructs that appeals of members of the wider public cannot be taken into consideration, even though these appeals may refer to a generic value like nature conservation". One must keep in mind that cases where there are environmental concerns, like the provided example, still garner more attention and caution from decision-makers in handling the case because of the general awareness in present days, compared to cases where social concerns take place, as these are still explored to very little extent and underplayed (or not properly included) in EIAs.

This inevitably contributes to the possibility of resistance occurring, with the wider public having no choice but bypassing the formal procedures to make their voice heard (Pesch, 2019). Simple procedural arrangements like the ones described above are not enough to encapsulate the views of the public (Pesch, 2019) - instead, the diversity and complexity in their views must be accepted and added to the dialogue agenda.

3.1.5 Management

Management/Strategy

The first issue pertaining to management that is examined is misrepresentation. To begin with, previous research has determined that there is a lot of strategic misrepresentation happening in public procurement as a result of unrealistic goals being promoted by authorities (Stingl and Geraldi, 2017; Flyvbjerg, 2007; Pinto, 2014). Strategic misrepresentation is even fostered by the existing environment in public project management - the point has been reached where this behaviour is expected, and then eventually accepted (Stingl and Geraldi, 2017; Pinto, 2014). The other side, unintentional misrepresentation, also occurs just as frequently. Unintentional misrepresentation happens due to overoptimistic forecasts because of limitations in the work of the forecasters, or because the forecaster (whether unbeknownst to them or not) become influenced by their biases or interests (Stingl and Geraldi, 2017; Flyvbjerg, 2007.

One way with which misrepresentation can be reduced is by increasing authoritative publicity in a timely manner, in other words, by publicising information about the project (Liu et al., 2018). This prevents rumours and public panic, but it also provides the public the possibility of examining the facts by themselves to determine the social impacts from their perspectives (which in the end helps the project team too) (Liu et al., 2018). This tactic can be strengthened by establishing good communication channels with a mechanism for feedback which capture the genuine concerns and interests of the public (Liu et al., 2018). What is more, for public projects, the governmental institution behind the project should include plans for screening the project developers and at least alternative solutions for the communities that lose access or are affected negatively from the project implementation (Liu et al., 2018). It is also important to note that using independent foreign experts for conducting tests or sensitivity analyses (Novy & Peters, 2012) can significantly improve trust on the results (although this is applicable for large-scale projects or those with environmental implications).

Kornberger and Clegg, 2011 showed through their work how the strategy-making process itself can sometimes be more important for city administrators than the outcomes. They show how in the case they examined, the strategy process was formulated in a way that was more about curating people's perception through carefully planned communication rather than exploring innovative solutions and problems (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011). Essentially, strategy can be tailored in a way that changes the public's thinking. One method that is commonly used to achieve this effect is by making use of what Kornberger and Clegg (2011, p. 153) call the "aesthetics of numbers", where a long list of targets and actions translated in numbers comes attached with the project description (for example, planting an X number of trees). The use of numbers alongside illustrations or project plans alludes to scientific precision (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011) and makes the case more believable. However, as the authors go on to argue, these numbers may be of little use as "guides to the future" (Kornberger and Clegg, 2011, p. 153). Upon closely examining these numbers used as a sells-pitch for a project, one might often find that these numbers do not correctly correspond with what is described in the project plans, or that there is no devised plan for securing the achievement of these targets (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011). Kornberger and Clegg, 2011 found in their case, not only was the long list of actions full of ambiguity and contradiction, or in some cases just declarations of intent, some of the actions were beyond the control of the city administrators. This can be best captured by the following quote:

"Strategy, it seems, thrives on the dual aesthetics of the poetry of the image and the prose of num-

bers." (Kornberger and Clegg, 2011, p. 153)

To continue with, the way the project team thinks of public involvement can also undermine the public's contribution. For instance, consultants can be convinced that consultation with the public will not bring forth new ideas, or most commonly, that they will not learn anything worthwhile by hearing the public that they did not already know from years of experience (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011). This way of thinking is problematic because it already conditions them into going in consultations with a close-minded approach and not work together with the public. Another problematic way of approaching consultations is to try and control potential conflict during meetings by keeping potentially conflicting interest groups separate, so that less debate takes place (Kornberger and Clegg, 2011; cf. Revellino and Mouritsen, 2017). The opposite also stands: groups whose interests go side by side can be painted to be in contradiction with each-other (cf. Geukes et al., 2021), lest they synchronise their claims to have a stronger say. Naturally, there will be different groups from the public with different assessments who will not be able to establish in simple terms the acceptability of the project (Pesch, 2019). It is unreasonable for the project team to expect this to be the case (Pesch, 2019), and when it is not, the real, meaningful decision are made behind closed doors to bypass the ruckus, coined as "expert decisions" (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011).

Another issue still present with management is the perseverance of a technocratic way of thinking. This involves relying largely on expert's opinion for decision-making and the use of technology, focusing on the technical and physical construction process instead of collaboration and communication with the public, concealing unknown information and uncertainties or providing information that is too technical for the masses to understand, and downplaying or lack of account of social implications (cf. van Den Ende and van Marrewijk, 2019; Roeser and Pesch, 2016). To epitomise what this approach can lead to, an example provided by Roeser and Pesch, 2016 is used, where they explain how in a local debate about carbon capture and storage (CCS), the two attending Dutch ministers told the audience at the very beginning that the meeting was essentially meaningless because what they said there would not matter, because the decisions had already been made. It is because of these instances that pushing for more socially-oriented approaches is vital. Traditional project management is argued to hold back creativity and learning (Gillier et al., 2015). Even though there has been more strive for project managers and experts to become more trained in these approaches in recent years, especially if they are involved in a public project (van Den Ende & van Marrewijk, 2019), there is still a lot more to be done.

Besides the technocratic thinking, there is also the prevailing "business case" thinking. Of particular concern in the use of the classical cost-benefit analysis (CBA) to determine the worth and the appeal of a project, with public projects being no exception. To start with, one of the most criticised aspects of CBAs is that it "implies that impacts on future generations have low worth today" (Volden, 2019, p. 552). Some researchers have instead suggested making more use of multi-criteria analysis (MCA), although MCAs are more subjective in a sense and can be more easily manipulated (Volden, 2019). Therefore, the use of CBA and how this can be improved have to be considered too.

Previous research has found that in some projects, estimates of costs and benefits are intentionally manipulated in order to secure a green light for the project, and the bigger the project, the bigger the manipulation that takes place (Revellino & Mouritsen, 2017). Volden, 2019 calls for an overview of the significant impacts and how these are spread across the affected demographic to be provided where possible, to combat the possibility of manipulation as much as possible. Relating to this, technical aspects such as models and parameters should be available for checking (Volden, 2019) - this reduces the risk of figure manipulation.

That being said, it is difficult to quantify and attach a monetary value to some impacts, such as environmental impacts. Even though environmental impacts can be estimated in principle, this is often insufficiently looked into or ignored in practice (Volden, 2019). Impacts on future generations are seldom mentioned in CBA reports, and even when they are, they are not distinguished clearly

from the "value for money perspective", which continues to be the main concern of practitioners (Volden, 2019, p. 558). On the other hand, standardisation of non-monetised impacts is very low: there are no standard guidelines and only a paucity of information about how to treat long-term and indirect impact, which validates the struggle of practitioners (Volden, 2019).

Moving on from the CBA of projects, interestingly, previous research has found that strategies can be more past-oriented instead of future-oriented like they normally are. The case examined by Kornberger and Clegg, 2011 saw a repetition of many of the goals and plans from the past, unbeknownst to the project team of the present. The authors advise conducting a study of the past for a good starting point, to also check what was accomplished and what not in the passing years in a sociopolitical lens (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011). Furthermore, obtaining information from past projects leads planners to consider an outside perspective (Klakegg et al., 2016).

From these arguments, it becomes evident that changes have to be made, but change cannot come if the efforts are not focused and if there are no distinctions on the effects of targeting certain aspects over others in time and scale. (Loorbach, 2010) divides the whole system into three levels to show the differences in effects of targeting each level, or vice versa, to give an indication on which level to target depending on what change is needed. Table 3 shows the three levels and their characteristics as defined by (Loorbach, 2010).

Table 3: Transition Management Types and Their Focus (Loorbach, 2010)

Transition Management Types	Focus	Problem Scope	Time Scale	Level of Activities
Strategic	Culture	Abstract/societal system	Long term (30 years)	System
Tactical	Structures	Institutions/regime	Mid term (5–15 years)	Subsystem
Operational	Practices	Concrete/project	Short term (0–5 years)	Concrete

As can be seen from Table 3, the strategic level is placed at the top and sets the scene for what happens within the system. Changes implemented in this level take a long time to translate in practice, but also continue their effects for just as long. In the middle tier stands the Tactical level, which is where smaller structures within the larger system operate. Changes made here takes less time to be implemented, but still require a considerable amount of it for the difference to be felt. At the bottom is the Operational level, which is very practical and revolves around project experimentation and innovation. Because of this, changes here can be implemented immediately and the effects thereof can be seen in real-time. In short, changes can be implemented to any of these levels to lead to societal or process changes, depending on which level these changes are made.

So far, the discussed aspects of management have related to the set-up of project strategy and assessment. Now, the attention will shift to problems that arise from the way project management handles external stakeholders. Project management is not very flexible, which leads to wasted potential (Kolltveit & Grønhaug, 2004). A persistent problem problem in debates or consultations with the public is the hierarchy between the experts and the common people (Roeser & Pesch, 2016). One might be accustomed to the idea of experts taking the stage in debates and members of the public listening and rebuking as anonymous faces in the crowd (Roeser & Pesch, 2016). This may make people less comfortable in sharing their frank opinion in front of the experts who present a plethora of facts at them in a scientific and rational way, which is difficult to catch up to and verify - instead, they ought to be placed in equal footing (Roeser & Pesch, 2016). The traditional setup creates the idea in the eyes of the public that the experts' input is much more valued than that of the common people, when in truth, members of the public can greatly contribute with their

knowledge, considering they come from different backgrounds and affiliations with the project, and have "lived experience" (Roeser and Pesch, 2016; Huitema et al., 2007). Roeser and Pesch, 2016 suggest organising roundtable discussions for small groups and using interactive displays such as smartboards for creating an interactive atmosphere and for noting the questions and answers of the audience for larger groups. The experts and debate leaders of these gatherings must be careful to not overtly interfere and allow the public to engage in dialogue with itself too (Roeser & Pesch, 2016), which is something that requires considerable skill (Huitema et al., 2007).

All in all, a fair distribution of consequences across communities cannot be determined (Vermaas & Pesch, 2020). However, practitioners are responsible for ensuring a distribution as fairly estimated as possible. This is why practitioners ought to constantly reflect on their work and be more flexible (Duijn et al., 2010), and they must not forget that the public is in the unknown until they properly communicate the details and potential benefits the project will bring to them (Liu et al., 2018).

Sociology

Projects are shaped by discursive and iterative narratives (Ninan and Sergeeva, 2021). Therefore, the way a project is shaped and the policy it is in enshrouded in are heavily dependent on language and its choice. This characteristic of projects, although always there, remains under the radar of scrutiny. For instance, the discursive power in policy is always assumed to be unproblematic in itself (Geukes et al., 2021), whereas language, although it has been recognised to be at the centre of a project (Havermans et al., 2015), is used to impose order and to push narratives that those with power can afford to do, a demonstration of performative intent (Green & Sergeeva, 2019). On the other hand, language imbues identities of the concerned people, who in the project context, use language in turn to express their voices, while it is used to construct labels and metaphors, which are used to strategically shape the project. These concepts are inextricably linked. In order to examine how language shapes discourse, first, it must be examined how it shapes identity.

Based on the work of Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, Ninan and Sergeeva (2021, p. 496) define identity as "a social and cultural phenomenon that encompass macro-level categories, temporary and interactionally specific stances, and cultural positions". Identity helps construct shared interests and goals, thus, it takes centre position in organising, and as a result shapes how one responds to institutional forces (Ninan & Sergeeva, 2021). Identities, be it those of an individual or a community, are social constructions built from language (Ninan & Sergeeva, 2021). So, how does this relate more specifically to a project setting?

As Pesch (2021, p. 8) formulates, "it is usually private worries that drive public appeals for justice. The elements that make up one's identity are part of her private essence, with all sorts of deep emotional connotations". He further argues that "the marginalisation of an identity that does not conform the expected standards will create large emotional investments in that identity - as this marginalisation reduces the core of 'who we are' to exactly that identity" (Pesch, 2021, p. 9). What can be derived from this is that one ought to be careful not only when dealing with what are considered to be marginalised communities, but also not to alienate people during deliberations and contributing to their marginalisation, as this will backfire later on. Pesch, 2008 also calls for public organisations to work on providing structures that make it possible for people to identify themselves as a community in a stride towards preserving public interest.

Identity is linguistically shaped through labels (Sergeeva, 2017), especially in the context of a project or organisation (Ninan & Sergeeva, 2021). Ninan and Sergeeva (2021, p. 497) mention the definition found in Webster dictionary, which defines a label as "a word of phrase that identifies something or someone". The definition found in Oxford dictionary takes another spin on the same word, and interestingly so. According to Oxford dictionary, a label is a "classifying phrase or name applied to a person or thing, especially one that is inaccurate or restrictive". This seems to echo the call that Ninan and Sergeeva, 2021 make for investigating how labels are created and which ones prevail,

considering that they have become generic in development policy. For example, widely used labels in project such as "sustainable" and "efficient" have not been examined for how they came to be, nor how they keep their momentum (Ninan & Sergeeva, 2021), even though it has been recognised that labels are often used by project developers as marketing tools (Benders et al., 1998).

The use of labels in a project setting might come from the need of practitioners to find common sense/ground, but this ends up giving space to misrepresentations, such as assigning what are commonly perceived as negative identities to those who are disfavoured and positive ones to those in power and with status (Ninan & Sergeeva, 2021). Labels attached to people are very influential in how these people end up perceiving and valuing themselves, connectedly, how they respond to opportunities and threats (Eyben & Moncrieffe, 2013). The same goes for how these people are perceived by those with power in the project setting. For instance, the known "not in my backyard" (NIMBY) label is commonly used when people outwardly express their dissatisfaction towards a project, despite the fact that this label undermines the legitimacy of the public's claim and creates the idea that the public is complaining purely on self-interest (Pesch, 2019). This goes to show that while some labels are used meaningfully, other are used to paint a picture or to achieve a goal (Sergeeva, 2017).

3.1.6 Ethics

Real, positive change cannot be brought without diving into ethics, and the subconscious way of thinking of those involved in decision-making. Having explained behaviour and managerial components, the focus can now turn into how the needed change in thinking and status quo can be brought through examining the ethical implications of the predominating existing practices. This will be done by focusing on two key areas: value and emotions. Although value as a concept has been explored for millennia now by philosophers, having first been introduced by Plato in his work "The Republic", it has only recently started to be explored in project management, for example by how value can be defined for a project and how it can be created. Emotions too, although already a great topic of interest in social sciences and philosophy, have historically had bad connotations in deliberations in a project setting, with emotions being deemed unprofessional and a result of hysteria, even though emotions fuel all of our subconscious decisions and conscientiousness. As Pesch (2019, p. 122) puts it, "decisions that we believe to have taken deliberately are in many cases the result of unconscious mental processes".

Value

As project management shifts increasingly towards the soft management approach, it has become more and more concerned with how value can be generated by projects in recent years and how this can be used to assess a project's success (Volden, 2019; Green and Sergeeva, 2019). The problem is that definitions of project benefits and what constitutes value in this case are often vague and perspective-dependent (Volden, 2019; Laursen and Svejvig, 2016). There is a reoccurring elusiveness in project management literature in defining the underlying theory of value creation (Green & Sergeeva, 2019). This problem materialises in practice when projects reach the technical or construction phase, because "the key values, used to sell the projects [...] are soon out of the picture once the engineering starts", with these projects inevitably become "fixed in the goals that are set in the contracts" and public values suffering the most in the process (Veeneman and Koppenjan, 2010, p. 229). But, what exactly is value?

Aliakbarlou et al. (2017, p. 234) give two definitions of value, the first extracted from Schwartz and Bilsky (1990, p. 878), which is "values (a) are concepts or beliefs, (b) pertain to desirable end states or behaviours, (c) transcend specific situations, (d) guide selection or evaluation of behaviour and events, and (e) are ordered by relative importance". The second one is extracted from Thomson et al., 2003, and it goes as follows: "values are the principles, beliefs, and standards by which in-

dividuals live and by which the actions of individuals and organisations are guided" (Aliakbarlou et al., 2017, p. 236). Green and Sergeeva (2019, p. 637) argue that "value is an entirely abstract concept which is continuously shaped and contested through narrative". Ang et al. (2016, p. 3) show how scholars have challenged the traditional associations with the concept of value in projects, such as capital, monetary assets, alliances, etc., in favour of more intangible assets. In making their point, they introduce a noteworthy quote by Allee (2000, p. 29): "every person, every organisation, every country and every society are engaged in creating, exchanging, contributing or gaining some type of value in every act that they undertake". As can be seen, value can be defined in a plethora of ways, even within the context of projects. Ergo, value is complex and constantly changes and evolves over time (Ang et al., 2016).

Institutions and organisations tend to set up ambitious strategies and plans to achieve high value in projects (Martinsuo et al., 2019), but this does not necessarily mean that their effort will generate "good value". In the construction industry, the term "value" is synonymous with "quality" (Aliakbarlou et al., 2017). Previous research has concluded that in the project context, value is commonly expressed in relation to function and cost (Kelly et al., 2009; Aliakbarlou et al., 2017) and it is seldom not compared to the level of performance, benefit (related to price and cost), functionality and utility (Aliakbarlou et al., 2017). It is indeed this established relationship between quality and value in practice that has become a topic of great debate between researchers and practitioners (Aliakbarlou et al., 2017). Value as tackled in social sciences, as "ideals", is still to this day scarcely covered in research and practice for a project setting (Martinsuo et al., 2019). Research in the project management field has shied away from theorising based on philosophical, psychological, sociological and behavioural perspectives (Martinsuo et al., 2019).

The difficulties with determining what constitutes as value in projects stems from the very old debate about whether it is a function of human desires or whether it is inherent in things (Aliakbarlou et al., 2017). According to Zerjav et al. (2021, p. 508, based on Frischmann, 2012), "infrastructure project value is created when the use of infrastructure assets enable a variety of commercial and social activities, which feed into the broader economy". Project participants have their own value definitions and they will always prioritise the one they believe in - this is how fragmentation starts (Zerjav et al., 2021). Because project management in the construction industry remains heavily on the side of hard management and thus traditional concepts of value, very little space is left for considering a wider array of values (Zerjav et al., 2021).

Atkinson, 1999 started this discussion by arguing that projects need to move beyond the constrictive "iron triangle", which is defining project success in terms of time, cost and quality (Green & Sergeeva, 2019). Green and Sergeeva, 2019 point out that creating value should be a mainstream concern, rather than a routine topic of episodic workshops. Public administration literature can also give insight about value in the construction industry. Here, value is seen as public value, which can be defined as "the 'added value' that accrues to the broader populace, beyond the simple aggregation of benefits to private individuals on firms" (Zerjav et al., 2021, p. 508, based on Jørgensen and Bozeman, 2007). Therefore, projects should create value in terms of non-market and public goods too (Zerjav et al., 2021).

The first level where project benefits translate to value is the local level (Zerjav et al., 2021), since this is where direct impact is experienced in livelihood. A large number of people, all with diverse needs, use public spaces, which are important for place-making and affect their experience with the city (Zerjav et al., 2021). This is why Eskerod and Ang, 2017 propose the quality of life as an additional dimension of value to be tackled in projects, and why Shenhar and Dvir, 2007 argue that project developers ought to explicitly address how value will be created for end users and other stakeholders. This notion is echoed by Chang et al., 2013 who believe that value will be recognised from experience, be it cognitively or emotionally, and not simply by the functionality and commercial value.

Ultimately, "there are no panaceas to be found within the literature on value management" (Green and Sergeeva, 2019, p. 638). What is more, there are no specific guides for pushing practitioners in the right direction for creating value, even though "social value" is being increasingly recognised and added to the project's agenda (Green & Sergeeva, 2019). In light of these drawbacks, it is important for project managers to become responsible in the creation of value rather than being conformists of the old narrative (Green & Sergeeva, 2019).

Emotions

Emotions are often seen with suspicion in political debates because they are believed to be contrary to rational decision-making ((Roeser & Pesch, 2016)). The same stands for virtually all projects in the construction field, a phenomenon rooted in technocratic thinking. Although emotions can cloud critical observation and thinking, they can also provide very valuable insights that merge from within and instinct (Roeser & Pesch, 2016). The views of the public are typically dismissed precisely because they are seen as emotional individuals who are not capable of rationally understanding technical aspects and risks (Roeser and Pesch, 2016; Sunstein, 2005), however, it is indeed these emotions that push the public to reason with those in power in projects to alleviate grievances. Furthermore, scholars have shown that emotions are a form of practical rationality and that they have cognitive and effective aspects (Roeser and Pesch, 2016; Damasio, 1994).

Hall, 2013 calls for politics to put itself in the shoes of the public and to take their emotions more seriously. Hall (2013, p. 130) further states: "sooner or later, that which is ignored, silenced, rejected or repressed will return. In contrast, acknowledging the dissonance, exploring it, and learning as much as possible from the different voices provides more chance of genuinely moving to a new position". A significant emotional response from the public is met with discontent from project developers, even though it makes sense for a local public for instance to have affective attachments to the local environment they frequent or are part of (Roeser & Pesch, 2016). Thus, depriving a community from outwardly expressing their emotions will inevitably read as injustice and lead to opposition from said community, justifiably so (Pesch, 2019).

Emotions are interpreted as a judgement of value by several philosophers (Roeser & Pesch, 2016) - after all, they motivate a person to take action and repair wrongdoings (Pesch, 2021). Roeser and Pesch (2016, p. 278) better encapsulate the emotion discourse, by stating:

"Moral emotions such as indignation, guilt, sympathy, and feelings of responsibility can help us be aware of important moral values such as justice, fairness, and autonomy. Emotions can then be seen as a major source of insight into ethical considerations in decisions about acceptable risk".

This is echoed by **o'neill**, who argues that deliberative approaches should make more use of emotions as sources of moral knowledge, as they are overtly rationalistic. More often than not people are told off by debate leaders and asked to be rational when they give emotional responses (Roeser & Pesch, 2016), when they should instead invite people to tell their story, untainted by forced rationality. It must be noted that emotional responses might come from a of lack of trust in authorities (Roeser & Pesch, 2016), a problem which can certainly not be dismissed when it comes to public projects. Openly addressing this possibility and emotional responses without judgement signals interest and respect from the authorities' part to the people, who in turn will be more willing to cooperate (Roeser & Pesch, 2016). Roeser and Pesch (2016, p. 288) list the following questions that can be used to better handle the discourse and get to the bottom of indignation:

"What are you afraid of?"
"Under what conditions would you be less worried?"
"Can you understand the viewpoint of the person from the other group?"
"If you were in charge, how would you solve this problem?"

To conclude, in order to bring forth change, one must actively reflect on decisions and their desirability from different viewpoints (Pesch, 2019). Existing moral rules and categories must always be put under scrutiny from time to time, as the social environment becomes more and more complex and evolves over time (Pesch, 2019). One must continuously strive to train their judgement for deciding the best course of action based on the many signals that one receives in dialogue and deliberation (Pesch, 2019).

3.1.7 Public Involvement

The last aspect left to delve in is problems that arise with public involvement and how these can be tackled, specifically through the lens of formalities, to prevent conflict and things from going awry. In construction projects, community consultation normally occurs at early phases (during planning and design), and once these are completed the community has very limited input, if any, in the project (Close & Loosemore, 2013, September). However, in many cases concerns from the community persist and since they are no longer paid any heed to, they can escalate to full-on conflict (Close and Loosemore, 2013, September; Teo and Loosemore, 2010). Project runners tend to use generic and rigid consultation strategies and often view the process as arduous and costly (Close & Loosemore, 2013, September), so sometimes, these consultations are skipped altogether or kept to a very small scale, more so as a formality and obligation that needs to be fulfilled for the project to be legitimate.

Public involvement should not be seen as an obstacle, but rather as a manner for increasing project success and its robustness (Close & Loosemore, 2013, September). As McSwite (2005, p. 124) puts it, "people generally will not accept other people's interventions in their lives for the purpose of developing them", because from their perspective and from what they actually experience, this is "destructive" change. What is more, previous research has shown how in many cases marginalised groups (such as young and old groups, those with low income and education, etc.) are not particularly included in consultation (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011).

But, how can community consultations be improved? Close and Loosemore, 2013, September mention the key decisions that Burby, 2001 lists for effective community consultation, which are: objectives, time, (choice of) participants and information provision. In order for a consultation to be effective, there needs to be a carefully drafted plan with dedicated time and clear objective formulations, something which many projects fail to achieve (Close & Loosemore, 2013, September). Friedl and Reichl, 2016 on the other hand propose to establish an advisory board with affected community members and involving it in active consultation. Huitema et al., 2007 call for consultations and deliberations with the public to have a transparent procedure for comparing the pros and cons based on debates about the relative weights of each argument.

As for the selection of participants, there are some drawbacks when it comes to that. The selection usually rests on volunteering, because often the invitation is extended through a letter or message that is either dedicated or open (Pesch, 2019; Wynne, 2007). One can then question whether the public that was extended this invitation is a satisfactory representation of the whole community (Pesch, 2019; Wynne, 2007), since the recipients of this invitation where decided upon by the project team. Also, because participation based on this invitation is voluntary, this implies that those who agree to participate may be the most vocal members of the community, leaving in this way the points of those who cannot or choose not participate in the shadows (Pesch, 2019).

An important point that is largely unexplored is what internal effects do citizens who participate in consultation experience (Campbell, 2005). It was mentioned briefly before that marginalised groups are often pushed to the sidelines of consultation or left outside of it altogether. The opposite is also true, in other words, certain people are more predisposed to participate in consultations if they have better education, socioeconomic status and even parental involvement, due to systemic and societal

biases (Campbell, 2005; Delli Carpini, 2000). Campbell (2005, p. 640) provides an insightful quote from Plotke (2001, p. 1170): "people with more resources are more civically engaged. The level of such inequality is strikingly high". In parallel, "excluding certain individuals based on stereotypes and preconceived notions of their interests, insights, or things that they might bring to the table does a disservice to the notion of public deliberation" (Campbell, 2005, p. 641), a statement which can be further expanded by Pesch, 2019 who indicates that managers' internal biases can lead to stereotyping and seeing public knowledge as subpar. This is superposed by another striking statement from Campbell (2005, p. 641), shortly after:

"Who can claim to possess an omnipotent ability to determine which citizens are capable of authentic, productive and sincere discourse?"

What this goes to show is not only that practitioners should be more open minded when it comes to approaching affected communities, especially if there is even a small chance that marginalised groups are part of these affected communities, but that it is important to put more effort into engaging people who have traditionally been disengaged (Campbell, 2005). Furthermore, there are costs and time needed for active participation in consultation, and this is even more the case with marginalised communities, which is why managers have to be even more thoughtful in devising how to successfully engage these communities (Campbell, 2005). For fruitful consultations, a priori formal rules ought to be replaced by more fluid ones based on successful discourse principles (Campbell, 2005; McSwite, 2005). Naturally, these rules and principles ought to be set by those actively involved in the situation and who are well-aware of the context (Campbell, 2005).

Summary of RQ1

The findings presented in this section showed the common problems that occur in public projects and the main causes that lead to them. To start with, although a lot of emphasis is put on establishing guidelines and approaches for minimising the risk of opposition from external stakeholders, one must keep in mind that public opposition can happen regardless at any time. The key here is to establish different scenarios of reaction from external stakeholders, one of which *anticipates* resistance forming anyway. In this way, not only will this approach help with identifying potential causes of indignation beforehand, but it will also lead the project team to be prepared in case resistance does happen.

It was also found that governments' top-down decision-making style often leads to contesting. Other common factors that cause indignation, such as lack of transparency, social impacts and how land is acquired are a direct result of this decision rationale. The way with which these problematic factors can be tackled is by the government changing their decision-making approach and by considering external stakeholders to have more power than what has been established in practice. This can result in external stakeholders being taken "more seriously" in the eyes of other stakeholders and practitioners and in turn for them to have a more solid input in the design.

Focus on defining project definition, project values and key decisions during the front-end were established to be crucial. Relationships with stakeholders are also established during the front-end. Extra care should be put on establishing a good relationship with external stakeholders at this stage, perhaps even more so than with other stakeholders, because external stakeholders can be more unpredictable and more difficult to establish a relationship. The first reason why this can be is that when external stakeholders are positioned somewhere on the low power scale (which is often the case), they will be conscious about this position and how it affects how the parties affiliated with the project see them and become more defensive. The other reason is that because external stakeholders are more heterogeneous than other stakeholders, this means that establishing a relationship with them will require more rounds of dialogue.

Where possible, it would be even more optimal to make one or two alternatives for a project in pub-

lic space - the more sensitive the project area, or the more people are expected to use it, the more this step can make a difference. While it is recognised that this is costly and very time-consuming, this approach does not only reduce the risk of opposition, but it also allows for a greater chance of including social values rather than mainly economic ones. It can also lead to less misrepresentation and more transparency because project developers would be forced to give more extensive explanations and to go further in depth with analysis to come up with substantially different alternatives.

The prevailing technocratic way of thinking seems to still be widespread because of established practices that strongly favour the (scientific) expert's opinions. This way of thinking leads in turn less flexibility because of experts' words not being questioned, problems in debates with the public and "bad design". In essence, these problems stem from experts not being questioned more critically and their stances being favoured over stakeholders with a lesser say in the matter. Relating to this, this is also why marginalised groups have been traditionally left disengaged - because the experts do not question themselves critically enough to see where these marginalised groups are present (in the project), why they are disengaged and how to engage them more actively. The same argument can be applied to determining value - only by really imagining themselves as being one of the external stakeholder and being critical while doing so, can value be determined in better and more comprehensive terms for projects.

Below, a summary of the main findings of this section can be found (Table 4).

Table 4: Summary of literature review for RQ1

Remarks	Source
Public opposition forms a main political risk, as it is unpredictable and on the rise. If the needs and concerns of external stakeholders are not addressed, they will most likely generate resistance. Conflict must be monitored during the whole project implementation phase. Reasons for public opposition are over-simplified and undermined by those in power.	Liu et al. (2018); Cuppen et al. (2016); Min et al. (2018); Friedl and Reichl (2016); Mahalingham and Ninan (2019);
When conflict occurs locally, governments tend to push through with the project in a reactionary way, and only start to seriously consider the conflict when it reaches a city-wide or national scale. Governments' tendency to take unilateral decisions in a top-down approach causes contentiousness.	Min et al. (2018)
The most common causes of public resistance are the government's decision-making style, disregard of public opinions/interests, transparency, area size, social impacts, how land is acquired and cultural landmarks. New changes in the project after conflict do not guarantee a better situation.	Liu et al. (2018); Mukhopadhyay (2015); Dan (2007); Dear (1992); Min et al. (2018); Mangioni (2018); Novy and Peters (2012)
Institutionalisation of "improved stakeholder management, external communication and consultation, public relations and participation, and more cooperative and inclusive approaches" needs to occur.	den Ende and van Marrewijk (2019, pg. 334)
The front-end is the most important stage of establishing project success. Key decisions for project value such as execution, operation and desired outcomes are established in the front-end. The potential to set-up a good relationship with stakeholders is highest during the front-end, before the agenda is solidified and costs for making changes are low	Morris (1997); Zerjav et al. (2021); Williams et al. (2019)
Projects usually suffer at the front-end from too broad and abstract project definitions and from its consequences thereof. Inadequate input, lack of political support, poor definition of value and success criteria and weak quality assurance can cause problems that later on lead to public resistance.	Novy and Peters (2012); Eun Ho et al. (2016); Williams et al. (2019); Klakegg et al. (2016)
There is a lack of culture that supports identifying and going for alternative concepts even if that would be more beneficial overall.	Williams et al. (2019)
Lack of clarity and non-disclosure from the government are reoccurring problems in the policy-making phase. Project undertakers restricting information and real costs to make the project more appealing remains a harmful phenomenon. Project planners and the political level should offer comprehensive information as early as possible (including negative aspects). Strategic (result of unrealistic goals) and unintentional (result of overoptimistic forecasts) misrepresentation are a significant problem too. Misrepresentation can be reduced by publicising project information early on and by hiring independent foreign experts for tests or analysis.	Min et al. (2018); Novy and Peters (2012); Friedl and Reichl (2016); Stingl and Geraldi (2017); Liu et al. (2018)
Governments still tend to prioritise economic performance and political appeal over the public interest and opinion during project decision-making. As a result of entrepreneurial market forces taking over, many public projects follow and authoritative decision-making style and focus largely on economic growth rather than bettering the lives of local communities. Projects should create value in terms of non-market and public goods too.	Liu et al. (2018); Vermaas and Pesch (2020); Min et al. (2018); Zerjav et al. (2021)
Politicians supporting projects based on conflicts of interest and officials being "carried away" by the potentials of a project still pose a great threat. Strategy, which can be tailored in a way that changes public thinking, is sometimes more important for officials than outcomes.	Friedl and Reichl (2016); Novy and Peters (2012); Kornberger and Clegg (2011)
Project front-runners can act arbitrarily and skip important steps if they think that these practices are too lengthy and time-consuming. Management tends to solidify the positions of the most affluent stakeholders, leading to powerful stakeholders to not put considerate efforts in their argumentation, and instead expect it to just be accepted.	Novy and Peters (2012); Green and Sergeeva (2019); Kornberger and Clegg (2011)
Orchestration of public participation for projects that do not require an EIA falls solely under the responsibility and initiative of the management team. Project runners tend to use generic and rigid consultation strategies and often view the process as arduous and costly.	Friedl and Reichl (2016); Close and Loosemore (2013)
Local public is separated from wider public even though the wider public might be affected, which excludes the public that does not reside in the immediate vicinity of the project and its input (and possibly wider set of concerns). Wider public is forced to bypass formal procedures to make their voice heard.	Pesch (2019); Cuppen et al. (2019)
The technocratic way of thinking remains a large issue with management, as well as "business case" thinking (relying on CBA). A traditional, conservative culture, hampers flexibility and innovation in a project. Implementation of new ideas is hindered by deeply ingrained bureaucratic barriers. "Bad design" is a commonly overlooked issue.	Roeser and Pesch (2016); Volden (2019); Kolltveit and Gronhaug (2004); Kornberger and Clegg (2011); Novy and Peters (2012)
A persistent problem in debates/consultations with the public is the hierarchy between experts and common people. Stereotyping and seeing public's knowledge as subpar are common issues that come from managers' internal biases. Practitioners are often more concerned with "getting their way" than value generated for people.	Roeser and Pesch (2016); Green and Sergeeva (2019, pg. 641)
In many cases, marginalised groups are not particularly included in consultation. Practitioners should be more open minded when approaching affected communities and put more effort into engaging people who have traditionally been disengaged.	Kornberger and Clegg (2011); Campbell (2005)

Language greatly shapes a project's narrative and the perceived identities of people. Depending on what labels are used, perception can be influenced.	Ninan and Sergeeva (2021); Pesch (2019)
Institutions position individuals according to their judgement, leaving the individual with no option to negotiate this position, which makes certain groups become more vulnerable. Recipients of invitations and even more so those who voluntarily accept to participate might not be a satisfactory representation of the whole community.	Pesch (2019); Wynne (2007)
The public can greatly contribute with knowledge from their different backgrounds and perspectives, and has "lived experience". Emotions are seen as opposing rational decision-making and are met with discontent from project developers, when they should be seen as sources of moral knowledge instead.	Roeser and Pesch (2016); Huitema et al. (2007); O'Neill (2002)
Value is commonly expressed in relation to function and cost, and is seldom compared to performance, benefit, functionality and utility. Definitions of project benefits and what constitutes value are often vague and perspective-dependent.	Kelly et al. (2009); Aliakbarlou et al. (2016); Dreschler et al. (2005); Volden (2019); Laursen and Svijvig (2016)

3.2 Role of news and public media in collective action

3.2.1 Collective action

As shown in Section 3.1, project managers are generally not well-equipped for handling community concerns (Teo & Loosemore, 2014). The general belief is that community concerns have been handled during the early phases of a project, which is evidently not always the case (Teo & Loosemore, 2014). The consequences of this are usually disputes that come with great dissatisfaction from all parties involved, costly delays, and reputational and social damage (Teo & Loosemore, 2014). These disputes often materialise in the form of community protests. Based on the definitions provided by Hanna et al., 2016, a protest can be defined as an unconventional, last-resort method of intervening in decision-making by using indirect channels, and a telling indicator of persisting problems. Protests against projects typically arise when social or environmental impacts are not properly dealt with, or when impacted communities feel that they were not adequately involved in the consultation process (Hanna et al., 2016). Teo and Loosemore (2014, p. 41) define the term "community" based on the work of Parsons, 2008 as "a fluid group of people united by at least one common characteristic such as geography, shared interests, values, experiences, or traditions". They further go on to argue that when it comes to construction projects, what is understood by the term "community" is "the people whose interests are potentially affected by that project" (Teo and Loosemore, 2014, p. 41). In construction projects, these communities are fluid and heterogeneous (Teo & Loosemore, 2014), and because of this, community protests should be seen as ongoing social dramas rather than single events in time (Hanna et al., 2016).

Previous research has found that community protests against a project start from shared grievances of people who share an identity and emotions within a community about the risks and effects of the project (Teo and Loosemore, 2014; van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2013). Naturally, the more threatening the project appears to the community, the more likely it is that they will solidify their efforts in collective action (Teo & Loosemore, 2014). Collective action is defined by van Zomeren (2015, p. 1) as "any action that individuals engage in on behalf of a group to improve the conditions of that group".

