Research Thesis

Places of non-resistance

An explorative study to the incorporation of resistance in the architectural design process to foster urban densification

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Abstract

Dutch cities are both expanding and densifying, corresponding to a global trend in which people increasingly tend to live in cities. Urban densification implicates the development of new buildings and redevelopment of part of the existing building stock, to meet the aims of future cities and their populations. These alterations to intensively used urban spaces will evoke resistance from involved stakeholders. As such, this research aims to identify strategies to design buildings without resistance, by studying resistance throughout all phases of a building process and determining the power of architects in coping with these resistances. These strategies enable architects to design and develop buildings of non-resistance. Firstly, the most recurring definition of resistance is that it is an action that is executed against an opposition. The effect of resistance, in the degree of intention, visibility and recognition, varies. This study distinguishes between overt resistance, in which intention and recognition are clearly delineated, and everyday resistance, which cannot be clearly defined, which is often invisible, and not well articulated. The elaboration of resistance in the built environment is shaped by means of a focus group and several expert interviews. Outcomes are that resistance is inseparably linked to the built environment and shapes projects. The interviewee faced both overt resistance and everyday resistance. The strategy that interviewee applied, in response to resistance, can be divided into two categories. Intended strategy, where certain emerging resistances are solved from experience, protocols and premeditation and Emergent strategy, where mostly from an ad-hoc situation is responded to. Intended strategies for an architect to deal with resistance is mainly focused on existing, overt resistances. Where everyday resistance is often forgotten. Where a solution is often sought reactively. This research makes a proposal to deal with this everyday resistance. Whereby the strategy goes from mostly emergent to intended. And thus can be anticipated in advance. The proposed strategy looks for needs and values in the neighborhood. This is done by making an inventory of specific values of individuals and turning them into general values. These values are then a starting point to base design decisions on. It is up to the designer to give his own interpretation. When these values are adhered to, people may disagree about the elaboration of these values, but (if all goes well) the result will be in line with the original value of the environment.The goal with this strategy is to design a building that has as little resistance as possible. Also called a building of ‘non-resistance’. The proposed strategy is explored, further defined and used in a case study of Rotterdam

Keywords
Resistance, built environment, densification, design strategy, architecture, non-resistance

Introduction

When the museum Boijmans van Beuningen in Rotterdam commissioned MVRDV to bring their competition design to reality, the museum would add a new icon to the city of Rotterdam: an art depot. MVRDV had designed a teacup, about 40 meters tall, with a fully reflective facade. Standing in front of the building, the city, with its many high-rise buildings, would present itself in the reflection of this new art depot. However, this design encountered unexpected resistance from one specific closely located stakeholder: the Sofia Child Hospital. The hospital wanted a modification to the reflective façade because the reflection would scatter light into the garden and common areas of the hospital. The hospital found this undesirable and filed a lawsuit, which went all the way to the highest court. In the end, the court ruled in favour of the hospital, arguing that it infringed on the hospital's operation. MVRDV, therefore, had to modify the facade. They did this by providing the areas that would reflect towards the hospital with opal glass, which would prevent the reflection (Raad van State, 2016).

Occurring resistance by densification

It is prevalent that in dense urban areas, the density of different opinions is just as high. The growth of resistance will only increase as more and more people start living in cities. The expectation is that in the year 2050, 70% of the world population will live in urban areas, compared to just over half right now (United Nations, 2018). The same tendency of urbanisation is visible in the Netherlands. The Randstad will be further densified within the upcoming decades, due to the high demand for inner-city living and a large housing shortage (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2018).

With the trend of densification entails a multitude of chances and opportunities to improve the current city (e.g. growth of housing stock and improvement of public facilities) (Hamers, 2020; Nabielek et al., 2012). In the process of densification, however, developments have to cope with multiple barriers. Barriers are a variety of obstacles, such as processes, people, laws and policies, that could prevent the development of realisation. One of those barriers is formed by the concerns and conflicting interests of the surrounding community and involved actors regarding the development (Cytron, 2004; Farris, 2001; Wheeler, 2001). These concerns can grow to different types of resistances. Each actor involved in the development process has its own perspective on the design and management of the spatial realm; with the presence of many actors, conflicting interests and ideas will have a significant impact on the process of city development.

Reacting and responding to resistance as an alternative approach

The most common and known resistance is the resistance shown by citizens, organisations and other involved actors who have the power to stop further developments by the more traditional way of expressing their resistance through regulated channels (e.g regulated by law and notices of objections) and non-regulated channels (e.g silent protest, obstruction, boycotting). In the Netherlands, the possibility exists to start a legal process during each building phase (for the initiation phases regarding the destinations plans, in the preparation phase regarding the building permits). Those processes are a legal base for actors to change or prevent a proposed design, (Raad van State, 2016),

delay the development (Haaft, 2002), or even prevent the whole building to be built (Studio Hartzema, 2012). In this worst-case scenario, resistance prevents the densification of cities, while a societal need for this densification is at stake.

As an alternative for formal participation via legal procedures, the voice of the involved actors could be incorporated in advance into new developments, by hearing their voices and opinions. This type of participation of involved actors and initiators of the development is an approach that grows in importance,and the incorporation of many views in proposed designs is even becoming a requirement within the new national 'omgevingswet' (BZK Implementatieteam Omgevingswet, 2020).

By focusing early in the process on gathering opinions and insights around a new building project, these needs and values can be incorporated into the design in an early stage as well. Nonetheless, the outcome of the most commonly used participation processes is mostly a compromise between two or more different opinions, which does not take away the resistance of each individual participant.

This research is exploring an alternative approach to deal with resistance. Whereas the perspective of the architect is central. For the architect unused opportunities for densification are noticed. The design process, however, contains opportunities to identify and incorporate probable resistances in an early stage by using these resistances as design parameters to shape buildings. This research, therefore, focuses on designing for '*non-resistance*'.

Hereby, the goal is to prevent resistance in the whole design and development process. Beside the mostly known and common resistances, such as the resistances with new building permits, which have mostly a legal en policie type of resistance. The architect incorporates resistance preventing and solving solutions into the design itself and explores design elements itself which are '*non-resistance*' by itself, by making it an architectural choice, instead of an architectural must.

This approach could contribute to a more densified city. complying with societal needs. The aim of this research is to identify strategies to design a building without resistance, specifically to be applied in dense cities. The outcome of this research is used as a guide in the design phase of the graduation project. Here, one case study building will be designed in the currently most densifying part of the city centre of Rotterdam.

Research question

This study is structured according to three questions (one main research question (MRQ) and two sub questions (SQ)). Each question will be addressed at the end of the chapter and will lead to a conclusion. The following main research question (MRQ) and corresponding sub-questions (SQ) are used to guide the research.