Hence, collective action or protest develops where there is an asymmetrical actor power relation, provided that at least one of the affected or involved groups resorts to defending its interests in alternative ways due to perceiving threat (Hanna et al., 2016). It must be mentioned that while most protests typically follow some common, accepted principles, protests are always evolving and constantly undergoing improvisation and innovation (Hanna et al., 2016). Furthermore, protests do not only vary over time, but also across different socio-cultural and political settings (Hanna et al., 2016). For a comprehensive list of over 200 forms of collective action, see Hanna et al., 2016. As Hanna et al., 2016 note in their paper, many of the entries in this list are relatively new forms of process and that now many forms of protests are undertaken in combination with other forms, something which has become widely facilitated by the digital revolution.

According to Hanna et al., 2016, the purpose(s) of a protest can generally be categorised in seven ways: to distribute information, for fundraising, to gain publicity, to mobilise more people, to build solidarity, to apply political pressure and to cause immediate disruption by taking direct action. Most protests start with a formal addressing or petition, and later on escalate to more direct (and sometimes violent) actions when problems they were addressing were not tackled properly (Hanna et al., 2016). Previous research has found that stakeholders have three main influence tactics: "issue raising, positioning and solution seeking" (Nguyen et al., 2018, p. 444). In the meantime, direct action can be taken to affect a project immediately. This is especially efficient when stakeholders have some control over important inputs (Nguyen et al., 2018). As Nguyen et al. (2018, p. 445) also note, "the inputs of construction projects include not only materials, capital, labour but also site location and construction and environmental permits".

An important development on how protests form and mature is the effect of digital media and the

rise of internet activism (Hanna et al., 2016). Although successful protests still require a lot of real-life interactions and alliances, the infuse of virtual life with the physical one has greatly increased potentials for protests (Bennett, 2005; Hanna et al., 2016). For instance, if a cause or elements from a protest "go viral", this can lead immense political pressure (Hanna et al., 2016). Innovative elements of a protest that can help achieve "virality" include publicity stunts, use of art or performance, and so on (Hanna et al., 2016).

A protest's longevity is also inextricably linked to its ability to secure resources and participants (Teo & Loosemore, 2014). At the centre of a protest movement is a core group, i.e. a small number of long-term activists who organise events, start the provision of information, mobilise people and decide on the leading strategy (Teo & Loosemore, 2014). The more people identify with a group, especially with what the core protest group advocates for, the more they are likely to protest on behalf of that group (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). This is another insight on how protests can gain support or momentum: the more common the cause, or initial protesting group of people is, the more likely it is for the protest to gain supporters along the way.

The number of groups that are involved in protests changes over time, with interest being higher during the early stages of protest and while the protest is still new in the public scene, with this interest and number of alliances winding down over time (Teo & Loosemore, 2010). Naturally, some people will be more prone to engage in protest and will be more active (for example, because they experience immediate changes in their life due to a project) (van Zomeren, 2015). According to van Zomeren (2015, p. 1), "although surprisingly little is known about how non-activists become activists, it is clear that when they do, a qualitative psychological change occurs)". The more strongly they identify with a group, the more they will see the situation in terms of their group membership) (van Zomeren, 2015). Nevertheless, it has been shown that strong identification with a group is not enough to push non-activists to become activists (van Zomeren, 2015; Livingstone, 2017).

One of the phenomena that can push non-activists to become activists is the fear of social exclusion and social loss (van Zomeren, 2015) - a clear example of this is in protests in large scale projects or very big social movements, where people feel more inclined to join or support protests in order to not go against the majority of the public opinion at the moment. It must also be noted that people are susceptible to differing degrees of social contagion (Teo & Loosemore, 2014). Saturated contagion, let alone total contagion, are very rare, and "the existence of any interconnecting ties between actors in a network is not necessarily an indication that contagion is guaranteed to occur" (Teo and Loosemore, 2010, p. 133).

From the perspective of governments and companies, these two can respond to protests in negative ways, such as counter-action (for example, trying to discredit the organisers, strict/violent policing, persecutions, and even criminalisation of protests) (Hanna et al., 2016), or positive ways, such as inviting the organisers to open dialogue, trying to find a new solution that incorporates the demands of the protesters, and so on. The most common way of responding from governments and companies remains the negative one, with these parties usually adopting a defensive behaviour instead of starting dialogue (Hanna et al., 2016). When private companies are involved, Nguyen et al. (2018, p. 447) state that "the government tend[s] to support the owners".

Governments and companies should use protest as an opportunity to address ignored or unaddressed issues instead, and as an exploration case of what went wrong in the communication with communities and conventional communication channels (Hanna et al., 2016). "Protest is, in effect, a form of community feedback which occurs when normal engagement and grievance mechanism are not working effectively" (Hanna et al., 2016, p. 238). In order to avoid collective action, project managers have to explore in depth the composition and structure of the community, as early as possible (Teo & Loosemore, 2014).

3.2.2 Digital media: social media vs. traditional news

Collective action in the digital age

Protests and their development are iteratively influenced by public opinion, traditional (mass) media and social media (Hanna et al., 2016). It is has been widely recognised that media is very important and influential when it comes to collective actions and public opinions. Figure 3 shows how media influences collective action and public opinion.

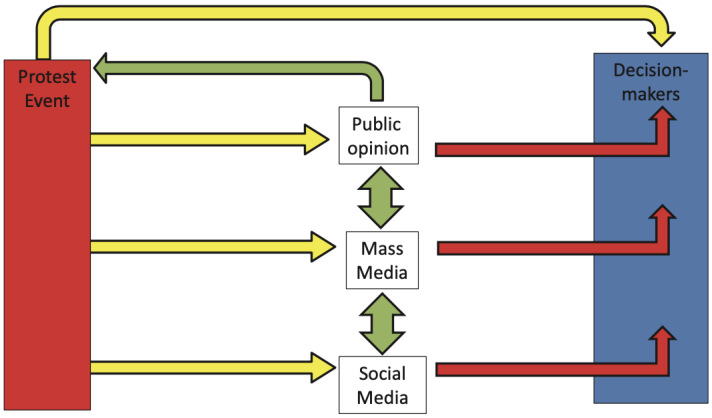

Figure 3: Influence on decision-making by social protests (Hanna et al., 2016, p. 219)

van Laer and van Aelst (2010, p. 1148) distinguish between "old" and "new" forms of collective action. The new forms of collective action have risen exponentially in popularity and use due to the rise of internet-based communication in the present digital era. The Internet has expanded the reach and effectiveness of traditional tools when it comes to organising social movements/protests, and created new forms of collective action altogether (that can be done only in the digital space), or as van Laer and van Aelst (2010, p. 1147, based on Tilly, 1984; McAdam et al., 2001) put it, "the internet has expanded and complemented today's social movement 'repetoire of collective action'". Nevertheless, even amidst the big shift towards internet-based actions, old collective action forms are there to stay, and used just as much, with the internet acting as a facilitating tool (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010).

But how can "the Internet" be construed within the cluster of collective action? First of all, the Internet can be defined as "a tool for communication (private, public and mediated), organisation, and motivation. It can be a channel for information collection and publication, a site for dialogue and debate, or a venue for lobbying and fundraising" (Rolfe, 2005, p. 65). The Internet is a new medium for information distribution that is "cheap and fast, it is geographically unbound, and it is free and egalitarian, in that hardly any central control exists to filter out specific content" (Albrecht, 2006, p. 64). Internet-based technologies such as online forums, mailing lists and news-groups allow interactive interaction between users, in an asynchronous or synchronous way (Albrecht, 2006).

Nested within the parent cluster of the Internet is something that is of even more applicable relevance to collective action: social media. Social media is being used more and more for activism and to spread awareness, by using different platforms that have different audience reach, such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and YouTube (Neumayer & Svensson, 2016). This is because social media makes it possible for a wider part of the population to express opinions, while also making information more accessible for more people (Neumayer & Svensson, 2016). Based on the work of Hysa and Spalek, 2019, SM (Social Media) can be defined as a group of Internet-based applications that serve as informal knowledge management systems and information channels that enable inter-

action between users globally and in real-time. To add to this, Ninan et al. (2020, p. 8) distinguish SM from the Internet in the following way: "it is different from the static world wide web as it enables two-way communication and is often called web 2.0".

As a result, collective action must accommodate to the shift of the locus of power towards the virtual space (Rolfe, 2005). Because of this, many researchers see social media practices and offline collectivism as intertwined, as they now work in tandem (Neumayer & Svensson, 2016). The Internet provides activists today with a way to immediately provide updates from protests and counternarratives coming from the the crowd itself in case of negative framing of the protest (Neumayer & Stald, 2014), or simply, a way for the public participating in collective action to support their claims (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010). The Internet significantly lowers the barriers of participation in collective action by not only making the information much more accessible for members of the public, but also by providing organisers platforms for detailing information about things such as place and time, as well as how protesters can organise and protect themselves from harm (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010). Several studies have shown how the Internet and SM have enabled protests to become much more diverse and bigger in numbers and stretched beyond geographical constraints (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010).

Now that the definitions and influence of the Internet and SM have been established, the focus can shift on how activism shapes itself in an open arena where "online actions are inseparable from economic and political struggle" (Neumayer and Svensson, 2016, p. 133). According to Fuchs, 2012 and Gerbaudo, 2012, contemporary social movements have soft leaders that orchestrate protests and their communication flow via SM, even though these movements seem to be leaderless networks. The reduced mobilisation costs allow these soft leaders to stimulate ideas and interactions (vital for social movements) on an unprecedented scale (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010). The reason why such stimulation can occur now is because, as Albrecht (2006, p. 66) puts it, "people need certain resources to be able to participate, whatever the form may be. Among these are economic capital, education and acquaintance with the political field".

This on the other hand, relates to the issue of a small and concentrated group of very active online activists (Albrecht, 2006). While the soft leaders, the inner circle of protest organisers and their biggest sympathisers make up the most active online activists, there is a great distortion in contribution when it comes to other users (Albrecht, 2006). This draws parallels from political communication, where a few selected individuals will announce their views to a broad audience of passive listeners, from which only a small number of peers will comment on (Albrecht, 2006). Fuchs, 2012 presents the point of "slactivists", who are people who keep up with the collective action but do not really contribute much to it, or, who take "easy" action that has minimal or no social or political impact. This ties to the fact that growth in support is followed by an even faster decline of it due to people choosing to move on from the cause when they do not feel the need to fully engage with it (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010). Fuchs, 2012 quotes Gladwell (n.d., p. 49) in saying that SM "make[s] it easier for activists to express themselves, and harder for that expression to have any impact". However, Fuchs, 2012 also argues that slactivists still do not undermine the work of activists and the significance of it. After all, even a small, non-risky action is better than not taking any action at all.

To continue with, the degree of activism, as well as the methods used for collective action by these activists become bleared since the offline and online actions now go hand-in-hand, such as email petitions being an extension of street protest (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010). At the same time, some action forms require higher commitment and risk-bearing, and as such pose higher thresholds for participation (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010). For example, an action form that has a low threshold due to negligible costs and minimal commitment and risk is signing petitions, whereas an action form that has high thresholds is participating in street protest, because in order to do that one needs to allocate time and the necessary budget for attending and has to consider the possibility of clashes with the police (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010). Another example of a form of action

with low threshold and no risk is donating money to a protest/cause (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010). Research has found however that people who participate in action forms with high thresholds have likely already participated in those with low thresholds (van Laer and van Aelst, 2010; Collom, 2003).

There is several forms of collective action that are enabled by and take place in the virtual space. To put it simply, "virtual activities may range from online petitions and email bombings, virtual sit-ins to hacking websites of large companies, organisations or governments" (van Laer and van Aelst, 2010, p. 1147). From these virtual activities, it results that email petitions are the most used form of collective action online (Della Porta and Mosca, 2005; van Laer and van Aelst, 2010): this is because today, it is very easy for anyone to become interested and start a petition, just as it is easy for anyone who is interested to participate in it.

The rise of social media as a news medium

Social media is becoming more and more an established channel for news consumption, with its growth being exponential (Park, 2015). Despite becoming a more and more dominant channel for obtaining political news, SM is still regarded as subpar news, and not prestigious enough to be taken as seriously as traditional news by electorates (Park, 2015). The Internet is beneficial for activists precisely for this reason, because it provides them with alternative and more authentic channels for producing media that does not have to be reported on by traditional media outlets (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010). For example, media is an especially important channel for protesters from minority groups, who struggle more to get recognition, especially from traditional media (Hanna et al., 2016). Social media is quickly overtaking traditional media as the major channel of news consumption (Park, 2015).

While SM can greatly aid collective action, it must be noted that SM in itself is contradictory, as it exists in the reality of a contradictory society (Fuchs, 2012). SM does not necessarily "support/amplify or dampen/limit rebellions, but rather pose[s] contradictory potentials that stand in contradictions with influences by the state, ideology and capitalism" (Fuchs, 2012, p. 787). But, challenging traditional media reporting and bringing more light to their cause is important for activists who need to influence public opinion (Neumayer & Stald, 2014). Many studies have shown that radicalised opposition is not objectively covered by traditional news media, with activists usually being portrayed as violent trouble-makers and with the focus being on their appearance and background rather than their cause (Neumayer & Stald, 2014). As a result of this, citizens are increasingly interested in contributing to the production of a more impartial news narrative rather than accepting whatever is told to them (Greer & McLaughlin, 2010).

Traditional media

As Rosie and Gorringe (2009, p. 36)) put it, "protest events need to be contextualised by reference to how they are reported as well as how they are policed". The issue is however that traditional news media has shown to favour the police perspective and oftentimes to present a skewed view on activists (Greer & McLaughlin, 2010). Greer and McLaughlin (2010, p. 1043) show through the case they examined that protests were already predicted to involve violent confrontation "between the forces of law and order (the police) and the forces of anarchy (demonstrators), even though when the protests actually took place, they were largely peaceful". Even though these protests were peaceful and involved only minor altercations, they were still reported on according to the pre-established narrative.

Greer and McLaughlin, 2010 also show how many other researchers argue that traditional news media is virtually a monopoly of elite sources that together represent and enforce the dominant institutional power by establishing a hierarchy of credibility, typically by using the police-led narrative. Greer and McLaughlin, 2010 further show through the case they analyse how when protests were peaceful, they received little reporting, and when the protests got more charged after the death

of a protester after mistreatment by the police, it took the submission of videos by other protesters showing evidence of this mistreatment for the traditional news media outlets to shift their perspective and to finally question the behaviour of the police.

This is a clear example of how the Internet has made it possible for protesters to defend themselves against defamation by being able to upload photographic, video and audio evidence straight from the source, in real-time (Greer & McLaughlin, 2010). Because these can become headline news, traditional news outlets have recognised the power of what is called "citizen journalism" and have now established formal links where they encourage citizens to submit such material and contribute to news reporting. Greer and McLaughlin (2010, p. 1045) build on the work of Allan and Thorsen, 2009 to define citizen journalism as "the spontaneous actions of ordinary people, caught up in extraordinary events, who felt compelled to adopt the role of a news reporter". Naturally, the instant and public documentation from citizens themselves adds much more to news flow (Neumayer & Stald, 2014).

The rise of citizen journalism has been accompanied, if not aided by a lowering trust on authority and elite institutions (Seldon, 2011; Greer and McLaughlin, 2010). Citizen journalism in turn has not only provided newsworthy contributions to media, but has also redefined news itself, by reshaping action narrative up to a global scale Deuze, 2008; Greer and McLaughlin, 2010). This goes hand-in-hand with the rise of market-driven news media, who now need to adapt to the changed cycle of news flow and reporting by making sure they continue generating audiences in order to survive in this new system (Greer & McLaughlin, 2010). In order to do this, market-driven newspapers have realised that they need to offer the public a platform alongside SM to voice their outrage and scepticism (Greer & McLaughlin, 2010). They do so by not adhering to traditionally established news narratives and by being more willing to initiate/support collective action against institutions by making great use of citizen journalism alongside traditional methods of reporting (Greer & McLaughlin, 2010). This is an important development on activists becoming heard, because, as must be noted, an activist group will not resort to "more violent forms of action, even as this would be more effective to gain media visibility" (van Laer and van Aelst, 2010, p. 1151).

The demographic of particular interest when it comes to news consumption are young adults. Young adults are much less likely to consume traditional forms of news media, such as watching traditional news broadcasts or reading a newspaper (Baumgartner and Morris, 2010; Park, 2015). However, young adults are much more likely to use the Internet, which has led to SM becoming their primary communication tool and news consumption medium (Park, 2015). This is in part explained by what Hysa and Spalek, 2019 found, which is that young people are more open to new working methods and technologies. Nonetheless, even so, Park (2015) asserts that not many attempts have been made to differentiate what the impacts are on young versus old adults in consuming news via SM. What has been established though, is that young adults tend to be more influenced by news emotionally, behaviourally and cognitively, more so than their other adult counterparts (Park, 2015). Young adults are most sensitive in these aspects when it comes to negative news (in terms of political and information learning), and the more negative the news, the more their sensitivity heightens (Park, 2015).

Internet accessibility

Another discussion point to address when it comes to SM and the Internet in general is its accessibility, mainly when it comes to the problem of unequal internet access, otherwise known as the digital divide. van Laer and van Aelst (2010, p. 1160) define digital divide as "the inequality in internet access between the rich industrialised countries and the developing countries". The degree of internet use percentage per country can vary drastically - within Europe too, the internet use percentage varies between around 60% (San Marino) and 99.6% (Iceland), where the Facebook use

rate is 43.5% and 98.6% in these countries respectively. [2]

Besides the variation of internet use within different countries, there is also the matter of differences in internet use coming from the lack of certain skills for the use of this new technology, or the extent of browsing that a person does (van Laer & van Aelst, 2010). In this case, social movements may not reach the "socially weaker groups in society if they would rely too much on the new media to organise their protest events" (van Laer and van Aelst, 2010, p. 1160). One can go even deeper in this to bring up "democratic divide" within the digital space, which distinguishes those who use the internet for political reasons and those who do not: this is also important to note because in this case, activists' efforts will reach groups that are likely already active in their circles/topics (van Laer and van Aelst, 2010, p. 1161; Norris, 2001).

Another important facet when it comes to the internet and its use is the ability to search, but research has shown that using the internet frequently does not necessarily mean that the user possess good search skills that can be used in other contexts (Bridges et al., 2012; Kang and Gearhart, 2010). For instance, people tend to rely too much on search engine quality: people tend to go for the first search result, even if it is not really relevant for the search task (Bridges et al., 2012). A byproduct of this is that it the the popularity of these top pages continues amassing while new pages or less clicked on results continue sinking down the results page (Cho and Roy, 2004; Bridges et al., 2012). These facets tie well with the following quote from Fuchs (2012, p. 781): "Information can be online without reaching many citizens, e.g. because they do not know of its existence, because the information is structurally kept invisible, because they are not interested in it or do not find it meaningful".

Governmental response

While the Internet and SM can significantly help activists in their cause, studies have shown that they can also maintain existing relations by enabling control by repressive governments, authority and the police, as well as the owners of the SM corporations (Neumayer and Stald, 2014; Fuchs, 2011; Mozorov, 2016; Goldsmith, 2007). Furthermore, technologies are after all developed under the ruling political systems, and as such, it is quite plausible for them to be inclined to maintaining the systems and power hierarchies under which they operate (Feenberg, 2002).

Outside the digital space, many protests have peaceful beginnings, and only turn rough after authorities instigate violence, to which activists are left with no choice but to retaliate against (Neumayer & Stald, 2014). In the digital space, videos from collective action that make their way to mass media can be used to identify participants or to target action leaders by the police, as a way to instil fear amongst people who want to become activists and join the action (Katz, 2007; Neumayer and Stald, 2014). In more extreme cases, mobile communication forms (e.g. access to the Internet, GPS data) can be traced and used for surveillance (Neumayer & Stald, 2014).

This being said, many governments have shown growing interest in using SM positively as a way to better connect with the younger generation, especially when it comes to increasing their political participation (Bridges et al., 2012). However, Bridges et al., 2012 show that there is a persistent feeling among the general public, especially the youth, that the government is not actually concerned about them and their opinions. Even when governmental bodies use SM to communicate with or register opinions from citizens, hereby skipping vexing bureaucratic process, there is a general belief that these actions lack authenticity based on how the inputs submitted by the citizens are dealt with afterwards (Bridges et al., 2012; Cohen, 2006).

One reason why this occurs is because "the current implementations of social media platforms are not necessarily developed with the government's needs in mind" (Bridges et al., 2012, p. 164). An-

[2] http://www.internetworldstats.com

other reason is that "government agencies are bound by suffocating restrictions themselves" (Bridges et al., 2012, p. 175; Kim et al., 2011). Lastly, the sheer number of inputs from the public inhibits the extent of possible two-way communication (Bridges et al., 2012). On the other hand, Bridges et al., 2012 found that citizens rarely make full use of SM links provided by governments' or politicians' websites. Bridges et al., 2012 also found that most participants in their study had some lack of knowledge about the government, its structure and policies, which in turn was seen to affect their search capabilities to find information.

How activists, media and authorities interrelate can be better summarised by the table below (Table 5):

Table 5: Scenarios of information provision in street action (Neumayer and Stald, 2014, p. 120)

Actors	**Activists**	**Media**	**Authorities**
Activists	Coordination, mobilisation, increasing security	Influencing of news media reports, creation of counternarratives	Control, surveillance, punishment
Media	Image and identity	News, adaptation of reporting	Image and identity
Authorities	Showing truth, creation of counternarratives, increasing security	Coordination, influencing of news media reports	Coordination, mobilisation

Management in the age of social media

The rise of the Internet and SM has caused significant changes in how projects and organisations function, as well as the scope of what a project manager has to cover (Hysa and Spalek, 2019; Confetto and Siano, 2018). More and more communication between project owners, project managers and members of the public is taking place online and via SM (Hysa & Spalek, 2019). Project management teams now ought to actively keep track of the input from the public they receive online and ideally, respond to them in a timely manner (Jiang et al., 2016). Of significant importance here are negative comments, from which project management teams today suffer additional difficulties from (Wu & Dai, 2014), not only because a negative comment that has not received attention can turn into bad PR, but also because negative opinions tend to receive more attention and become amplified (de Wilde et al., 2014).

Nevertheless, even though SM has gained tremendous significance in communication and connection to the public, its use still remains relatively low in project management (Hysa & Spalek, 2019). Inferentially, the number of tools and techniques when it comes to this have been low too in project management - instead, "companies and organisations should be conscious of the power of SM and increasingly incorporate these new tools into their management processes" (Hysa and Spalek, 2019, p. 5). For example, SM can be used to involve the public in feasibility studies and during the execution phase of a project, or to get feedback about said project after it is in use (Hysa and Spalek, 2019; Jiang et al., 2016). Hysa and Spalek, 2019 state that SM can support project managers in areas such as collaboration, engagement, communication, work productivity and management of knowledge.

Besides this, SM can serve as a great marketing tool to promote a project, especially when it comes to public projects (Hysa & Spalek, 2019). For instance, SM can be very effective in engaging the community affected by the project by asking for their comments and suggestions and in turn responding to them directly (Ninan et al., 2020). SM can serve well for requesting services that relate to the project as well, by directly leaving public comments on the channel of the service providers that can be backed up or shared by other users to show what are the most persisting problems (Mathur et al., 2021).

However, how SM can be incorporated in management has to be studied more, and more actions

and procedures have to be planned for a more effective use (Hysa & Spalek, 2019). According to the respondents of the study conducted by Hysa and Spalek (2019, p. 18), the following activities need attention for adding SM to project management: "conducting training among employees regarding the rules of using SM (87%), clear rules and procedures for using SM during Project Management (85%), involvement and support of project managers regarding the use of SM (77%)". By creating appropriate strategies and implementing policy specifically for how SM is used in project management, the risks associated with its use, ethical violations and misconducts can be greatly controlled, mitigated or avoided altogether (Hysa & Spalek, 2019)).

Summary of RQ2

The findings presented in this section showed what collective action is, its forms and how it starts, and the effect of digital media in collective action. To begin with, it seems that governments do not see protest as an indication of unaddressed issues because they see it immediately as being accused of wrongdoings instead, which is why they often become defensive and respond to it in a reactionary way. What they seem to often not realise is that the common people do not understand their line of reasoning, or that they do not have a full picture either of the ins and outs of a project, or more context-related information. This is also why positive reactions see a much better turn of events than negative reactions - if the government reacts negatively, in the eyes of the public this is the same as "admitting fault".

Because of the rise of Internet and social media use, collective actions now have greatly expanded in the forms they can take and the reach they have and have now much lower barriers for participation. However, what is noteworthy here is that while the Internet and digital media can help collective action grow exponentially in support, the very nature of the digital environment leads to a decline in support that is just as rapid. What is meant by this is that firstly, everything in the digital media environment comes and goes really fast. The constant overload of information and news leads people to lose focus on the cause and disperse their attention on more recent developments. Secondly, because actions taken through digital media do not require as much effort and risk as those in the physical environment, this leads to less people establishing a deep, personal connection with the cause, which is vital for maintaining support for a long period of time.

A main reason why the youth was greatly attracted to social media when the digital age took over was how traditional media was established and how it continued that inertia even though the flow of information was greatly impacted by this change. Traditional media continued to favour the dominant power narratives and paint contestation against those in power in a negative light, and only started to change this when it became clear that it would not survive the changed market unless they adapted to it, but by this time social media had already been established as the main channel for news consumption and information exchange for the youth. To add to this, the rise of citizen journalism resulting in a lowered trust in authorities shows that the narratives that were supported by traditional media before did not show the full picture and that attempts at covering wrongdoings from authorities now have a high chance of being uncovered even if traditional media does not do so.

The youth having a persistent feeling that the government is not actually concerned about them shows a growing disconnect from officials and this age group. This is likely because the current youth has a different experience from the youth of any of the previous generations due to the recent introduction of social media. Officials on the other hand are members of institutions that have not experienced such drastic transformations. Most of these institutions have kept many of the "old ways", something that comes down to the deeply established bureaucracies. If this growing disconnect is to be addressed, established bureaucracies must be revised and simplified, especially when it comes to direct points of contact with citizens.

Lastly, it was shown how social media can be a great tool for handling communications and marketing in projects by managers, although its low use in management suggests that practitioners are not fully aware of this yet. What is more, the lack of established guidelines for using social media in project management makes it less attractive for use by project teams, since then they would have to dedicate stuff only to this when the approach or the yielded results are not clear to them yet. Nevertheless, since the rise of social media is a relatively recent phenomenon, it is expected for these guidelines to emerge very soon.

Below, a summary of the main findings of this section can be found (Table 6).

Table 6: Summary of literature review for RQ2

Remarks	Source
Community protests start from shared grievances of people who share an identity and emotions within a community about the risks and effects of the project. Governments should use protest as an opportunity to address ignored or unaddressed issues and to explore what went wrong in the communication.	Teo and Loosemore (2014); van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2010); Hanna et al. (2016)
Protests are always evolving and constantly undergoing improvisation and innovation, and they vary across socio-cultural/political settings. Most protests start with a formal addressing or petition, and later escalate to more direct actions. At the centre of a protest movement is a core group of long-term activists who organise events, mobilise people and share information. Growth in support is followed by an even faster decline of it due to people choosing to move on from the cause when they do not feel the need to fully engage with it.	Hanna et al (2016) Teo and Loosemore (2014); van Laer and van Aelst (2010)
Governments/companies can respond negatively (by discrediting, strict/violent policing, persecutions), or positively (invitations for open dialogue, finding new solutions with incorporated demands of protesters). Many protests have peaceful starts and turn rough only after violent authoritative intervention.	Hanna et al. (2016); Neumayer and Stald (2014)
The Internet has expanded the reach and effectiveness of traditional protest tools. SM is being increasingly used for activism, because it has different audience reach and is more accessible. There are several forms of action that are enabled by and take place in virtual space, with email petitions being the most used form of online collective action. Even though SM is growing exponentially and becoming more and more an established channel for news, it is regarded as not prestigious enough. Social movements may not reach "socially weaker groups" if they rely too much on new media.	van Laer and van Aelst (2010); Neumayer and Svensson (2014); Park (2015)
Traditional media is virtually a monopoly of elite sources that enforce dominant institutional power, and generally favours police perspective and presents a skewed view on activists. Radicalised opposition is not objectively covered by traditional news media, with activists being portrayed as violent trouble-makers and focusing on their background and appearance rather than cause. Minorities struggle to get more recognition from traditional media.	Greer and McLaughlin (2010); Neumayer and Stald (2014); Hanna et al. (2016)
Traditional media have adapted to the changing news flow by incorporating more and more contributions by citizens and SM. Citizen journalism now enables citizens to directly share material and contribute to news reporting. The rise of citizen journalism has been accompanied by a lowering trust on authority.	Greer and McLaughlin (2010)
Young adults are more influenced by news emotionally, behaviourally and cognitively, more so than adults, and are more sensitive to negative news. Young adults are much less likely to consume traditional news media and have SM as their primary communication tool and news consumption medium.	Park (2015); Baumgartner and Morris (2010); Park (2015)
The youth has a persistent feeling that the government is not actually concerned about them and their opinions. Many governments have shown growing interest in using SM to better connect with the younger generation, but SM communications from governmental bodies are seen as lacking authenticity, based on how inputs submitted from citizens are dealt with afterwards.	Bridges et al. (2012)
Citizens rarely make full use of SM links provided by governments'/politicians' websites. Citizens generally have a lack of knowledge about the government, its structure and policies. People overrely on the quality of their search and search engine. First search results will continue gaining popularity while new pages will continue sinking down the results page.	Bridges et al. (2012)
The sheer number of inputs from the public inhibits the extent of possible two-way communication (government-public). SM platforms are not developed with the governments' needs in mind necessarily. "Government agencies are bound by suffocating restrictions themselves".	Bridges et al. (2012, pg. 175)
Communications between project owners, managers and public are increasingly taking place online and via SM. Management teams now ought to actively keep track of public input and respond in timely manner. Negative comments tend to receive more attention and become amplified, and can turn into bad PR.	Jiang et al. (2016); Hysa and Spalek (2019)
SM is a great marketing tool for projects. The community can comment on or make suggestions directly. SM can be used to involve the public in feasibility studies, the execution phase, or to get feedback after completion (when it is in use). SM use in project management remains relatively low. More research on use of SM in management and training of employees regarding its use is needed.	Hysa and Spalek (2019)

3.3 Effective and novel ways of public participation

Defining public participation

Florin and Wandersman (1990, p. 43) define citizen participation as "a process in which individuals take part in decision making in the institutions, programs and environments that affect them". Citizen participation "involves individual and collective decisions influenced by setting characteristics" (Florin and Wandersman, 1990, p. 46). Citizen participation can be otherwise referred to as public engagement, which is another term for the numerous methods that bring people together to address public issues. Nabatchi and Amsler (2014, p. 65S) define public engagement as "in-person and online processes that allow members of the public (i.e. those not holding office or administrative positions in government) in a country, city, town, village, or municipal authority to personally and actively exercise voice such that their ideas, concerns, needs, interests, and values are incorporated into governmental decision making".

Nabatchi and Amsler (2014, p. 64S) put their definition of public engagement within the realm of the local level, because as they state, "the local level is the most permeable region of government; it is more proximate and accessible to individuals than state or federal government". Furthermore, it is local policy decisions that are the most understood and felt by the citizens (Nabatchi & Amsler, 2014). The local level also sees the most pioneering and the most direct public engagement (Nabatchi & Amsler, 2014).

The biggest advantage of participation processes can be said to be the integration of stakeholders' knowledge (Hedelin et al., 2017), especially those from the public that cannot immediately have a say in the design otherwise. According to Nabatchi and Amsler (2014, p. 71S), the term public knowledge "describes the understandings, ideas, or recommendations that are produced by the public and intended to inform and influence officials in their decision making". Nabatchi and Amsler, 2014 set the following as the common goals of direct public engagement: informing the public, collecting data, generating and obtaining ideas based on other perspectives, obtaining feedback, or generating consensus.

Conventionally, planning policy and projects are typically represented or communicated through the use of 2D GIS mapping and summarised technical reports that show outputs or impacts, and sometimes in combination with static 3D landscape visualisations to give an indication on what changes in the landscape might look like (Salter et al., 2009). The major downfall of these traditional ways of conveying information is that they do not account for the dynamic nature of the interactions between policy, project, and people, with the consequences and trade-offs remaining insufficiently shown in this way (Salter et al., 2009). These conventional methods have been coined inadequate to ensure meaningful participation by previous research, primarily because of the difficulty presented to non-experts to understand and decipher technical maps and other scientific explanations (Salter et al., 2009; Al-Kodmany, 2000; Lewis and Sheppard, 2005).

Because of this, there has been a major shift towards more detailed and interactive methods for public participation. These range from the traditional methods, to co-design using a combination of offline and online/digital tools, to fully digital ones. Toukola and Ahola (2022, p. 2) use the definition of co-design by Blomkamp, 2018, which is: "'a design-led process involving creative and participatory principles and tools to engage different kinds of people and knowledge in public problem solving' - novel method that can be used to engage stakeholders". Digital tools (for stakeholder participation) on the other hand are defined as "websites or applications that enable stakeholders to engage in a project and that are accessed via digital interface or otherwise rely on digital technology to function" (Toukola and Ahola, 2022, p. 3).

Digital methods

Toukola and Ahola (2022, p. 4) provide a list of the most common digital tools. The list is as follows:

- **BIM (Building Information Modelling**: BIM is an intelligent, 3D model-based tool that provides a digital representation of a facility's physical and functional aspects, and a tool that facilitates design and construction management over a project's life cycle. Benefits of using BIM in project management are enhanced communication and overall project quality, improved cost control, reduced conflict and improved understanding of design and reduced changes in later phases. Even though BIM greatly aids citizens in visualisation of plans and understanding how new facilities will function, it requires training to use and has a steep learning curve.
- **Games**: Computer-mediated games can offer stakeholders the possibility of switching roles and view the project from other stakeholders' perspective. They can also generate 3D visualisations with the added component of communication or educational information. By their nature, participatory games are quite engaging, and thus, can be quite attractive for attracting citizens to participate. However, this method is still quite novel and rarely used in practice.
- **GISs (Geographical Information Systems**: GISs are "automated systems for the capture, storage, retrieval, analysis and display of spatial data". They are used to show geospatial elements in the form of mapping. GISs can vary a lot in the skill required to use and read them, such as from Google Maps, which is the most recognisable one and most frequently used in public participation meetings, to ArcGIS, which is a software that is used for complicated and detailed modelling and mapping.
- **Social Media**: Social Media, as mentioned before, provides great opportunities for citizens to keep updated about a project and make comments about it directly to the responsible actors. Social Media is a great tool for identifying the problems that different stakeholders might experience from the project. The use of Social Media by a governmental body has shown to increase trust in the government.
- **Mobile participation**: Mobile participation is the use of mobile devices to enable stakeholders and participating citizens to connect with each other to generate and share information and to comment on project aspects.
- **3D visualisation, Virtual Reality and augmented reality**: 3D VR simulations enhance the pre-sensation of project plans by offering realistic visualisation about them. These visualisations enable project developers to communicate complex elements and changes in a much more understandable way to the masses. However, these are still not used much in practice, because they are costly to generate and time-consuming (which can be inefficient for a project on the smaller scale).

Traditional and combined methods

Traditional methods of public participation, which are still widely used and effective, are public meetings or hearings (Nabatchi & Amsler, 2014), held by those who undertake the project and attended by the affected public who wants to be informed or express their opinion about the plans. Other forms of traditional methods are including citizens in local authority committees and consultation documents sent to citizens or published on public domain for them to familiarise themselves with the plans and to comment on them (Lowndes et al., 2006).

Another method of citizen participation that is very popular and preferred are workshops (cf. Salter et al., 2009; Dalsgaard, 2010, November; Kumar et al., 2016). The organisation of workshops does not follow a set formula - workshops can be tailored according to many project variables, such as size, the types of stakeholders, time, and so on, which is its forte. Workshop participants can be members from the municipality, members representing the community, members from the general public with no posts, private project developers, experts, and so on (Salter et al., 2009; Dalsgaard, 2010,

November). Workshops can be very structured, semi-structured or more informal leaning (Salter et al., 2009), depending on the style that project managers see more fit for the case. Workshops can use a number of methods to engage citizens or to convey information to them: for example 3D models and printed maps/infograms are quite popular (cf. Salter et al., 2009; Kumar et al., 2016). Before engaging citizens in the interactive part of the workshops, they can be briefed beforehand about visualisations of the plans, indicators, land use policies, standards and requirements for the space and so on (Salter et al., 2009).

A very good example to bring up when it comes to successful public participation in novel, but effective way that makes use of many of the tools mentioned above, and more, is the case of the *Mediaspace* building, a shared with the public municipal building in Aarhus, Denmark, presented by the work of Peter Dalsgaard, 2010, November. In this project, the emphasis was put from the very beginning on collaborating with citizens to design the shared space. One of the very first steps of the project was to organise participatory workshops involving the project developers, experts and other interested parties, mainly citizens. Based on these workshops, the key values of the project were determined before the concrete design stage commenced. This was very important, because these values served as the guidelines for the development of the project and laid the foundation for the consequent steps.

After this, during the course of the project, a number of participatory initiatives were taken, all different in organisation and nature, which Dalsgaard, 2010, November lists and describes shortly. These methods and a short description of them can be found below, based on the original text provided by Dalsgaard, 2010, November:

- **Inspiration Card Workshop**: An *Inspiration Card Workshop* (Halskov & Dalsgård, 2006, June) is a "collaborative design event involving professional designers and participants with knowledge of the design domain, e.g. users and/or experts, in which insights into domain and technology are combined to create design concepts" (Dalsgaard, 2010, November, p. 25). This technique is fruitful in the early design stages, because in this workshop, attendees work together to narrow down potential future designs. The design concepts are represented by Technology and Domain Cards. A "Technology Card" represents either a specific technology or an application of one or more technologies. Domain Cards represent information about the domain, pertaining to e.g. situations, people, settings, themes, etc., from the domain' (Dalsgaard, 2010, November, p. 25).