MRQ: How could a designer strategically take design decisions to realise building developments, contributing to urban densification, without creating resistance?
SQ1: How is resistance defined in theory and is this theoretical definition applicable in the built environment?
SQ2: Which strategies for coping with resistance are applicable in the built environment?

Method and approach

For the first part, a literature study is executed to explore theoretical definitions of resistance, and to determine a specific definition of resistance which could be applicable within urban building development. Then a focus group and expert interviews are held, to define the type of resistance that occurs in the built environment and how they deal with resistance. Again literature study is used to define the influence of a designer, and literature study is used to describe an approach for using resistance as a guiding theme in the design phase. Logical argumentation deducts the answer to the main research question from the methods above. As such, design strategies for non-resistance are found by reasoning from the understanding of resistance in the built environment, and the power of the architect to influence resistance during a development process.

Reading guide

This research is structured in four parts. An introduction, an answer to the first and second sub-question and the answer to the main question. This remains a generic answer. This research is part of a larger project, in which the described strategy (found in this research) is applied in a specific design case. The findings of the tactics and operation have been processed and further elaborated in this part of the thesis.

Resistance in theory and the built environment

Before being able to work towards a strategy of non-resistance in the building process and towards design elements that create a building of 'non-resistance', a deeper understanding of resistance and its counterpart, non-resistance is needed. When is something just an opinion, criticism, or an unusual living pattern, and when can we speak of resistance? By knowing and understanding different types of resistances, multiple perspectives to resistance can be defined. These definitions are used to shape conditions for the counterpart of resistance: non-resistance. In this chapter, a theoretical position towards resistance is explored and formulated, and possible definitions that can be used in the built environment are discussed. Lastly, a theoretical definition of non-resistance is explored that is applicable for this research.

The act of resistance

Researchers have used the term resistance to describe a wide variety of actions and behaviours at all levels of human social life (individual, collective and institutional) and in a number of different settings (e.g, political, social systems, entertainment, literature and the workplace). As Weitz (2001, p. 669) wrote: "The term resistance remains loosely defined allowing scholars to see it almost everywhere and others almost nowhere". Resistance is described in fields ranging from revolutions (Scott, 1985) to hairstyles (Weitz, 2001). Given this variation, it is not surprising that there is little consensus on the definition of resistance. Although defining resistance itself is an ongoing process not yet leading to general consensus in academics, defining a workable/usable definition of resistance is needed to make a useful strategy to cope with it.

In the research of Hollander & Einwohner (2004), a multitude of different research papers is compared and analysed. Their analysis of resistance concludes that resistance is diverse regarding multiple aspects. Firstly, the source where resistance originates from widely varies. It could originate and be initiated on an individual as well as collective scale and can be locally or widespread discussed. Another element is the target of resistance, from individuals, groups and organisations, to institutions and social structures. The last source of diversity could be the goal of resistance. While resistance is most frequently understood to be aimed at achieving some sort of change, in some cases the behaviour is best described as resistance that aims to restrict change.

This same study of Hollander & Einwohner (2004) presents a widely supported framework of resistance. They conceptualized the definition of resistance by comparing a multitude of different studies. The definition and presence of resistance are based on a triangle of three actors: the actor of intent (*the resister*), the target (*the opposition*) and the *observer* [figure 1]. The target and observer together ensure recognition. First, virtually all uses of resistance included a sense of *action.* [figure 1] In other words, authors seem to agree that resistance is not a quality of an actor, or a state of being, but involves some active behaviour, whether verbal, cognitive, or physical. A second element common in nearly all applications of the term resistance, is a sense of opposition, against an opposite power or dominating force. An act of resistance from a resister to powerful opposition provokes a reaction from the one in power, which can increase the difference in the power relation. Overcoming this shift in relation, ask for a careful reaction from the side of the opposition.

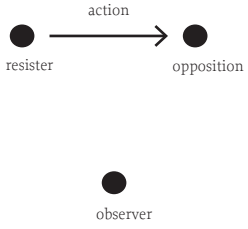

Figure 1: the triangle of actors where the action (from the resister) is against an opposition

The act of *resistance* is by its definition also something temporal and personal, representing itself in many ways. Resistance is always in a constantly changing state, which is influenced by time and context (Baaz et al., 2018). The actions from the resister are described in the literature in a diverse pallet. It is a combination of multiple conditions.

In resistance research, it is not possible to look at the subject of resistance without studying and understanding power relations between agents. Resistance is inseparable from power relations, it can only arise within power relations (Iñiguez de Heredia, 2017). Johansson & Vinthagen (2016) argue that the activity of resistance - a social action that involves several actors - is an action that is a response of an opposite power relationship. If resistance can be any act, and power relations are complex and intersected, how is it possible to distinguish an act of resistance from any other act? When is it really motivated by the desire to avoid, tame or challenge domination? (Iñiguez de Heredia, 2017)

Views on Resistances

As stated, many views on resistance - and the absence of resistance - exist in literature. The research of Hollander & Einwohner (2004) distilled that various discussions of resistance differed in their position regarding two central issues: intent and recognition [figure 2].

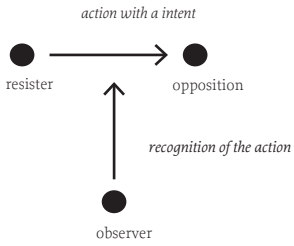

Figure 2: the action with intent and recognition of the ation

The intention of resistance is considered to be multiple, complex, contradictory and evolving over time according to Baaz et al (2018). The intention of the performing actor may not be clear and maybe perceived differently afterwards, or it may even be impossible to explain what the intention was.

Although it is not necessary as a criterion of resistance to define the intention, it is still valuable to identify the intention. and so it is possible to point out that there is a relationship and conflict issue. However a resistance activity can be assessed by itself, this can be done by examining the content of a possible existing or emerging intention of the resister to understand. Baaz et al (2018, p. 31) describe possible contents of resistance as follows: “The content of the intention could be political, material/economic, related to personal needs/ satisfaction, emotional satisfaction, upholding a value, curiosity, wanting to hurt someone/something, to increase status/identity/position of oneself, et cetera.”

There are different views in the literature on whether intention alone classifies as resistance, or whether an action is required to classify as such, Scott (1985) describes. He argues that intention is a better indicator of resistance than the outcome of the action since the act of resistance does not always lead to the desired result. Johansson and Vinthagen (2016) propose a definition that contradicts the idea that resistance can only be named as such when the intention is clear. Johannsson and Vinthangen (2019) rejects the idea of criterion to propose a definition that reverses resistance to solid resistance that is routinely done (as a pattern of action but which is not publicly politicised or formally organised). In this way, a form of intention is always present in resistance, without there being an immediate goal of resistance.

Other authors point out that assessing an intent is difficult, if not impossible (Weitz, 2001). The last group shares the opinion that the actor's intentions should not be central while classifying something as resistance and that it is the act itself that makes something observable as resistance (Rubin, 1996). Rubin (1996) is stating that the resister, opposition, and observer are a strong threesome, needing each other to be able to create and recognise resistance. Holland & Einwohner (2004) are using a very strict definition of intention, they argue that there is only resistance when the intention of the action is very clear and articulate.

The second element is the visibility of resistance and the recognition of it as an act. Some say that the claim of action out of resistance could be classified as resistance (Scott, 1985). Others say that resistance can only be qualified as such when the opposition and an observer recognise the (intended) action as resistance (Rubin, 1996). Recognizing the act of resistance can be done by for example onlookers, the general public, members of the media or researchers.

Differentiating in resistance

Although resistance can perhaps best be described as an intangible and multidimensional phenomenon, carried out by many different stakeholders, it is still possible to identify a number of dividing lines between different definitions of resistance (Baaz et al., 2018).

The biggest dividing line is between those doing research on organised and more concrete (politically articulated) forms of resistance (e.g the practice of various social movements, forms of organization and discourse) and those focusing on the more hidden and less visible resistance performed more or less on a daily basis (everyday resistance). Organised resistance most often aims at obtaining public attention, confronting the opposition and articulate demands. For those performing everyday resistance, the aim is rather to achieve various effects most of the times coincidentally visible (in public) and achieve various goals in a more non-confrontational manner.

The first form of resistance is formulated and shaped by Hollander & Einwohner (2004), Rubin (1996) and Wietz (2001). They describe resistance named by Hollander & Einwohner (2004) as *'overt' resistance* [figure 3]. It is behaviour that is visible and readily recognised by both targets and observers as resistance and, further, is intended to be recognised as such. This includes collective acts such as social movements and revolutions as well as individual acts of refusal. All scholars are agreeing that this type of 'overt' resistance, can be described as, and is described as the consensual core of resistance.

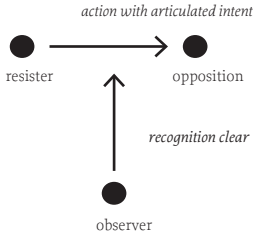

Figure 3: overt resistance, where as the intent of the action is articulated and clearly recognised

Whereas all scholars are underpinning this type of resistance, and agree that acts of this type should always be classified as resistance, there is a group that states that it is only one point on a broader spectrum of resistances. Limiting the definition of resistance as something strict is neglecting and undermining the diversity and complexity of resistance Holland & Einwohner (2004).

A second group of scholars issue within resistance studies is if an action needs to be acknowledged or recognised as an act of resistance in order to qualify as resistance. When conceptualizing resistance, there are again a multitude of different conflicting definitions. In the definition of Scott (1985), Baaz (2018), and Johansson and Vinthagen (2019) resistance is plural, complex and always changing, where a strict definition of resistance is impossible, because the preconditions and the appearance are constantly changing. They name this type of resistance: *everyday resistance* [figure 4]. Johansson and Vinthagen (2019 p.i) describe everyday resistance as such: "Everyday resistance is about the many ways people undermine power and domination, through routine and everyday actions. Unlike open rebellions or demonstrations, it is typically hidden, not politically articulated and often ingenious. But because of its disguised nature, it is often poorly understood as a form of politics and it is potentially underestimated."

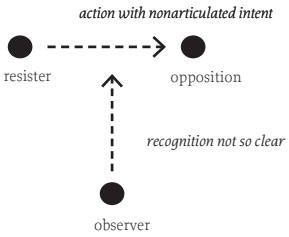

Figure 4: everyday resistance, where a clear definition of resistance is plural, complex and changing

Non-resistance

The term non-resistance is not used as the theoretical counterpart of resistance in or theory on resistance. In the scope of this research, non-resistance is stated to be the theoretical approach, preventing resistance, though. Reasoning from the threesome as described above, two possible views are prevalent in the literature regarding the absence of resistance (or the presence of non-resistance). Some claim that only so-called 'overt' resistance is the only 'real' type of resistance (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004; Weitz, 2001). This type of resistance could be described as a situation where all three actors recognise the act of resistance. As soon as one of these actors would not recognise the act of resistance as such, resistance would be absent (Rubin, 1996). The other perspective is resistance as defined by Scott (1985) and Johansson & Vinthagen (2019), where the intent of the 'resister' is more important than the recognition of resistance. This type of resistance is more subjective, but should not be forgotten to be considered in the design process.

Theory of resistance from a built environment perspective

The research field of resistance is still developing rapidly. At the moment, it lacks a unified definition of resistance. Consensus exists, however, on the elements of resistance that together define the concept of resistance. This concept can be linked to the built environment as follows. When developing buildings, there is almost always a power difference between involved stakeholders, which will often lead to resistance.

Resistance in the built environment has an effect on the development processes because it asks for consultation moments, creates disputes, and sometimes even delays. However, resistance also has its physical manifestations: resisters can force the opposition to adapt physical building components. This resistance can present itself in the built environment in an overt and everyday manner. It is the resistance act, the agency itself, or the way of acting that shapes the type of resistance. Next to the large variety of types of resistance, the effect of resistance on the built environment also depends on many context-specific factors. A one-size-fits-all approach to coping with resistance does not exist (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2016).

For the scope of this research, we speak about resistance as over a spectrum of resistances, from 'less' to (too) much resistance (in size and visibility). The scope of coping with resistance in this research project is taken from the (mainly) oppositional perspective, due to the fact that building actors are the main target of resistance. The role of non-resistance is not a denial of the presence of resistance, it is searching for a solution to incorporate all types of possible resistances and overcoming them that way. That reaches further than the resistances that are visible, with a clear intent or recognised as such. 'Everyday' resistance, that is context-specific, has to be explicitly taken into account as well and thereby the not very clearly articulated needs of the surrounding neighbourhood could be incorporated. Resistance is used as a guiding theme for creating and shaping the building design on the subjects of material, experience, expression, detailing, usage etc.

After gathering insights on resistance as described in theory, the first sub research question can be answered. *How is resistance defined in theory and is this theoretical definition applicable in the built environment?*

Resistance has no one all-encompassing definition. Elements composing the definition of resistance that all scholars agree on are that it is an action, executed by a resistor against an opposition - the target of the act of resistance. Academic discussion exists around the intent of resistance and recognition of resistance by an external observer. All agree that externally observable acts or intentions of resistance indicate the presence of resistance. For some, this is the only type of resistance, others see less explicit resistance also as resistance. They see a difference between the intent of resistance and the actual act, and they also see resistance of which the intent or action is not recognised by an observer still as resistance. In this research project, it is taken as a base that resistance is a spectrum: ranging from the type of resistance that has a clearly recognisable intent and act (*overt resistance*), towards resistance with un- or less recognisable intent or actions (*everyday resistance*). Pinpointing these two extremities facilitate working with the spectrum. Within the built environment both overt resistance and everyday resistance are relevant and supposedly present. Context-specific factors within the built environment do further complicate the multitude of possible types and forms of resistance that could affect a building process.