- **Living Blueprint**: this collaborative design technique was developed by the *Mediaspace* project team "to bring the future environment alive by acting out scenarios on blueprints with small cardboard-characters representing future users" (Dalsgaard, 2010, November, p. 25). This makes it easier for the future users to envision themselves in the future building and to voice their opinions. Participants of this activity could take upon a role and move through the building to explore and make comments on its design.

- **Voices of the City**: Voices of the City (Nielsen, 2006) was an interactive exhibition that involved around an embedded screen on a table-like setup, with which users could interact to move through three different maps: the city, the country, and the world. Each map contained context-specific scenarios of the future *Mediaspace* in the context of the different scales. Users could also add comments to specific locations on the maps via a microphone embedded on the table, or they could opt to listen to what others had to say and comment on other opinions. The input from the users was synchronised in a dedicated website (www.byensstemmer.dk). There were two installations of this placed in the city for one month, one in the main library of the city and one in a local arts centre.

- **Transformation Lab**: Lastly, the Transformation Lab, considered a sub-project within the *Mediaspace* project, explored and experimented from 2004 to 2007 with how the physical library space in the project (the shared space) could support present and future users. It

mainly explored how the application of flexible physical settings, interactive elements and computing elements could support and develop activities in the library and dissemination of knowledge. The project team conducted the main activities of the Transformation Lab in the foyer of the municipal building, by making it very accessible and easy to hear about for the public. The Transformation Lab encompassed five experimental, smaller sub-projects, such as "*the Literature Lab, the News Lab, the Music Lab, the Exhibition Lab and the Square*", each of which designed to test different configurations of interactive technologies and physical space (Dalsgaard, 2010, November, p. 26).

4 Empirical Research

Museumpark

A case of a public project where citizen participation went wrong is the new design of Museumpark in Rotterdam. Museumpark gets its name from being situated in the middle ground of many and the most known museums of the city, such as Het Nieuwe Intstituut, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen and its extension, collection building Depot, Kunsthal, Natuurhistorisch Museum Rotterdam, Chabot Museum and Villa Sonneveld (Beukeboom, 2023). Besides these museums, Erasmus MC is found next to Museumpark too.

Figure 4: Museumpark - aerial view (MRDRV, n.d.)

Museumpark's appearance has changed numerous times throughout the last decades, with the last significant change (prior to the implementation of the new design) coming to fruition in 1991, when Yves Brunier provided an initial design (Inside Outside, n.d.), courtesy of the design works that were being done by Rem Koolhaas and his organisation Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA) (de Regt, 2013). This initial design of the area between the museums consisted of four consequent "rooms", or commonly referred to as chambers, each with different characters (Inside Outside, n.d.). The first room was designed to be an "orchard" of trees which would rise from a thick carpet of white washed shells, lined by a 90 m long mirrored walled which would lead to a cultural podium (Inside Outside, n.d.) [3]. The second room, today commonly known as Museumpark and the focus point of this research, was a large asphalt podium intended for sports and cultural events, on top of which the image of the new European flag, designed by Rem Koolhaas, could be seen (Inside Outside, n.d.).

[3] *This chamber has been altered due to the Depot being added to the square plane and taking its place*

Figure 5: Museumpark - side view

The third room is a romantic garden composed of painting-by-number planting planes that depending on the season, change colour in leaf, flower and fruit. It featured a small spring from Kunsthal to a small circular pond with an island and meandering paths that take one into a miniature forest with colourful vegetation, and lastly, a pedestrian bridge that was originally transparent and to be lit from underneath after sun had set and placed over a "sea of flowers" that would lead the visitors to the Kunsthal plaza (Inside Outside, n.d.).

As mentioned above, the large asphalt stretch was intended for use for sports and cultural events, which indeed became the case after the design was implemented. Here, a distinction must be made between a "skate park" and a "skate spot" (which is what Museumpark ended up becoming). A skate spot is virtually any place where you can skate, typically "in the street" and often materialising from places that were not necessarily designed with skating in mind (for example, a set of stairs, a place with enough run up to do tricks on obstacles such as benches, a smooth inclination, etc.). A skate park is an area that is specifically built for the purpose of practicing different types of skating. While it is true that the area was not designed to be a skate park, it was designed indeed to be an area for "sports and cultural happenings" (Inside Outside, n.d.).

The area became used more and more by urban sporters and the youth, and festivals and large-scale events. Museumpark quickly became a preferred meeting spot for skateboarders, longboarders, rollerskaters and inline skaters, BMX-ers, hip-hop dancers and hoola-hoopers, and more, with the urban sporters being the main demographic of the crowds. However, while the crowds of youth were practicing their sports, plans of redevelopment gained momentum in early 2014, to better match the Hoboken 2030 area vision (the area of the city which Museumpark is part of). The vision saw this area becoming a touristic hotspot, with much added greenery, which translated to necessary changes to the area if the municipality wanted to achieve this vision.

As such, at the end of 2014, the municipality commissioned the landscape architecture firm Gustavson Porter to draft a master plan for Museumpark, according to the first, initial wishes of the municipality. After discussing the draft master plan and making the Set of Requirements, the design procedure officially starts in summer 2018, unbeknownst to the urban communities. After back and forths with the stakeholders and residents of the area, the design was finalised in early 2021, ready to enter the tendering phase. But, shortly before that, a skateboarder came across the plans and the new design, and much to "their horror" as they explained in interviews, saw that the plans would

render the area unskateable and would make Museumpark lose all its charm in favour of a simple design with added greenery. The skateboarder immediately started a petition, which then very quickly gained momentum among the users of Museumpark and the communities that had formed there. With this action, "Save Museumpark" the action group opposing the plans was formed - this action group would later on become responsible for organising the collective action against the project and one of the primary contacts with the municipality for negotiating the plans.

However, the municipality shortly after published the project in the tendering website, thus making the design binding. The skaters, now a recognised external stakeholder, were after this invited to express their opinion and concerns and to work together with the municipality to see if last-minute changes could be made to the design to accommodate their needs. After many clashes between the two camps and charged discussions, culminating in the Stadmakerscongres 2022, some minor changes to the design were agreed upon. The skaters however believe that this was not enough to cover the damage that was done to their communities. The biggest issue is the change of floor surface - initially, the floor was supposed to be a course-grained surface, which would be completely unskateable. After talks with the skaters and trials of different samples, it was decided to go for something smoother, which, according to the skaters who tried the samples, would still be difficult to skate, if skateable at all in the end. The project is now underway and construction is still ongoing, a project that skaters consider failed and look back to with much hurt and reduced hope for the future.

A concise timeline of key events regarding the project area of Museumpark can be found below:

Museumpark – Timeline

1989 – 1994
Execution. Initial design by Yves Brunier

2008 – 2011
Restoration

2014
End of year
Municipality commissions landscape architecture firm Gustavson Porter to draw a master plan for a redesign

2015
Master plan is discussed with stakeholders of the area

2016
January
Beginning of drafting phase of Set of Requirements

2018
Summer
Start of the design planning procedure

19 July
Set of Requirements (*Programma van Eisen*) sent to known stakeholders in the area

30 November
Presentation given over the intended preliminary design at the *Gebiedscommissie* meeting

2019
7 February
Preliminary design sent to stakeholders, who could make remarks

2020
27 February
First confirmed case of COVID-19 in the Netherlands

15 March
First lockdown in the Netherlands

2021
2 April
Petition against project and Save Museumpark action group formed

14 April
Petition presented to councilor Bert Wijbenga

14 June
Project published on a tender platform

17 July
Protest against new design happens in Museumpark

September
Technical municipal meeting where the project and conflict are discussed

November
Work awarded to Den Ouden after tender concludes

2022
4 November
Stadmakerscongres takes place, where skaters "battle" municipality officials about Museumpark

2023
Summer
Initial planned project completion date, which was postponed

21 June
Skate Symposium – Rethinking Public Space and Governance, the first skate symposium held in Rotterdam, takes place

November
Revised project competition date, which was postponed

2024
Summer
Expected reopening of Museumpark

4.1 Case background

4.1.1 The appeal of Museumpark

Why was Museumpark so appealing to the urban sports community? Its appeal all comes down to two main components - its smooth, flat, asphalt surface, and the largeness of the area. O_1, an event organiser within the community, captures the essence of why Museumpark was so appealing to urban sporters with the following quote: "*It was pretty simple, but it was everything that it needed to be. It's the only place, or was the only place in the city that had a big surface of flat ground, which I think for more inexperienced skaters or people that don't necessarily want to do crazy tricks on obstacles, it was perfect. And it was also a very nice place to just hang out and chill and meet new skaters, I would say*". S_4 argued that Museumpark was not only a unique element of Rotterdam, but also for the rest of the country, because they are not aware of any other places like Museumpark in the country, nor in their city. As S_4 states: "*I would actually come all the way from The Hague to Rotterdam [just] to be there*".

S_3, who was just learning how to skateboard when they first discovered Museumpark after moving to Rotterdam, referred to the smooth surface as "*heaven on Earth*", and also mentioned that having a lot of flat and open space to reach your balance is extremely helpful for beginners, something which normally cannot be found around the city. S_2 focused on a big element in the case - community. They explained how it was a space where many different communities would come together and created a feeling of playfulness, which in turn created the feeling that "*the city is for everyone and everyone is welcome to be here and explore and have fun.*".

Skateboarders are not the only ones that share these sentiments. Longboarders and rollerskaters think the same way. R_1 stated that: "*I really like that it was a big area with just flat ground because the smooth surface was good for roller skating.*". Rollerskaters' needs when it comes to surface and layout of an area are quite similar to those of skateboarders - they need smooth, flat ground to practice, and can do tricks over small obstacles and ramps. It must be noted here that for inline skaters, who do more technical tricks (different techniques due to the difference of the skates), park skating would suit them best, however, this was a great practicing ground for beginners for the same reasons mentioned from the other types of skaters. This was indicated by the interviewed rollerskaters too.

L_1 stated: "*Museumpark was the dream of every longboarder*" and that "*You could do anything you want[ed]*". L_1 also expressed that: "*It was better for longboarding than for skateboarding*". This is because longboarders require much more space than skateboarders to do and practice tricks, as well as only flat surface. O_1 echoed this sentiment by indicating that longboard dancers were the main group of skaters who were always there, and that they miss it more than any other group because of the rare characteristics of the square.

As a result of different urban sporters being drawn to Museumpark, a large community formed and was being solidified in the city before the area closed down. S_3 and S_4 reminisce the feeling of a healthy and welcoming community in Museumpark. As they said, in Museumpark, there were not just skateboarders, longboarders and roller skaters/roller bladers, there were also BMX-ers, breakers [4] and freestylers (street dancing styles). "*I really like the fact that it's, like a common place where everyone gets to practice their urban sports in a free way, basically*", stated S_4, a sentiment echoed by S_3, who also talked about "*how free these people were*". These feeling were shared by S_1, S_3, and L_2, with S_1 mentioning amongst other things that the atmosphere in the square was something that really inspired them.

Another element that made Museumpark very attractive for urban sporters was the centrality of the location relative to the centre of the city and its accessibility. Museumpark is within walking distance from the central area of Rotterdam and other cultural hotspots, such as the Beurs area,

[4] *Also commonly known as breakdancing, b-boying and b-girling.*

Westblaak (where a small skatepark is found in-between the two main streets, see Figure 6), the Witte de Wit street, Eendrachtsplein, and so on. Furthermore, besides its accessibility due to its location, it was very accessible to people who frequented it due to it being an outdoor area. Outdoor areas are considered much more accessible than indoor parks (Vers Beton, 2022) within the skating world, because users of indoor parks must pay an admission fee, which can become quite significant the more a person wants to practice their sport, which is something of great importance to consider in the context of the demographic of those who practice street sports (mainly children, teenagers and young adults/students) and the weather in the Netherlands (characterised by frequent rainfall). This sentiment is echoed by S_3. Lastly, the fact that Museumpark was located in-between museums and greenery (other chambers of the park) (S_3; S_4) made it even more appealing. S_1 explained how besides skateboarding and meeting friends, they would sit there after visiting one of the museums to have their lunch or a drink.

Figure 6: Westblaak in relation to Museumpark (Google Earth, 2023)

In essence, the urban sporters who would often frequent and/or practice in Museumpark appreciated the diversity of the people who would gather there and the relaxed atmosphere just as much as the large stretch of asphalted flat ground. The asphalt stretch rejoiced them because something similar is very rare to be found as an element of a city, even more so in a central location in the city that is more accessible. The community that pushed them even more to frequent Museumpark became very diverse due to Museumpark attracting urban sporters in general as a big public square, and in great numbers because of its size, meaning that there was enough space for many different disciplines of practice and for relaxing.

4.1.2 Municipality's vision and the new design

The incentive for the new design from the municipality follows from the Hoboken 2030 Area Vision, according to which the area should become an "international cultural park", with more greenery which is to be reflected by the surface of the Depot (Vers Beton, 2022). According to the advisory report of Rotterdamse Raad voor Kunst en Cultuur (RRKC, 2018, p. 32), the original formulation of this is as follows: "In the municipal Area Vision Rotterdam Hoboken 2030, the Museumpark is seen as the outdoor area of the Rotterdam city centre in 2030. 'More inspiring and popular than ever before. As an International Cultural Park, the Museumpark can then compete with the Millennium Park in Chicago. With creative and innovative programming for young and old, the Museumpark is one of Rotterdam's attractions'". Or, according to the page about the project in the municipal website, "the Hoboken Area Vision 2030 states that it must become beautiful, safe and inspiring

outdoor spaces" (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.).

The post about the greening of Museumpark project in the municipality's website (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.) states: "*The area around the Museum Park is being converted into a modern, green and pleasant part of Rotterdam where you can walk, cycle or play sports. All work in Museumpark is expected to be completed before the summer of 2024*". The post further states: "*There will be a new top layer, more greenery, a large bench and fountains. The new [event] deck will be both a place where festivals can take place and a place for recreation and sports, even outside the event season. This place is part of the entire approach to greening Museumpark*".

As for more particularities of the design (focusing on the Museumpark), the following statements are made (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.):

- "*There will be a lot of greenery in new planting areas on the forecourt around the Depot, with seating along the edges. There will also be 75 trees in the area and the current paving will be replaced by dark, grey, natural stone.*"
- "*The event deck will be redesigned between summer 2022 and spring 2023 through a combination of a new top layer and lots of greenery. This makes it a place for both festivals and a place for recreation outside the events.*"
- "*More space for pedestrians, cyclists and greenery.*"
- "*The design of the new layout focuses on more trees and planting areas, more space for pedestrians and cyclists and less space for motorized traffic.*"
- "*More seating areas will be added throughout the area. Places are being added for recreation, especially around the pond and on the path "through" the pond.*"
- "*A planting plan has been drawn up for the entire area with attention to new (flowering) trees, perennials and flower bulbs.*"
- "*New paving in the area consists mainly of natural stone in light grey and light yellow.*"
- "*There will be new lighting throughout the area. This is in addition to the existing and new lighting of the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen and the Depot Boijmans van Beuningen.*"

A render of the new design as envisioned by the municipality can be seen in Figure 7.

Figure 7: A render of the new design of Museumpark (Beukeboom, 2023)

From the municipality's side, there are a number of reasons behind the motivation to newly design Museumpark. First and foremost, the main incentive for changing the design of Museumpark was the arrival of the Depot - the zoning changes that would allow the Depot to be built would only be allowed if green space was added to Museumpark (Beukeboom, 2023). This is confirmed by M_1: "*This whole area is transforming because of the Depot. So, if we wanted to keep it like it was, or maybe renovate it, that was only possible if the park would have been maintained as the OMA design from Yves Brunier*". The reason why the original design had to be changed (i.e. the arrival of the Depot), is because the need arose to store and have new restoration spaces for artworks of Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, since the museum was scheduled to close its doors in 2019 to be fully renovated. Furthermore, "*the event deck had to change because, you know, it's next to the big building. You cannot have a big concrete building and a concrete square. It would be too hot*" (M_1). The main cause of the heat stress that M_1 was referring to is the reflective mirror façade of the Depot, from which light would reflect directly on to the asphalt stretch of Museumpark from the side of the building facing the square.

A reason behind the main component of the redesign, a different material for the surface (Beukeboom, 2023), is that the alluring surface of asphalt for urban sporters had a downside. M_1 and M_2 alluded to the previous surface being too slippery for normal visitors of the area. M_1 stated: "*We really had to make sure it was a safe floor in any season, in the winter and the summer, for everybody who visits Museumpark. It's just too many visitors from other organisations.*", while M_2 stated that "*...and you have to consider that [this] is a space for all the people who work there, when it's raining, so it can't be too smooth...*". According to Beukeboom (2023), who looked into information from the municipality of Rotterdam for the previous five years (from the time of writing their report) of reported damage claims at Museumpark, one damage claim of physical injury was disclosed. This entry was described as "fallen due to poor, protruding pavement" and happened in August 2022, but did not contain a specified place in the greater context of Museumpark (Beukeboom, 2023, p. 40).

Beukeboom (2023) argues that a general reason for works to be done on the asphalted area was the leaking roof of the parking garage underneath Museumpark because of problematic groundwater

levels in the area (Vervaet, 2018), and the importance of having a material that would be easy to clean from the municipality's perspective.

4.1.3 The petition

The petition was created on 2 April 2021, to consolidate the users of the area by informing them of the plans and how the new design would affect their sport practice (Butter, 2021). The following design plan is provided in the petition:

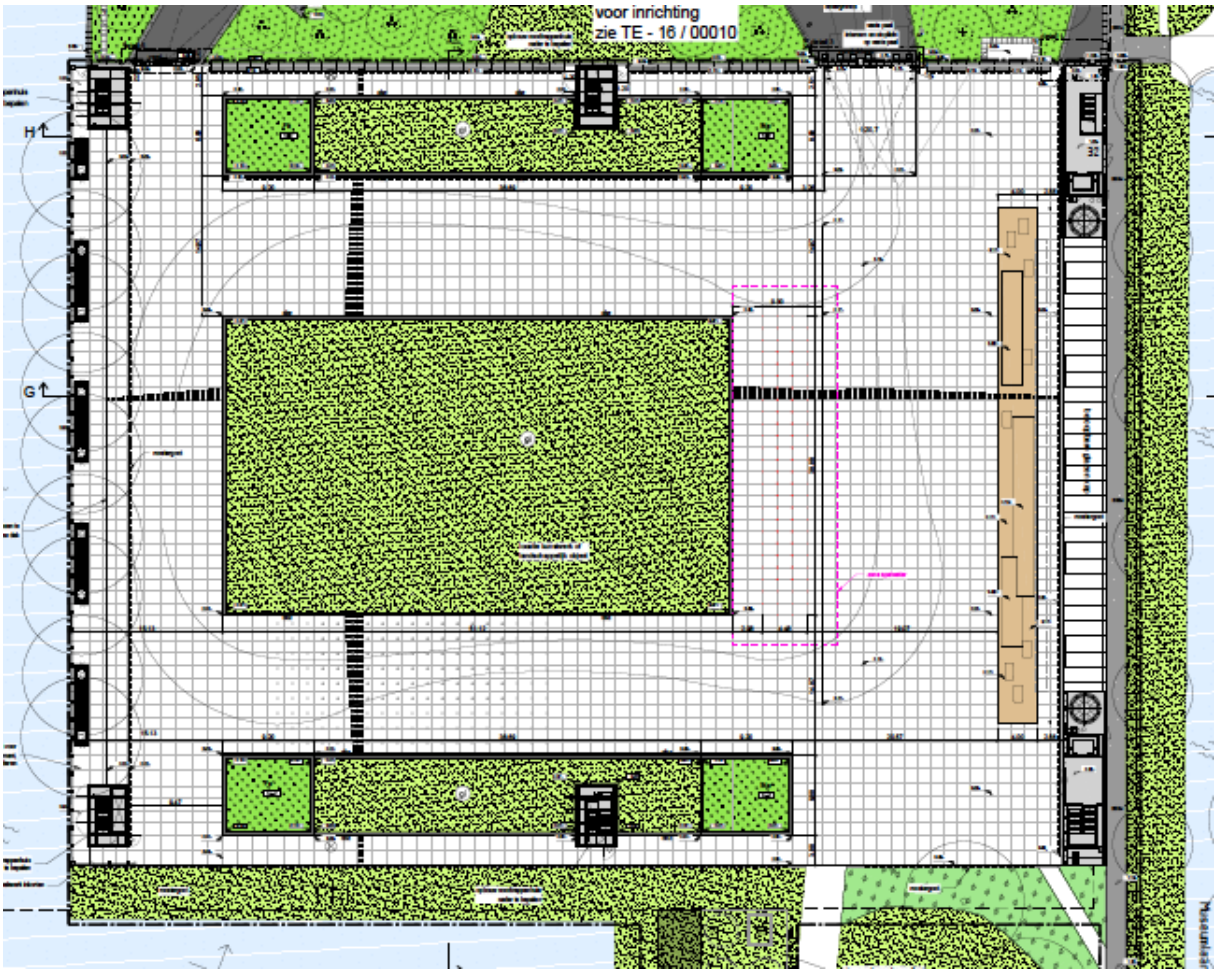

Figure 8: Design plan of the Museum Park event deck (Butter, 2021)

The petition initiator expresses the following concerns on behalf of the skaters:

- "*Reducing the asphalted part of the event deck by installing a lawn, or intensive lawn, and fountains as shown in the designs [Figure 8].*"
- "*Changing the surface, which may make the park unusable for urban athletes.*"
- "*The installation of skate stoppers, something that is already taking place within the Dijkzigt area.*"

As a counteraction, in the petition, the following suggestions are made and aimed at the municipality:

- "*Maintain a large area of asphalt and the smooth surface on the event deck.*"

- "*Limit the number of skate stoppers.*"
- "*Involve urban athletes in the design of Museumpark. We have more detailed suggestions such as installing drinking water posts, trash cans and adding skateable elements.*"

However, as a follow-up announcement on the petition page reveals, the biggest threat to urban sports in Museumpark would be the new surface, which the initiator indicates was only discovered during a meeting with municipality officials where they provided a sample slab of the new surface. The sample slab provided to the skating community representatives can be found in Figure 9, as seen on the announcement page (Butter, 2021).

Figure 9: Slab of new surface sample (Butter, 2021)

This new surface was evidently much rougher than in the previous situation, and would be impossible to skate (any of the sports falling under the skating umbrella mentioned thus far), which greatly angered the skating community. One comment says:

"*Should it be more than anti-slip? My feeling is that this is more of a political choice.*"

Another comment says:

"*Also, this city needs places like that so people can really enjoy the open space and do something more active than just drinking a coffee on the bench! If they want to put an anti-sliding surface, what about having just a pavement through the one side of this square only? Let people pass this square, and leave it for others to enjoy skateboarding, inline-skating, playing music, and having really good fun in the open space no matter if they are beginning or are advanced in their hobbies.*"

The petition had rapidly gained about 3300 signatures in less than two weeks, by the time it was presented to the councilor, and had reached over 5000 signatures by early July 2021, before the protest took place (Open Rotterdam, 2021b). The petition has been signed not only by people residing in Rotterdam (3385 signatures at the time of writing), but also by people living in many different cities in the Netherlands, from all provinces.

4.2 The consultation process - what went wrong?

In this section, an all-encompassing story is composed: this story will help to better understand where the conflict from this external stakeholder (urban community) is rooted in and why it evolved into collective action, as well as the reasoning behind the municipality's decision on the new design and possible constraints they faced. The story has been arranged in a sort of "sequential" order based on how the issue started and followed course: for example, the issue started with the *new design*, which the municipality defended based on their perception that the *dynamics changed* after

the design process started which is why they did not take them into account. This in turn affected *community*. The rest of the story follows this logic.

4.2.1 New design

As mentioned above, the new design elements mainly consist of added trees and large green patches, a different surface, and small design elements such as added benches and lights. M_1 emphasised the need to change the old design on the basis of increasing environmental issues and the accumulating heat stress as a result of the mirror façade of the Depot in combination with the large stretch of asphalt, felt especially in summer. The municipality is not the only side that recognises the need to address this issue. Generally, the skaters involved in the collective action are also in favour of more greenery and argue that adding more greenery while accommodating for their demands would have worked well for everyone (Open Rotterdam, 2021b). S_3 recognises the environmental effect from the Depot on the surrounding area and is also of the opinion that these issues must be tackled more critically, while S_1 gave a more thorough insight:

"*I think I feel ambivalent in the sense that I think it's really important to prepare the city for a greener future and that's something that we need in order to tackle the climate crisis. So I think it's really important to get rid of all of these grey spaces and pavement and steel and asphalt and all of these kind of toxic materials. So that, I think that's really good. However, [Museumpark] I think it's one of the few public spaces that was used actually as a public space. So it was not just used for people who wanted to go down, go to Starbucks and get a coffee, or just to walk from point A to B, or to maybe disrupt others, but actually it was used as a space for getting together, for making friends, for... Maybe encountering people who you might not meet at your studies or at work, etc. So I think as a public space, it was so good and effective that I would say, well, it's a shame that it's gone the way it has. Even though I think it's important to make the city greener, there's so many other places in Rotterdam specifically that you could have made a lot greener, right?*".

What can be seen from this is that firstly, both sides agree on the negative environmental implications of having a building with a full mirror façade such as the Depot next to a very large stretch of asphalt with no greenery in-between. The municipality's argument is justified by the rising temperatures that would make the heat stress in the square progressively worse. The skating community seems to realise this too and are in line with this argument, but for them, the dilemma of Museumpark as a successful example of public space and of a space that enables urban sports in an organic way makes it difficult for them to support the decision nevertheless based on a personal point of view. For the municipality, this new problem that came with the arrival of the Depot was one that needed solving, not only because of the rising temperatures, but also because the space is a shared one and intended for all citizens of Rotterdam and visitors from outside. Heat stress would make the experience of the average citizen or visitor to the area much more unpleasant, something which the municipality would evidently not want for their citizens. For the average citizen, who does not know about what the alternatives for skating spots are in the city, heat stress (especially in the summer) could be something they notice and dote on the most when thinking about their visit to the area.

The argumentation of O_1 follows another perspective: "*I think that for an area that is next to a park that literally consists out of nothing but grass, it is kind of redundant to put more grass where you can actually practice sports*". The municipality has a counterargument for this. "*There's a difference between space that's used by multiple groups and a skate park. It's not designed as a skate park. It's designed as a public space for anybody also for the visitors of the hospital and museums*", a decision taken by the board and city council of Rotterdam in strides of making Museumpark more alluring to other citizens and international visitors, said M_1.

The quote from M_1 further goes to show that the municipality followed the logic of what would the experience of the average citizen while visiting Museumpark be and built on that, similarly to the

heat stress argument. From the average citizen's perspective, they very well may not understand why there was such a great stretch of asphalt next to a big building with a reflective surface with no greenery at all in-between, or other design elements that are more pleasant to the eye. Also, the sight of this side of the park (i.e. the area of these two chambers), greatly contrasts that of the other two chambers, which are much fuller in greenery - this could lead to a feeling of "disconnect" within the park, or in other words, a feeling that these two parts of the park do not have a design symbiosis. With the new design, the municipality seems to have sought to remove this "disconnecting" feeling. Lastly, the municipality was under pressure from residents of the area to add greenery around the area, which became even more so the case after the Depot was finished, something which was referred to as "compensation green" by the municipality.

The skaters on the other hand, see it from a more divided and practical perspective. For them, the fact that the other chambers are fully of greenery, with one of them being fully a small park, changing the design of the asphalted stretch and making it more similar to these other chambers does not add value to the overall design of the area, since the added value of the asphalt stretch from their perspective lies on the unique community dynamic and the sports practiced there. Furthermore, from the way they see it, since one of the chambers is already a park and another is full of greenery, this already fulfils the greenery and relaxing purpose. Another underlying element of their reasoning seems to be that from their perspective, virtually the whole city and every park or green area is for the average citizen, whereas they only have very limited open spaces that they can use.

The main function of the area remains being an event deck, where throughout the years, large events for the city have taken place. M_1 and M_2 emphasised how this was the functionality the municipality focused on, where with the new design, it will be possible to visit the place, relax and recreate outside of events too. M_1 confirmed that the new design was based only on its functionality as an event deck, since the main goal for the public space in Museumpark revolved around it being one. There is also the matter of the events organisers' opinions. M_1 first stated that the event organisers had a "*big say*" in the design and that many alterations were made on the basis of their input, and later on added that there was no opposition at all from the consulted parties, except for "*a little bit from the organisers [of] event[s]*". According to M_1, their reasons for contesting were the fears that their trucks would have problems taking the curves they need to because of the added greenery, which the municipality proved to them would not be a problem.

Excerpts from online articles from Spit Onderzoekcollectief, a cooperative of investigative freelance journalists contradict this claim. According to Spit (2023), it was not just this stakeholder (skating community) who were not happy with the new design, but other parties too. An interview conducted by the collective with the organiser of one of the largest events in Rotterdam that used to take place in Museumpark reveals that the organisers too were quite unhappy with the new design, specifically due to the added green patches making it not possible for them to use 40% of the square anymore and added technical difficulties, a very impactful element in terms of organisation of these events (more on this in Section 4.2.6) (Spit, 2023).

From this, it seems that event organisers too preferred the previous design because it would be the most and easily accessible option out of the two for them. Naturally, they would prefer the area to have no obstacles at all and potential damage to greenery they have to account for, which was the case with the old design. This seems to be the main contributor to their dissatisfaction with the new design. They see the design from a very different perspective from the municipality, which as explained above, think of it from the point of view of the average citizen, whereas the organisers see it from the point of view of event logistics and technicalities. This, and the significant capacity reduction might have made the organisers wary of the process from early on, which in turn, would have inhibited talks with the municipality and eventually result in the currently shared feelings. The municipality on the other hand could have the perception that putting their focus during the design iteration talks on the event organisers would make them see that they valued them and their contribution, and that by being in open dialogue they would eventually come to understand the

other choices the municipality had to make based on pressures from other stakeholders. From the municipality's perspective, they gave them the most out of what was possible, which is why they view the contestations from the organisers as resolved.

According to one of the respondents from the municipality (M_1), when the wishes and demands are known at an early stage, adaptations are made to the best of the municipality's capability, and this was the case in Museumpark too, where the design was adapted based on the people who were consulted. Skaters however, were not consulted as stakeholders during the participation process (more on this in Section 4.2.6), which gave rise to the debate about the surface material. M_1 indicated: "*There was a list of demands from the skaters. And that was really clear, what they really wanted. They wanted to keep the old surface and that was not possible*" and later adds "*[skaters] tried different samples. Because of their advice, we changed the coating [and] made it smoother. And we will be grinding it and coating it with another coating to make it smoother*". M_1 said that 60% of the new square is hard surface which can be used by urban sporters and skaters. Skaters do not share this sentiment - according to a skater who tried the samples and worked with the municipality for finding materials that also work for skating, they claim that none of the test surfaces were really skateable (i.e., the material remained too rough to skate on with hard wheels, a problem which skateboarding faces the most) (Spit, 2023; Rijnmond, 2021; Vers Beton, 2022). This skater believes that the municipality feels that enough was done to accommodate the skaters, a sentiment which is greatly implied by the interviewed municipality members.

Longboarders, who use softer wheels than skateboarders and are thus able to skate on rougher ground than skateboarders, say that they intend to continue skating in Museumpark when it reopens, but there is a caveat. L_2 stated: "*We're still gonna skate there, obviously, because it's just a big open space. But the ground will be way worse, and you basically don't want to fall there, where at first it didn't matter*". In relation to this, an excerpt from an article expressing concerns over the safety of having a surface with a material that is much rougher reads: [5]

"*According to the rules, the surface must have a certain anti-slip value, which is why a grainy, hard surface has now been chosen. If you fall, you can immediately go to Erasmus MC. And I don't understand it either, because what about the tiles at Rotterdam Centraal, do they comply with these anti-slip rules?*"

Based on this, it can be seen that the municipality believed that by asking the skaters to try different samples of the material and then making this material smoother by repeating the smoothing process multiple times, the material would be smooth enough to skate on, without compromising on their anti-slip requirements. The distinction between what the skateboarders and longboarders say shows that project members from the municipality, and/or those in charge of the talks with the skating community, may have not been aware enough of the differences between the different types of skating, and as a result have believed that the material becoming smooth enough for one group was going to work for all groups. M_1 saying that 60% of the new square will be hard surface which can be used by urban sporters and skaters supports this line of reasoning.

4.2.2 Changing dynamics

The municipality is certain that there were no skaters in Museumpark when the consultation phase began, which is why they were not considered as a stakeholder for the consultation process. M_1 said that "*outside festivals, there was nobody there. [...] I know because I lived here. So, the big issue was how do we attract more people to the park, to the Museumpark*". The early design phase of Museumpark happened to coincide with the rennovation of the skate park close by, Westblaak. According to M_1, there were talks, but only about Westblaak, because "*that was where the skating community was in those days*". M_1 continued: "*Sometimes they [Westblaak community] skated*

[5] *Article has not been specified to protect the identity of the person from whom this quote is derived from.*

over here [Museumpark], but it was one community and they were really quite easy to access. So you could find them there, but not here".

Westblaak is a skate park, whereas Museumpark can be considered a skate spot. Since Westblaak is a skate park, there could have been more people there typically than Museumpark. Because of this and mainly it being an actual skate park, Westblaak would have been the first place to think of for approaching skaters for the municipality, and even more so when the renovation of the park coincided with the start of talks for the design renewal in Museumpark. This can be seen in M_1 being aware that there was a community in Westblaak and by the claim that this community was easy to access. It must be noted here that the skating community in Westblaak is different from the community in Museumpark (more on this in Section 4.2.4 and 4.2.5). Lastly, the subject of these talks being Westblaak only could be another reason why Museumpark was not mentioned by the consulted community.

The municipality members also emphasised that from the invited people (1850 inhabitants from the area) and organisations, no one ever mentioned the skaters during the talks they gave about the project, and neither did the Gebiedscommissie (more on this in Section 4.2.6). Both members believed that the dynamic in Museumpark started changing after the arrival of the COVID-19 outbreak, more specifically after the first big lockdown, which is when skaters started to gather more and more in Museumpark and forming a community. M_2 thinks the reason why the lockdown led to this new community forming in Museumpark was because "*you couldn't go anywhere. But here it was safe to come*". The other reason the municipality thinks is why the community formed after the lockdown is because there were no events happening during COVID-19, as opposed to events constantly taking place in the square prior to that, which as M_1 puts it, "*there was no space for the skaters in the summertime, when people like to skate.*". Lastly, the municipality claims that it was not possible to skate there before altogether. M_1 said: "*There were skaters who said, 'but I've been skating here for 20 years', which is not possible because there was a parking garage being built*", and that "*there was no possibility to ever skate there until the event deck was finished*". By the time the community formed, a community which was completely new and different from that of Westblaak, the design process had been finished long ago and the project was about to start, said the municipality.

On the other hand, the municipality's claims that there was no skating community in Museumpark before the COVID-19 outbreak is refuted by a number of members of the skating community. Firstly, while O_1 agrees that the use of Museumpark by these communities gained momentum after the first big lockdown, they argue that the skating communities were there long before that. O_1 said that they started rollerskating at Museumpark when they were a child, accompanied by their parent who would also rollerskate, around the early 2000s. "*I was in Museumpark all the time as a kid*", expressed O_1. An interviewee of Spit (2023), who moved to Rotterdam in 2005, said to the collective that in this time, there was little skate culture in Rotterdam - many places were run-down or not equipped for skaters. All with the exception of Museumpark, where, according to this interviewee, people were always skateboarding (Spit, 2023).

The main reason why this seems to have gone wrong is the municipality not discovering the distinction between the skating community in Westblaak and Museumpark (when the talks about the new design in Museumpark gained momentum). This is a result of the analysis over the community lacking the sufficient depth to uncover how the communities were different. As such, it is plausible that when the municipality members involved in the project saw skaters in Museumpark, they thought they were the same ones who would also skate in Westblaak. As for the claim that there were no skaters in Museumpark before the start of the consultation process, this could be because the area was not as critically observed with respect to which urban community was using the area since the redesign of Museumpark at that time was a project that had not started yet and was being discussed as a concept, and this, from a project management point of view, comes after the project idea is finalised and decided upon (i.e. around the time the renovation of Westblaak began).

Another issue that contributed to the complication of matters is that the municipality's approach did not consider changes in local behaviour, or that their analysis process was not iterative enough to record this. The different sources agree on the point that the skating community became bigger in Museumpark after the first COVID-19 lockdown. The lockdown was an unusual event with large impact on the public and communities, which is why the municipality's analysis had to be updated to account for it. Because this turn of events is unusual and updating analysis when the finalising of design is approaching is not standard practice, the municipality failed to see how different the yielded results would be.

4.2.3 Community

So far, it has been established that a colourful community had formed in Museumpark, made up of skateboarders, longboarders, rollerskaters and rollerbladers, street style dancers, and so on. All interviewees who practice an urban sport state the free feeling of Museumpark was very attractive for these communities and for it to become a popular skate spot. Many interviewees would simply "show up" in Museumpark and meet people they already knew without necessarily planning ahead, or make new friends. "*Before, I would put on my rollerskates and just go to the Museumpark and see who's there. And now, if I skate in my neighbourhood, I just go by myself, which is fine, but there is less community to just kind of roll into, I would say*" said O_1. Similarly to O_1, R_1 would also often go alone to Museumpark and meet people they knew regularly. "*There were some people I would meet regularly if I went skating on my own. And I didn't actually have their contacts or anything. So we would just see each other when we skated at Museumpark. And now I don't really know how to reach these people at all anymore*", said R_1.

The fact that respondents would "show up" in Museumpark and expect to find familiar faces shows that this community was indeed tied to Museumpark and not other skate parks/spots and that it attracted different people or people with different styles of skating from other skating places. What is most notable here is the respondents indicating that they generally did not feel the need to exchange contacts with the acquaintances they would skate with there. This suggests that the reason why they did not feel the need to do that is because they did not expect the setting in Museumpark to change, since for them, there was no reason to change it considering how unique it was for the city. It also suggests that the decision came to them abruptly or caused them confusion at the beginning, and as a result of not understanding what was really going on in a city planning or governmental level did not leave them with enough time to adjust to the changes in the community dynamics.

S_2 stated that Museumpark "*really helped me connect with the skating community here in Rotterdam*". In one of the days when S_2 showed up alone in Museumpark, alike the other interviewees, they stumbled upon an event organised by New Wave, an independent organisation that organises skating sessions and gatherings for women, queer and non-binary people, and ever since, they have gone to their events. Referring to finding out about New Wave, S_2 said: "*If this didn't happen, I think I would never really continue skating. I was really happy to find people where I feel safe with, to find a community*". S_1 feels like the loss of Museumpark will particularly marginalise non-traditional skaters (i.e. mainly women, non-binary and queer people), because for these people, skate parks like Westblaak feel less welcoming (more on this in Section 4.2.5). "*At the end of the day, if you think about the history of skateboarding in Rotterdam, it's only a few years that Museumpark has been around in this particular form. But it changed the makeup of skateboarding in Rotterdam quite substantially*", continued S_1. S_1 finds the changes of Museumpark a big issue for the community, as many people now "*only skate with a couple of friends rather than meeting new people*", because they do not know where to find like-minded people. This is because non-traditional skaters do not feel like they could be fully part of the skating communities elsewhere within the city (for example, Westblaak) and because these other areas are not as welcoming for them considering they have already established communities with characteristics considerably different from those of Museumpark (more on this in Section 4.2.4).

S_1 explained in length how Museumpark came to be so attractive for skaters, especially non-traditional ones, and how that in turn gave the park its unique charm. "*I think Museumpark is unique because usually when you have these skate sites that have been around for a long time, they're oftentimes dominated by young men, that have a particular approach to skateboarding or to urban sports. So, it was not just men and it was not just white men either of a particular class [about Museumpark]. It was actually a site where people with different backgrounds would meet and share that space*". S_1 used the example of South Bank in London as an analogy of intangible cultural heritage spots as they called it. South Bank, S_1 explained, was an existing space that skaters made their own, with the British skate scene emerging from there, developing and eventually becoming mature in the region.

While Museumpark was not as well-known as South Bank (one of the most famous skating spots in the world), there are parallelisms that can be made between the two, besides them both having intangible cultural heritage for the cities they are part of. South Bank too is found in an arts and entertainment district in the central part of London. The community of skaters that formed there in the beginning shortly after attracted more urban sporters and graffiti artists. South Bank too as a skating spot was put in danger as a result of redevelopment plans of the area in 2014, but the campaign started by skaters and local enthusiasts to save it ultimately won and the park was preserved (The Skateparks Project, n.d.). Similarities in skate spots that are tied intrinsically to culture show that there are patterns in these cases not being understood for their differences to other skate parks/spots that do not have these ties. It also shows that if these cases are to be tackled in a standard way without defining what differentiates them from other spots, there is a high risk of established communities being significantly affected and opposition forming, or in more technical terms, of external stakeholders with very high interest but low power being underrepresented because of their position.

Lastly, Museumpark had not only become a meeting spot for Rotterdam skaters, but many skaters from outside of Rotterdam, from all over the country, mainly for those living in the surrounding cities. This was seen with the signatures of the petition (as explained in Section 4.1.3) and confirmed by S_4, who as explained in Section 4.1.1, would come from The Hague to Rotterdam to skate in Museumpark. The municipality however, indicated during the interview, that they were not aware of how big Museumpark's reach had become, and that they did not know until after the talks with the skaters started that people would come to skate in Museumpark from outside of Rotterdam too. They were surprised to find out that a lot of skaters "*were from Dordrecht, Witte Kerk, or really from far, far in the region*", said M_1, to which M_2 added that only then did they realise that Museumpark had become a meeting place for "*people outside the centre [Rotterdam] as well*" (more on reasons why some skaters preferred Museumpark even if they came from other cities in Section 4.2.5).

The reason why the municipality did not know beforehand that many of the skaters in Museumpark came from other cities goes back to them believing it is one skating community in the city (as was the case with Westblaak), and that they could not have known the make up of the community in Museumpark unless they had done extensive analysis or consultations with the skaters in Museumpark exclusively. Also, the size of the groups that were found in Museumpark were likely not big enough from the municipality's perspective to lead them to think that some of the skaters in the square were not residing in Rotterdam. Lastly, skaters who would come from other cities would likely not be there as often as those residing in Rotterdam and its outskirts, meaning that this element of the community characteristics could have gone undetected even if the municipality looked at it differently. If the municipality had known about this aspect of the community, this could have let them to view Museumpark as more of a culturally tangible asset of the city that is not only related to normal tourism, but also sports tourism, which could have been influential in the new design and during the consultation process.

4.2.4 Gender balance and safety

As briefly mentioned in Section 4.2.3 above, Museumpark had a unique and more evened out gender balance than one would typically find in a skate spot or skate park. The skateboarding community, as O_1 said, has been one that for a long time has been male-dominated, and it continues to be so. S_1 stressed that "*the caveat is [that], it's been all right for men, and men with specific characteristics of masculinity*". S_3 feelings can be added to this, who indicated that women in general do not feel the same welcoming feelings. O_1 on the other hand explained how when they organise events in Skateland [6], "*a lot of people that maybe are afraid to come and skate on a Wednesday evening, a normal evening, because there's like 50 guys there, they want to come to my event because there is everyone there, you know?*".

The reason why skating has been and continues to be a male-dominated sport stems from its early beginnings and its characteristics as a sport (skateboarding even more so than the other types of skating talked about in this report). Skateboarding started in and is done mostly on the streets. It is a very physical sport, one that is often explained as a "never-ending battle with concrete", and full of characteristics typically associated with masculine traits (for example the clothing style, the lingo full of "street talk" and slangs, the high chances of getting cuts, bruises and open wounds). These characteristics have been historically viewed as unfitting and indecent for women, or even just too dangerous and physical for women to do, so naturally, women have not been encouraged or even allowed to pursue it. Besides this, skating is a relatively new sport, emerging from the 1950s in California and Hawaii, and only reached Europe in the 1970s (Skatedeluxe, n.d. Hypebeast, 2021). As such, it has not had the time to undergo the needed change in mindset when it comes to gender. There appear to be two main reasons why Museumpark experienced a better gender balance: (1) the area being big enough for there to be space for many people and distance between each-other and (2) New Wave organising some of their events there, and it being known by their followers as one of their main meeting spots.

S_3 particularly brings attention to the number of women who would skate in Museumpark, especially in comparison to Westblaak, where the number is significantly lower. S_3 explained that the number of girls that used to skate in Museumpark was much higher than the number of girls that still continue skating. They tied this to skate park designs such as that of Westblaak, and explained in detail on why there are less women in Westblaak than Museumpark, and the extra barriers that women generally face when starting skateboarding (which as S_3 argued, already puts them at a disadvantage from the very start). "*Because of social stigmas, girls are pushed into different types of sport, the extreme sport is not encouraged for girls or anything that falls under the girl experience, any diverse identities that fall under this experience, because [they]'re told that [they] have to do different sports, so [they] start much later, at least for me. So there were so many of us that were picking it up [skateboarding] and encouraged to be there, because we would see each other and create tiny crews or WhatsApp groups*" explained S_3. Women skateboarders indicated that now, more often than not after Museumpark closed off, when they go to the skate park, they are the only woman or one of the only women and do not feel comfortable enough or encouraged to continue developing and practicing the sport. This, S_3 thinks, comes down to the design and crowd of Westblaak mainly, which trickles down to other skate spots/parks, designs which encourage higher levels of needed skills.

A remark can be made here that while this is common knowledge to people within the skating community, this kind of information and context is difficult to extract from studies that the project management team can make in the preparation phase of the project, as is standard procedure. Unless there are people with background or knowledge in skating in the management team, the chances of these insights being revealed in due time become very low. Even if people with this knowledge are part of the team, they would also need to have more in-depth knowledge about the project area specifically.

[6] *Rotterdam's indoor skate park.*

Generally, Museumpark felt safer than Westblaak, and not just for women and queer people, respondents thought. R_1 said that they liked the fact that Museumpark was usually busy and with a lot of people in the square, which made them always feel safe skating there, even if they stayed until late. "*And now, when I go skating, I have to go to spots where there's less people or none at all. And I do feel stared at, and I don't feel as safe, especially when it gets later*", concluded R_1. S_3 talked in length about why they do not find Westblaak safe, especially after it gets dark. According to S_3, this skate park is "*at night occupied by junkies*". S_3 also brought up how their male peers feel unsafe skating at Westblaak when it gets late. "*If a guy who already has this privilege that he can be on the streets [compared to women feeling generally more unsafe while skateboarding on the streets] but doesn't want to go to the skate park [Westblaak], says a lot*", stated S_3.

4.2.5 Westblaak, and other skating spots

This leads to Westblaak, its design, community, and the problems the respondents find with it, and later on other skating spots and possible alternatives for Museumpark. First of all, Westblaak is designed towards a more high level of skating, and as S_3 believes, "*there's a huge hierarchy which does not allow the beginner skateboarder*". O_1 also explained how it is a high level park, which one can skate on for a little, or have a bit more freedom if they are intermediate, but will not experience the park to its fullest. "*[...] But it's a pro park, you know? They have pro competitions there also. Especially with how crowded it is, if you want to be able to skate well there, you have to be a good skater*", said O_1. From this quote it becomes clear that one of the major reasons the crowd in Museumpark was very different from that in Westblaak, although they are quite close to each other, is because Museumpark was much more inviting to beginners and those who get stressed out by crowds confined in a narrow area. Museumpark was also more inviting to those whose style revolves around flat-ground tricks, as opposed to Westblaak where there is a small flat-ground space that can be taken up by a very small group of people. Furthermore, Westblaak, said O_1, on which S_3 agrees on, is a very crowded area, and not just with people, but cars, sounds noises and so on, since it is in the middle of two very busy roads, whereas a park is much calmer.

S_1, like S_3, indicated that they do not like Westblaak either. "*In a way [it's] also about the kind of skateboarding that is facilitated by Blaak. It's not the skateboarding that appeals to everyone. It has to do both with skateboarding as a trick-based practice, which isn't the case for everyone, and skateboarding being predominantly dominated by a particular demographic*", stated S_1. S_3 feels like "*there's an energy that is really charged, really heavy in Westblaak*", and that they do not feel like there is a real, inclusive community dynamic there. This insinuates that the community that is established in Westblaak feels more closed-off and is generally not very welcoming to people who do not fit the profile of the traditional male skater.

S_3 had a last remark about Westblaak: they said that during winter time, the ground becomes too slippery. "*The concrete that is used in Westblaak does not dry quickly*" so it is not used as much during winter time. Furthermore, S_3 said that when autumn comes and the ground is still able to dry quickly enough, there is a lot of leaf built up, because according to S_3, the skate park is not cleaned from the leaves the same way as the streets are, which makes the ground very slippery.

Other than Westblaak, there are not many other spots to go skating in the area, indicated the respondents. The ones who feel the loss of Museumpark the most are the longboarders, for whom Westblaak is completely out of the question. "*We're missing a spot in the city now where everyone can come together*", said L_2, and continued with, "*this square, [next to Maritiem Museum] has kind of taken over, where there's multiple groups [...]. But it's still very much in the city and a lot of people come passing through and doesn't really feel like we're welcome here, whereas Museumpark...*". An aerial view of this square can be seen in Figure 10, and Figure 11 shows where it is located with regards to Westblaak and Museumpark.

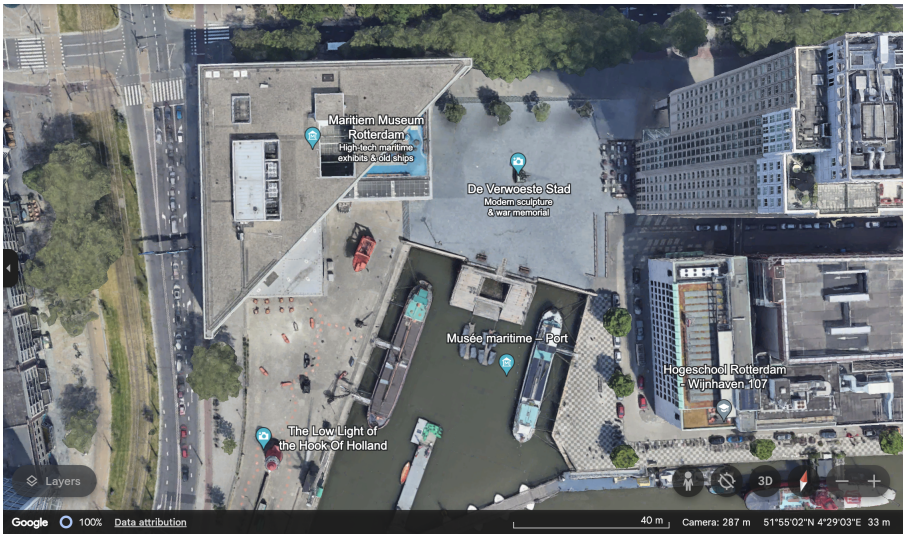

Figure 10: Aerial view of Maritiem Museum (Google Earth, 2023)

Figure 11: Maritiem Museum location in comparison to Westblaak and MP (Google Earth, 2023)

This square is made up of tiles (Figure 12) and its surface is only a fraction of that of Museumpark, which significantly limits the practice of longboarders, especially longboard dancers. Since people walk through the square from both the Northern side and the South-West corridor, they have to constantly watch out while practicing their routines and sometimes have to stop them altogether if there is a large group of tourists walking through the square.

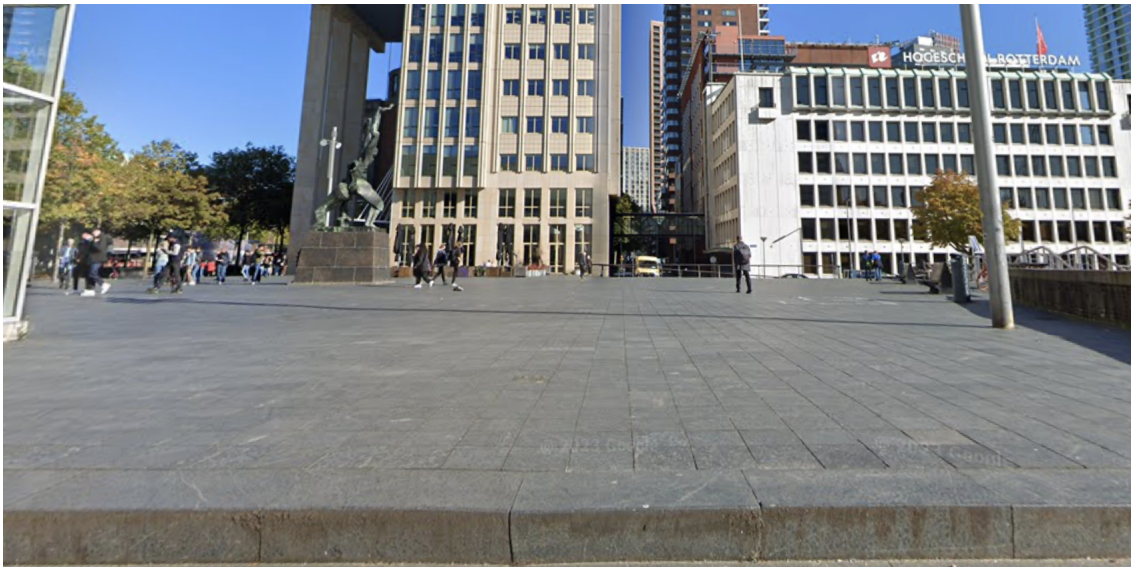

Figure 12: A close-up look at the ground in the square next to Maritiem Museum (Google Earth, 2023)

"*We only have here [next to Maritiem Museum] and [Rotterdam] Centraal*", said L_2, to which L_1 added, "*and at [Rotterdam] Centraal we have to skate very carefully, and we risk a chance of getting kicked out by the police as well*". Unlike skateboarders, who also have "inside spots", essentially indoor skate parks, longboarders do not have that option, which is why they have become greatly limited in places where they can practice their sports. What can be added here is that there are also very few covered spots, essentially spots that shelter from bad weather and where the ground can stay dry, an important aspect to bear in mind considering the weather of the Netherlands, characterised by a frequent rain.

From these sentiments, it can be deduced that the main reason the skating community feels the loss of Museumpark deeply comes down to there being no real alternative to it, or even more so, them not being provided with an alternative by the municipality even though they were greatly affected. Since longboarders are a markedly smaller group than skateboarders in the city, and since they can sometimes be found in the same (flat-ground spots), the differences between what they two groups need and where they can skate may have gone unnoticed for the municipality. This can be another reason why the municipality had not realised the necessity of providing an alternative to Museumpark, or that longboarders specifically would be left with no other option.

4.2.6 Public participation and talks with the community

The situation was very charged between the skaters and the municipality. The issues arose from the skating community not being included in the list of stakeholders in the area (see Appendix B for the full list provided by the municipality), and thus not being invited to the consultation process and the talks and presentations the municipality held for the stakeholders and inhabitants of the area, because of the reasons explained in Section 4.2.2. "*If they had a spokesperson in those days [when the consultation process started], they would have been part of the Hoboken community [stakeholder group]*", M_1 pointed out.

This quote by M_1 shows the consultation process would have likely been different if the skaters were organised back when it started, and expresses the lack of intent to purposefully exclude them or their input or as an external stakeholder in the area. But this quote also suggests that the perception the management team has over the skating community resembles that of an organised sport, which skating is not (more on this later on in this section). Furthermore, Museumpark being a skate

spot means that the community was much more dynamic than that of a skate park, which further reduced the chances of there being a spokesperson or something of the sort for its community, or them organising formally as a stakeholder. The extensive list of considered stakeholders in the process (Appendix B) shows indeed that if the skaters had had a spokesperson and had been organised in a more traditional way, they could have very well been included in this list. The parties mentioned in the list are all well-established in the traditional stakeholder sense and have representatives. In essence, stakeholders have to be organised and have a spokesperson if they want to be heard. The skating community being dynamic however makes it extra hard for this to happen, and if it does organise itself because of circumstances, as was the case here, it will still likely not resemble a stakeholder in the traditional sense. For example, this can be seen by how the campaign front-runners who became the de facto representatives of the community became recognisable as such from social media, and how they had to constantly exchange updates and inputs with other members of the community in order for it to remain organised in a more traditional stakeholder fashion (more on this in Section 4.4.1). Social media greatly facilitates the emergence of non-traditional stakeholders, but it also enables "anyone" to become a spokesperson. The implications of this in general is that it becomes difficult then to not only know where to look and who to reach out to out of the vocal ones from the community, but that there is always the inherent risk of lack of filtration based on capabilities to represent the case.
The starting point for the municipality was making the area attractive to anyone (in Rotterdam) and visitors. The consultations commenced with the Gebiedscommissie. M_1 explained that the Gebiedscommissie always advises on starting points, preliminary design and final design, and that they held a lot of presentations for the Gebiedscommissie about the event deck because of this. It must be noted that the Gebiedscommissie's role has recently slightly changed, and as M_1 and M_2 explained, they used to have a bigger say in projects, especially on participation and advice regarding it. The current members of the Gebiedscommissie of the neighbourhood are different from the ones who were active during this consultation process. M_1 said that the Gebiedscommissie approved the participation and design of Museumpark, to which M_2 added that they advised the municipality to focus on the events and event organisation, which M_1 said was the biggest starting point for the Gebiedscommissie. "*And they [the Gebiedscommissie] never mentioned the skaters*", said M_1.

The reason why the Gebiedsommissie did not mention skaters, aside from the possibility that they were not aware that Museumpark park had turned into an established skate spot, is plausibly because the Gebiedsommissie represents the inhabitants of the area and in general the activities happening within that area, and has seen the situation/new design from this point of view, a point of view in which skaters do not configure. An argument for this can be the fact that the Gebiedscommissie told the municipality to focus on the events and their organisation as M_1 explained. This in turn further led the municipality to believe that doing so would not come with considerable problems in terms of affected communities. Essentially, a stakeholder would not represent and defend the interest of another stakeholder unless they have a coalition in place, which could not have been the case here either way since these two stakeholders are parts of different spheres (one, independent public members and the other mandated by the government). This was enabled by the lack of a distinction between the local and wider public.

According to M_1, when they talked with all the museums of the Stichting Museumpark, their main partner in developing the plans, during all the years the consultation lasted for no one from this group ever mentioned the skaters. M_1 said: "*it was only the municipality who said, 'okay, skaters are also a group that visits Museumpark'. But during those years, there was nobody who ever, like inhabitants, never ever in all those meetings we had in this area, nobody ever mentioned the skaters, which is quite interesting*", but later on, people embraced the skaters, admitted M_1. After COVID-19, continued M_1, "*they [people] liked that the skaters found a meeting place. But some people didn't feel invited anymore because it was like an exclusive space for skaters. During COVID, that was. So people didn't use it anymore because it didn't feel like...'I'm not a skater so I can't use it because it's for them'*". Notably, when asked whether there were complaints from the hospi-

tal, Erasmus MC, about the skaters, M_1 responded that there were no complaints they heard about.

People feeling the way that M_1 described suggests that the skating crowd was considerable in size if they felt that it had become an exclusive space for them (keeping in mind the size of the square). However, although the area was great for skating, there was not much to it architecturally (S_1), meaning that in the form that it was, it was not as attractive for the average inhabitant of the area. It also seems that this feeling did not come from the skating crowd feeling threatening or being too loud, based on there being no complaints from Erasmus MC. The indication that some people from the general public thought that the square was an exclusive place for skaters again shows that the crowd was an established element of the square, a typical progression that is seen with city landmarks that become skate spots.

The consultation meetings were organised at the Arminius church, situated only a few meters from Museumpark and the Depot. The municipality emphasised that inhabitants generally embraced the design and were really happy that the municipality was making the square greener. "*Everybody was focusing more on trees, less traffic, more places to meet and sit, more space for bicycles. You know, everybody embraced that. People didn't come with new ideas or their own ideas*", said M_1. Again, this shows that the municipality thought they were heading in the right direction with the consultation process because they were working towards their goal of making the square more appealing to the average citizen and because their vision and implementation of the promises they had made before were embraced by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

As for how the design came to be, M_1 said: "*the museums had a big say in the design for the event deck, and the organisers of events. [...] We did presentations, and then they applauded! I can remember*". Surprisingly, this is heavily contested by Spit (2023), according to which event organisers were not happy at all with the design, nor the participation process in itself. Event organisers the collective interviewed expressed that to them it felt like everything had already been decided and that they were in the talks for the sake of the participation process. One of them contended that in the meetings, different people from the municipality were present with no minutes being taken, while another one felt like they were being taken into account less and less as the consultation process progressed. A representative from Stichting Vrienden van het Park (which represented the interest of the local residents and general public as a separately established stakeholder, now defunct) contradicted the municipality's claim and claimed instead that residents were not entirely happy with the new layout. This representative too shares the same feeling as the event organisers that they did not have a real say and that the plan was already decided upon, and saw the participation process as ticking off a box just like the event organisers (Spit, 2023).

A reason that led to these parties feeling this way, a reason which is also reflected upon in the same article by Spit (2023), is that the information collected by citizens and stakeholders is bundled together and the distinctions disappear later on when they are processed, which leads to citizens and stakeholders not really knowing what happened with their input. Because the municipality often fails to properly explain how the different interests are taken into account and what weights are assigned to them (Spit, 2023), this leads to people feeling like the municipality is following its own agenda, as seen in this case.

After the collective action against the project started, the municipality entered discussions with representatives of the skating community, where the starter of the petition was at the fore-front. These were closed meetings (O_1). At the start of these talks, the representatives of the skating community presented pointed demands, as entailed in the petition, which essentially asked for a smoother ground (the main issue), no skate stoppers, the green patches in the design to be smaller, and requests such as added lamp posts, public restrooms and water fountains, a safety band to prevent boards flying into the water, and removal of fountains. After a lot of back and forth, especially when it comes to deciding on the material for the surface based on the tried samples, the changes that were decided upon were a smoother surface and no skate stoppers. M_1 defended the decision in the following way:

"*[...] So in the end, they focus mainly on the floor, to get as smooth as possible floor. But we adapt[ed], we removed the skate stoppers from the plan. They also asked to make another shape in the natural stone in the benches, to make it sharper so you can skate with your board on the edges. But we didn't do that because that would break the natural stone. That would break if you were using it with your skateboard. So we kept the smooth edges on the natural stone benches.*"

In a post on Instagram dated on 29 November 2022, @save.museum.park expressed their feelings about the decision and the talks overall. Figure 13 shows a screenshot of this post, in its original language in Dutch.

Figure 13: Save Museumpark's response to the decision (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2022a)

The translation, as posted in the comments by the author of the post, reads:

"Say hello to the new Museumpark! After a year of fighting, politics, a budget of 120 000 euros assigned by the city council and a "participatory trajectory" is this the final outcome: nothing changed.
Some compromises were made: the floor will be a little bit less rough than planned, they can turn the fountains off and the gemeente [municipality] organised a skateboarding event in collaboration with Boijmans and POP.
But what do we do with a "less rough floor" if this floor is not skateable? Why these dried up fountains when we cannot skate there? And a skateboard-oriented event for all Museumpark users?
Unfortunately this is the result of participating with the gemeente [municipality] and this is where the 120K has gone.
Wdwd now? [What do we do now?]
We will research on how all of this happened and how to do city development differently in collaboration with AIR, WORM, Onderzoekscollectief Spit and Vers Beton.

Also, we are thinking about what to do now. At least we have the right to a new square right?
Wdwd now? [What do we do now?]
What do you think?"

It is clear from Figure 13 that the skaters felt that not enough had been done to accommodate them, with the municipality feeling that making those adaptations would be enough for a newly emerged stakeholder. It also confirms that an alternative square with the same ground characteristics as Museumpark would greatly alleviate their grievances. The reactions and differences between the two perspectives indicate misunderstanding between the two sides. The issue here seemingly starts with the municipality approaching the problem with the new design layout in mind and without considering changes in layout or design elements (based on the choices for adaptation made), and instead focuses on how to adapt these existing design elements in the plans for the skaters. The municipality also seems to believe that the new floor will be skateable, even though the skaters do not.

L_2 also mentioned the extra budget the council approved for the late changes, and what they thought about that number. "*They made like 100 000 euros extra available to make it skateable, which sounds really nice and all, but not if you consider that the whole budget was 10 million euros*", expressed L_2, implying in this way that they felt like they were not taken as seriously as they should have. This extra budget was appointed by D66, a political party, after the case came under the attention of the city council (something which was out of the hands of the project team of Museumpark). D66 seems to have backed the campaign because they did not agree with the redevelopment plans and the exclusion of the skating community as stakeholders (AD, 2021a; AD, 2021c). The small number of adaptations decided upon compared to the requests and the Save Museumpark indicating that the budget already ran out with those changes in Figure 13 conveys that this extra budget was not enough to fully tackle the issues. However, it is not known whether it was possible to allocate more budget for the mitigation measures - this was a political decision in the hands of the council and outside the hands of those in charge of the project.

Besides the talks, M_1 revealed that the municipality also had a workshop with the representatives of the skating community for future skate areas, because they were so frustrated and disappointed about Museumpark. "*We developed a view for the future - it could be good if the event squares and skate locations could be combined, that if we make other new public spaces, that they could be used for events and, visitors and skaters and urban sporters, that you make a combination*", which shows intent from the municipality to further collaborate in the future and learn from the past. Spit (2023) confirms that the skating representatives were invited to a workshop like this, but emphasises the need to clearly define roles and expectations beforehand, for example, whether it will be a discussion-based workshop or whether skaters would be allowed to co-design.

The skaters however, did not feel the same spirit of collaboration based on the talks with the municipality. L_2 said: "*We got a seat at the table, which felt like they just gave it to us, so they checked the box*", whereas according to L_1, those who participated in the meetings were told what was going to happen and did not get to have much input. L_1 recalled one occasion where they met with a representative of the municipality at Museumpark, in which "*[...] she opened the gates for us, and [was] like, 'well this is going to happen, and it's because of this and this', and we were like, yeah, we know, but what do we get to say about it. Pretty much nothing*". O_1 had harsher words to say, and claimed that at the end, the municipality ignored the skaters' pleas. O_1 stated: *"In the end, they [municipality] kind of ghosted them [the spokesperson], or they ghosted the campaign. [...] All the people they [the spokesperson] talked to, they made them promises, but they didn't come through. They kind of after that ignored them and they didn't want to see the plans with them or rethink the designs and stuff"*. As for the promises to the skaters, O_1 said: "*We still have to see if it's going to happen*".

What can be understood from this is that the municipality likely followed a standard protocol in handling the conflict and revolved their strategy around informing, taking inputs during the back and forth meetings, and then deciding based on the input but not fully explaining the decision and

substantiating how that decision came to be, similar to what was described before in the section. What the skaters have interpreted as ghosting was possibly following these strategies in the way the people in charge of the talks are used to in practice and stopping the communication from their side when they had what they needed to make the decision. In other words, the municipality may have thought of it as the talks coming to an end as a result of them being able to come to a decision and as a result not seeing the upholding of the dialogue as something they are required to do. In any case, this signals problems with the current strategies in practice for handling such conflicts and insufficient communication. The insufficient communication in this case led to increased mistrust in the municipality from the skating community.

But what is the municipality's perspective on the situation? To begin with, the municipality had not expected a new stakeholder to emerge at a late stage of the designing process and for the conflictual situation to arise, and certainly not to become as big as it did. "*Because of the Stadmakerscongres, what we noticed was that sometimes a group emerges and becomes really quickly, really big. But the process of designing a public space and executing that, it takes at least five years. So when somebody puts an issue on the table, sometimes it's already with the executor...*", explained M_1, indicating that the petition formed too late in the process, when the building plans were finalised, and "*you cannot change the design in that stage*" (M_1). Furthermore, the municipality only realised the reach and gravity of Museumpark after the talks with the skaters started. Only when they met with representatives of the group, did they realise that "*60 or 70 percent of the group were from outside the city. So, we never knew them, reached them. They never read the local newspaper, because they didn't live here, so they never heard about the plans*", reflected M_1.

S_1 reflects on both sides of the story. S_1 credited the skaters with making a campaign that was very clear and pointed, but also understands the difficulties the municipality faces in reaching out to a stakeholder group such as skaters. "*There's not just one stakeholder, one key figure to go to. These are all individuals that happen to be in the same space, but also, they might go to a different site the next day. So, this is really tricky, I think, for municipalities to get a sense as to whom to reach out to... what are the needs and desires of these skaters... what actually is the community?*", explained S_1, which matches with the difficulties and the unknowns the municipality indicated to when it comes to singling out the Museumpark skating community. S_1 is of the belief that the department of urban sports of the municipality is now realising that an urban sports community is a community that is organised in a different way than other "regular" sports, something which they are working on to better understand it and how to tackle these differences.

As for the municipality not knowing how to reach out to skaters, S_1 brought up a point from the Skate Symposium (more on this in Section 4.3), where an attending member of the municipality said that they have issues finding skaters, which came as a surprise to S_1. "*If there's any group that is easy to find is skaters because one, they have a skateboard oftentimes with them and two, they are out there in public space. [...] Skaters, they are out and about*", said S_1. Furthermore, they believe that officials must be more aware about how such communities use public space, as regular users of it, and not just that - officials must remember that skaters are not just skaters. "*There are skaters who are artists, there are skaters who are designers, there are skaters who are studying at TU Delft, skaters who are anthropologists, there are skaters probably among your colleagues at municipalities*". This goes to show that members of these communities can greatly help with designing aspects of public space and can offer very valuable input from experiencing the city in a different way, and that their professional background or expertise combined with their knowledge of public space can lead to innovative designs that serve the whole public. S_1 concluded this thought by circling back to the question asked during the Skate Symposium by the municipality member. "*So, the question that was being raised, 'how do we find skaters?'. Well, probably, you know skaters already. [...] Chances that, someone who skates, or has a history of skating or background in skating [are] quite big*".

As for the plans about Museumpark and the choices made, M_1 wanted to clarify that "*when the board and the council decide for a plan, then... That's not for civil servants to say if it's good or*

bad or... It's a democratic process". M_1 explained, that even if a petition is presented to the municipality and used for negotiations, that does not guarantee that the decision will always be in favour of it. What this means is that these civil servants operate within a well-solidified system, a system which does not answer only to public inquiries but also to policy, rules and time and budget constraints. What M_1 meant with the petition point is that if the introduction of the petition is too late in the overall process, especially when policy and budget constraint the level of changes that can be made, then they can no longer do much about it - it is beyond their control. In the article by Spit (2023), one of the interviewees too reflects on how officials are stuck in this system that has become an independent organism and how they cannot do anything about it even if they do not like how the situation is being handled.

This was after all, a complicated case: "*We really did our best, but everybody had another opinion. Sometimes you have to decide, and the municipality said, 'okay, we are hearing all these opinions, but this is the way we are going to design this area'*" (M_1). "*In the decision-making, you know, we cannot do all of everything. There are always choices being made*", concluded M_1. This goes hand in hand with the pressures that a project team in the public sector typically experiences: besides the political ones mentioned above, such as policy and budget, they experience just as much pressure from stakeholders and the general public. Amidst all the conflict, valuable lessons have been learned. As M_2 put it: "*And now we can advise colleagues if they start something in public space. Think about all the stakeholders and are there, are there urban sporters? Which one? How can we try to find them?*", which gives the message that future projects in cultural landmarks should be handled differently and to learn from the conflictual situation in this project.

Nevertheless, skaters share a general feeling of hopelessness about their inclusion and participation in policy-making/projects, a feeling which where it was present before, has only been exacerbated by the outcome of Museumpark. The interviewees who practice urban sports generally indicated that they did not feel like their strides mattered, or that they felt like there was nothing substantial that they could do. L_1 and L_2 also feel like their opinions were not really taken into account, not when they made the plans, nor during the talks, because as they explained, longboarders share another grievance: "*it's not necessarily that we get hurt less, it sucks more because they group us together, and, we just do not need the same thing*", said L_2.

These sentiments too show that once one gets sucked into the system and how it operates, the complications in governmental level become taxing for the normal citizen and thus leads them to become hopeless. It too shows that the current way of operating may be too rigid for public projects where the communities that use the space are very dynamic and ever-changing. The skaters' perspective does not keep track of the pressures faced by the municipality because it is one that comes personally: when reflecting on the participation, what they look at is what they demanded and what they got, and that their community was permanently affected. From this perspective, the results of the talks are negative. These negative feelings and the revised design remaining a very close resemblance to the original new design naturally leads them to think that the design had more importance than the people themselves. A parallel can be drawn from an argument present by S_1, who recognises that municipalities are restrained by bureaucracies and the way the system works, and that it is certainly not easy for them to turn back a decision. In the words of S_1: "*I think sometimes these municipalities, they can take a long time to make a call and once this is set in motion, it's really hard for them to go back to the drawing table and to revise their plans. So I think it's not ill will by any means*".

Lastly, M_1 and M_2 informed the researcher over how the communication over the project happened and how news was spread. M_2 explained how they inform people about the process of the whole project predominantly via newsletters. These newsletters are received by 1 850 addresses physically (addresses which are within the area of the Dijkzigt-Oude Westen area, the area the Gebiedscommissie oversees), and about 250 people who receive it online. These newsletters can currently also be found online on the municipality's website through the post about the project. "*Every three*

months, we send out a newsletter to all the people here around the institutions, eleven times already, where we always write down 'come to this place if you have any questions'. They always throw them out!" (M_2). People throwing these newsletter out, i.e. the people they are targeted to, shows that inhabitants (as stakeholders) do not share the same level of interest and stake in the project as the skating community does. It also shows that they are not interested in keeping up with the project anymore and trust how the municipality will handle it. Nevertheless, these newsletters did not reach skaters in timely manner, perhaps because they were not intended for mass distribution but only for the small central area of the city surrounding the project site, as is the current standard practice for redevelopment projects of any nature. M_2 explained that people, citizens or visitors can walk in their temporary offices, located right next to the Depot, to ask for information about the project or questions related to it. This shows openness to the public and willingness to give information, factors which are related to transparency.

M_2 explained that when they start with plans about public space, they first send out messages online, through the different channels of social media of the municipality, for example "*we are going to start planning about this and this space*" (M_2), because they find getting as many people involved very important. M_2 urged citizens to always keep an eye on the social media channels of the municipality: "*If you really want to be involved in plans of public spaces, also try to show your interest on social media of the municipality, because that's where we start to tell what we are going to do years in advance*". When the municipality wants to send out a message, M_2 explained, they first send it to their newsroom, which then takes the messages online in the different channels, such as "*Rotterdam Facebook, Rotterdam Instagram, Stadskrant [the city paper]*", and the municipal website. "*We ask them to think with us. How can you react? How can you make your point to the project?*" (M_2).

This shows that the municipality makes great use of social media channels and understands the importance of doing so in connecting with citizens and having a bigger reach of the public. It also shows that they have an inclination to keep up with the changing landscape of information exchange. However, skaters not coming across the new plans until late in the design process suggests that this tactic is not working as efficiently as the municipality wants it to. This could be because of the following main reasons: the public is not informed enough about where to seek information, there is information/posts overload which makes it difficult for the public to keep up or find the posts about projects they are interested in, and/or an existing feeling among the public that they do not have enough power to lead to changes and as a result not being motivated to put time and effort in keeping up with the municipality's social media. Based on the feelings and reflections over the process from the skating community, the last reason seems the more prevailing one among the youth, because there seems to be a general feeling of disconnect between the youth and the government.