Resistance, represented in the built environment

Resistance fulfils a prominent role in the creation of buildings. Resistance as mentioned in the previous chapter is an inevitable part of the creation process of the built environment. Current ways of reducing, preventing and/or avoiding resistance in development processes are among others participation processes, risk analyses, co-creation, and other ways to overcome issues following from power differences. It is often a specific form of resistance that is investigated in each type of study. A specific type of study that solely focuses on investigating and overcoming resistance does not seem to exist or to be applied.

This study aims to investigate if and how resistance is present in building development processes and how professionals in the field cope with resistance. To get a grip on what the representation of resistance is in this process, several expert interviews were held. These experts each have different roles in the building process. This gave me a first rough idea of how resistance develops and what actors in the built environment could do. To first become familiar with the concept of resistance in the built environment, a group session with young professionals was used to brainstorm on different types and forms of resistance.

Exploring resistance in building practice
A focus group was set up to brainstorm on the presence of resistance in the built environment. Since resistance is something personal, time-dependent and can be approached from many different perspectives, it is a topic that asks for brainstorming with people with other frames of reference. So, a group was formed of young professionals with different expertise within the built environment - with enough experience of the field to reflect to yet with still a fresh view, able to think out-of-the-box. The group consisted of two architects, one construction manager, one urban planner and one landscape architect.

The meeting was set up to answer multiple questions, such as what resistances do exist and what are their targets? Are they focused on certain domains (e.g. exterior, interior, programme, green, etc.)? Are there specific resistances that keep recurring? And, are there types of resistances that come up now and require specific attention in the research?

The session consisted of three different rounds, all aimed at gathering information from different perspectives. The first round was about the resistance that the participants encounter in their own professional role, discussed by means of a fictive case. In this round, the participant brainstormed from the perspective of the opposition. The second round consisted of brainstorming from the perspective of an actor who works or lives in the area, so from the perspective of the resister. The third round was about the resistances everyone experienced between stakeholders within the development and building process; here both the resister and opposition perspective could be followed.

The outcomes of the focus-group session are translated into six main takeaways, which are as follows.

1. Resistance is interpreted very differently; there is not one specific type of resistance as defined in the literature that is used by all participants. The entire spectrum is present.
2. There are a lot of situations in which resistance can arise. The context, person and situation are determining the type of resistance that is created. Participants found it difficult to come up with concrete resistances for the fictive case, because they could imagine many resistances, yet they could not judge their credibility since they did not have a lot of context-specific information about the case.
3. Most of the resistance that was mentioned, is about the influence the change has in the private domain of the resisting person. “How does it affect me as a person” and not so much “How does it affect the collective”.
4. The resistances found were mostly about programme public space, and building envelope. When asked if the participants could come up with resistance about “what happens inside”, the answer was that “they needed to have more information about that to form an opinion”. Remarkably, no statement was made about the location, building volume, building method. Furthermore, it was observed that people thought on a concrete level - on visible objects that could cause irritation - rather than on an abstract level (e.g. “I’d like more green” instead of “I’d like a cooler climate”).
5. Throughout the various rounds, it is mainly about the resistance that people experience themselves. Not about the kind of resistance they generate in the building process.
6. The participants mostly agreed on the notion that resistance should always remain manageable and workable. Then resistance is not so much experienced as a nuisance but as a method of shaping a design or process.

In-depth experiences with resistance

The types of resistances gathered during the focus group session provide initial insight into the types of resistances that can occur in the built environment. A further exploration of resistance in the built environment is necessary in order to be able to act and design to overcome it.

By speaking to experts in the field of the built environment, each with different expertise and working in a different profession in the building branch, an attempt is made to obtain a more specific picture of what kind of resistance actually occurs in the built environment. Examining what kind of resistance is experienced and how it is dealt with in practice, creates a starting point for a strategy proposal on how to cope with resistance.

Expert interview set-up

To get a representation of the field, I chose four disciplines related to different phases in a building development process; from initiative to building management. The interviews were executed as semi-structured interviews:the interviewees were asked a number of set questions, such as; how does the interviewee define resistance? And how does resistance manifest itself in their work? They were also asked about anecdotal examples, where resistance has been encountered; how certain situations occurred, what the relationships were like and how the experts dealt with them. Next to the questions that recurred in each interview, the semi-structured set-up gave the freedom to pose follow-up questions that were relevant and specific for each interviewee.

Four interviews have been carried out with a total of five interviewees (the first interview was held with two architects; a couple sharing their architectural enterprise). They have been referred to as follows in the following paragraphs.

1) Architect	Architect 1 (A1) & Architect 2 (A2)
2) Work planner with duties of project manager	Builder (B)
3) Administrator and project manager	Contractor (C)
4) Project Developer	Developer (D)

The four interviews were recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions are attached in appendix 1[1].

Expert interview outcomes

All interviews started with the question, how the interviewee defines the term 'resistance'. The definitions of resistance ranged from the opposition (A2), rejection (A1), inhibition (D), disagreeing (B) and preventing and resisting (C). Despite the fact that they all describe it differently, all have to do with an 'opponent' trying to prevent something and that it is a term that has to do with power relations. It was noted that resistance is mainly about changing circumstances: 'Wanting to resist change' (B), 'Not wanting change' (A1).

However, they add to their definition that resistance can never be avoided. As Architect 1 (A1) indicates: 'I think that every change initially provokes resistance', which is also indicated by the Contractor (C) : '[...] that can be a healthy resistance, where you can adapt things, to having to live in a different way than you are used to. [...] That is more a kind of, we have to get used to that kind of resistance'. In addition, the importance of resistance is indicated, that it can add value to a project. As the Developer (D) states: "Without friction no shine. If you can just do whatever you want, and there is no resistance from financial, environmental, regulatory constraints, then you can be swimming in a bit of a vacuum, of course, that will never happen, but you can ask yourself what kind of resistances will benefit you and what kind of resistances will limit you.". Architect 2 (A2) does not like the idea of building completely without resistance, it would make it very boring, the process itself and also the building itself. You need resistance to give it character and identity.

[1] Due to the confidentiality of some interviews, the transcriptions could not be retrieved from the repository; they are available via request from the author or mentors. The transcriptions are handed in with the research paper at P4.