4.2.7 Municipal agenda

O_1 and S_2 explicitly expressed that the feeling they got from the whole situation was that the municipality had already decided to go through with the plans, which is why the resistance movement was unsuccessful. O_1 further pondered whether the municipality had deliberately left the asphalt to degrade because of this: "*It wasn't very well kept [Museumpark]. The ground was kind of torn and broken in some places, but I think maybe they did that because they were already planning on destroying it. So, I don't know*". On the other hand, since there were plans in motion to redo the square, the municipality might not have deemed it worth it to make renovations in the square when it was going under construction anyway.

S_3 also believes that the final choices are deliberate, but focuses on tourism as a reason - skaters after all, explained S_3, might be too vulgar for officials' liking and their image of how they want the city to be represented. "*I get it, skateboarders, they're 'nasty' people [in the sense] that, we fall on the ground, we have blood on our hands, and we're like 'let's keep going', and we'll be at the end of the day with our busted, dirty clothing, sitting on the ground and enjoying a packet of crisps, and this kind of freedom... I really think it can be daunting for those that try to control*" (S_3). R_1 is

puzzled as to why they would change the situation, when it actually was interesting for tourists to see and get a feeling of how lively the city is: "*I think, personally, it was more of an attraction to museum visitors and tourists, like, seeing how lovely the street culture in Rotterdam can be*". They believe that "*if you're interested in going to see culture in a museum, you probably also are interested in seeing it in real life*".

Since Museumpark is situated amidst a number of museums and cultural institutions, the image of the normal museum visitor or tourist in cultural areas comes to mind with no context of the community dynamics, which seems to have been the case too for the municipality at the start of the design. While it is logical to also design the area with this kind of tourist in mind, this has raised suspicions on the skaters' side and led them to believe that the future tourists of the park are more important to the municipality than them since they were not considered at all during the drafting of the design, when tourists were.

The RRKC (2018, p. 32) advisory report confirms that one of the goals is to turn Museumpark in a tourist hotspot: "The International Advisory Board on Culture (IABX) believes that the Museumpark has great potential as a tourist destination. Together with the new Depot building, it is identified by the IABX as a Rotterdam location par excellence, where institutions can jointly create a powerful brand that strengthens the positioning of Rotterdam".

The skaters' sentiments over these goals are reflected in another Instagram post of save.museum.park, posted on 3 January, 2022. Figure 14 shows a screenshot of the post (original caption language in English):

Figure 14: Popular social media posts about Museumpark (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2022b)

S_1 too weighed in on the touristic aspect of Museumpark, but tied it more closely to the gentrification of the area. S_1 explained the peculiarity of Museumpark: "*I think it's kind of a weird space in the city in the sense that it's very much gentrified, with all the museums and it's very kind of highbrow and in some ways exclusionary because of the presence of the museums, all of them clustered together, attracting a particular kind of people. It's also quite touristy, in part because of the museums, but also because it's closely related to some of the more fancy bars in the city and restaurants. But I think that the square itself had a totally different vibe and atmosphere and felt really welcoming, and it felt really inviting and creative even though there was nothing to it architecturally*".

The municipality wants to increase the gravitational pull of the area and as a result generate more budget which can then be invested in more parts of the city, but skaters see this type of development with focus on tourism at the expense of them and attribute it to gentrification. This could be influenced by gentrification becoming a big topic of debate in Rotterdam in recent years (Equal Times, 2023; The Guardian, 2016; Versluis, 2017) after becoming used as a tool for development in urban projects (Versluis, 2017; Rodenburg, 2023). Because of this, and because gentrification has a strong economic focus (Versluis, 2017), it can be seen how the urban community could perceive the renewal plans of Museumpark as such since these plans also have a strong economic focus.

For the municipality, the problem has a more pragmatic nature: "*It's really like a puzzle to make a surface that functions for all groups. But it is possible. But here, we had so many other goals, because of all the other visitors*", said M_1. M_1 hopes that the community will get a better floor in future plans, where there is a better combination with event decks skate locations, but this was not something they could do in Museumpark, its location given as the main reason why. "*Because this is, I think it's too close to the city centre with all those visitors from museums, from the hospital*", stated M_1. This too confirms that tourists and visitors were placed at the fore-front of the plans and are what the municipality's ambitions revolve around. Nevertheless, focusing on tourists and visitors resulted in losing sight of other parts of the population that can use the space. This shows a mismatch between policy and reality: instead of focusing on one or the other, both can be integrated together. For instance, in this case, the square could have been made more attractive for tourists and citizens by adding greenery in some areas to make it merge better with the other chambers of the park while revolving the cultural attraction around the naturally occurring urban community (in this way making it another attraction in the area akin to the other cultural sights).

Another problems that led to this situation according to interviewees rests with those who make policies and who are in charge of departments in which the case falls. O_1 felt like the people from the municipality the skaters faced seemed like they did not know enough about the sport or community to be trusted with good decision-making. They also felt like the reason why municipality representatives talked to skaters, and more importantly made them promises, is because they came under pressure after the skaters' mobilisation. O_1 felt like the people they talked to did not know anything about urban sports: "*these old white men, they don't know anything about it. Because they think skating is skating, but it's not. It's completely different. And me and all the other skaters in the community that want to fight for it, we have to educate them. Like, you have swimming, but not all swimming is swimming, right? You have competitive swimming, you have aquarobics, you have everything. For young people, for top athletes, for old people, whatever. It's the same for skating. And they should understand that*". The reason why this might be the case again comes to down to urban sports being relatively new and municipalities getting properly familiar with them now, besides most officials in these departments having seniority and not being fully connected with developments in young communities. Furthermore, it must be noted that the department of the municipality which devises and executes the project follows the information provided by the department that is preoccupied with the development of urban sports in Rotterdam, meaning that the focus on educating, as O_1 explained, should be on this department for there to be better coherence between urban sports and city-planning projects. S_1 believes that there was miscommunication or insufficient communication, or agenda mismatch between the departments of urban sports and renovation of urban spaces (because they work independently), which likely contributed to the com-

plication of the case.

That being said, there is still the matter of municipality's building plans. While O_1 indicated that the municipality maintains and repairs city elements quickly when they have broken down (for example bike lanes), and has plans in the South of the city to remove a water area to make a park which they want to make skateable, other building plans, not so favourable for the community, have left them a bad taste. The most notable one was the municipality announcing that they were going to demolish the Letter Park, a small skate park next to Rotterdam Centraal, "*to build a tower with expensive apartments*" (O_1), while the talks with skaters for Museumpark were still ongoing. "*In the same range of months they were like, 'oh, we're gonna help you rethink the design of Museumpark', which they didn't. And then they announced that they were gonna demolish another skate park*", which led to the skaters believing that they were being lied to, said O_1. O_1's discontent is based on their feeling that these plans are elitists and separating people based on their profitability: "*It just kind of feels like we're taking away the things that are for everyone. And we're building things that are only for the people that can afford it, you know?*".

Coincidentally, S_3 also touched upon profitability, and explained how skateboarding for instance is not very profitable as a sport. "*Skateboarding is not something that is institutionalised, there's not a lot of profit that comes from skateboarding, it's something that's done for the community*" (S_3). S_3 further explained that only recently has it started to gain a different kind of reputation after being added to the Olympics program in 2020, and subsequently from the increase of sponsored events and professionals from big sponsors such as Nike SB, Monster Energy and Red Bull, but that at the end of the day, it remains an independent, community sport. Because skateboarding and skating in general do not function as a typical sport, this seems to be another reason why officials see it differently from how it actually is why they have extra difficulties in approaching the topic.

4.2.8 Hostile architecture, hostility and policing

Hostile architecture is an urban-design strategy that uses elements of the built environment to purposefully guide or restrict behavior (Hölsgens, 2023). Skate stoppers for instance are the most common form of hostile architecture when it comes to restricting/preventing skating in public space. Examples of skate stoppers are small metal bumps on benches or stair railings that prevent the board from sliding on them (Hölsgens, 2023).

Some of the interviewees brought up hostile architecture and policing (O_1, L_1, S_3). Starting with the area of Museumpark itself, S_3 claimed that the square in front of the Depot, which connects to Museumpark, has been skate stopped, even though the municipality had promised the skaters that would not be the case: "*I remember them saying that they would assure that there would be no skate stoppers and that the ground would be skateable. The Depot opened. That floor is not skateable, deliberately not skateable, and it has been skate stopped*". S_3 fears the same will happen to Museumpark, because it is only natural that the two will have coherence. The issue here, said S_3, comes from the people in charge not knowing what is skateable and what is not, an issue that is made worse by the fact that "*[...] the person that conforms, they are not aware of these hostile elements*", which means they go unnoticed in the eyes of the rest of the public. In any case, S_3 is worried that skaters will ultimately not be able to return to Museumpark. It could be argued here that the Depot is at the end of the day a separate project, done by a separate team, and that there could have been miscommunication between these different teams in the municipality or the promises of the municipality to the skaters may have not reached those who are responsible for this area of the Depot specifically. As the petition indicates in one of the listed concerns (Section 4.1.3), skate stoppers are already installed throughout the Dijkzigt area, and this may be one of the examples of this. The only instance recorded on why skate stoppers are being added more to the area comes from S_3's opinion that this is being done to push skaters away, but confirmed reasons behind this development could not be found.

Rotterdam Centraal has recently seen its share of hostile architecture too, when all the benches were removed, leaving no place anymore to sit properly if you have to wait for someone or the train, S_3 further explained, a development which is confirmed by DeArchitect (2023a). According to the article by DeArchitect (2023a), the rising concerns in Rotterdam about hostile architecture led GroenLinks and Volt (political parties) to put forth formal written questions for the city council in January 2023 (followed by a filed motion by these parties and D66 after the benches were removed against the wishes of the general public). This was done in a bout of purging homeless people away at night, expressed S_3, backed by DeArchitect (2023a), something which they could not fundamentally understand since "*there's enough police patrolling all the time [in and around Centraal]*". As a result, the station has become unfriendly to people with disabilities first and foremost, parents with children, those pregnant, and homeless people who want to find shelter from the cold, writes DeArchitect (2023a). L_1 on the other hand mentioned that when they skate at Rotterdam Centraal, they have to do so carefully because they have a high risk of "*getting kicked out by the police*", even though this is one of the very few spots they have left, although this specifically could be because the police do not want to face the risk of normal people bumping into their boards and getting hurt.

S_3 brought up another case, which brings them even more disdain - that of Maritiem Museum (Maritiem Museum being one of the only flat-ground spots left, and most importantly, one of the only covered ones in the city that shelters from rain). In the words of S_3: "*I'm gonna be super blunt here but Maritiem Museum is very hostile, to the point that I think it's aggressive towards skateboarders*". According to S_3, the high-pitching noise that has recently started to be heard around the entrance of the museum, has been added so that skaters can no longer go there. Not only this, said S_3, but they also pour water on the places where people tend to skate and have added skate stoppers. "*Most of the people that go skate are teenagers, early 20s, so the fact that there's a museum that promotes culture [that] is violent towards young people and teenagers it's like... what kind of movement is this, what is this perception?*" (S_3). It must be noted here that those in charge of these decisions in Maritiem Museum are a different group within the municipality than those explored so far, and from what it seems there is again a lack of coherence between different departments that has resulted in space for the Maritiem Museum to take their decisions based on their perspective and what is best or easiest for them (in terms of handling the situation) instead of fitting with the narrative of the rest of the municipality. This closely relates to a point that another interviewee of Spit (2023) brings up, that of young people in their formative period coming in confrontation with an established top-down decision-making style of the municipality, which in turn leads them to believe that the municipality does not represent their interest. This feeling too can be derived from how the respondents of this research feel about the situation and their place in the city, meaning that the established top-down decision-making style has to undergo revisions if the municipality wants to make these groups of people feel more included.

Lastly, S_3 explained how this treatment of urban sporters will only make them more unwanted and will worsen the stigmas surrounding the skating stereotypes: "*when urban sporters get kicked out or marginalised, it only creates stigmas towards them*". S_3 believes that skaters are being kicked out more and more from these public spaces. In the meantime, O_1 too believes that authorities do not like skaters as much as they claim to do, but do not feel the same level of hostility from the general public as S_3.

4.2.9 Feelings

All things considered, how does the community feel today about Museumpark, and what are the earnest opinions of the municipality over how the situation went? To start with, all the interviewees that practice urban sports expressed how much they were hurt by the decision and that they lost something very valuable, with Museumpark remaining a sore topic for many of them. The ones who were affected the most were the longboarders, for whom the terrain was perfect and rare to find in the country for their style of skating, and who are now left with no real alternative.

For S_2, it was too painful to even look at the new plans after having them described by their peers, and they had a the feeling the cause was lost from the start, based on how the decision was taken. S_3 on the other hand initially believed that Save Museumpark was going to win and that the municipality would rationalise after talking with the people, but ultimately attributed this hopeful thinking to them being naïve. S_3 feels like there is a different dynamic that is held with urban sporters, and that the city "*will promote skateboarding as long as it gives them the reputation of urbanism, of modern, of young and hip*". Relating to this, S_1 implied that there is bias in perception from officials towards urban sporters: "*What I noticed during the [Skate] Symposium, and I've been to quite a few of these meetings before and also talked with municipalities before, is that oftentimes I'm only addressed as a skater. As if I don't have any other expertise. So I'm never being asked about my background as an anthropologist*".

The municipality members however, understand the skaters' grievances and believe that they are justified. "*I understand that totally, because the old floor was perfect for them. It's hard when something changes, when you have found a new home or a new place you'd like to meet and they are building there. It's always frustrating*", said M_1, to which they later added: "*And I can really, as a personal point of view, I can understand that it's sad to say goodbye to a place that you really love. I can understand that, but the city changes*". M_1 also disclosed that they understand the level of opposition, but they did not foresee that the community would get this big. Ultimately, M_1 believes that the skaters are "*a victim of circumstances*", and that it is good that they could at least have a say in the coating and finish of the ground material. M_2 hopes that skaters will come back to Museumpark when it reopens "*It's really a pity. And I hope that they will come anyway when it's finished. You never know*".

The sentiments shared by the skaters show that when the collective action started, while their hopes were not too high on a successful collaboration with the municipality, there were still some hopes present nevertheless, and that they do wish to collaborate more closely with the municipality for future projects or other skate spots. The municipality too understands the grievances of this group of stakeholders and explicitly indicates their wish for the community to not disperse. Ergo, the broken trust of the skaters with regards to the municipality can be mended by the municipality involving them more actively in urban development projects and incorporating urban sports more in public landscape project.

4.2.10 Aftermath and final messages

In general, Museumpark getting closed off made many of the interviewees lose contacts with some of their skating friends, with some of them or their friends, stopping altogether. L_1 and L_2, who said they would go there every day they could, said that they "*lost a lot of people*" (L_1). "*A lot of people stopped coming. And we, we still kept skating, but we're missing a spot in the city now where everyone can come together*", said L_2.

"*The park closing definitely made me more lonely. Like, emotionally lonely. But also, I didn't practice much. I actually stopped skating for a while, because I... didn't really enjoy any other place and this place was crucial to it.*", said S_2, who stopped skating for about a year. R_1 said that they have not met many of the people they would skate with since Museumpark was closed. Not only this, but they now have trouble finding nice ground for practicing, which has led them to skate much less. O_1 too goes rollerskating alone more often now than when Museumpark was open. S_3 said that many girls stopped skating altogether after Museumpark, because they do not feel nearly as welcome or safe to practice their sport in other places.

What would the two sides say to each other? Below, a selection of quotes is given:

R_1: "*It was a really interesting space for Rotterdam, and it gave Rotterdam a lot of character seeing all the different sports and arts come together like that. It actually reminds me of a place in*

Germany, in Berlin, that I really liked, where it's also just flat ground. [...] The people come to skate and it's just a nice hangout spot."

S_2: "*I hope this can be an example of "how we should do it differently, or how we can involved everyone to make a space that is actually usable for anyone.*"

S_4: "*It is a place that brings a lot of people together. [...] You don't have many places like these.*"

L_2: "*Big mistake. And for events as well. The amount of people that were not skating there and were just looking and, so coming out of the hospital and just walking a little, a little circle and stopping there for a while, was so much more valuable than anything we'll get right now.*"

O_1: "*I think it's very important in the future, starting today, that whenever they do anything that involves a specific sport or a specific community of people, or activity, that they do their research first with the people from the community. [...] Maybe show them an idea that you have so they can say "this is good, this is not good", you know? But don't make decisions for them.*"

M_2: "*If you really want to be involved in plans of public spaces, it's also try to show your interest on social media of the municipality, because that's where we start to tell what we are going to do years in advance. [...] We do not always involve all the Rotterdammers, sometimes just more around the public space itself. But yeah, we find it very important to get people involved.*"
To summarise, the general impression is that the urban sports community is dissatisfied with the outcome of the project, particularly the stakeholder approach which led to it and the lack of alternatives that cater to their needs since their lives were negatively impacted by it. On the other hand, the municipality recognises the sentiments expressed by the urban sports community and wishes that more light was shed on the issue earlier in the process where more changes and effective collaboration were possible.

4.3 Skate Symposium

The first Skate Symposium was held in Rotterdam on 21 June 2023, otherwise known in the skating world as the Go Skateboarding Day, as part of the activities organised during the Rotterdam Architecture Month. The activity came to be organised after the need for dialogue to be established between the municipality and the skaters in order to amend the relationship between the two arose as a result of Museumpark. Skaters, urban athletes, designers, members from political parties and the municipality and developers were all part of the crowd of the Skate Symposium (AIR, 2023).

The symposium featured a lecture from a professional skateboarder and urbanist who showed the example of Bordeaux in France, a city where once skateboarding was banned and heavily fined, now has fully transformed based on intensive collaboration between the municipality and skaters and integrated urban sports in the design of the city's master plan. After this, members from the municipality from the development and urban sports department took the stage to announce to the attendants that their intention is to look at Rotterdam as a skateable city, with the main question being how can a fruitful collaboration between the municipality and the community be developed. These lectures were followed by different workshops surrounding the topic which attends could choose to participate in based on their interests. In the meantime, the short video documentary "Save Museumpark: Scattered and Confused" was on display during the program. A booklet, an initiative of the organiser of the petition (Figure 15), was also available for purchase during the Skate Symposium [7].

[7] *This booklet is not made for mass distribution and as such is not available for purchasing on demand. If you have further inquiries, please contact the initiator/editor, else if not reachable, the author of this report.*

Figure 15: Booklet available at Skate Symposium (Butter, 2023)

The booklet is composed of contributions from different authors and showcases different ways with which people relate to the city and public space. It is a collection of proposed interventions in varying degrees in size on the topic of public space and the right to the city.

There were also free handouts (Figure 16) for the participants to take, which showed some information about how skaters see urban space differently, what can be learned from skaters when it comes to urban development and advice on how to see space from a skater's perspective. The full contents of the handout can be found in Appendix D.

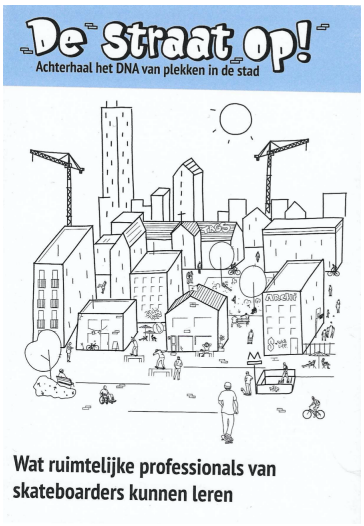

Figure 16: Handout available at Skate Symposium (van Staten, 2023)

This Skate Symposium shows an important development in how the skating community can become more involved in city plans. Most importantly, it shows that the municipality now understands that in order to prevent another Museumpark case from happening and further damage to the

community, they need to collaborate more closely with skaters. The lecture from the members of the municipality shows their intention of doing so, and the discussion being open specifically on how skaters can contribute to urban space design by taking successful examples from other cities indicates that there is weight behind these intentions and that the municipality is open to changing the way they currently approach these projects in favour of more innovative ways.

4.4 The effect of social media and news articles

4.4.1 Social media

The action group used Instagram as the means with which to communicate with the community, update over new information and spread awareness - Instagram after all is the most popular and used social media app amongst members of the community, which intersects well with it being popular too among the youth and other age groups. Figure 17 shows a screenshot of the page information and the username:

Figure 17: Screenshot of the Instagram page of Save Museumpark campaign (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], n.d.)

This Instagram page was used to gives updates over the case, the petition, to organise open calls for projects and video edits that show the community in Museumpark and how important this space was for the community. In this page, many novel ways of collective action can be found. Therefore different posts from the page will be analysed (in chronological order, from oldest to newest). The examples that will be shown further are selected based on whether they talk about a key event during the campaign/process, and if they gained a high traction (i.e. comments), in order to understand how the cause gained momentum, how fast this happened, and what the contributing reasons could be over popular posts reaching better traction.

The first post of the page (3 April 2021), was posted a day after the petition started and simply reiterates in short why the petition came to be (Figure 18).

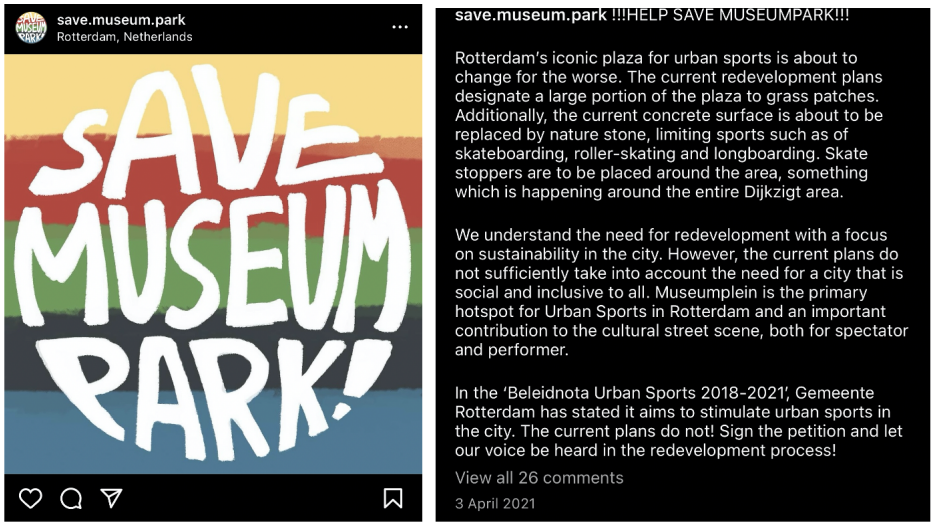

Figure 18: First post on campaign's Instagram page (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021a)

The next notable post (9 April 2021) came less than a week later from the previously-shown one. This post was an open call for members of the urban sports community to submit video footage of them practicing their sport in Museumpark, so that a video edit could be made and for the campaign to use it as another way to make their case in front of the municipality (Figure 19). This is novel form of collective action, made possible and easy to spread the word about via social media. In this way, the community aimed to show the municipality first-hand how deeply they can be affected by the change of design and lay the groundwork for starting an open dialogue, hoping that the municipality would see their perspective if they see it as normal spectators of the square.

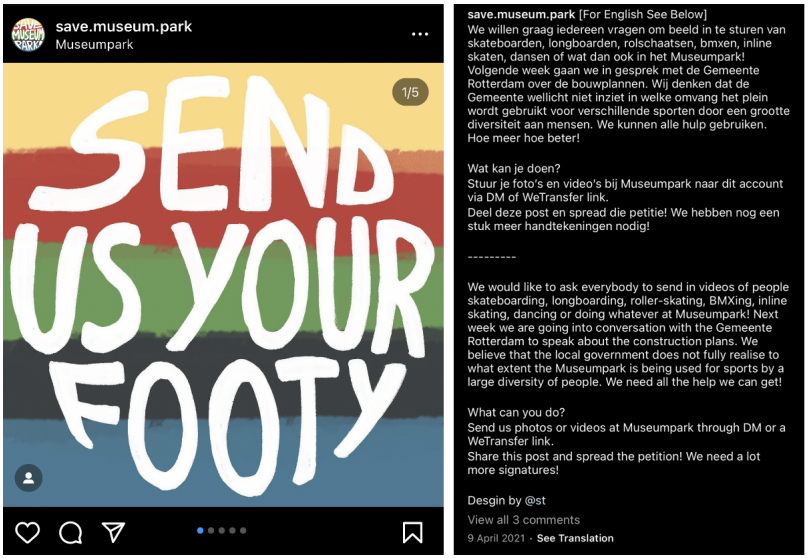

Figure 19: Open call for video footage for campaign (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021b)

By 14 April 2021, the day Save Museumpark met with the councilor Bert Wijbenga, the petition had reached 3289 signatures, within less than two weeks from when it was created (Figure 20). The comments, most of them only with emoticons, are positive and the morale is high.

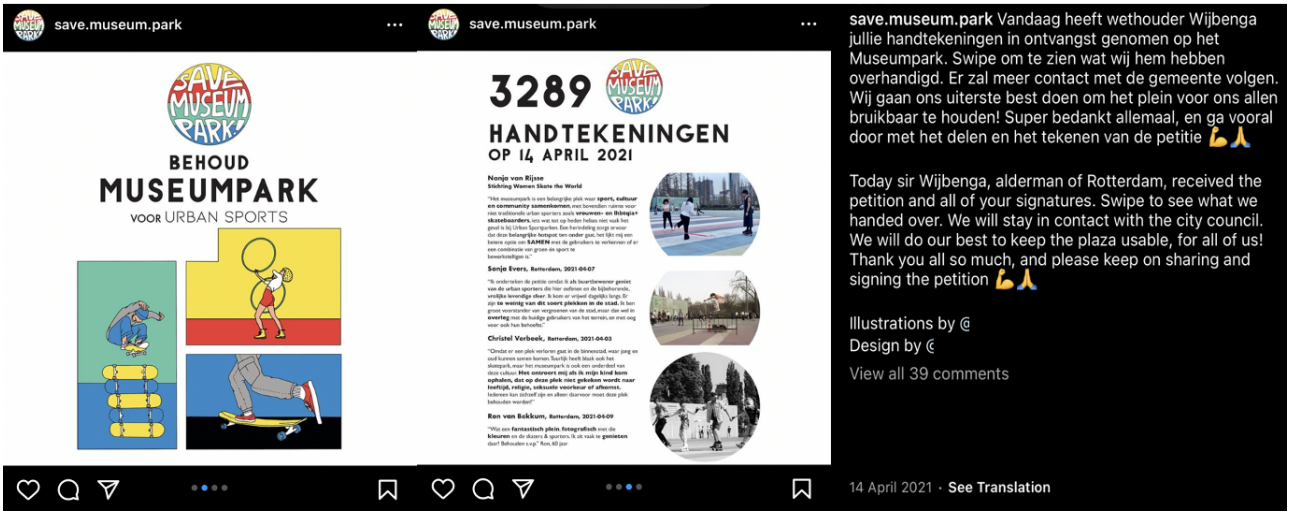

Figure 20: Post about meeting with councilor and update over petition (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021c)

A comment under the post reads:

"*I hope it will all be solved, skate there for years and Westblaak is not big enough to accommodate all skaters. Thanks for this campaign, support from here anyway [heart emoji]*".

A photo series, the subject of which were different urban sporters of Museumpark that capture the essence of the community, is spread by the campaign (Figure 21). This too is a novel form of collective action, which relies on the message being spread via sharing it in social media. Photos as such as a form of collective action seek to convey how the human subject is connected to space and cause, and notably, leave the interpretation and emotion experienced by the people who see it up to the person. On the right side, a representation of the comment section is shown, where supporters had left simple messages of support.

The next update over the petition comes on 29 June 2021, with the news that the petition has surpassed 5000 signatures, but unfortunately, says the author of the post, the talks with the councilor were unfruitful, which led the group to contact the whole council and take their campaign further (Figure 22). The comments show disappointment and anger. For example:

"*Maybe they should build a forest somewhere so that we still have space in the city for people where people can connect a little bit instead of disconnecting where the whole world is slowly heading towards*".

"*Use old skate decks as torches??*"

"*There has been poor or limited listening. Nice capitalist approach again where events are a big part of the plan. This is sad.*"

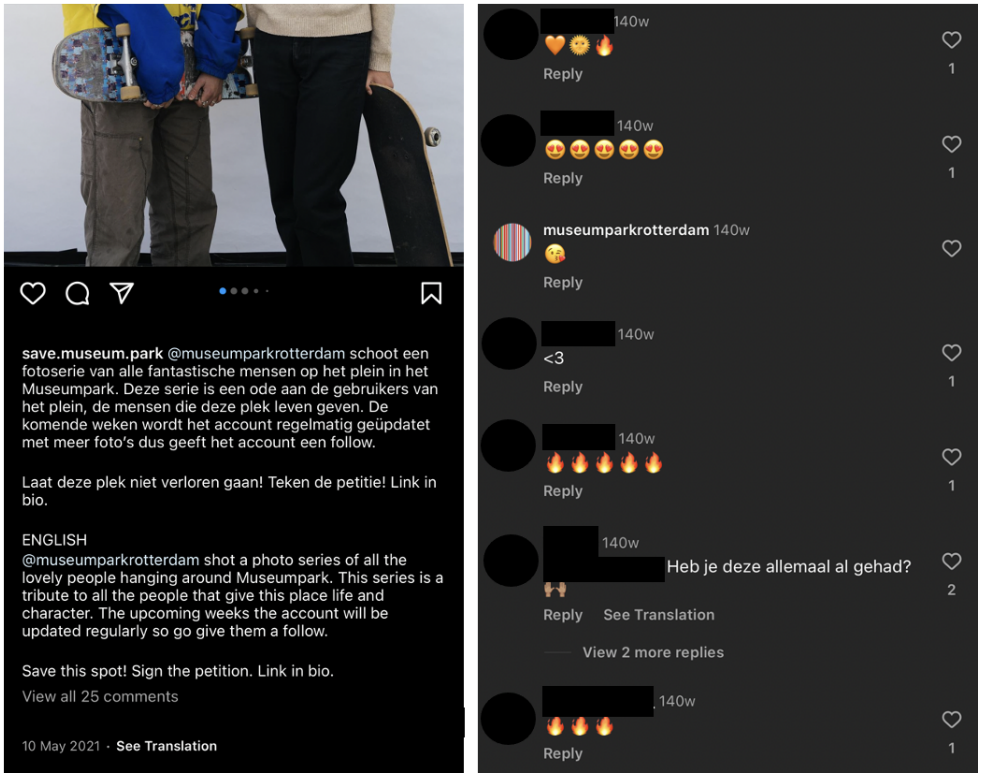

Figure 21: A photo series project about Museumpark and examples of common comments (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021d)

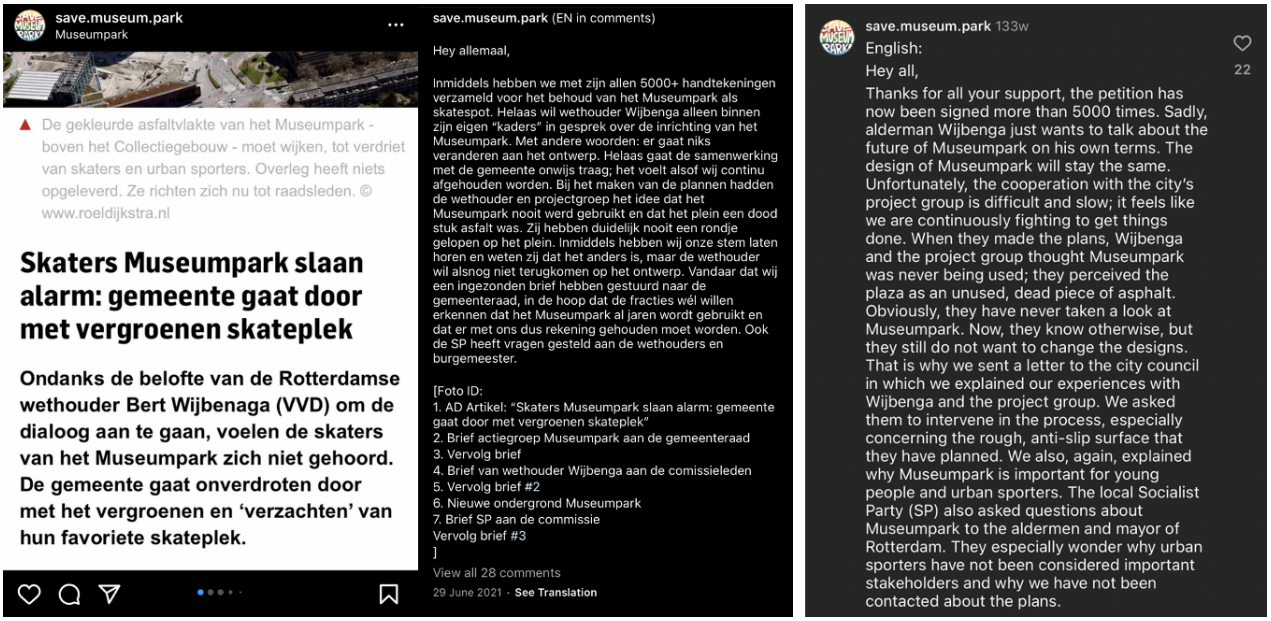

Figure 22: Update over talks with councilor and petitions update (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021e)

The unfruitful talks with the councilor led to a call for joining a protest (Figure 23). Noticeable here is the use of art to make a unique and captivating poster, tailored to the spirit and diversity of

the people within the community.

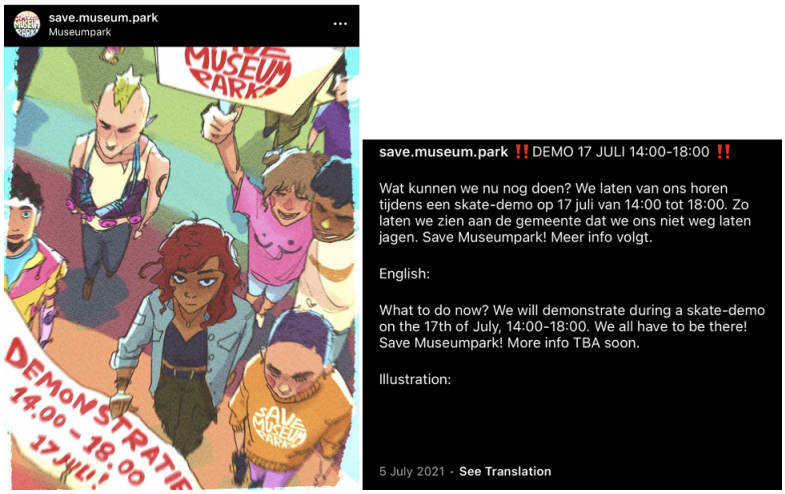

Figure 23: Call for protest (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021f)

The next big news the campaign breaks to its followers is of acquired political support, where the D66 political party promises 100 000 euros to the cause, in an attempt to keep the ground still skateable (Figure 24). This marks the point where the case is taken over by politics. On the right, a representation of the comment section can be seen. Noticeable here is the comment by the Instagram page of the Kunsthal museum, explicitly showing support to the cause in this way. After this point, Kunsthal will continue to leave similar comments in support frequently under other posts. Other notable comments include:

"*First seeing then believing [fingers crossed emoji]*"

"*Hang in there everyone!! You are doing great [raised fist] [smiley]*"

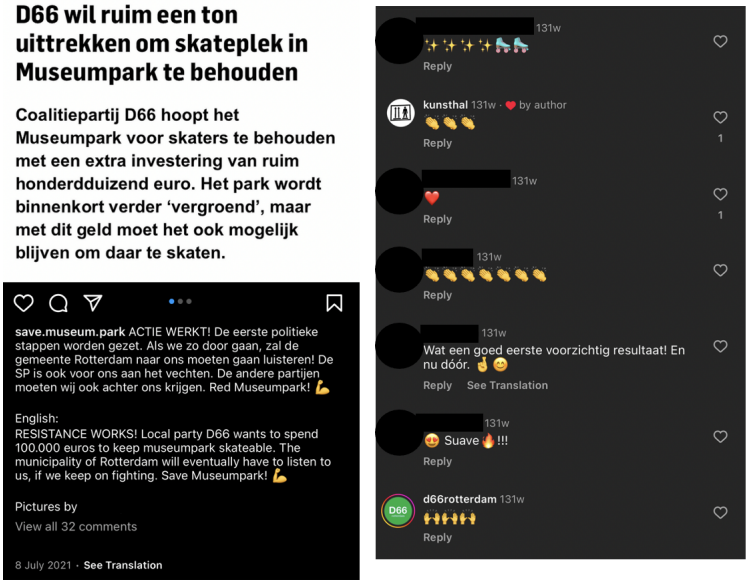

Figure 24: Political support of the campaign (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021g)

Another novel form of action is recorded on 16 July 2021, where it is announced that 100 T-Shirts will be distributed for free to interested supporters of the campaign (Figure 25). This novel form of action is especially popular with the youth, and is a form that does not require time and extra effort to be spent by people spreading the message, since they can simply wear the garment during their daily lives and continue spreading the word.

Figure 25: Campaign T-shirt handout (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021h)

On the same day, the program and contents of the protest are announced with a poster (Figure 26), making in this way supporters aware of what to expect from the protest. The free T-shirts being distributed during the protest until supply runs out is a way to give supporters an extra motivation to come on time, and in this way to gather crowds early on, which in turn, might attract more people and passerby's if they are large enough.

The next post shows a photo from the protest (Figure 27), and questions once again the municipality and the councilor on their decision-making style, while encouraging the followers of the page to tag the municipality in the comments, as a way to get their attention. This is the most commented-on post on the page. One of the most noticeable comments under the post comes from Susan Bijl, the known designer from Rotterdam, whose bags are famous in the city, who urges the municipality to enter talks with the community. Almost all of the comments tag the municipality, with some more notable ones being:

Figure 26: Protest agenda (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021i)

"*Driving 2.5 hours from Leeuwarden to skate here is no problem for us. This square is fantastic! Roff* [8] *n Roll is truly a household name within the longboard world and organised a lot of events in this square pre covid. It will be a shame if it disappears.*"

"*@gemeenterotterdam it is not too late to make the right choice! [heart]*"

"*I think the municipality considers this mirror depot as the new Rotterdam business card and thinks this whole urban square as not nice enough to shine in photos. The image of Rotterdam does not need more luxury to shine, but urban and urban sports!*"

"*@gemeenterotterdam @bert.wijbenga! Listen to your own residents and their needs, they are the future, it is a place where everyone comes together and enjoys, don't ruin this!*"

"*I saw already skate stoppers there. @gementeerotterdam why*

[8] "*Roffa*" *is slang for Rotterdam.*

would you take away a space that is used by a lot of people daily? We do sports there, we need more spaces, not less."