The conversations were about how resistance is present in practice. Different types of resistances were named. The developer (D) gives a good example: 'You notice in all these cases that there's a huge difference whether you're dealing with private individuals or companies or municipalities/authorities. With companies you can often deal with the case rationally, you put two lawyers up against each other and then you can often work it out. With private individuals, it can be very emotional'. Developer D explained that a new building project on a rural site is clear: the principle sets rules and requirements and you have to work with them. Whereas with a project in the city centre, in addition to a client you also have to deal with local residents who can be very unpredictable. Resistance from the municipalities and government is often expressed on an individual basis, as all interviewees point out. For example, a single official or supervisor, with a personal view.

Everyday resistance is often coupled to emotional behaviour of the resister, which makes them act in a personal rather than rational manner. In the case of the developer (D), he indicates that in a certain project the removal of one bush evoked a lot of emotion with residents, who felt that the developer (D) was destroying their whole lives with this measure, while they were hardly bothered in D's eyes. In the case of the contractor (C) an example where foundation repair was involved, where the complainants themselves did not get any improvement, but they did keep the shack opposite the house: '[...] we have gone through a careful process, in the city work is done, you can not prevent, but there you have a resistance that is provoking much emotion. It is very much a matter of feelings, they are so personally affected in their own home, which is the only place they have now.' Architect 1 (A1) used the example of a private client to say, 'and yet you have to try to open your eyes, because that is difficult, because there is a lot of emotion behind it, and yet the proposed dream home will look different than the one they had initially imagined'.

That these unfocused resistances sometimes escalate is evident from three examples the interviewees gave. In the case of the developer (D) that the residents said that their whole life was destroyed because one bush was placed. The builder (B) says that in a project that was built next to a trailer park, it sometimes happened that someone with a gun stood inside. Then you have to try to keep these people as friends the builder (B) says. The intention was not clear what he wanted from us, but you have to deal with it anyway. Architect 1 (A1) named a project from a city in Limburg, where all the permits had been given, construction had been completed and after the scaffolding had disappeared there was a revolt. The neighbourhood revolted, building materials were destroyed, and the entire local media and politics were mobilized by the protesting residents. There was even a carnival float dedicated to representing the renovation.

Resistance is seen as inseparable from the development, building and maintenance process by the interviewees, however, it must remain controllable. The developer (D) explains: 'The worst that can happen is that at a certain point you go to a level of resistance that you can no longer control. Resistance reaching the newspaper is enough to lose control, to provoke that there are and will be demonstrations, and yes, then you also have your hands in the hair regarding how you can deal with that and when it will stop. Before you know it, you're the angry developer who only wants to make money and cut down trees, and of course, nothing can compete with that.' The contractor (C) and the builder (B) both mention examples in which they are told that the construction work and construction planning must not suffer as a result, it must not cause any delay. This indicates that resistance should not become too much.

Resistance from residents is sometimes unpredictable since the intention is not always clear: it is suddenly there (may have a trigger). The developer (D) explains about a housing project: 'There we are also with a group of residents, where we are building 82 houses. In the process you continuously have to walk on eggshells with what information you give them and what not. Because if you give one resident certain information, and the other one not, then there is also unrest in such a residents group.' When asked how he identifies sensitivities at the start of a project, he adds: 'by doing desk research, not by talking, because you have to deal with them in a prudent manner'.

All interviewees clearly work toward a permit moment or similar: a moment at which a new phase is legally entered and against which no objections can therefore be raised. The contractor (C) says: You work towards a building permit during the preparations, and the resistance often is unnoticed after that. The builder (B) also indicates that people are working towards a deadline, such as the moment of delivery when the house is officially transferred to the new resident. Architect 1 (A) tells the anecdote of a construction project in which a site hut was placed opposite a house: we had obtained all the permits, including the permit for the site hut, we had installed all the facilities when after three weeks we received a phone call from the municipal housing inspection department saying that the site hut had to be removed. But because all the permits had already been given, they couldn't do anything to us'.

Experts already use several methods in the field to deal with resistance. The developer (D) uses the expression: "keep your friends close, but keep your enemies closer" and says that 'resistance has to turn into understanding, mutual then, so it's not just from one side'. On the construction site, the builder's (B) team uses several methods to keep local residents involved in the construction process: by making a newspaper in which the construction activities of the coming period are mentioned and by organising meetings in which the residents' committee can give its input. Architect 1 (A1) says that looking for low-hanging fruit helps to quickly identify commonalities and facilitate successes. The contractor (C), who has a lot to do with current residents, mentions the inclusion of a small budget that can be spent individually and

personally for residents, in order to make the intervention better suited to the needs of residents. In addition, The contractor (C) also indicates that he will keep room for objections in the planning, keep in touch with residents, look at the possibilities, and deliver tailor-made work. Finally, he says that it is important to have a clear and unambiguous story to the neighbours and residents.

Strategies to cope with resistance according to Mintzberg

From the interviews, it can be seen that there are multiple ways to deal with resistance. Examples were given on coping strategies with foreseen and unforeseen resistances, mostly aiming to reduce the visibility and/or scale of resistance to keep building development processes controllable. These coping strategies could be reflected with a theoretical framework of (Mintzberg et al., 1998, p. 12) [Figure 5] regarding deliberate and emergent strategies.

(Mintzberg et al., 1998) - a scholar in strategic management, whose work is also applied in spatial strategies - created a framework that describes how an intended strategy adapts during a process, due to unplanned encounters. At the start of a process, an intended strategy is created, with the aim to follow this path. As many parts as possible are deliberately executed in line with the intended strategy, some parts will inevitably not be executed. Unpredictabilities will always interfere with the deliberate strategy, and thereby cause a (parallel) emergent strategy: a way to adapt to the newly created situation.

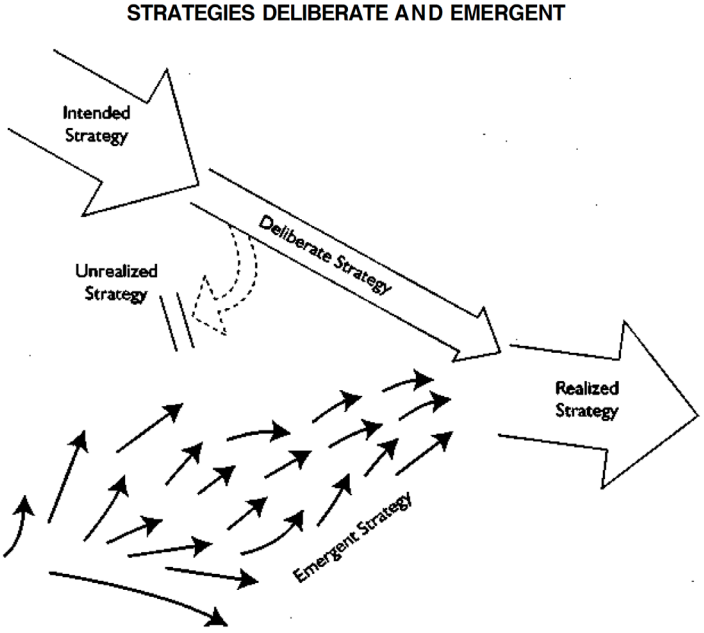

Figure 5: The theoretical framework of Mintzerg et al., 1998 p.12]

In the case of the built environment, resistance could be an unpredictable force that can ask for an emergent strategy. These resistance, mostly overt and recurring resistances, that are taken into account in the intended strategy, will not cause any delays or stagnations. Coping with relatively predictable resistances could be planned out to a large extent or is part of official procedures with strict guidelines. Everyday resistances or unpredictable overt resistances on the other hand, will ask for an emergent strategy. This asks for adaptivity and ad hoc/improvising responses from the target of resistance (mostly the building parties); it will mostly cause delays or even stagnation of building processes. In an ideal building process, the realised strategy as sketched by Mintzberg consists for the largest part of an intended/deliberate strategy and only for a limited extent of emergent strategies, to keep in control.

Strategies to cope with resistance in the building practice

Then, the second sub research question can be answered. *Which strategies for coping with resistance are applicable in the built environment?* For answering this question, a focus group and expert interviews are held, and their outcomes are coupled to strategic management theory. The focus groups and interviews - as expected - confirm the presence of resistance in their practice. The interviewees all named resistance as an action, added by personally differing definitions and examples on the form and occurrence. Furthermore, the interviews make clear that building professionals are mostly the target of resistance in a process, they less often take the role of resister.

A distinction between types of resistance which is made by the professionals, is between controllable and uncontrollable resistance. In case of controllable resistance, the building actor is in charge. He or she directs the process and can react to resistance within the space a process offers. Controllable resistances can both be clearly recognisable resistances and less articulated and visible resistances. In the last case, rather than anticipation, experience and flexibility make it possible to deal with resistance. Uncontrollable resistance is mostly unpredictable and asks for immediate (re)action. More than controllable resistance, uncontrollable resistance is very personal and context-specific. Uncontrollable resistances can have a clear intention yet an unclear goal, it could also be difficult to recognise, or it could have a small degree of resistance.

In the building sector, all strive for the same goal: (timely) realising building projects. All interviewees strive for improving the living quality within the built environment. Coping with resistance is needed to proceed with developing processes. All handle resistance based on their experience, insights, empathy and the viable procedures in their organisations. However, all cope with resistance in different ways. Also, the way they react to uncontrollable resistance - with unknown outcomes regarding costs, impact on planning, time effort and result - differs: some experience it as a nuisance, others as an interesting challenge.

The way the professionals deal with resistance - their strategy - can be mirrored to the theory of Mintzberg. The multitude of strategies as mentioned by the interviewees could be categorised in the two main components of a strategy that Mintzberg distinguishes: intentional and emergent strategies. Coping with resistance as part of an intentional strategy is based on anticipation, and could be incorporated in the process as reserving additional financial means, incorporating enough time for formal objection periods and connecting with local actors in an early stage. Within an intentional strategy, resistance keeps within a controllable range. Coping with resistance as part of an emergent strategy is based on ad hoc reaction: which is handled based on experience and ability to improvise. Ad hoc reactions to emerging forces have a large chance of leading to unsatisfactory results for both the resisting and targeted party. Furthermore, emergent strategies can unintentionally catalyse the growth of resistance, leading to escalation. Strategies to prevent emergent forces to lead to large resistance and strategies to make as much resistance as possible part of the intentional strategy will benefit building development processes.

Design for non-resistance

In the previous chapters, we found that resistance comes in many forms: the “extremes” on the spectrum are defined as overt resistance and everyday resistance. In the building sector, the wideness of the spectrum of resistance is observed. Two main strategies to cope with resistance have been defined as intended strategies and emergent strategies. This chapter discusses the impact architects and architectural design can have on the development of resistance and on strategies to cope with resistance.

Influence of an architect on the emergence of resistance

To be able to conceptualise the influence of an architect (process role) and architectural design on coping with resistance in a larger building development process, resistance and possible coping strategies are schematised figure 6. From the previous chapters, it could be stated that uncontrollable resistance can have the largest (negative) impact on building processes. Keeping resistance under control is an important goal for the sector, to which an architect can make a contribution. How this contribution would work is sketched in this paragraph.

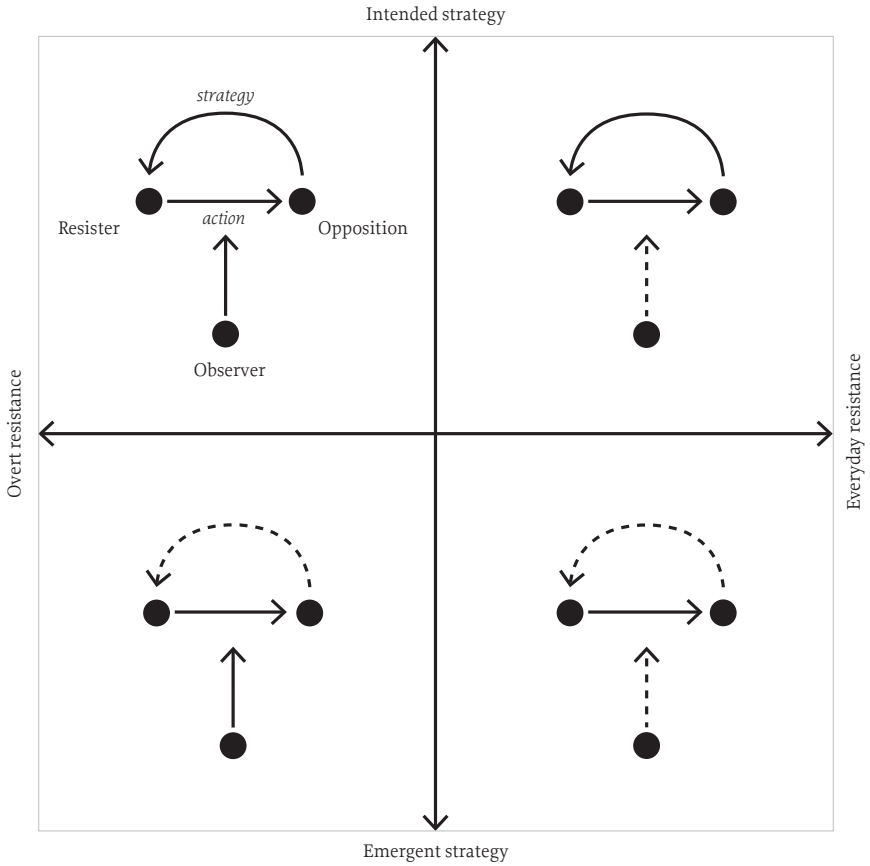

Figure 6: The scheme based open two axes. the horizontal axis represents the spectrum of resistance and the vertical axis distinguishes the spectrum of strategies.