Following this, on 28 August 2021, a skating event is organised by Boijmans and POP Trading Company, and sponsored by the municipality (Figure 28).

On 1 September 2021, the campaign's spokesperson attended the council meeting and presented the case (Figure 29), which is the second post with the most comments. The post informs the audience that another debate is approaching. On the right, examples of the predominant types of comments are shown.

On 9 September 2021, the next debate takes place. Figure 30 shows the formal notion presented to the council, and Figure 31 gives a small update on the debate. Figure 31 also shows concretely the design planned by the municipality (left) and the altered design proposed by the skaters that incorporates their needs too while keeping the philosophy of the initial design intact.

Figure 27: Protest takes place (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park],

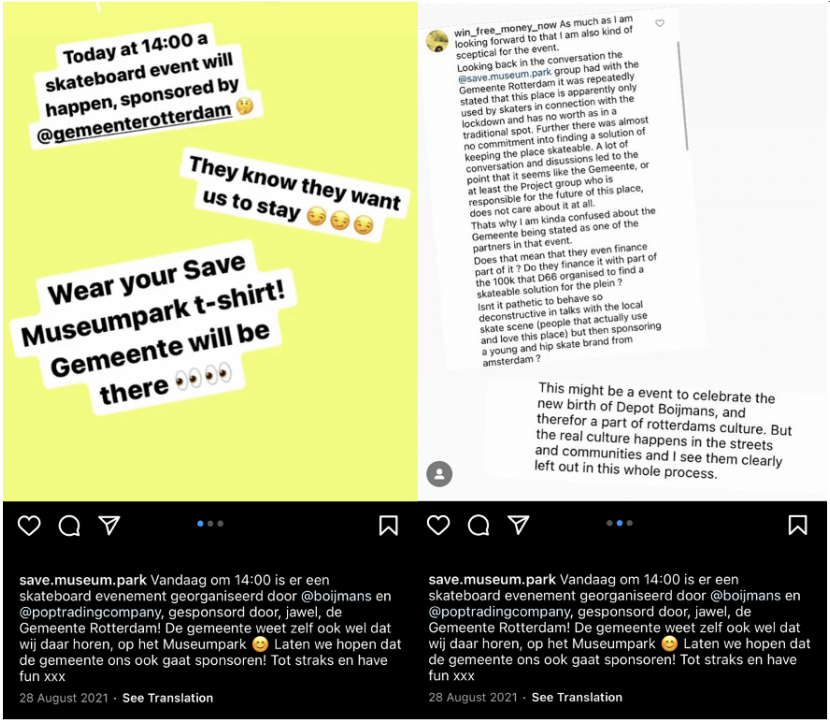

Figure 28: Skating event sponsored by the municipality to take place (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021k)

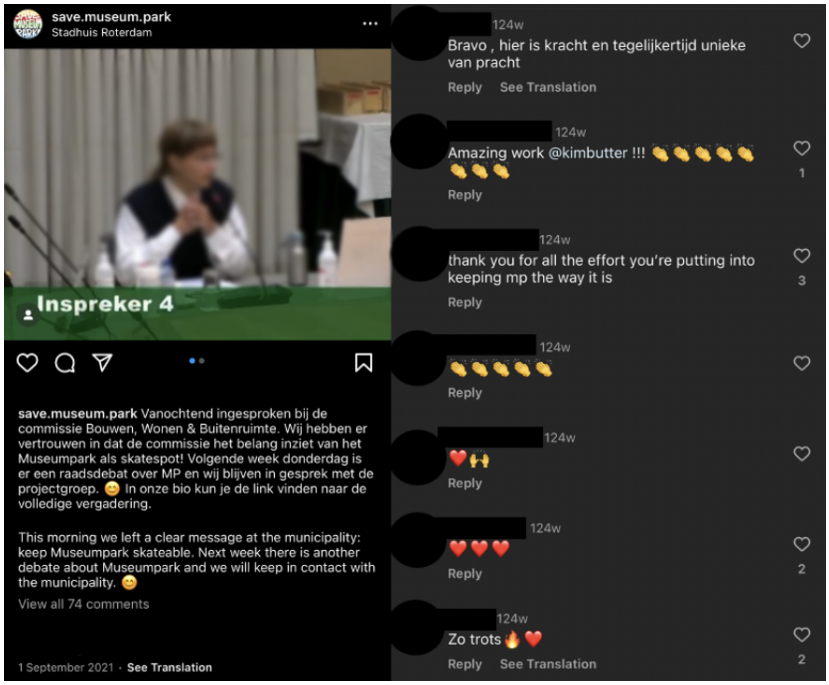

Figure 29: Campaign spokesperson attends and speaks in the city council meeting (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021l)

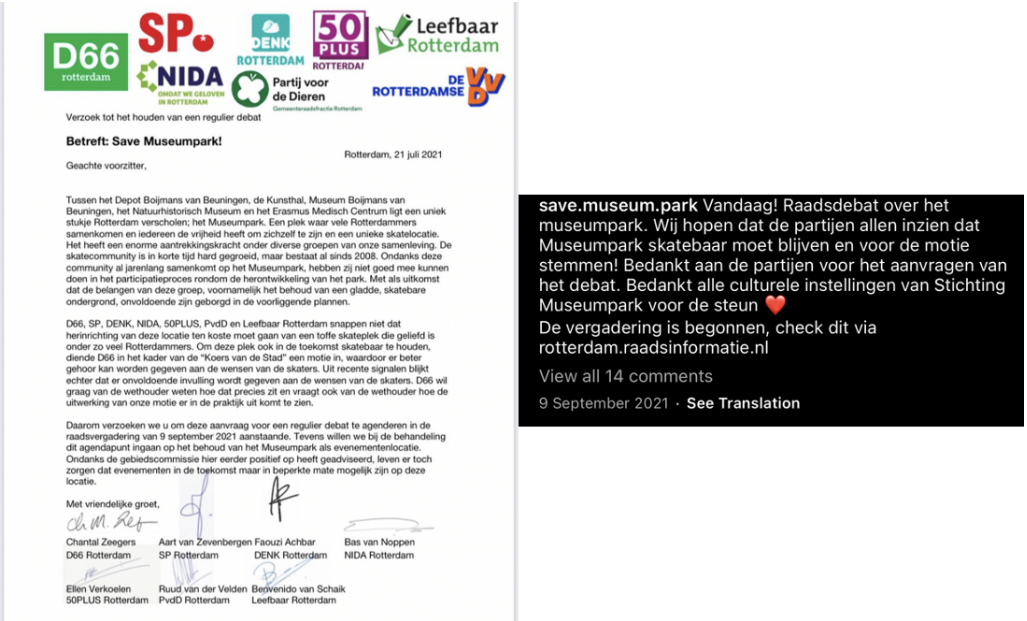

Figure 30: Council debate takes place (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021m)

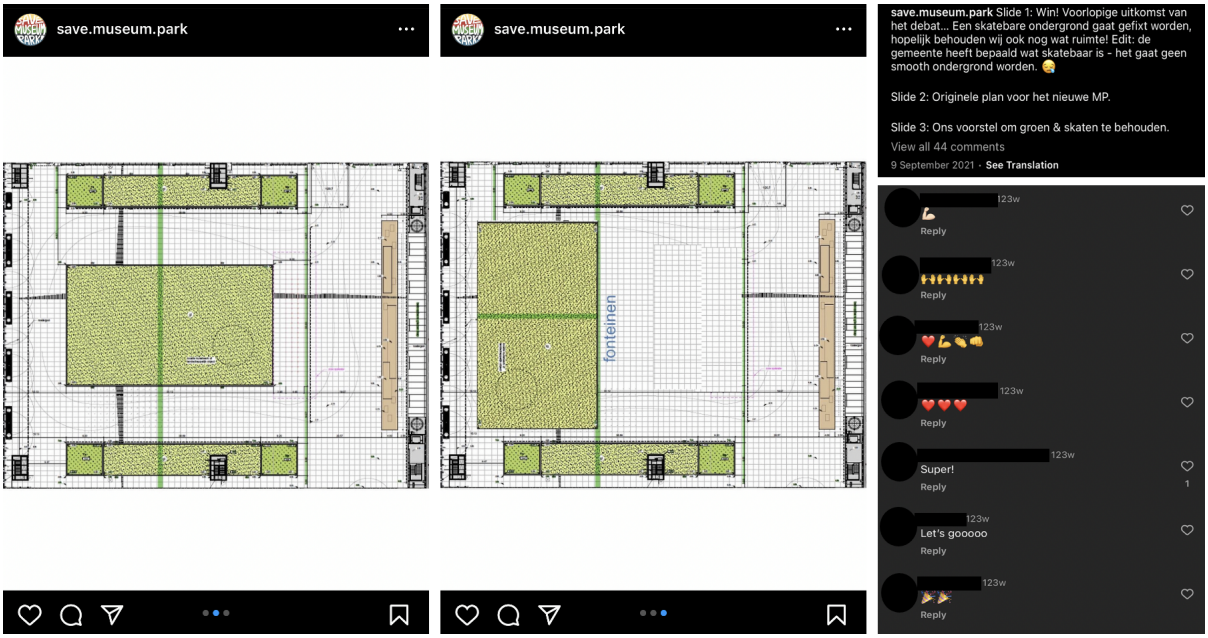

Figure 31: Update over council debate and campaign's proposal of the new design (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021n)

On 22 November 2021, an unfavourable update for the campaign is released (Figure 32) - the municipality is going through with the intended plans, but not all hope is lost. The comments, although few, are charged:

"*Why does the government keep saying: "we support urban sports" and at the same time removes skate spots and puts skate stoppers on them?!*"

"*I think it's weird that it's already in the middle of the park. What's that extra lawn going to do then?*"

"*just imagine if the middle was a square with a fountain with skateable ledges instead of A GRASS FIELD NEXT TO THE PARK*"

"*Even more beautiful, all four cheese cabinet bases mixed together. As if one wasn't enough [thumbs down]*"

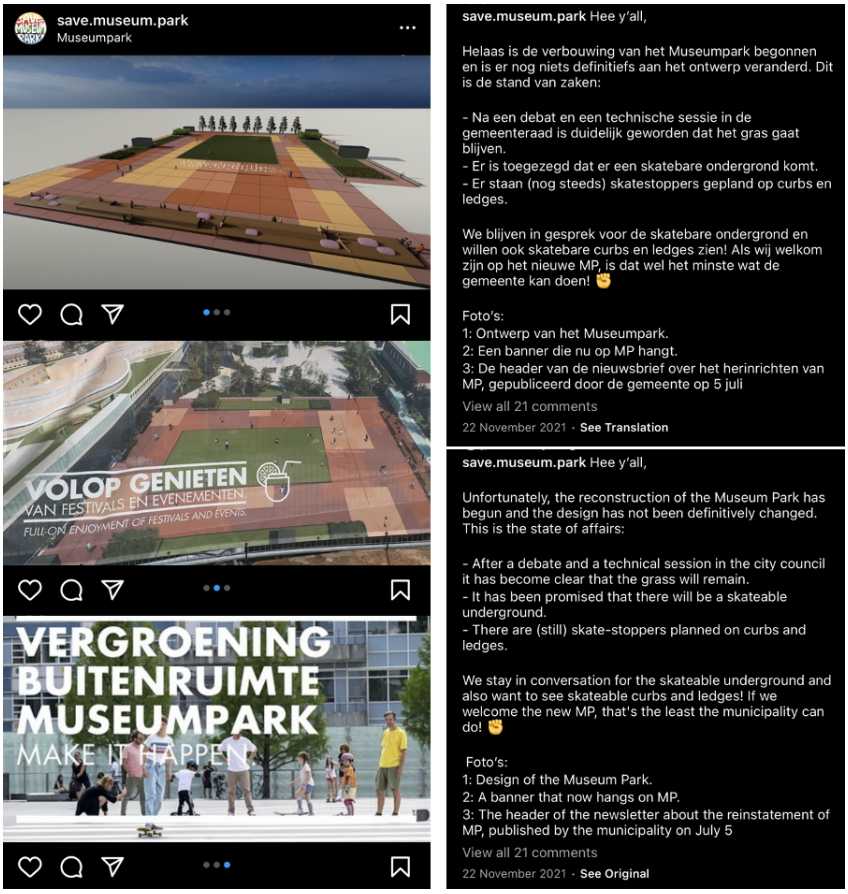

Figure 32: Construction commences (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2021o)

The next notable post comes after more than a year, on 14 January 2023, where an open call is made to join a redesign workshop (Figure 33). This workshop would have no effect on the final design of Museumpark, but it was done in the spirit of a community coming together and rethinking urban space critically and designing it in a collaborative way while making sure to include the needs of different kinds of people within the city. The results of this workshop, which was more successful than the campaign group had initially anticipated (according to the post after) were presented at the Skate Symposium (Section 4.3).

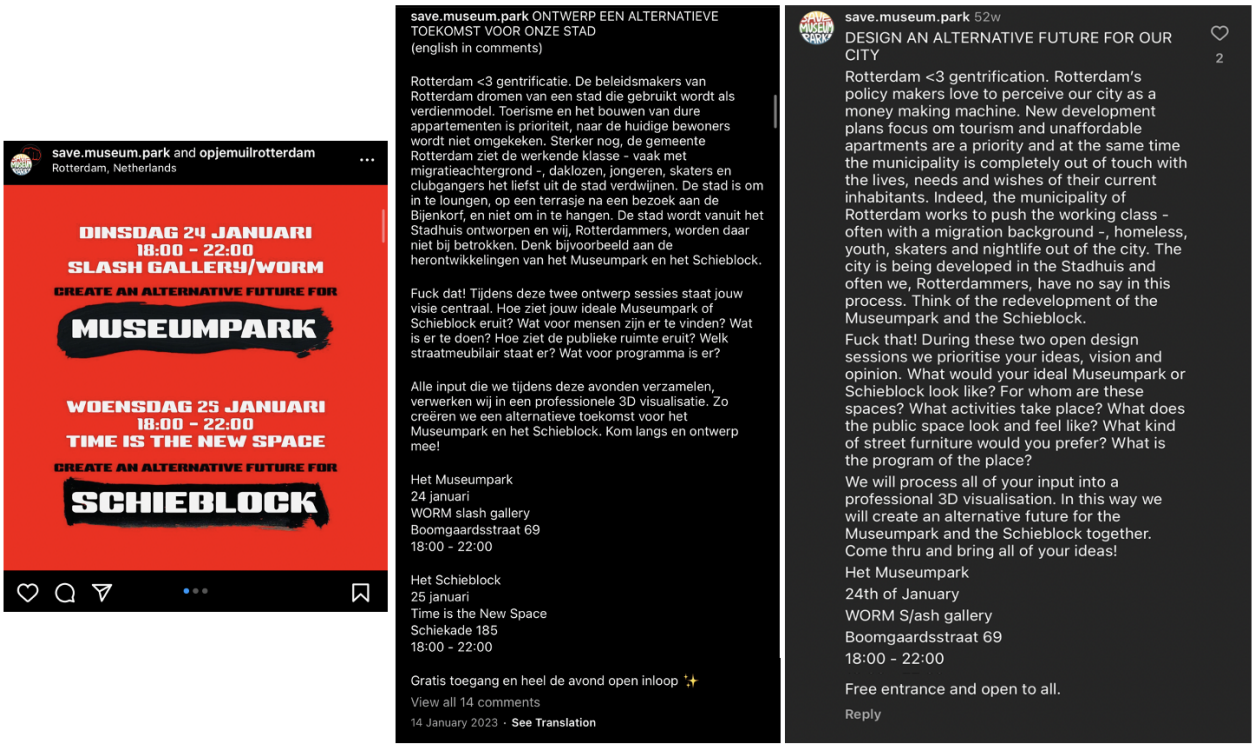

Figure 33: Workshop organised by campaign for thinking alternative designs (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2023a)

Lastly, on 20 July 2023, the screening of a short documentary about Museumpark is announced (Figure 34), showing in this way the the community keeps the spirit of the cause alive. The screening of this documentary is the last activity from the campaign to date.

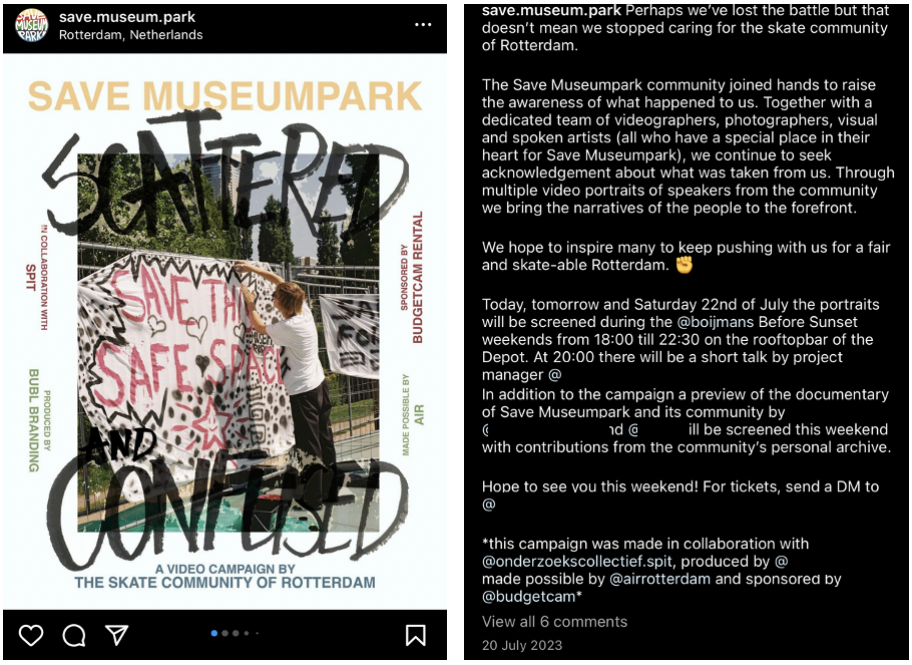

Figure 34: Documentary about Museumpark screening (Save Museumpark [save.museum.park], 2023b)

4.4.2 News articles and traditional media

While the case received considerable traction online, via social media, it received only little attention from traditional media. In total, there are only a few articles or (blog) posts related to the case, with some of them only bringing attention to the petition and asking their audience to sign it, without talking about the case in a journalistic sense (for example, Susan Bijl, 2021; Flatspot, n.d.).

From the media parties that covered the case in news articles, the most "traditional" or established ones were AD (2021b; 2021a; 2021c), Rijnmond (2021), OPEN Rotterdam (2021b; 2021a), and later on De Havenloods (2022). Other media coverage included DeArchitect (2023b) and most notably coverage from the independent journalistic collectives Vers Beton (2021a; 2021b; 2022; 2023) and Spit (2023). The last two were also the ones that went the most in-depth with talking and analysing the case. The common denominator of these articles is that they are characterised by multiple interviews or first-hand opinion statements from Museumpark skaters, organisers of the Save Museumpark movement, and/or other stakeholders in the area, which offers very valuable insight from these parties, insight which builds upon that secured from the interviews conduced in this research.

The more traditional media outlets AD, Rijmond and OPEN Rotterdam follow a simple reporting style in short of what is happening, the issue and the development, while Vers Beton and Spit follow an investigative journalism style, where they go in-depth by building a case profile, interviewing different stakeholders and showing different perspectives and commenting on the developments. DeArchitect's piece on Museumpark (they also covered the results of Skate Symposium) in the meantime follows the style of a more reflective piece, by presenting the case and conflict, using statements from interviewees for building the context, and including towards the end the author's own reflection on the story reports:

"*I read the research on Vers Beton. This shows that the participation process has led to an unfortunate outcome for all parties, but especially for the skating community of the Museumpark. The park, also called MP by the skaters, was a place that was not replaceable, causing many to lose friends and some even to stop skating. The community was only invited to the table once the plan was al-*

ready being implemented and trust in the municipality has been clouded by the top-down mentality" - (DeArchitect, 2022).

The short piece by DeHavenloods (2022), the main purpose of which was to announce a talk with a number of guests regarding examples of public discontent with decisions from the municipality and unkept promises, with Museumpark being one of the cases, prefaces the information about the activity (and in this way gives a feeling of why this activity is taking place and why there is a need for discussions to open) with:

"*What exactly is going on in Rotterdam? Why is such strict action taken against special and popular initiatives, while the Rotterdam marketing strategy constantly promotes the vibrant city feeling and the raw edge of the city in all their communications? Who actually owns the city? The sound is getting louder and louder here and there. Where does this confusion come from, and much more importantly, how do we as Rotterdam residents get rid of it?*" - (De Havenloods, 2022).

Comments found under one of the articles penned by Vers Beton (Vers Beton, 2022) (Vers Beton's articles are the only ones found/discussed here where comments can be found), [9], match with the feeling and questioning line that DeHavenloods (2022) was trying to convey: One comment explains how the "what happened to us?" question with which the article starts sounds familiar to them, but for them, the unfruitful collaboration experience with the municipality comes regarding the preservation of some buildings in Delftsestraat:

"*The municipality prefers to deal with large mainstream parties than with local residents and entrepreneurs, no matter how many Stadmakerscongres events are organised. We have the money, a plan and an ecosystem and the municipality still says no!*"

Another comment reads:

"*The municipality of Rotterdam does not care much, if not nothing, about the opinions of its residents in its construction policy. It is not without reason that the municipality actions are repeatedly rejected by the council due to the destruction of rash plans. For a number of years now, people have been fighting against the deterioration of important cultural heritage (Euromast, het Park, Maastunnel buildings) by giving in to an idea of a number of project developers and financiers to build a series of flats (45 to 70 m high) like a stone wall at the Parkhaven.*"

In another article by Vers Beton (2023) [10], all share similar sentiments of being sceptical of how things will turn out:

"*With all these interventions came the asphalt surface, which the skaters started using. Together with the dying apple trees on the gravel plain, this was a rather dreary part of the park. In itself it seems good to me that the asphalt surface is being tackled, but little will grow on the roof of a parking garage, as the Schouwburgplein also shows. It looks like the park will be even more ruined in the future when a tunnel is built straight through the park to the Boijmans Museum.*"

Another article by Vers Beton (2021b) [11], sees two comments that support the municipality's decision. One of them argues that "*some greenery cannot hurt, especially in view of the increasingly hot summers*" and that except for sunny days, the square remains empty and the presence of greenhouse gasses can be felt. The other comment says:

"*A bit of a one-sided article, by only letting the original designer give her vision. My opinion is of course only n=1, but I don't think the park works at all (because of that bridge you have the feeling*

[9] *There are 3 comments in total under this article.*
[10] *There are 7 comments in total in this article, 2 of which are replies from the author.*
[11] *There are 3 comments in total in this article, one of which is a reply from the author.*

that you are walking over a forbidden piece of land) and greening seems to me to be a nice goal in densely built-up Rotterdam.", to which the author replied by acknowledging that they have a point, but that responsible architects of the new design were not open for an interview, and that arguments for the new design were covered in another article.

These comments imply that there are other communities or parts of the population that share the same sentiments and disappointments with the skaters. However, it must first be noted that these are only a few comments, and cannot be assumed to be the general feeling of the public about the municipality - they can only offer more insight for the sake of analysis of different perspectives. Secondly, with the exception of the article written by Spit (2023), no other article talks about the municipality's perspective based on input from interviews or other first-hand sources. Because of this, the balance of coverage and arguments/first-hand perspectives presented tilts heavily towards the skaters' side. Only one article was found to cover only the perspective of the municipality by interviewing a member of the project team (Gers, n.d.). While the general feeling that one gets upon examining these articles is that the support is leaning more towards the skaters' perspective, the imbalance between how much commenting the two perspectives have received can result in a chain-effect of subjectivity and worsening of the municipality's image. For a more balanced-out reporting, more interviews or arguments from the municipality's perspective were needed, although one can only speculate why the authors of the articles largely excluded the municipality's perspective from the pieces, because explanations are not offered for this choice.

But how did the coverage from more traditional outlets of news media affect the Save Museumpark case? It is evident that the case garnered relatively low attention from the outlets, especially from the more traditional ones. This could be because the case can be considered a relatively small one, because orchestrators of the resistance are a small, marginalised community within the city sphere, so the case may have not had the gravity in numbers, effect and severity that would be needed for greater coverage, and because the case is confined within the Rotterdam context, meaning that the coverage would also be on a more local scale. Since the petition was successful in very quickly gathering thousands of signatures, this general lack of coverage did not per se affect the cause and Save Museumpark's attempts at entering dialogue with the municipality (since they got that). However, if the case had secured more coverage from these outlets, more people from the general public may have joined the cause because of shared grievances from the municipality, as is the case with the two comments mentioned from the Vers Beton (2022) article.

4.5 Final remarks

The case on which the empirical research was based on was a charged case which greatly affected the way an external stakeholder from the public (the urban sports community) feels about the municipality. It was, one could say, a delicate case - although the size of the project is small relative to varying sizes of city projects or projects in public space, it greatly affected the fabric of the urban sports community in Rotterdam and directly affected the lives of many urban sporters.

The biggest issue in the case, and the root of all indignation and resistance, is the fact that the municipality did not include the skating community in the normal participation rounds. Skaters were not part of the extensive list of stakeholders that the municipality had drafted, even though they were the main users of the space. Beukeboom (2023) speculates whether one of the reasons the skating community was missed by the municipality as an important stakeholder to consider in Museumpark a result of the area not being mentioned at all in the policy report of the urban sports department. As Beukeboom (2023, p. 52) states, "Museumpark was (un)consciously not mentioned in 'Policy paper urban sports 2018-2021 'off the streets'' as a focus area to accommodate urban sports to happen there. It could be that not mentioning Museumpark in this policy paper was unintentional, but *because* it was not mentioned, government officials did not anticipate urban sports in the design process". Regardless of whether Museumpark was left out of this policy paper intentionally or not, the matter of fact is that it may have been a significant factor in the project

team not knowing that this stakeholder was one they had to consider.

It is also unclear why the municipality did not opt to go for a design that looks more like the one skaters proposed in Figure 31, since it incorporated both the wishes of the skaters and the municipality, with no difficult changes in design. The main reason that comes to mind as to why they did do that is because the project was already published in the tendering site, and these kinds of changes were no longer possible because of constraints that were now out of the municipality's hands. On the other hand, while it is not confirmed whether this alternative design was presented to the municipality before it published the project on the tendering site, the used schema of the original design provided in Figure 31 is the same schema that was added to the petition post when it was formed. This means that there is a considerable chance that the Save Museumpark campaign likely used this as a basis to show their demands and enter dialogue in the first contacts they had with the municipality, i.e. before the project was published on the tendering site. That being said, it is possible that the different departments of the municipality involved with the case were not synchronised and up to date with how the initial talks were going. Nevertheless, this can only be speculated upon, because today, this schema of the original design can only be found in the petition page (more on this in Section 6.4) and no source has been found that shows when the municipality was presented with this alternative design. Another reason why they did not go with an alternative like this could be related to problems for the event trucks: since they had to prove with the original design that the trucks could make the curves around the grass patches, they might have had problems problems proving this for the alternative, even though this does not seem like it would be a problem at first glance.

The reasons behind why the municipality did not make more small changes to the design according to the skaters' wishes, but only promised the removal of skate stoppers and a smoother ground, are also unclear. While M_1 listed the smaller requests which could have been implemented, they did not give a reason as to why they were not implemented (for example, more lamp posts), with the "natural stone benches" being the only exception, as they would break. What stone these benches would be made of was not disclosed either (it is also not disclosed in the municipality's website), so it cannot be deduced whether different designs of the benches could have worked, or why this stone would break after being skated on.

In parallel, one of the points in the petition (Section 4.1.3) was requesting the addition of skateable elements. From the municipality's perspective, taking an open field and adding skateable elements would turn it into a skate park - this is supported by M_1 saying that the space is not designed as a skate park but as a public space (Section 4.2.1). What the skaters were asking for however was an integrated design that enables the area to be a skate spot too alongside what the municipality wants. Examples of integrated designs for public spaces like this were shown in the Skate Symposium (Section 4.3), although this symposium took place after the talks came to end, so this distinction, one that skaters know well, was likely not established yet for the municipality. Essentially, it all comes down to the difference between a skate park and a skate spot. Another reason why this request was made was likely because skaters thought they should be represented more in the design since they had been established as the main users of the square, and this could only be done without changing the new design completely by making some elements skateable.

Another reason why the design ended up being undesirable in more practical terms is the inspiration behind it, which was based by the RRKC advisor board on the museum parks of Vienna, Amsterdam and Munich. Firstly, these sources of inspiration show a clear ambition to turn the area in a touristic hotspot with a standard strategy. Noticeably though, MuseumsQuartier Wien and Kunstareal Munich are fundamentally different from Rotterdam's Museumpark: they have a different history, stretch out a much bigger area than Museumpark, and have very differing cultural contexts. As for Museumplein in Amsterdam, the following quote catches one's eye: "In Amsterdam, Museumplein is located in the heart of the city, but Amsterdam residents do not see the park as an attractive place to meet in" (RRKC, 2018, pg. 34), which could be a result of the square becoming "too touristy"

for the normal resident of Amsterdam. Yet, this square was one of the three squares the vision of the new design was based on, even though Rotterdam's municipality stated multiple times that they want to make Museumpark more attractive not just for tourists and museum visitors, but for all of Rotterdam first and foremost. R_1 mentioning that Museumpark reminded them of a flat-ground area in Berlin, a city which has a more similar atmosphere to Rotterdam when it comes to urban culture compared to the examples mentioned, shows that if Museumpark had been redesigned with stronger ties to its unique cultural identity, it would have made both sides content with the results.

These points show how integrated design can prevent and solve conflict points effectively. Not only this, but the biggest premise of integrated design is that it favours innovative design more, and in turn uniqueness. It also opens up more options for the preservation of uniqueness of the previous situation. In general, unique design is more attractive for a bigger part of the population and visitors, something which in this case would better help the municipality in reaching their goals of turning Museumpark into a cultural hotspot. Basically, integrated design allows for more social value in a project and less causes for conflict. Because of these reasons, municipalities should opt for integrated designs when they have trouble finding a solution that satisfies all stakeholders or when there is an extensive number of stakeholders connected to the project.

The participation process itself experienced problems, based on the sources examined. From the municipality's side of the story, there were no substantial problems other than ones that are typical for these kinds of processes. Stakeholders from the Stichting Museumpark and event organisers especially do not seem to agree with that sentiment, according to Vers Beton (2023). The municipality also claimed that no stakeholder who participated in the process ever brought up skaters. According to Vers Beton (2023), everyone wanted to keep the skaters in Museumpark, but the article does not specify whether they expressed their support during the participation process. Comments from Save Museumpark's Instagram posts confirm that at least Kunsthal (also part of Stichting Museumpark) was in support of the skaters, although it cannot be deduced from this alone whether the museum(s) started expressing their support before the collective action started, or after. Generally, it can be seen that that different cultural institutions were in support of the skaters' cause, substantiated by the support and sponsoring of the activities during the Save Museumpark campaign.

It seems that the municipality followed a more traditional style of participation for this project, implied by the municipality mentioning that they organised talks in the Arminius church, worked more closely on the design with the events organisers based on the fact that according to the new design function of Museumpark, it will be only an event deck, and by the fact the information via brochures was only sent to residents of the area. Also, the municipality emphasised that people did not come up with new ideas, which leads to wondering whether this was partially a result of the participation method. Considering how unique Museumpark, whether it is its history, the community attached to it and its form, it might have been more constructive to use novel ways of participating. Unique cases require a more tailored approach, especially those with cultural elements. Lastly, the way the participation was planned could have been a contributing reason to skaters not finding out about the plans until the end: the information sharing, exemplified by the brochures, was not made and distributed with skaters, or even young age groups in mind. This likely greatly reduced the likelihood that skaters would find out about the plans before it was too late (besides the fact that a big portion of the community does not reside in Rotterdam).

What could have helped the skaters' case is it being picked up more by traditional media outlets: this could have likely led to a bigger part of the city population to join the skaters' cause. The fact that the collective action for this case was fully organised in and pushed forward through social media and the campaign using many new forms of collective action, many of them being digital and/or art based, shows how much of a different form collective activism can take with the youth. Perhaps, the municipality did not know how to tackle it when it gained momentum because it took a considerably different form than normal collective action. The downfall of focusing all the efforts on one social media platform though is that this can limit reach, and could be another reason why

the cause did not catch the attention of the wider public. However, one must keep in mind that the skating community is a relatively small community in relation to the whole city. The campaign organisers had to do the work for the campaign in their own free, unpaid time, which significantly limits the amount of activism they can do, since they ought to balance activism with their normal lives and agendas. As such, focusing their efforts in one social media platform, but the most popular one among the community, seems to have been one of the better choices for this case, because in that way, they were guaranteed to reach the needed attention from the community and they could focus on making a strong case to present to officials, within a limited time-frame.

Another thing to reflect upon is whether the distrust in the government about the case having real chances of winning might have affected the degree of mobilisation negatively, as some members of the community might not have felt like their efforts would have been worth it at the end. This could have even affected the talks with the municipality - the skaters might have been too reactionary because of their hurt feelings. Although, there does not seem to be a strong basis for these arguments, judging by the fact that the skaters campaign was described by multiple sources, including the municipality, as very clear and pointed, which would not have been the case if they had let their feelings cloud their argumentation. The same cannot be said about what they think about the municipality's motives: it is plausible that they believe the municipality's motives to be worse than they are because the dust has not settled yet, although, some of the municipality's claims were in conflict with other sources, which gives them ground for arguing that not everything was transparent. The general feeling of distrust and that the government does not really care about them could be a reason for not showing much interest in social media channels from the government and end up missing important information about projects that affect them, such as Museumpark for example.

Nevertheless, the Skate Symposium seems to be a step in the right direction. The municipality gave the message that they realise that a mistake was made by organising the Symposium and giving skaters a platform to talk about skateboarding, Museumpark, urban sports, and to show the municipality that they would benefit much more by collaborating with skaters to work on urban spaces, rather than take arbitrary decisions for them. The workshop organised by Save Museumpark, the results of which were captured in a self-publicised booklet from the campaign's front-runner, are evidence that skaters can contribute greatly and in very creative ways in designing public space, because they see the space differently and are very connected to the urban environment.

There are several lessons that can be learned from this case for future infrastructure projects. Firstly, during the stakeholder identification stage a differentiation between the different kinds of users of the area must be made. For more optimal results, effort can be put in receiving feedback from stakeholders themselves on the analysis during this stage. This could be done by using the already-established social media channels (in this case from the municipality), and/or by making a more tailored platform. Secondly, the stakeholder analysis needs to be iterative in order to identify changes in social dynamics and communities. Thirdly, in cases of cultural landmarks or public spaces used by the whole city, information over the project and invitations should not be targeted only at local residents. Local residents may have a bigger say (this could vary depending on the project specifics), but the wider public should be included nevertheless. Lastly, this case shows that a lot can be learned by involving affected communities and letting them influence the design to make a public space that is attractive for more of the public. It shows the need to experiment more in practice with novel participation methods, especially in culturally-significant sites, and to favour more integrated designs and the use of alternatives.

5 Synthesis of framework

Based on the results of the literature and empirical research (Chapter 3 and Chapter 4) and the analysis of the case, a conceptual framework can be devised by formulating strategies that target the problems derived from the overlaps of these two parts of the research.

First, the biggest and most influential issues were extracted from the results of the literature results, which were then compared to issues that were found in practice so that the final selection included a well-rounded list of problems. The results of literature research used for comparison comprised of the summaries of RQ1 (Section 3.1.7, Table 4) and RQ2 (Section 3.2.2, Table 6) and principles for fruitful design discovered in Section 3.3 (RQ3). The problems found in literature that commonly occur in public projects merged with those found through the Museumpark case analysis (Section 4.5) can be found in Table 7. The left column shows the problems and the right column the strategies that can tackle these problems.

The strategies were then grouped in categories, based on thematic similarities or areas in policy or project that they target. The strategies were grouped in a total of eight categories: (1) Law, (2) Governance, (3) Information, (4) Front-End, (5) Management, (6) Public, (7) Digital platform/tools and (8) Case approach. Below, a short explanation on each of these categories will be given.