The scheme in figure 6 is based on two axes, creating four quadrants. The horizontal axis represents the spectrum of resistance as defined in literature, represented by overt resistance at the left side and everyday resistance on the right side. The vertical axis distinguishes intended and emergent process management strategies as identified in expert interviews and the theoretical framework on management strategies from Mintzberg (1998). Each quadrant is explained here:

- The first quadrant represents an intended strategy that copes with overt resistance. These strategies involve anticipatory solutions for clearly articulated resistances that are recurring in building processes; when the resistance occurs, the planned strategy for coping with it can be followed.
- The second quadrant represents an intended strategy that copes with everyday resistance. Such strategies have no specifically anticipated plans for specific resistance, but incorporate time, financial means etc. in their process to be able to cope with unexpected relatively small resistance.
- The third quadrant represents an emergent strategy that copes with overt resistance. These types of emergent strategies have to deal rapidly with acute problems that were not taken into account in building process planning.
- The fourth quadrant represents an emergent strategy that copes with everyday resistance. This quadrant is hardest to pin point, and is seen as hardest within the building profession, according to the interviewees. Everyday resistances can be hard to recognise and understand as building parties (as targets of the resistance mostly), while they ask for unplanned action. They are easily overlooked, which can cause greater emergent forces and become uncontrollable later in the process.

The framework sketches a global overview of types of resistance and coping strategies. The challenge for the building sector as a whole, is to incorporate as many potential resistance as possible into the intended strategy. This decreases the chance for delays and stagnations. Furthermore, ideally the resistances are targeted before they expand to an uncontrollable level. Since the research project aims to facilitate architects with building for non-resistance, the question can be posed how an architect can apply this framework.

Next to the role of designer, an architect has also a role in the overall building process, that could prevent resistance or that could overcome everyday resistance by widening the intended strategy. As a process actor, an architect is in contact with his client, local residents and other (local) actors. Here he or she can play a role in the inventory of everyday resistance. Furthermore the design attitude of the architect is of importance; is he or she some that listens to others to gather input for design? The architect - and the first visual impressions of a project - often also is the representative of a development.

Looking at the four quadrants, the architect can have a positive impact on the process in two ways. Firstly, by his or her signaling role, the architect can detect early stage everyday resistance and act upon that. Thereby, it could be overcome that everyday resistances become overt resistance; both within the intended strategy and in the emergent strategy. More importantly, the actual

architectural design can have an impact on resistance as well. By smart design, an architect can ideally completely prevent resistance to occur. Next to that, everyday resistance that is not included in intentional strategies (but have to be dealt with via emergent strategies) can become part of these intentional strategies by a "design-for-non-resistance-strategy".

Factors of influence on resistance in architectural design
After discussing the process role an architect can fulfill to prevent resistance to occur or scale-up during building developments, this paragraph aims to study how to translate (coping with) resistance to the design of buildings and building elements. The careful design of building elements as a means to cope with resistances specifically lies within the power of the architect. Mainly the incorporation of coping with (potential) everyday resistance in the intended strategy rather than the emergent strategy, is a responsibility an architect could contribute to.

The scope of the architect is nowadays more and more wide. Some architects see themselves as more than just a designer: a visionary, a thinker, a writer, an entrepreneur, a developer and more. However, the influence we have as architects, in the role of a designer, is limited, we can not actively change laws, or actively solve income inequality of neighbourhoods. At least we can aim to contribute something on a bigger scale with our architecture by designing a good building. By heart, we are thinkers and shapers of the built environment: designers of the living space. The architect has, according to van Dooren (2020) a playing field of different domains, aspects he or she should address in the design process. Over these domains, architects have the power to make decisions that could reach further than the building's aesthetics and functionality only. Schön (1985) distinguishes relative many (twelve) different domains within architectural design (processes). They vary from programme and site, building elements and organisation of space, to scale, cost and representation. Van Dooren (2020) made the distinction between five domains; (1) form and space, (2) material, (3) function, (4) physical context, and (5) social, cultural, historical and philosophical context.

With this, Van Dooren (2020) says it is about physical expressions of the building (form, space, material, function, context) and process (values) of a building (social, cultural, histories, philosophical). Starting points are the process (values) of building without resistance. It is the cultural and social values of an environment that are the input for shaping form, space, materials, program and spatial context.That makes it crucial to have sufficient values, from which the translation to the spatial and physical aspects can be drawn.

Strategies for design
As discussed in the previous paragraphs, an architect can prevent resistance to occur or scale-up by strategic design. This paragraph describes how design decisions can strategically be made, from the way to approach a design challenge to the design of specific building elements. A management framework that distinguishes activities or decisions on strategic, tactical and operational level is used as a starting point.

The goal of design strategies that should cope with resistance, is to prevent everyday resistance, or the scaling-up of everyday resistance. By incorporating as much everyday resistance as possible into intended strategies, large-scale resistance that has to be tackled by emergent strategies is prevented. A challenge that is faced, is created by the tension between the dynamics and plurality of everyday resistance and the statics of a building.

From strategy to building component
For the translation of strategies that cope with resistance to architectural design elements, an abstract and concrete level have to be bridged. Management theory that divides decision making over three hierarchical levels - strategic, tactical, and operational (seen in figure 7) - is used as inspiration for this translation. This is also known as Anthony's triangle in literature (Anthony, 1965).

The strategic level comprises a generic way to cope with a problem and is focussed on the bigger picture of an urban development. It provides conditions to build with the least possible resistance and directs the process, and as such enables process actors to take decisions on a tactical level. Decision making on the tactical level is about applying the generic strategy to a specific context. The focus on context reduces the level on which decisions are focussed. The tactical level forms a context specific base that facilitates the operationalisation of designing for non-resistance. The tactical level translates a context-specific strategy to physical (design) components. Thereby, this level leads to concrete outcomes that realise the targets set the strategic level: building without resistance.

Figure 7: The triangle of Anthony. A management theory that divides decisions making over three hierachical levels - strategic, tracitcal and operational. The daily transactions and operations are part of the operational dicision level.