Table 7: Emerging strategies from problems in public projects

Problem faced	Strategies to tackle problem
Decisions on participation on projects that do not require EIA fall solely on the management team. Sometimes, project runners skip important steps if they see them as too time-consuming. Management tends to solidify the positions of the most affluent stakeholders.	Clarify procedure and requirements of public participation for all projects (not only EIA requiring ones)
Wider public not included even though it may be affected. If their needs/concerns are not addressed, this leads to resistance and bypass of formal procedures to be heard.	Allow input from wider public in case of public projects, in public space
There are no set guidelines for external stakeholder participation in practice and communications with them.	Institutionalisation of "external communication and consultation"
Governments tend to respond in a reactionary way to protests and push them to become rough, when they should use it as an opportunity to explore what went wrong.	Respond with positive methods to protesters
Lack of clarity, non-disclosure, strategic/unintentional misrepresentation are common problems in public projects.	Clarity and detailed information to be disclosed by public body during early design phase
Citizens generally lack knowledge about the government, its structure and policies. The youth thinks the government does not care about their opinions.	Organise informative talks for the youth periodically to teach them about gov. structures, where to find information, how to submit views, etc.
Citizens rarely make full use of SM links from the government.	Distribute information brochures (over new developments, general information) physically (mailboxes) and online
The youth uses SM as their primary communication tool and news consumption and do not keep up with governments' SM.	Use of advertisements in social media for new developments, to reach more people and the youth
Projects suffer from lack of value definition and relationship building at the front-end. Poor value definitions and success criteria can lead to resistance.	Focus on establishing key values and good relationships with stakeholders
Projects suffer from broad and abstract project definitions at the front-end.	Avoid broad/abstract project definition
A dominating culture of not supporting alternative concepts even though they may be more beneficial. Initial concept based on perception of project undertakers.	Establish alternative concepts for different reactions
Market forces and political appeal often hamper public interest.	Public opinion considered with same weight as powerful stakeholders during value definition
Value is seldom compared to functionality, utility, benefit and performance.	Express value (formally) in terms of performance, benefit, functionality, utility and social impact, not just function and cost
Misrepresentations in favour of an aesthetic appeal and politicians supporting projects based on this or by hiding real costs remain prevailing problems.	Hire independent (foreign) experts or educational institutions for evaluations
A technocratic way of thinking puts expert opinion above common people. Stereotyping and seeing public knowledge as subpar are common issues.	Experts to take a seat of the same table as the public
Marginalised groups are often not included in consultations.	Put extra effort in identifying and including marginalised groups
The sheer number of inputs can inhibit two-way communication. If management does not keep track of input and does not respond in timely manner negative comments and bad PR will follow.	Appoint members from management team who only cover and work on social media
Conflict can arise at any time during the project and can be detrimental to it if left unresolved.	Monitor conflict during the whole implementation phase
Governments tend to continue project implementation after conflict arises and are forced to stop only when conflict reaches national or international scale.	Pause project when conflict arises. Examine cause and grievances
Traditional media favours those in power. Minorities struggle the most with getting coverage by traditional media.	Examine reports from citizen journalists and publications (e.g. articles, posts) from spokespersons
No established practices or guidelines for managers in how to handle SM, even though SM has great potential for keeping up with public opinion/inputs.	Mandatory "Communications and Social Media" training for management members (especially for public projects)
SM use in project management remains low and understudied.	Increase use of social media and digital tools in current management approaches. Infuse with traditional participation methods
Cultural landmarks are often subject of resistance in public projects. They are more complicated than other projects in terms of effect in external stakeholders. Traditional management strategies do not work as well for them.	Approach cultural landmarks differently
Project should be more concerned with creating non-market and public goods.	Base decision-making on social values and civil benefits as much as on economic growth
Public knowledge generally not incorporated much in practice. Public seen as too emotional from experts and thus not believed to contribute substantially to project.	Test new ideas from other sources (e.g. public, independent experts, cultural groups)
"Bad design" is a commonly overlooked issue.	Use of novel ways to tackle "bad design"

Law
Law, as the name suggests, is made up of strategies that involve direct changes to the law or implementation of binding policy.

Governance
Governance is about strategies that are taken or implemented directly by the governmental body, with no needed interventions in policy or law, that ensure better rapport between government and external stakeholders in public projects.

Information
Information groups together any strategy that can be taken by governmental bodies that relates to spreading information to the public, whether it is in the form of project specifications or informative brochures that describe where citizens can find what they are looking for, and strategies for ensuring a better reach.

Front-End
Front-End too is straightforward: here, the strategies that should be taken specifically during the front-end phase of the project are grouped together.

Management
Management relates to strategies that can be implemented by the project managers irrespective of the phase where the project is at and its characteristics. These strategies aim for a better inclusion of stakeholders, more transparency and a more levelled-out discussion field.

Public
Public contains strategies that are about monitoring how the public responds to a project and what to do in case resistance arises, and how to get genuine insights straight from it.

Digital platform/tools
Digital platform/tools entail strategies that target how social media is used in a project by members of the management team and how it can be a part of the methods used in engaging the public during consultations.

Case approach
Case approach is made up of strategies that revolve around how the public participation is designed, the methods used depending on the specifics of the project and an improved decision-making style.

From these eight categories, three macro-level cells can emerge, according to which part of the project or policy they affect: Policy, Management (i.e. project organisation) and Participation (i.e. the design of the participation process and collection/retrieval of information via said participation). Law, Governance and Information can be grouped under Policy, since these are all strategies that occur in governmental level. Front-End, Management and Public can be grouped under Management/Project organisation, since these are all about how the project is set up, defined and how stakeholder relationships and hierarchies are set up by the management team. Finally, Digital platforms/tools and Case approach can be grouped under Participation design, since these directly address how to set up participation and how to keep up with input from the public.

There is an implicit hierarchy between these levels, based on how implementations of strategies in one level, for instance Policy, can trickle down and affect the implementation of the strategies of the other, more practical levels. In order to see how these three macro cells are related to each other, these cells are organised by applying the findings of Loorbach, 2010 about transition management levels, which were presented in Section 3.1 (Table 3).

From the explanations of the management levels defined by Loorbach, 2010, parallels can be made with the three macro cells that were derived earlier. At the strategic level stands Policy, since this is what defines the system in the case of (public) project management, and is what stands before everything else considered. Changes in policy indeed affect the culture and practice overall and are of the long term scale. Management comes after that in the Tactical level, since management of a project overall is a smaller system made up of many elements and operates within the framework defined by policy. Changes in Management are halfway between abstract and practical, in the sense that they set an agenda but the strategies are more so behaviour-related and rough indications on what to aim for. Participation design is at the Operational level, because this is very practical, relies on experimentation and innovation to see what results are yielded, and is about concrete cases and specifications.

Based on this, the placing order of these macro cells can be determined: Policy at the Strategic level, Management at the Tactical level and Participation at the Operational level. Because the cell at the top of the chain influences the one that comes after, a causal relationship can be established, with Policy affecting Management, which in turn will affect Participation. Implementing strategies that fall under each of these cells respectively will have effects that pertain also to these cells/levels. A synthesis of these findings in the form of a conceptual framework can be seen below (Figure 35).

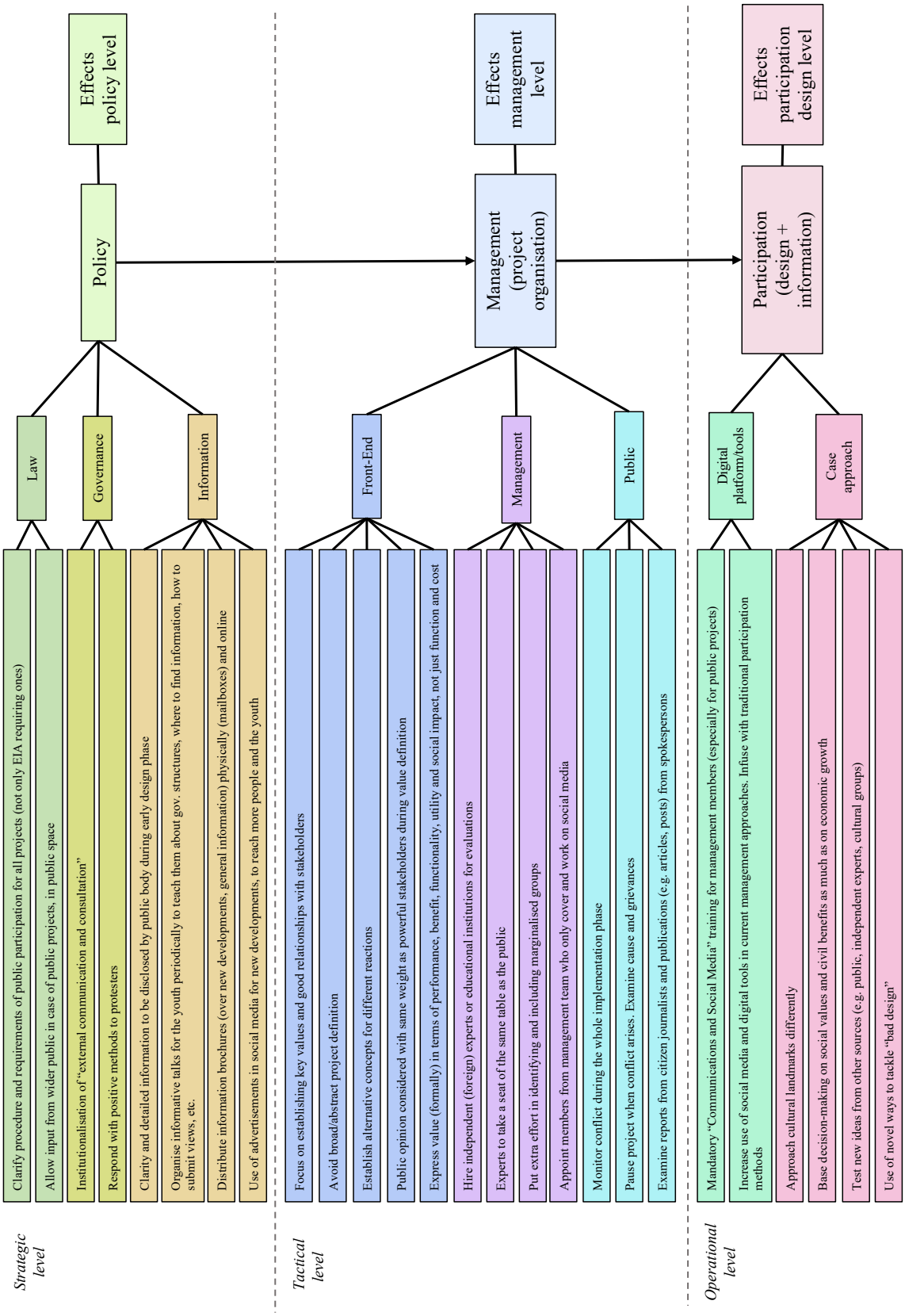

Figure 35: Conceptual framework for improved public participation

The effects from implementing strategies in each of these levels can now be explained more in-depth:

Effects policy level
The implementation of the proposed strategies in Policy will ensure the inclusion of the wider public in public projects and more clarity or actual guidelines on how to set up the consultation procedure, who to involve in consultation and how to do so, and how to establish communication with them. By not leaving this in the hands of managers (especially in cases where an EIA is not needed), this ensures a better inclusion of external stakeholders and minimises the risk of a group or community being left out. By also institutionalising how information about public projects is publicised with respect to external stakeholders, this reduces distrust in the government. Institutionalising how awareness and information are spread and how the youth is reached on the other hand means that more of the youth can directly come in contact with the government (which also increases trust) and that they become more educated on how the system operates and how they can actively be part of that system (which betters participation and quality of input). As a result, the risk of facing collective action is reduced significantly and a better communication is established between the government and the public, which can improve how citizens feel about the government.

Effects management level
The implementation of the proposed strategies in Management pushes for a shift from the established technocratic way of thinking to a more open one in favour of a more levelled out input based on a improved relationships between involved parties in the project. First of all, these strategies emphasise the necessary focus on the front-end and redirect in a concise manner on what to focus on tackling in this phase to avoid common pitfalls. By implementing the strategies proposed for the Front-End, open dialogue and inclusion of social value is ensured, which in turn will affect the relationship between powerful stakeholders, project managers and external stakeholders positively. As for the Management strategies, the implementation of these will ensure authenticity of the project, a better reception of the project, better input and inclusion of social values, transparency and the engagement in the system of groups that have been traditionally left out of it. Lastly, the strategies that tackle how to handle collective action differently, in a more constructive way, will lower the chances of the situation becoming worse, and will show the public that they are important and in turn make them more willing to enter dialogue and listen to what the project team's side has to say too.

Effects participation design level
The implementation of the proposed strategies in Participation ensure that the participation method will be tailored to the project and that it is not outdated, or unfit for it. These strategies lay the ground-work for more innovative and inclusive participation methods, where it is experimented by putting the public more in touch with the project and allowing them to actively contribute in its design. A better use of social media and its infusion with traditional participation methods is pushed for in order to reach more of the public, have more varied input, and to keep the public updated with the project in quick time. Tailoring the participation design and information handling of a project via these strategies ensures better and more inclusive participation of the public by making the participation more interactive and interesting for them, better communication between project front-runners and the public, authenticity and increased social value. All of this greatly reduces the risk of collective action.

Advice on applying framework

The advice on application of strategies with relation to the macro cells depends on what party is making these changes, the desired effect they want to achieve, their constraints and the suitability of application. For starters, policy level can be tackled only by governments. Policy overall should be reexamined if there are fundamental problems and/or significant dissatisfaction from the public when it comes to public projects, and if there is a growing disconnect between the governmental body and the public. The strategies that fall under Law require considerable changes in it, and

as such, will take a long time to implement, if they can even fit within the country's existing legal framework (and if it results that this framework requires changes, then the matter complicates further). Furthermore, the New Environmental Planning Act (Rijkswaterstaat, March 7, 2023) allows for more inclusion of the wider public, and although it does not specify how or who would qualify from the wider public, it is still in a way a step towards the implementation of these strategies. As such, it is advised to first focus more on institutionalising external communication, changing the reaction method and better spread of awareness and information, because these are strategies that are easier to implement. There are however extra difficulties in the institutionalisation of strategies and responses, because not only do they require more time to be put on paper because of bureaucratic limitations, but also because even once these changes are put on paper, it will take a long time before they become standard practice. Information strategies on the other hand are relatively easy to implement and much more straightforward, and are also much easier to put in practice, so for the most efficient and quick solution to improve the relationship with the public and their inclusion, these should be targeted first.

The Management or project operation level strategies can only be tackled by the management team of the project. The first and most key part of the proposed set of strategies that fall under the project operation umbrella are those belonging to the Front-End, because this is where the relationships with stakeholders are established and where the project is defined. By implementing the Front-End strategies, many problems that arise later on and need to be tackled by other strategies, such as those falling under Public, are avoided or minimised in scale. However, as explained in Section 3.1.2, applying these strategies is tricky and there is no guarantee that the project and its key values were defined well, or that conflicts will not arise later on even if this was done successfully. As such, it is just as important for the management team to apply the strategies falling under Management to further reduce the risk of conflict, and if conflict occurs, to follow the strategies described under the category Public (which are very easy to implement in comparison to the other ones under the Management umbrella). The strategies falling under the Management category will also take some time to really be established in practice and for the current way of thinking to experience these changes, especially when it comes to putting experts in the same spot as the public and inclusion of marginalised groups, because these strategies are very behaviour based and largely influenced by the subjectivity of the management team. As such, extra care must be put in assuring that these strategies are being implemented and that change is slowly happening.

The Participation level strategies can be implemented largely by the management team of the project, but this team can also receive incentives directly from the government in this case. For example, the governmental body may decide from the start of a project that they want to experiment with novel ways of participation and/or different communication style with stakeholders and then leave the rest of the participation design or application of it to the managers. Because of this, and because novel participation methods applied in a tailored design of participation made to fit the project characteristics have shown to be very effective and positive in making public engagement better, it is heavily advised for both governments and management teams to apply as many of these strategies as possible. Although the strategies that fall under the Digital platform/tools category are more straightforward for implementation, it is advised to put more weight into applying those under the Case approach category, because these have shown to be more effective in terms of generating insightful input and reducing the chance of conflict and loss of social value.

6 Discussion

6.1 Literature Research

To begin with, the most important thing to point out when it comes to the literature research is that management styles in theory and practice, and most importantly policy and law, vary significantly between different cultures and countries respectively. The literature that was examined for this research was not confined within a certain culture or country, even though the rest of the research and the context in which the work is set are in the Netherlands. This might have contributed to findings that are not as applicable in the Netherlands, especially in practice, as theory might suggest. However, in order to minimise the risk of findings not being applicable to a satisfactory degree, effort was put in using sources that are set in countries with similar management styles or policy as the Netherlands, or in the case of sources of a more empirical nature, a similar principle was followed to extract findings from projects that are similar in nature, in the way they were executed or how they engaged stakeholders, as to those in the Netherlands.

The next point to discuss is the front-end, which as has been established thus far, is a crucial phase in a project, where any decision taken can significantly influence the outcome of the project at a later stage. First of all, the front-end is very broad and entails many actions within it, meaning that any advice given is "easier said than done", or in other words, conclusions that are derived in theory are not necessarily predisposed to translate well in practice. Furthermore, there needs to be more research done over the matter, besides the time the managers will need to learn how to navigate the front-end better and to put the theory in practice. What is more, a finding on which the results were anchored on was that effort needs to be put on making different alternatives (for different scenarios and/or different affected communities), but putting a lot of effort in making such alternatives at the very beginning of the project, where things remain quite unclear, can be very costly in terms of money and time, not to even mention the possibility that the team might not have the time or human resources to do this.

Shifting over to the governmental narrative, it must be pointed out that governments are under pressure not just by the electorate, but also by external market forces. While governments should prioritise public values and not just economic growth and politics, as already established, they are indeed under an ever-growing pressure from entrepreneurial market forces, since these have taken over (Vermaas and Pesch, 2020; Min et al., 2018). This is not to say that governments should succumb to the pressures of private market forces, but that in some cases it might be more difficult to either achieve the ideal values the project should have, or to have a considerably balanced scale of public/social to economic values.

As for the marketable component of a project (which any project possesses, but in varying degrees), while researchers can continue educating about being mindful of falling into the trap of curated strategies, labels and metaphors, officials will always face this risk, especially because they have to rely on what other people (who draft the strategy and paperwork) give them to work with. Even if there are no ill-intentions or infringement from the officials' side, there can be cases where they might simply not be aware of a strategy or words contrived with an "aesthetic" nature. A similar logic goes for politicians who restrict information and real costs: this risk can never be nullified, because politicians will always be worried about the electorate and its support of them. These risks are both something to keep in mind and take precautionary steps for.

While it is greatly advised for governments to disclose full and transparent information at the start of the project, they cannot be forced to do so, and the decision largely remains to them. Relating to this, when hiring foreign experts or independent institutions for evaluations, they will need considerable time and resources to get accustomed to the system and learn all they need to know about its cogs and characteristics to make a good analysis, and still, there would be no guarantee that they would be able to fully learn the amount of information they need about it.

When it comes to policy and law, one could argue that the most influential talking point of the matter would be the inclusion of the wider public as opposed to only the local one in project input. This is because not only does this require changes in legislature, which is a very long and slow process, and that is providing that there is support behind the claim to begin with, it also would change public participation and recording of inputs from the public substantially - it would offer a much larger number of inputs, from a much larger number of differing citizens. While it is beneficial to include the wider public in project input too because otherwise they would have been excluded and in case of considerable grievances retorted to collective action, the main risk of doing so is that there may be an overflow of input (too much to handle from the officials' side). There is also a chance that the input would be more fragmented in opinions/issues raised, because the wider public is not affected the same way as the local one. Incidentally, the local public may become "disgruntled", as a result of more people having a say in a matter which affects them more directly because of vicinity. Some might feel like they should be prioritised, or vice versa, they might feel like they will not be taken as seriously anymore since the attention would now be spread over a larger pool of participants. It must be noted here that the New Environmental Planning Act (EPA), which entered in power in 1 January 2024, does allow for more inclusion of the wider public, although, it does not specify how so, which are the boundaries, and how which part of the wider public is eligible for input can be determined.

Moving on, value is a concept that is complicated by its very nature, and has for this reason been a topic of debate since the first recorded philosophical ruminations. Value means something different for each person, its perception varying as a result of the mix between principles, teachings and beliefs in an individual. Besides this, value is very difficult to define in tangible ways, an aspect which greatly affects a project and its goal definition. What is more, while ideally projects should always create value in terms of non-market and public goods too (Zerjav et al., 2021), they are under great pressure from external market forces and have to prioritise monetary value in order to be justified, supported, financed, or even simply to survive the market. This leads to the further dilemma of what non-market value should be prioritised, or, whether a distinction over which non-market value has "more value" should be made at all.

A very affluential development for any project, especially those in the public sector, is the arrival of collective action. Because of the introduction of the Internet and social media to the ever-growing inventory of collective action, active resistance can no longer be defined in simple terms. Collective action in the digital age is always evolving because the speed with which the Internet and social media platforms change is very rapid. The implications of this are that there is a chance that a good amount of the existing research on the topic might have already become outdated, even though this direction of research can be considered relatively new.

Furthermore, social media and Internet use in general also vary significantly between different countries, not just in accessibility, but in the way they are used or consumed too. For instance, a social media platform might be extremely popular in a country and have a very saturated user population from the total demographic, while it can be used by only a fraction of the population in another country. These differences can be even bigger if changes in use of social media based on different age groups are added to the equation, with younger ages typically preferring other social media platforms than older age groups. For example, Park (2015 specifically chose Twitter as the social media platform to use for conducting their study, because in South Korea, the context where their research is set, Twitter has a very high user rate compared to the total demographic of the country. Most importantly Park (2015 explains, Twitter in South Korea reshapes the nation's political culture by greatly distributing information, triggering discussion and mobilising collective action.

Basing collective action largely on online methods or platforms has its downfalls, as van Laer and van Aelst (2010) also argue. The online activism "may go at the expense of real actions that demand a higher commitment" (van Laer and van Aelst, 2010, p. 1162). People may not feel the need to

engage in actions with higher thresholds even though are often more influential, because it is easier to pursue actions with lower thresholds actions. Also, online versions of traditional actions affect decision-makers less than their counterparts, which eventually, as van Laer and van Aelst (2010) believe, might damage the impact the civil society has on policy.

When it comes to how social media is used by public bodies to engage with citizens, Ninan et al. (2020, p. 13) conclude that it is not recommended "for formal public consultations as some section of the population may not be adequately reached". However, Ninan et al. (2020) believe that social media can be very effective as a form or as a tool for public participation. Nevertheless, if there are many comments or inputs online from citizens, which is especially something to keep in mind in grand project (such as megaprojects), public bodies may experience difficulty responding to a good majority of the input or comment online from citizens. The problem arises if they miss something substantial, or too much of the input - then the public will become distrustful quickly and perception of the government or the project will become negative, even if the government had no intention of leaving any input unanswered.

Nonetheless, research in use of social media in management, from both the government and project management side still requires more publications, meaning that it might take a considerable amount of time before its use becomes standard in practice, with established roles, guidelines and strategies. The same stands for novel methods of participation, especially when it comes to the combination of different methods, even more so when one or some of these methods are digital. Current different participation methods examined in this research do not go very in depth and rely more on empirical findings from successful examples of the field, but that does not mean that they could be easily implemented in practice at best, or that they would work well in different contexts at worst. Specifically, these examples are taken from other countries, purposefully so, in order to get inspiration and possibly start a discussion around methods not tried before, but still, they need to be tested within the Dutch context, to better see how effective and applicable they are. Lastly, what is considered "bad design" is and will always remain subjective, so researchers and practitioners ought to continue pushing for more tailored participation methods to minimise its risk.

6.2 Empirical Research

To begin with, it must be noted that because this case is relatively small, and because it did not gain mass public attention and went relatively unnoticed by those who do not have any association or knowledge with the urban sports community, the biggest experienced difficulty was finding information to build a case profile (especially when it comes to the timeline), and tracing this information back to trustworthy sources. This is because as a small case, and typically for problematic public projects that remain out of the eyes of the majority of the public, there was little material to work with as a start. Furthermore, the case remains quite new, so almost no previous research exists on the matter to consult. Also, skating and urban communities are seldom seen from the construction perspective in the civil engineering field, to the best of the author's knowledge. This is even more prevalent when the research is confined within the context of one city, in a country where skateboarding for instance is a relatively new discipline. To the author's knowledge, there were no existing journal publications on the case, or at least similar ones which could be used as an extra tool for analysis. Because of the afore-mentioned reasons, the researcher may have missed details about the case, although, in order to minimise the risk of this occurring, many different sources from different perspectives were used while conducting the analysis.

A way with which the municipality could have handled the rising tension better, which would have also not led to skaters becoming more suspicious of their motives behind the decision-making, was pausing the process as soon as they saw that conflict broke out and was gaining momentum very rapidly. Essentially, postponing the publication of the project in the tendering website until the causes of resistance and how it gained momentum were identified would have likely saved them a lot of the complications that followed later from the design becoming binding as a result of the

tendering process. This is also supported by literature.

Then, there is the issue of potential cognitive biases. The *en masse* accusations from the skaters towards the municipality and their agenda, i.e. the general belief from the skating community that the municipality had already decided on what they wanted to do with the area and that they are insignificant to them shows that they are negatively biased towards the municipality as an institution overall. This also comes across from the fact that they see the municipality's actions in general and other decisions on urban development plans suspiciously. This bias could have been made worse than it initially was before they found out about the plans after the municipality's talks with the skaters concluded and the new design was finalised, since they did not get many of their requests fulfilled. On the other hand, S_1's account on how they have experienced the bias towards skaters themselves on multiple accounts, even though they are an expert in their field, opens a discussion as to how widespread this bias is, whether this bias is leading to deliberate choices that keep a marginalised group marginalised, or whether this bias influences decision-making, be it when it comes to who takes part in the consultation process or who is taken into account in decision-making.

Literature confirms stereotyping and regarding public knowledge as subpar to be common issues in project management as a result of managers' internal biases (Campbell, 2005; Pesch, 2019) even though people's lived experience can be just as valuable as expert knowledge (Huitema et al., 2007). While external stakeholders can have subjective perceptions (Eskerod & Ang, 2017) and difficulties letting go of their beliefs, experts can show the same level of subjectivity and reluctance of letting go of their beliefs and often struggle to seriously take into consideration the input of external stakeholders (Duijn et al., 2010).

Moving on, in Section 4.2.3 it was explained how a big part of the skating community in Museumpark were skaters that live in other cities. It can be argued that this part of the community was not this municipality's responsibility to cater to, since they do not live in the city that falls under their management. Another argument is that the municipality should develop the area for the people living near it since those are the taxpayers that contribute to the municipality's funds. On the other hand, it can be argued that even if this group is not considered, there is still the matter of the skaters from Rotterdam, which would then be excluded too even though they are citizens of the city. It can be argued further that since these public spaces are in the midst of cultural hotspots, it would be better to design them with any user in mind, irrespective of whether they reside in Rotterdam or not. This is especially the case considering the goals for increasing tourism in Museumpark: a factor which could have contributed to this is sports tourism. An integrated design (Section 4.5) with this added layer based on how the community was made up would have likely attracted more people for sports tourism alongside normal tourists than just one of the two, which overall serves the goal better.

Value and what is perceived as value is also important here. It was established in Section 3.1 that value is perspective-dependent (Volden, 2019; Laursen and Svejvig, 2016). What the municipality considers as (added) value is not the same as that which the skaters see as (added) value. For the municipality, they see the implementation of a new design with added greenery as something which would add value to the area by making it more pleasant and attractive for local residents and visitors. On the other hand, skaters see the value in adding greenery, but they see even more added value when it comes to supporting communities and preserving (unique) public spaces that are fully utilised as such, and they see value in showing the vibrancy of different communities in the city to visitors first-hand. This exemplifies how value in project management is seen differently compared to social sciences and by extension the people. This example shows how project management tends to define value based on the economic perspective and how the economic perspective will not necessarily help with achieving added social value.

Another point to bring up in terms of the evaluation of the participation is that the general public taken into account during the consultation process (i.e. residents), might not be a good representation of the whole public of this city, which can always be the case with a public project, but it

is especially important to consider in this case due to it being a landmark surrounded by museums and cultural institutions. This is to say that such a landmark is used, frequented and experienced by people all over the city, not only those residing in the vicinity of it.

Lastly, what could have greatly helped with the analysis would have been the availability of notes or a form of documentation of the consultation process, which, to the author's knowledge, are inaccessible or not publicly available. This is supported by the fact that when changes were made to the roles and responsibilities of the Gebiedscommissie (about one year ago as explained by the member of the committee the author spoke to), this is when they started putting information and meeting notes online, which can now be accessed by the public. Documentation dated prior to this shift can either be found online only in rare occasions, or not at all.

6.3 Conceptual Framework

When it comes to the proposed conceptual framework for a better engagement of the public, the main discussion point is precisely the fact that it is only a conceptual one. The framework is a result of the author's own interpretation of literature and empirical research results, and since it is conceptual, has not been validated with experts in the field. As such, it may have pitfalls based on the author's own subjectivity or misinterpretation of results. Secondly, there is the matter of the examined literature. This literature is only a fraction of the literature that exists on the subject, and as such, may not be well representative enough to reach to conclusions on which the framework was built on. Also, the examined literature was not bound to only one country, whereas the empirical research was based on a case in the Netherlands, so there could be mismatch that comes from the results of the empirical section being more country-specific than those of the literature research.

As for the empirical research results, a weakness of these results comes from the fact that only one case was analysed, which is too little to make a generalisation out of. Furthermore, public projects vary significantly between each other (for example in size, geography, function, relation to general public or communities, resistance experienced, and so on), meaning that while the conclusions extracted from this case may stand for other similar cases, there is no guarantee that these are a good representation of what has happened in other cases. Furthermore, the Museumpark case, as established above, can be considered to be a quite unique case when it comes to public projects, which further contributes to the validity of this argument.

As explained in Section 5, strategies that fall under a macro cell should be targeted by governments and/or the management team (depending on which cell it is) for including the voice of the public more in projects. For application in practice, some project characteristics that qualify for certain strategies must be defined. Since the framework was devised based on data relating to public projects, it would work best with projects that have have this characteristic, and it would be the most applicable to "smaller" public projects. It would also be best for use in projects where there are many different stakeholders and where there complicated relationships between the parties involved.

That being said about the framework overall, some strategies can be applied in projects of all sorts of characteristics: for example, strategies that fall under the Digital platform/tools category (Figure 35) can be applied to any project, be it public or private (although they would still be more applicable in a public project since in these projects the public has a bigger input). The same goes for strategies that fall under the Management and Front-End categories (with the exception of considering public opinion with the same weight as powerful stakeholders during the value definition, as this is a characteristic of a public project).

While the aforementioned strategies greatly push for improved incorporation of the public's voice in projects, it is the strategies that fall under the Case approach category that directly affect how the voice of the public translates in actuality in projects, because these strategies more practice based.

These strategies are the most appropriate for projects that are in sensitive in the public's eye or ones where integrated design is the best alternative. The same goes for the strategies falling under the Law category, since these allow for bigger input from the public in numbers.

As for the framework itself, while the given advice works well in theory, it may not be so easy to follow in practice even if the intention is there (be it governmental bodies or the management team). For instance, lack of sufficient resources can greatly hamper the implementation of these strategies, or another example would be the management team having to prioritise the implementation of strategies and resources in a bigger and more complicated project instead of in a small one too. Also, while it can be argued in theory that the recommended strategies give the effects that were explained, it is not certain whether their implementation will give the predicted outcomes in practice. Nevertheless, this framework is not country-bound and the strategies can be tested/applied in other countries, not only the Netherlands.

6.4 Research Limitations

Here, the limitations of the research will be explained. To begin with, the research was conducted within a limited time and scope. This prevented the research for going further in depth and finding other cases to compare to. As a matter of fact, the empirical case resulted to be very extensive and time-consuming for the half-year time frame within which the research was completed. As a result, some of the information could have been missed by the researcher and analysis could have been more extensive/solid.

There are some limitations that come from the number of interviews conducted and the responses for participation. Firstly, the imbalance in number of the members from the skating community and the public means that the input could be more skewed in favour of the skaters. Although the analysis focused on the urban community lens, it would have been very insightful if short interviews with residents in the area could be secured and learn more about the opinions of local residents that have a different perspective from that of the urban community. Furthermore, interviews with other members of the municipality, especially those in favour of the resistance movement, could have given valuable insight first-hand which is missing from this research. Interviews could in the end not be secured with organisers of the Save Museumpark movement, which is why their perspective is missing from a first-hand source from the analysis - this could have produced new findings and greatly helped with the analysis.

The examined case is can be considered a completed one. Interviewees thus had to recall information from memories that ranged from a few months to a few years ago. This recall of memories could have been affected by time over its course and some statements may not be as accurate. This could have been influenced further by the fact that all the interviews were conducted in English. Some interviewees were more comfortable in expressing themselves than others in English. This could have led to some interviewees failing to fully express their thoughts and that nuances are missing from the analysis. It could be that some of the contacted potential interviewees did not respond to the invitation because of this language barrier.

The missing original design scheme from the municipality's website means that it cannot be verified when this design was first made available and how that relates to the time when the skaters found out about the new design. Similarly, it cannot be verified when the representatives of the skating community presented their proposal with an altered design (Figure 31) to the municipality.

Only one neighbourhood council meeting was attended. While this gave some insight on this element of participation that is organised within the municipality, it did not provide insights that could be linked to the rest of the argumentation in the case. This is because the topic of the meeting attended was considerably different from the empirical case. Attending more neighbourhood council meetings could have given some more insights on participation with local residents in projects that are more

similar to the empirical case, and by extension the case itself.

Lastly, the framework is only a conceptual framework and needs further research to determine how effective it would be in practice and different types of public projects. The framework was not validated due to the limitations in time and scope, and as such may have inaccuracies in the strategies deduced.

6.5 Researcher's bias

The section will address the interpretive nature of the research, the main characteristic of qualitative research, by being transparent about the researcher's background and knowledge of the case and reflecting on the subjectivity. This is done by the researcher as an attempt to critically assess the trustworthiness of the research by clarifying where extra subjectivity may come from a personal level and the measures taken to minimise it. This reflection can be found in the following positionality statement from the researcher:

The inspiration for analysing Museumpark as a case came from myself being a skateboarder and having skated a few times in the square and experiencing the community that had formed there first-hand. I first found out about Museumpark as a skating spot in Spring 2022 after moving to Rotterdam in November 2021. I have been a skater since before moving to Rotterdam and have visited different skating spots and skate parks in the country, but that was the first time I went to skate in Museumpark after finding out about an organised session from New Wave, which I had also very recently discovered at the time, since I was still getting accustomed to life in a new, completely unfamiliar city.

I skated in Museumpark only a few times before the area was closed off and only found out what exactly was happening to the square much later, when construction had already begun. This is because at the time, the study load from university and the projects I was working on did not leave me with much time to skate anymore and to keep up with developments in the community. But, the very few times I would manage to go skating or meet my friends within the community, I started noticing the change in spirits and how less people would show up to skate, especially women, something which I always advocate for (more women in male-dominated sports and spaces).

Experiencing these changes in the community coincided with the time when I had to start formulating options for my graduation project. What I knew from the start is that I wanted to work most on a topic revolving around the public and their voice in projects. Out of the options I came up with, Museumpark stood out to me the most: it was a very unique case, a case with characteristics I had not seen analysed in my field before, with visible effects on a traditionally marginalised community (something which I too always advocate for and am vocal about). Most importantly, since I had not had time to follow the case, it was still shrouded in mystery to me as to why things went the way they did and what can be done for future projects. Using this opportunity to not only analyse such a unique case in-depth but to also, and most importantly for me personally, to bring more attention to skateboarding and urban projects in relation to it in the construction and management field led me to start seriously considering it as a topic. Right before I had to choose which topic to finally go with, the Skate Symposium took place, and that was the final push I had for choosing this topic. The Skate Symposium made this case even more intriguing to me for analysis after hearing both the skaters' and municipality's perspectives, the municipality's intents on further and better collaboration with the skaters and how skaters can contribute directly to the design of a public space and make it attractive for all groups of people in the city, something which one would not immediately think of doing, but from completed examples shows to be a very effective way in tackling some problems that are quite persistent in urban development projects.

This being said, the first and most important point to address is subjectivity in interpretation and/or case presentation that arises from me being part of the skating community too and having experienced Museumpark from the skaters' perspective. In my work, I always try to remove myself, my feelings

and perceptions from the interpretation of the case as much as possible, because I am first and foremost always striving to deliver high quality work and trustworthy results that can be used to improve existing problems and bring positive change. Also, this was a case that I wanted to analyse because I genuinely wanted to understand what is wrong with the existing system and established practices that leads to communities being affected and them having to retort to taking collective action. Despite this, I was very aware that there was always the risk of me losing sight of what is coming from the facts of the case based on the consulted sources and what was being influenced by my own subjectivity. In general, the researcher's personal background and experience can have an impact on how the data is analysed. In order to minimise this risk, I made an extensive case profile, including many elements and arguments from both the skating and municipality side, so that if something was influenced by my personal subjectivity, the other side of the argument would nevertheless refute this. The arguments from both sides were constructed by putting myself in the perspective of each side, as if I was one of them.

On the other hand, my affiliation with the case made it possible for me to construct this extensive case profile and know where to look for information to construct both sides of the argument. Because this case was what is considered a small one, and because it did not gain attention from the widespread media and went largely unnoticed by the general public, my affiliation with the case was crucial in being able to construct the case profile and arguments within the time and scope limitations of the research. Furthermore, my knowledge over the community meant that I had a better idea on where to look for potential interviewees in the skating community, which can be extra hard if you do not know how the community works or as an outsider because of the arguments about skating and the people in the community not being organised in the typical sense. Lastly, my knowledge over skateboarding as a sport, the community associated with it and its culture made it possible for nuance and extra context to be introduced in the case that helped with the analysis, which might have otherwise been missed by someone not familiar with the scene. Relating to this, because of my knowledge of the scene, this meant that I had a good idea on what to ask the interviewees in order to get a full picture of their perspective and how that relates to the system, especially when it comes to asking follow-up questions when the interviewee did not give sufficient information or was shifting away from the subject of conversation. By combining the skating knowledge with that from the construction field that I have obtained during the duration of my studies, it made it possible for me to see both sides of the argument and how each perspective is valid.

With these points, this positionality statement which portrays my position as a researcher and the potential influence of my subjectivity in the interpretation of the results can be concluded.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Answering research questions

In Chapter 1, the main research question and the resulting sub-questions were stated. In this section, a conclusive answer to these questions will be provided. To reiterate, the main research question was:

"How can the input of the public be more effectively incorporated in projects in the public sector while they are still in the front-end phase?"

And the sub-questions:

1. *"What are the contributing factors that currently give rise to dissatisfaction and conflict in public projects from the people?"*
2. *"What is the role of digital media in organising collective actions against public projects?"*
3. *"What successful novel methods of doing public participation can be identified from examples in practice?"*
4. *"How can public participation in public projects be improved?"*
5. *"What are the strategies that emerge from literature and practice that can improve public participation in projects?"*

Answering RQ1

Issues in projects often start at the front-end, where the project experiences the most uncertainty and low level of clarity. In the phase, projects often suffer from broad and abstract definition of the project, key values and success criteria, inadequate input, lack of political support and information provision, and non-satisfactory relationship establishment with stakeholders, especially in the case of external stakeholders. If these issues materialise during the front-end and remain unaddressed, they will often result in resistance from external stakeholders, and significant project delays and budget overshoots.

The prevailing culture in project management also poses an issue and is often too the cause of problems later on in the process. First of all, sometimes project runners arbitrarily skip important steps in consultation because they see these practices as too lengthy and time-consuming. This relates to the dominant technocratic way of thinking that revolves around top-down decision-making, experts relying too much on technical knowledge and scientific reports, which often negatively affect the inclusion of social values, and overtly-prioritising economic growth rather than bettering the lives of local communities.

The projects that do not require an EIA and in which the initiative for public engagement is left to the managers experience run a significant risk of affected public not being adequately taken into account or excluded from the process altogether. A common reason for this is public knowledge being considered as subpar by experts, the public seen as too emotional to contribute effectively in decision-making and in the cases where marginalised communities are affected, these communities often go unnoticed because they have historically been left disengaged.

Answering RQ2

Collective action arises from shared grievances of people who share an identity and emotions within a community about the risks of a project. Many protests start peacefully with a formal addressing or petition and only escalate when the government responds to it a a reactionary way or completely ignores the cause of protest. Protests are constantly evolving, especially with the arrival of social

media. Social media has substantially changed the fabric of collective action: it has significantly lowered the barriers of participation, expanded its reach and made it more accessible to a larger and diverse audience. Minorities are especially helped by social media taking over methods of collective action, since these groups typically struggle to get more recognition, especially from traditional media.

Traditional media has shown to typically favour the established systems or actors in power and a police narrative, and in case of more radicalised action, often portrays the protesters as violent trouble-makers and profiles them according to appearance and origin. The rise of citizen journalism is combating disingenuous coverage by providing material straight from the source of collective action. Young adults are much less likely to consume traditional media, largely because of the reasons mentioned here, and prefer to social media as their primary news consumption tool.

Social media is also being increasingly used by governments in an attempt to better connect with the younger generations, to improve their feelings of distrust in the government and to offer another way of submitting inputs or comments from the public. The issue here however, is that the sheer number of inputs can inhibit two-way exchanges between government and public - ultimately, social media platforms are not necessarily made with the government's needs in mind, but they have had to adapt to the vast increase in use of social media to remain close to the public.

Lastly, social media is being increasingly used by project managers for communications, announcements about projects and getting immediate input from the public. Now, management teams ought to actively keep track of comments from the public and respond in timely manner, otherwise they risk negative comments gaining quick support, which leads to bad PR for the project. Despite the recognition that management practices are heading towards a larger incorporation of social media practices, its use still remains relatively low practice.

Answering RQ3

Successful novel methods of doing public participation often revolve around the incorporation of more recent digital methods with traditional ones. Traditional methods, such as publication of project documents to inform the public, (simple) workshops and informative talks held for the public, still remain the standard in practice and the most used forms of participation. The arrival of digital methods, such as BIM mapping, 3D visualisations, mobile participation and games have shown great promises by relying on interactivity to make engagement for the public more interesting and in turn push them to be more interested in participating. Not only this, but digital methods have shown to be more effective in conveying information about the project and making the average member from the public understand what the vision of the project team is.

Combining traditional with digital methods enables an enhanced and more interactive participation while remaining true to the principles of good, inclusive participation. It also enables experimentation and tweaking of participation design based on the solid grounds of well-studies traditional methods.

Answering RQ4

From the case examined in practice, it was seen that conflict can arise at any phase of the project and become a big issue very quickly. In order to limit the chances of conflict arising, the wider public has to be included more in consultation, especially when it comes to public projects around cultural landmarks, central areas of city or other areas of the city with high movement. Relating to this, cultural landmarks should be approached differently as a case and have a more tailored participation design than more "normal" projects, because here, the risk of communities being affected and becoming vocal later on in the project is higher. Also, a larger number of communities share ties with cultural landmarks, which significantly raises the chances of affected communities going

unnoticed when it comes to managers deciding who they should invite to consultations.

Communities in such projects are highly dynamic, meaning that extra care must be put in anticipating as far as it is possible what the effects of the project implementation will be on different groups of people with varying backgrounds. In more delicate cases, such as the Museumpark case, novel ways of participation, or in other words merging traditional methods with digital ones and doing so under an experimental and innovative spirit, have shown to be an effective approach in diminishing the chances of conflict materialising later on during the process. These methods allow for more out of the box thinking and different alternatives making (which would account for more scenarios and effects than having only one alternative) based on a more evened out balance of inputs from public and experts. The applications of these methods provide more possibilities for missing or overlooked context to reveal during the consultation process too, which is why novel ways of participation need to be incorporated more in management practices of public projects.

Answering RQ5

The strategies that are derived from the findings in literature and empirical research and their overlap were categorised in a total of eight categories depending on which area of the project or policy they affect. These categories are (1) Law, (2) Governance, (3) Information, (4) Front-End, (5) Management, (6) Public, (7) Digital platform/tools and (8) Case approach. These categories were further grouped in macro categories based on which of the three management levels (Strategic, Tactical, Operational) they fall under. This resulted in the macro categories of Policy, Management (project organisation) and Participation (design and information) emerging. The effects of the strategies belonging to these broad categories are felt within the management level they fall under.

Strategies belonging to Policy ensure the institutionalisation of how external stakeholders are managed, who to include in participation, and how the response from the governmental body to them should be in case of grievances, and more solid awareness and information sharing between the government and the public, especially the youth, which would lead to better trust on the government and participation in public projects overall.

Strategies falling under the Management/Project organisation umbrella target the most tricky parts of the front-end of a project and introduce a shift towards more transparent and equal process steering, and urge managers to monitor the public more closely during the project, and in cases where conflict arises, to prioritise analysing the causes of conflict and reestablish the relationship with the public.

Lastly, strategies falling under Participation aim to increase the use of novel ways of participation in practice and more experimentation with testing ideas from the public or other sources, and for bettering communication and information exchange in projects by increasing the use of social media by appropriately trained managers.

7.2 Recommendations

Based on the results of the study several recommendations can be derived for practice and for future research. Starting with recommendations for practice:

- The study revealed that tailoring the participation method to the project based on its context and background can significantly reduce the risk of collective action and project delays. This can be done by using novel methods of participation and experimenting with different combinations of digital and traditional methods to come up with methods fit for projects based on their characteristics.

- Practitioners should be more open to incorporating or testing ideas from other sources, or similarly, working together with external stakeholders and independent experts to come up with these ideas in a collaborative way. This approach is very suitable for cases where integrated design is the best solution.

- Governmental institutions can experiment with organising periodic informative talks with the youth and spreading informational brochures made in a way that catches the attention of different age groups. By doing this, the government tackles the growing distance between them and the youth. If the youth is better informed about the system, they can contribute more valuable to projects, something which is currently missing.

- Extra effort must be put in recognising and including marginalised groups in participation. If this is not done, these groups will continue to be left disengaged and pushed even further out of sight in projects.

- Project alternatives must be devised where possible for projects that alter public space and affect communities. By doing so, the chances of resistance occurring are greatly lowered and higher social and design value can be achieved.

- When significant conflict arises, the project should be paused and different sources (e.g. media, citizen journalists, general public) should be examined to understand their grievances and what went wrong in the process. These affected communities should be invited to open dialogue, where the public body can take the opportunity and explain their perspective.

The following recommendations have been selected for further research:

- The conceptual framework needs to be studied further about its effects in practice in different types of public projects. The next step could be validating the conceptual framework. It could also be further researched as to how it can be made to fit fully private projects, and what the differences would be between the two.

- Further research could focus on a different aspects of the conceptual framework and study them further in depth. For instance, the time needed and the effects of applying the strategies of the different macro levels could be studied independently and compared to one-another. Similarly, the focus could be on a smaller level, such as the categories.

- Further research could look into novel methods of participation in the Netherlands specifically by experimenting with projects on-hand. Lenses which can be examined include how these methods apply within countries with established participation methods, how effective these methods are and the reasons why or why not and what projects are they most effective on.

- Public knowledge and lived experience could be further researched into how they can concretely contribute in designing public space. This could be done by examining completed projects where public knowledge was used and/or by conducting a pilot study.

- Relating to the previous point, a case study can be conducted on a public space fully co-designed by skaters and the municipality, which could serve as a continuation of the results of the Skate Symposium and to develop the view for the future based on closer collaboration between public and public body for reimagining urban space.

- Culture can be used as a variable to test how problems in projects vary between different cultures and what the causes of similarities and differences could be, so that cultures with similar results can be identified.

- A conceptual app made specifically with the governments' needs in mind for engaging citizens can be developed and tested, since it was established that the design of current widely-used platforms can inhibit two-way communication between the government and the public.

- A more in-depth research can be done on how social media affects the momentum of a cause compared to traditional media in different types of projects. A lens that could also be further studied is how these two different types of media affect the mobilisation of older age groups.

- Further research could focus on exploring sports as a facet of urban development plans. Extra focus could be on urban sports, since these are relatively newer and in general covered less.

- Another topic for further examining could be exploring how deep biases towards marginalised communities go and how these biases affect real decision-making. Biases that marginalised communities have towards those in power could be explored hand in hand to see whether biases from this side affect willingness to participate and chances of dialogue.

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A Appendix A - Interview Protocol

Purpose and objective of the interviews:

The purpose of conducting these interviews is to get better insight from different perspectives about the Museumpark case. The focus will be on seeing how these different perspectives view the design implementation process and to what extent the opinions of the affected public were taken into consideration, and if these had any weight during discussions regarding decision-making. The interviews will help answer some parts of the research questions, specifically what problems occur in public participation (in practice), especially in the case of small projects, and how collective action and public media affect decision-making.

Criteria for selection of interviewees:

The criteria for selecting interviewees are: people who were active users of the area, people who organised or were very active in the resistance movement, people that are affiliated with the project or are well aware of the situation.

Time allocated for interviews (approximately):

30-45 minutes

Interviewees (categories):

- General Public

  For getting insight from the normal users of Museumpark before the change of design. The goal is to interview a balanced number of skateboarders, rollerskaters/rollerbladers and longboarders, in order to get the perspective of different practices of urban sports (and different sub-communities).

- Organisers (of resistance)

  For getting insight of the motivation for organising and sustaining the resistance for a period of time, even though this took a lot of effort and time and was not rewarding. Also for getting insight as to how they were approached and treated by the municipality.

- Gebiedscommissie – Neighbourhood council

  To get insight of the rest of the general public thought of the project and situation, mainly to see how aware they were of it, and what their stances are. Also for comparing their perspective to the those who made active use of the area for urban sports.

- Municipality officials

  Similar to the general public and the organisers of resistance, but from the opposite side – to see how the municipality handled the project and if the resistance/opinions of the public were taken seriously into consideration or if bureaucratic procedures was the main drive behind their strategies.

Email Template and Interview Consent Form:

Dear [NAME],
My name is Alesia Frangu and I am completing the Construction, Management & Engineering master in TU Delft. I am currently working on my thesis, which is about exploring how the public can be more effectively included at the early stages of a project. For the research, I will be looking at the Museumpark case (Rotterdam), and I believe your contribution can help me a lot for my research! So, I would like to interview you about the Museumpark case.

The interview will take about 30-45 minutes. In line with requirements for conducting interviews for graduation projects at TU Delft, I have added an Interview Consent Form below. This form includes:

- Request for permission to record the interview for processing.
- Information on participation and rights of the interviewee.
- Information on handling of data and personal data.
- Information on publication of the research and the right to inspection.

If you wish to participate in my research, please send me back the completed and signed Consent Form below. This may also be done on the day itself before the interview. All data will be treated confidentially and only I, the researcher, will have access to it.

Please do not hesitate to let me know if you have any questions. Thank you in advance for your consideration!

Best regards,
Alesia Frangu

Informed Consent Form for Master Thesis

Informed Consent Form	Yes	No
I read the information about the survey in the invitation and had the opportunity to ask questions and my questions were satisfactorily answered.	☐	☐
I am voluntarily participating in this study and understand that I may refuse to answer questions, withdraw my consent at any time and discontinue my participation.	☐	☐
I understand that I will not be compensated for my participation in this study.	☐	☐
I understand that participating in the study means that this interview will be recorded, for the sole purpose of transcribing the interview to text for further use in the study. This recording will be stored separately and deleted upon completion of the study.	☐	☐
I understand that the full transcript will be provided to me to check for factual inaccuracies, with one week to respond after provision.	☐	☐
I understand that the information provided during this interview will only be used for the academic purposes of the thesis research and public presentation at TU Delft. The exception is confidential information, which will not be shared.	☐	☐
I understand that upon publication of this study, I will not be identifiable as a participant.	☐	☐
I understand that if my quotes from this interview are used in the study, I will be given the opportunity to see the relevant text before it is published. These quotes will be pseudonymised and I will have two weeks to respond after being provided.	☐	☐
I understand that personal information will be collected during this research that may identify me such as name, email and position, but that this information will not be will be shared or published, with the exception of position, which might be used contextually in quotes.	☐	☐
Do you still agree to participate in the interview even if your identity can be traced back to you from your position?	☐	☐
I understand that all personally identifiable information will be deleted after completion of the study.	☐	☐
I understand that the research will be published in TU Delft's public education library for use in future scientific research. I will not be identifiable in this publication.	☐	☐
I would like to receive the thesis as soon as the research is finished. For this purpose only I allow my contact details to be kept until the publication of the study.	☐	☐

The participant has received the information in the invitation letter and received this form. The researcher certifies that the participant has been informed to the best of their ability about the context of this informed consent form and participation in this study.

	Name	Date	Signature
Participant			
Researcher	Alesia Frangu		

Interview questions

Introduction for all interviews:
Brief reminder of study:

Thank you for participating in this interview. This interview is for my master's thesis with a topic of...

This interview will help me to understand your experience and how...

A reminder of the recording of the interview session:

As I informed you earlier with the informed consent form, this interview will be recorded. Can I start recording now?

Questions:

(These questions will not be shared beforehand with interviewees, so they will be visible only to the researcher.)

GENERAL PUBLIC

- Could you introduce yourself briefly please, including which type of urban sport you practice (i.e. skateboarding, rollerskating, etc...)?
- Have you used the Museumpark area before, and if so, could you describe briefly for what activities? (i.e., leisure, urban spots, etc.). How often did you use the area?
- What did you think of the area as it was before? What did you like and dislike about it?
- How do you find the new design?
  - *Ask why for the reasoning, irrespective of the preference. If they don't like it, ask them to explain.*
- Were there any impact in livelihood (for example, practicing urban sports, leisure) because of the change of design? How did this impact you?
- Did you get an opportunity to express your opinion to the Municipality?
  - *If yes, how did they express their opinion? Was there a discussion? When did they do that? How do they feel about the final decision of the municipality?*
  - *If not, how come? Perhaps they were not interested enough, or did they not know how to express their opinion?*
- Were you aware of the petition and resistance against the new project? Did you participate in any extent in the movement against?
  - *If not, how come? Was it a lack of information, inability to find necessary information, lack of proactiveness, etc...*
  - *If yes, what was their contribution? How did you hear about the petition or movement? Did they experience any reaction from the Municipality based on the movement against the project? And did they feel like their concerns/opinions were adequately taken into account?*
- If you could say something to the Municipality about Museumpark, what would it be?

FOR ORGANISERS

- Could you introduce yourself briefly please, including which type of urban sport you practice (i.e. skateboarding, rollerskating, etc...)?
- What did you think of the area as it was before? What did you like and dislike about it?
- How do you find the new design?
  - *Ask why for the reasoning, irrespective of the preference. If they don't like it, ask them to explain why?*
- What were impacts in livelihood that you experienced (for example, practicing urban sports, leisure) because of the change of design?
- How involved were you with the resistance movement against the new design?
  - *Answers will vary, which is why this question is needed to distinguish that explicitly.*
- Could you explain briefly what motivated you to start a resistance movement and how you took the initial steps?
- How did you organise the movement?
- How did you spread the word about the movement? Did you have people help you?
- Why do you think the movement was unsuccessful and the design the Municipality wanted went through?
- Were you invited to meetings or panels by the Municipality to discuss the conflict and to voice the issues in a formal way? Could you attend (any of) these meetings?
- What are your feelings about the meetings with the Municipality? Did you feel like your concerns and issues that you were raising were taken adequately into account/heard?
- If you could say something to the Municipality now, what would that be?

FOR MUNICIPALITY OFFICIALS/GEBIEDSCOMMISSIE

- Could you introduce yourself briefly please, including your position and affiliation to the Museumpark project?
- Have you used the Museumpark area before, and if so, could you describe briefly for what activities? (i.e., leisure, urban spots, etc.). How often did you use the area?
- What did you think of the area as it was before? What did you like and dislike about it?
- What do you think of the new design?
  - *Ask why for the reasoning, irrespective of the preference, and to explain the why.*
- Are you aware of the resistance against the new project and the affected people?
- Did you or other responsible officials for the project visit the project site and talked to the affected people, to the extent of your knowledge?
- Were affected people invited to meetings or panel talks to discuss their concerns and the future design?
- What do you think of the appeals of the public, do you think they are justified?
  - *Ask for the reasoning as to why they agree or don't agree with the public's appeals being justified.*
- What are your views on how the situation was handled?
- If you could say something to the affected public, what would that be?

FOR ANTHROPOLOGIST

- Could you introduce yourself briefly please, including which type of urban sport you practice (i.e. skateboarding, rollerskating, etc. . .)?
- Have you used the Museumpark area before, and if so, could you describe briefly for what activities? (i.e., leisure, urban spots, etc.). How often did you use the area?
- What did you think of the area as it was before? What did you like and dislike about it?
- How do you find the new design?
  - *Ask why for the reasoning, irrespective of the preference. If they don't like it, ask them to explain.*
- You have talked about Museumpark in a piece written by you and while reading about it, it seemed to me that you thought of Museumpark as a unique space. Could you elaborate a bit on that?
- You also mention in your blog that the municipality promised to keep the area skateable, but at the end that was not the case. Why do you think that is?
- How do you think the change of design will affect the skateboarding scene in Rotterdam?
- How can skateboarding be used as a tool for social good?
- How can policy-makers and municipalities be convinced of this (of the benefits of skateboarding socially and its use for social good)?
- What do you think the Municipality can learn from skaters?
- To what level are skateboarding and projects like this (i.e. urban planning projects related to skateboarding) researched in the Netherlands?
  - *Why is research lacking? Will municipalities be willing to listen more if there is more academic research?*

B Appendix B - Stakeholder list

The following list of stakeholders of the project was provided by the municipality members M_1 and M_2 during the interview. The title of the page provided and the small parts of text have been translated from Dutch. The stakeholder names have been left in their original form to avoid misnaming and confusion. What follows below are the contents of the list as per the original document.

Parties involved

In addition to residents and entrepreneurs from the area (1850 addresses), the following stakeholders from the management council and Hoboken team were also included in the process.

Hoboken management council:

- ERA Contour Arminius
- B.O.O.G
- Chabot Museum
- DCMR
- Gebiedscommissie Centrum
- Gebiedscommissie Delfshaven
- Erasmus MC
- Hogeschool Rotterdam
- Kunsthal
- Het Nieuwe Instituut
- Het Natuurhistorisch
- Ondern. Ver. Binnenweg
- Rijndam
- Woonstad Rotterdam
- Kunsthal
- Erasmus MC
- Gemeente Rotterdam

Parties from the Hoboken regional team:

- Hogeschool Rotterdam
- Gebiedscommissie Centrum
- DCMR Milieudienst Rijnmond
- Deelgemeente Delfshaven
- Het Nieuwe Instituut
- Woonstad Rotterdam
- SO PMBR

- Houwvast BV
- Rijndam
- Nutsbedrijven

Also involved:

- Stichting Vrienden van het Park
- Rotterdam Festivals
- De Loodsen
- De Parade

C Appendix C - Data management plan

Plan Overview

A Data Management Plan created using DMPonline

Title: Master Thesis

Creator: Alesia Frangu

Project Administrator: Theresa Audrey Esteban

Affiliation: Delft University of Technology

Template: TU Delft Data Management Plan template (2021)

Project abstract:

This research will look into how the public's voice can be more adequately incorporated in public projects in order to improve the collaboration between public governing bodies and their citizens. Infrastructure and urban development projects continue to experience problems and tensions when it comes to external stakeholders, even though the importance of collaboration and dialogue between the external stakeholders and project developers is being stressed more and more. There seems to be a lack of supporting policy and management strategies for better involvement of the public in public projects and confusion and uncertainty from the project developers' side on how to engage with them in a more constructive way. The research will look into what literature determines to be potential causes of the problems and how collective action takes form where there is resistance, and then compare it to a practical case to determine what changes can be made to assure a smoother process between the two sides in the future.

ID: 133980

Start date: 01-07-2023

End date: 25-11-2023

Last modified: 16-10-2023

Master Thesis

0. Administrative questions

1. Name of data management support staff consulted during the preparation of this plan.

My faculty data steward, Xinyan Fan, has reviewed this DMP on 9 October 2023.

2. Date of consultation with support staff.

2023-10-09

I. Data description and collection or re-use of existing data

3. Provide a general description of the type of data you will be working with, including any re-used data:

Type of data	File format(s)	How will data be collected (for re-used data: source and terms of use)?	Purpose of processing	Storage location	Who will have access to the data
Interviews	.mp3/.mp4	Recording via personal phone or MS Teams environment	Recording to generate transcript for valuable input to research	Personal drive, TUD drive	Me
Transcripts of interviews	.docx/.pdf	Automatically generated transcripts from software, then checked manually	Making interview input appropriate for quoting in research	Personal drive, TUD drive	Me and interviewee for factual review
Anonymised snipets of transcripts	.docx/.pdf	Edited transcripts for more coherence and removal of personal data	Using snipets to support findings	Personal drive, TUD drive	Me and thesis committee
Name, email and signature on interview consent form	.pdf	Interview consent form	Establishing informed consent and the rights of the interviewee	Personal drive, TUD drive	Me
Interview Consent Form	.pdf	Via email upon completion from interview participants	Establishing informed consent and the rights of the interviewee	Personal drive, TUD drive	Me
Case study data	url links for public online material	Mainly online, from news articles, website of Gemeente Rotterdam, etc.	Use for information and case study analysis	Personal drive, TUD drive	Me and thesis committee

4. How much data storage will you require during the project lifetime?

- < 250 GB

II. Documentation and data quality

5. What documentation will accompany data?

- Methodology of data collection

- Other - explain below

Interview questions and important data obtained from interviews are shared in the Appendix of the thesis. The substantiation will be given in the Methodology chapter.
The full transcripts of the interviews will not be added to the Appendix - only snipets or quotes from the transcripts will be used in the thesis report, which will be publicly available in the TU Delft repository.

III. Storage and backup during research process

6. Where will the data (and code, if applicable) be stored and backed-up during the project lifetime?

- OneDrive

IV. Legal and ethical requirements, codes of conduct

7. Does your research involve human subjects or 3rd party datasets collected from human participants?

- Yes

8A. Will you work with personal data? (information about an identified or identifiable natural person)

If you are not sure which option to select, first ask your Faculty Data Steward for advice. You can also check with the privacy website . If you would like to contact the privacy team: privacy-tud@tudelft.nl, please bring your DMP.

- Yes

Yes, I will work with personal data when it comes to completing the informed consent form, and this will be the only instance where personal data is used. Only pseudonymized transcripts will be shared and used for the thesis report. The informed consent form will also not be shared with anyone else but me.
Upon completion of the research, all personal data and documents containing personal data thereof will be destroyed.

8B. Will you work with any other types of confidential or classified data or code as listed below? (tick all that apply)

If you are not sure which option to select, ask your Faculty Data Steward for advice.

- No, I will not work with any confidential or classified data/code

9. How will ownership of the data and intellectual property rights to the data be managed?

For projects involving commercially-sensitive research or research involving third parties, seek advice of your Faculty Contract Manager when answering this question. If this is not the case, you can use the example below.

Since I am the owner of the data and since I am not working with a company, these all will be linked to me. The data will also only be saved in my personal drive and TUD One Drive linked to my student account as backup, which are only accessible by me.

10. Which personal data will you process? Tick all that apply

- Signed consent forms
- Data collected in Informed Consent form (names and email addresses)
- Email addresses and/or other addresses for digital communication
- Other types of personal data - please explain below

Roles of employees from the Municipality (if applicable).

11. Please list the categories of data subjects

Members of the general public that represent stakeholders in the case study I examine in this research and employees of the Municipality of Rotterdam (if possible).

12. Will you be sharing personal data with individuals/organisations outside of the EEA (European Economic Area)?

- No

15. What is the legal ground for personal data processing?

- Informed consent

16. Please describe the informed consent procedure you will follow:

Potential participants will first be asked if they would be willing to be interviewed regarding the topic of my research. All the participants that agree to be interviewed and are selected for interviewing will be asked for their written and digitally recorded consent via the interview consent form I will be drafting for this research, for taking part in this study and data processing. The interviewees will again be reminded of their rights and agreements (which are also in the informed consent form) again at the start of the interview.

17. Where will you store the signed consent forms?

- Same storage solutions as explained in question 6

18. Does the processing of the personal data result in a high risk to the data subjects?

If the processing of the personal data results in a high risk to the data subjects, it is required to perform a Data Protection Impact Assessment (DPIA). In order to determine if there is a high risk for the data subjects, please check if any of the options below that are applicable to the processing of the personal data during your research (check all that apply).
If two or more of the options listed below apply, you will have to complete the DPIA. Please get in touch with the privacy team: privacy-tud@tudelft.nl to receive support with DPIA.
If only one of the options listed below applies, your project might need a DPIA. Please get in touch with the privacy team: privacy-tud@tudelft.nl to get advice as to whether DPIA is necessary.
If you have any additional comments, please add them in the box below.

- None of the above applies

22. What will happen with personal research data after the end of the research project?

- Anonymised or aggregated data will be shared with others
- Personal research data will be destroyed after the end of the research project

23. How long will (pseudonymised) personal data be stored for?

- Other - please state the duration and explain the rationale below

The thesis report which contains pseudonymised personal data will be publicly available on the TU Delft repository after graduation.

24. What is the purpose of sharing personal data?

- Other - please explain below

Personal data will only be part of the consent form and will not be shared.

25. Will your study participants be asked for their consent for data sharing?

- Yes, in consent form - please explain below what you will do with data from participants who did not consent to data sharing

I will explain to them exactly how the data will be used and how it will be pseudonymised. They will be informed that the interview recording will be transcribed and checked, and from this transcription personal details will be removed and only parts of the transcript will be extracted just for it to be used in the report text for argumentation and substantiation. Participants are informed through the consent form that only their position/role might be used (with no more specifications than that).
When referring to the specific interviewee during the quotations, a coding system will be used (for example, if it is a member of the general public this will be denoted with GPx, where x stands for a number).

V. Data sharing and long-term preservation

27. Apart from personal data mentioned in question 22, will any other data be publicly shared?

- No other data can be publicly shared - please explain below why data cannot be publicly shared

Because as a master student I am not required to share data of my research, I will choose not to. The only data that would be relevant for sharing would be quotes from interviews.

29. How will you share research data (and code), including the one mentioned in question 22?

- My data will be shared in a different way - please explain below

The relevant data (i.e. interview questions and quotes) will be shared as part of the Appendix of the Master Thesis report in a summarised form after personal details are removed and the transcripts are coded. This data will be available publicly after being published in the education repository.

30. How much of your data will be shared in a research data repository?

- < 100 GB

31. When will the data (or code) be shared?

- As soon as corresponding results (papers, theses, reports) are published
- At the end of the research project

32. Under what licence will be the data/code released?

- Other - Please explain

Data is published as a Master Thesis so no license is required.

VI. Data management responsibilities and resources

33. Is TU Delft the lead institution for this project?

- Yes, the only institution involved

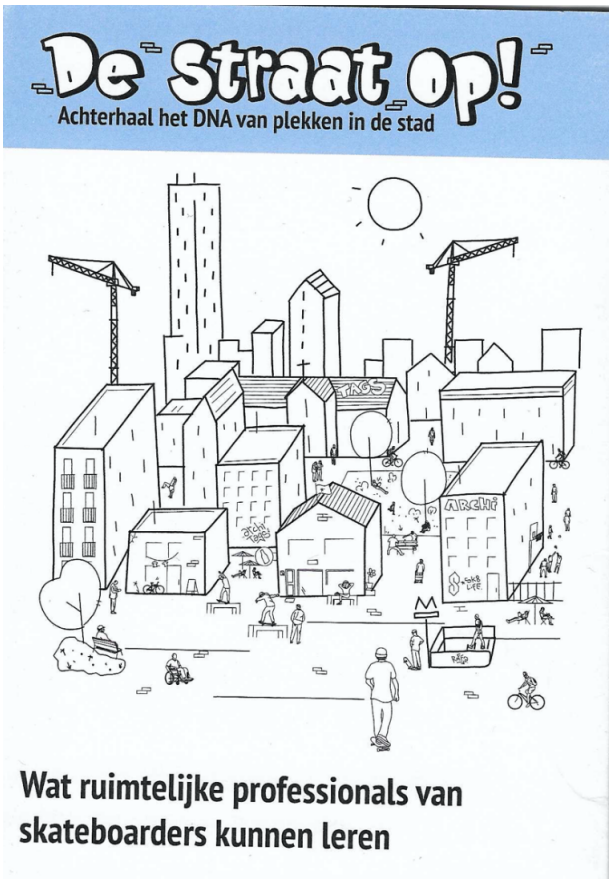
34. If you leave TU Delft (or are unavailable), who is going to be responsible for the data resulting from this project?

Johan Ninan (J.Ninan@tudelft.nl)

35. What resources (for example financial and time) will be dedicated to data management and ensuring that data will be FAIR (Findable, Accessible, Interoperable, Re-usable)?

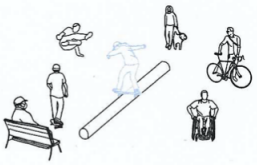
No resources are required since I will be doing the data management myself and since no data will be shared beyond what will be in the Appendix of the Master Thesis which will be available on the TU Delft repository.

D Appendix D - Skate Symposium Handout



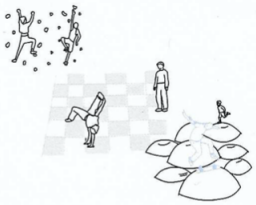
Wat dragen skateboarders en andere urban sporters bij aan de stad?

Skaters dragen bij aan de ontwikkeling van openbare ruimten als gebruiksruimte. Spontane activiteiten hebben **aantrekkingskracht op een brede groep gebruikers om zelf ook iets te gaan doen,** waardoor op den duur hele **inclusieve plekken** kunnen ontstaan.



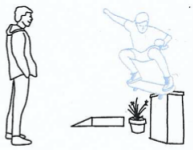
Het is een activiteit die zonder plint met cafés of winkels **levendigheid & veiligheid** kan brengen op plekken in de stad die (op sommige momenten) minder goed gebruikt worden. Skaters laten zien hoe **eigenaarschap in de stad** er uit kan zien.

Het kan helpen om onze stad **speelser en uitdagender** in te richten. Urban sports zijn toegankelijk en zorgen ervoor dat **mensen bewegen**. Sommigen blijven erdoor zelfs op het rechte pad. De steden met de beste openbare ruimten, trekken skate-toerisme aan en de sport voedt de lokale creatieve industrie. Skaten traint de **creativiteit**, waardoor binnen de gemeenschap veel kunstenaars en ontwerpers te vinden zijn die toffe dingen voor de stad terugdoen.



Wat kunnen we leren van de skaters hun kijk op de stad?

Skaters kijken op een creatieve manier naar objecten en plekken. **De bestaande stad is altijd het uitgangspunt** op hun zoektocht naar mogelijkheden voor nieuwe tricks. Plannenmakers en ontwerpers moeten de bestaande stad ook als startpunt nemen om op voort te bouwen.



Tijdens een skatesessie zijn skaters even **écht onderdeel van een plek**. Ze eigenen zich deze toe en zien ze ook hoe anderen de plek gebruiken. Hoe reageren mensen op elkaar en op hun omgeving, wat speelt er hier? Dit kan plannenmakers en ontwerpers helpen om het **DNA van een plek te achterhalen.**

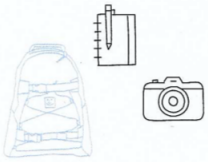
Skaters schakelen tussen de snelheid van fietsen en lopen, waardoor ze de stad op beide snelheden ervaren. Plannenmakers en ontwerpers moeten rekening houden met de **snelheid waarop mensen de stad ervaren.** Nu is veel nog op de auto gericht, maar met de mobiliteitstransitie moet dit veranderen.

Skateboarden is een opvallende activiteit die leidt tot **gesprek met andere gebruikers** van de stad. Voor plannenmakers en ontwerpers is het essentieel om het gesprek uit te lokken en te praten over mensen hun omgeving.

De straat op als een skater: achterhaal het DNA van plekken in de stad!

1. Ga voorbereid op pad

Pak je tas in, neem iets mee om mee **vast te leggen wat je ziet**. Straatfotografie (smartphone of camera) is een goed middel of neem een schetsboek mee. Om goed mee te krijgen wat er speelt kun je hebt best **lopend en fietsend** (of beter nog op je skateboard) op pad gaan.



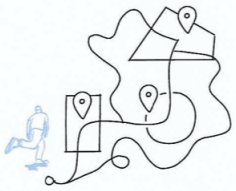
2. Bepaalde je juiste spots

Bepaal van tevoren op welke spots (skatetaal voor plekken) je **verwacht de meeste mensen of andere interessante sporen te kunnen spotten**. Deze bezoek je in ieder geval, verder beweeg je door het gebied zonder vaste uitgestippelde route.

3. Observeer & leg vast (onderweg)

Laat je leiden door **wat je aandacht trekt**. **Leg vast** wat opvalt. Let daarbij op:

- hoe men de **ruimte gebruikt** & **sporen** van gebruik/toe-eigening
- **inrichting** van de ruimte
- opvallende **gebouwen** en **objecten**
- **typische** dingen voor deze plek
- **contrasten** tussen bovenstaande



4. Observeer & leg vast (blijf staan)

Als het ergens interessant is, **blijf er dan langer hangen**. Blijf minimaal 15-30 minuten. Vraag jezelf:

- **Wie** wonen/werken/leven er rondom deze plek?
- Zijn dit ook de mensen die deze plek **gebruiken**?
- **Hoe** gebruiken ze deze?
- Welke **behoeftes** zitten hierachter?
- **Faciliteert** de plek en zijn omgeving **dit** of **zou dat anders moeten**?
- **Wat** maakt het dat ... **juist hier** kan gebeuren?
- Zie je **sporen van** bepaald **gebruik**?
- Hoe is de **relatie** tussen de **straat** en de **gebouwen**?
- **Praat** met mede-gebruikers! **Vraag** ze naar de plek of de wijk.
- Ga bij jezelf na of je hier op het **juiste moment** bent geweest of dat je op een ander **moment** terug moet komen.

5. Terug achter het bureau

Je gaat altijd meerdere keren op verschillende momenten en tijden de straat op. Eenmaal binnen, **organiseer je bevindingen.** Zoek naar **patronen** in je foto's en **orden** je notities. Vergelijk je reflecties met die van anderen en zorg ervoor dat wat je vastgelegd hebt een **belangrijke plek** krijgt **in het document of plan.** Deze verslaglegging van het **DNA** moet ervoor zorgen dat de karakteristieke elementen in **de verdere plannen voort kunnen bestaan**. Leg binnen deze plannen niet te rigide **vast wat waar mag en hoe plekken gebruikt dienen te worden.** Faciliteer de kaders waarbinnen deze plekken **toegeëigend kunnen worden.**

Macba in Barcelona

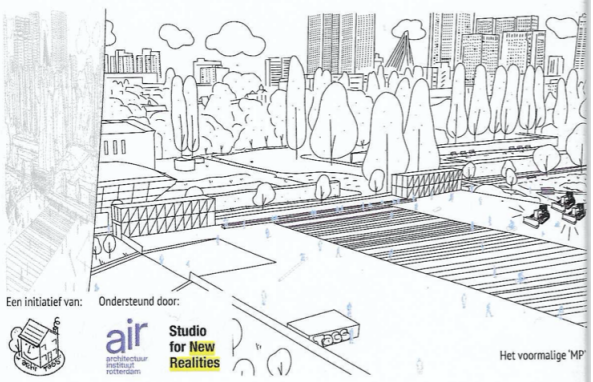
Ieder nieuw plan begint bij de bestaande stad. Er gebeurt zo veel in die stad, dat dit in de vergaderkamers soms niet bekend is en achter het bureau vaak niet te vinden is. De mooiste dingen in de stad ontstaan vanzelf en staan niet op ruimtelijkeplannen.nl.

Als je ergens zelf niet woont, dan kan een tool als een skateboard helpen om een plek te leren kennen en het DNA te achterhalen. Tijdens het uitoefenen van je tricks, ben je even écht onderdeel van die plek, je eigent je deze toe en bent je heel bewust van je omgeving. Zo kom je erachter dat ook anderen de stad op hun eigen manieren gebruiken.

Natuurlijk is niet iedereen comfortabel op 4 wielen, maar het gaat erom dat je de straat op gaat. Daar valt van alles te oogsten wat de plannen kan verrijken en wat de stad zijn eigen karakter kan laten behouden. Pak je camera, een krantje of doe je rolschaatsen aan en dompel je onder in het gebied waar je aan werkt.

De straat op!

Mike van Staten



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Het voormalige 'MP'