This framework that roots in management theory is interpreted and further specified within this research project as follows. The strategy aims to create consciousness and make explicit to the designer that the design process and broader development process has to cope with resistance. The strategy describes which facets could be used to inventorise (potential) resistance. The strategy to design for non-resistance does not take resistance as a central theme, but sets needs and values of actors central. On a tactical level, an inventory is made of the context specific values and needs of local actors and other related stakeholders, leading to a programme of value. This programme of values can be seen as complementary to a programme of requirements that is created on behalf of a client; it sets out a baseline to ensure a certain quality, but then based on needs of involved actors. By acting in line with the programme of values, emerging resistance is actively prevented and countered. The architect is in power to translate the programme of values to architectural design, on the operational level. It is up to the architect to make his or her own design interpretation of the needs and values of actors, leading to a non-resistant design. The three levels are further explained below, and shown in Figure 8/

Strategic level
As stated, the strategic goal is to realise developments that densify inner cities, with as least resistance as possible. The strategy that targets this goal, is the centralisation of needs and values from the neighbourhood and involved actors. Participation creates a certain level of playing field, which decreases the differences within power relations, and decreases the conditions for resistance to arise. Next to that, the neighbourhood experiences co-ownership of potential improvements that could be coupled to intended developments. With a positive approach towards potential resisters, a positive atmosphere is created within which creativity can arise and the potential of the neighbourhood could be strengthened; in a more negative atmosphere, the focus will be on what people do not want to happen.

So, the strategy aims to inventorise (potential) resistance, to minimise power differences, and to offer a positive perspective. Concrete strategies are to:
1. Initiate an open dialogue with local residents and stakeholders
2. Listen to the resistance that becomes visible and involve it in the open dialogue
3. Secure quality of life and entrepreneurial climate
4. Be clear in the communication and be aware that communication makes resistance visible
5. Work with the values of the neighbourhood and involved actors, and translate these into a programme of values
6. Evaluate design proposals. monitor (potential) resistance and use the outcomes as opportunities to improve the design and the design process.

Tactical level

The above described strategies are applied onto a specific case, to identify local and context specific resistances, needs and values. The outcome of activities on tactical level, is a programme of values. This programme of values is created as follows. Multiple sources are to be consulted - (social) media, collective and individuals - to get a grip on the overall atmosphere of a neighbourhood. Resistances of individuals are specifically incorporated, since one opinion can shape a development process. It is specifically not sought for an average or median, the "outliers" are in case of building without resistance much more important. It could be discussed what actors would change or add to their neighbourhood, as means to understand what is important to them. The essence of such dialogues should be able to be translated into their opinion on the level of values. Underlying irritations or other feelings could sometimes be expressed by an explicit need, while the actual value is a different one. An example from the case study design that is executed simultaneously, is a neighbour who expressed her need for more green, to create a more pleasant outdoor space. After posing more in depth follow-up questions, it was understood that she was mainly desiring a safe open public space where her mentally disabled clients could move safely, instead of a place dominated by cars. The concretely expressed need was green in the public space, while the underlying value was safety.

Operational level

The operational level encompasses the design of buildings. Here, an architectural interpretation of the programme of values is translated to physical elements - each designer will interpret the same value differently and come up with an own design. When looking back to the previous example, the need for safety in the public space, a designer could come with multiple solutions. Think of closing the entire street for cars, creating a street where a low speed is necessary by for example creating zigzags or height differences, separating pedestrian and car flows. Of course, green could be used as an obstacle or separator. When a design fulfills the need of an actor or complies with his or her values, resistance will not arise and a building of non-resistance is created. Intermediate contact with local actors can help to ensure a fulfilling translation of values in architecture, and can steer the design timely if needed.

Strategy towards buildings of ‘non-resistance’

Goal: Creating a building with as little resistance as possible

Strategy level / Design strategy

1) Initiate an open dialogue with local residents and stakeholders

2) Listen to the resistance that becomes visible and involve it in the open dialogue

3) Secure quality of life and entrepreneurial climate

4) Be clear in the communication and be aware that communication makes resistance visible

5) Work with the values of the neighbourhood and involved actors, and translate these into a programme of values

6) Evaluate design proposals. monitor (potential) resistance and use the outcomes as opportunities to improve the design and the design process.

Tactical level / Design choices

Concext specific values

Input of values from fieldsresearch Baankwartier

A) Identity

B) Safety

C) Livability

D) Community

Input of values form participation process Cool-zuid

A) Health

B) Sports

C) Green

Operational level / Design solutions

Designer specific answers

In the context of Baankwartier design solutions for safety can be:

1) Create activity all-around the building, by making entrance all around the buidling

2) Maximise social acitivies on the ground floor, by adding social program.

3) Contect to the context, creating a synergy with other entrepreneurs by adding a central garden where all the backsides are connect to

4) Make the place pedestrian friendly by creating a street where the car is guest.

Figure 8: *The scheme of strategy, tactics and operational. According to Anthony’s triangle. On the left it shows the strategy. The middle and right columns are elaborations of this strategy. The tactics, also called the program of value, are determined by the environment. The content is now filled in on the basis of the case study ‘runway quarter’. On the right are the design operations and choices. Where some examples on the case of security are worked out in points combined with a physical addition.*

Conclusion

After proposing how a strategy can be translated into design, the main question of this research can be answered: *'How could a designer strategically take design decisions to realise building developments, contributing to urban densification, without creating resistance'.*

In the demand for urban densification, resistance has to be dealt with. In order to work with resistance, a distinction is made in this research between two extreme definitions: 'overt' resistance, in which the intention and recognition is clear, and 'everyday' resistance, which cannot be clearly articulated and recognised.

By developing in the built environment, resistance is dealt with in two different ways. On the one hand, with an intended strategy, where resistance is anticipated on the basis of experience, protocol and insight. On the other hand, resistance is dealt with by means of emergent strategies. Emergent strategies are often responded to ad-hoc, with mostly an uncertain outcome.

This research provides a strategy for emergent everyday resistances. The designer has influence on process and the design outcome. Firstly, the designer can steer the process and prevent resistance from developing into uncontrollable resistance, and secondly, by shaping his/her design in such a way that the design does not evoke resistance. Providing the condition for a building of 'non-resistance'.

In the proposed strategy, the designer searches, by entering into an open dialogue with involved actors, for the value and needs of the neighbourhood. These (specific) values are, on a tactical level, described in a programme of (generic) values. By identifying these needs and incorporating them into the design, it is possible to prevent (as yet unarticulated) resistance from becoming apparent later in the process.

The translation of the programme of values is then a guideline for the architect to shape the design. With this programme, the architect still has a great deal of creative architectural freedom. It is important that the architect continues to mirror his interpretation of the programme of values to the surroundings.
If the value is properly incorporated into the design, the hypothesis is that the possible (everyday) resistance will be limited. In this way, part of the emergent resistance that can occur in the process is overcome by making it an intended strategy.

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