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2018

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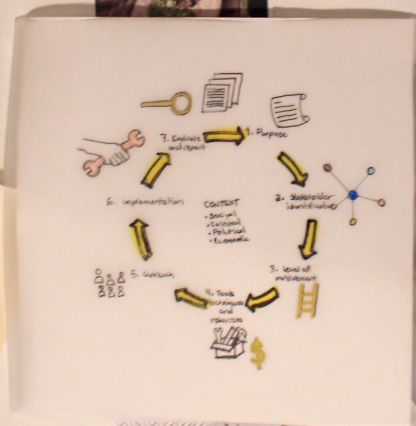
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Organization LUND UNIVERSITY	Document name: Stakeholder Participation in Property Development
	Date of issue: 2018-08-13
Author: Carlos Martínez-Avíla	

Title: Stakeholder Participation in Property Development

Abstract

The traditional representation of urban property as a technical exercise of market analysis, valuation and investment appraisal fails to link urban property development to the general notions of sustainable development and thus the connection to environmental, economic and social aspects of sustainable urban development. Knowledge of the social processes in the production and use of the built environment, specifically in land and property development processes, is vital to understand the complexity of urban development and thus to assist the management of urban development processes. A key aspect to the social production of urban property development is the understanding of the relationship between the strategies, interests and actions of the various actors involved in the development process and the economic and socio-political context, which frames their decision-making. Moreover, the implementation of urban property development projects involves and affects a wide range of stakeholders with different attributes, interests, needs and concerns who hold the capacity to influence the project negatively or positively. Inadequate management of the concerns of stakeholders can lead to controversy and conflict about the implementation of the project. Community attitudes are one example that has been shown to be an important factor when planning for, and locating, a development project. The demands of different stakeholder groups vary and a project can benefit one stakeholder group whilst simultaneously having a negative impact on others. Thus, accommodating the various stakeholders' needs and concerns as well as balancing their differences, conflicts and power relations is vital for the successful implementation of sustainable urban property development projects. The aim of this research was to acquire a deeper understanding of stakeholder participation in the early stages of property development as well as to contribute to the conceptualization of stakeholder participation in property development. A qualitative research strategy was chosen with case study and participatory action research as the main research methods. Four cases were conducted through participant observations, workshops, interviews, questionnaire, field notes and document analysis. The findings reveal that stakeholder participation in property development is an emerging practice, however, proactive actions to stakeholder participation remain at the individual level rather than an organizational or institutional level. However, if supported, these practices have the potential to influence the work of organizations and further contribute to sustainable urban property development. This research contributes to the conceptualization of stakeholder participation in property development by proposing a systematic framework for stakeholder participation in propery development projects.The framework contains a set of guiding principles and steps that can guide project managers to plan and implement stakeholder participation processes.

Key words: Stakeholder, participation, property development, sustainable development

Classification system and/or index terms (if any)

Supplementary bibliographical information	Language: English
ISSN and key title: 1651-0380 Stakeholder Participation in Property Development	ISBN 978-91-85257-19-5 (Print) ISBN 91-85257-19-2 (Pdf)
Recipient's notes	Number of pages	
	Security classification	

Signature   Date 2018-08-13

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Para Mamá y Papá

Acknowledgements

Summary

Cities play a major role in achieving sustainable development and that the local level is an important perspective for sustainable change. Thus, the property development sector can contribute to the development of sustainable cities. However, for this to occur, an integrated approach to sustainable development needs to be incorporated in the property development process. In this way, the property development process is not only regarded as the physical and technical process of producing and delivering buildings, but also a social process governed by economic, social, environmental and political interests. In an attempt to understand such provision, it is important not to overlook the institutional structures within which urban property development projects operate as well as the social agencies involved in such structures. The range of actors which could be involved in property development projects is vast; therefore, it is important to distinguish the organizations involved in the development process and their relationships to the actors' roles, strategies and interests in the urban project. These actors can be classified as the wide range of stakeholders involved in the property development process. Studies in the field of urban development often refer to stakeholders as citizens, the public or the community, while the stakeholder concept is broader in a project management perspective. Despite the terminology that is used, the fundamental concepts of those studies are to identify and analyze the various interest groups, organizations and individuals that hold a vested interest or that can be affected by an urban development project. The implementation of urban property development projects involves and affects a wide range of stakeholders with different attributes, interests, needs and concerns who hold the capacity to influence the project negatively or positively. Thus, inadequate management of the concerns of stakeholders can lead to controversy and conflict about the implementation of the project. Community attitudes are one example that has been shown to be an important factor when planning for, and locating, a development project. The demands of different stakeholder groups vary and a project can benefit one stakeholder group whilst simultaneously having a negative impact on others. Accommodating the various stakeholders' needs and concerns, as well as balancing their differences, conflicts and power relations through a stakeholder participation process, is vital for the successful implementation of sustainable urban property development projects. The aim of this research was to acquire a deeper understanding of stakeholder participation in the early stages of property development as well as to contribute to the conceptualization of stakeholder participation in property development. A qualitative research strategy was chosen with case study and participatory action research as the main research methods. The purpose of the use of case study and participatory action research methods was to establish the research focus and to set the foundation for a theoretical discussion. A total of four cases were conducted,

two of which were conducted through participatory action research. The findings reveal that stakeholder participation is an emerging practice and that a proactive approach to stakeholder participation remains at the individual level rather than an organizational level. Efforts have been made to implement collaboration platforms to engage various stakeholders in urban property development processes. These range from external dialogue processes with private actors and community groups to internal dialogues to coordinate the interests of different administrations in municipalities. It is also evident that municipalities follow the Swedish Planning and Building Act procedural requirements to coordinate the interests of the general public in formal planning processes. Moreover, developers also depend on the legislation procedures to engage the general public in the development process. However, the lack of clear guidelines in the legislation on how to conduct a stakeholder participation process requires that municipalities, as well as developers, conduct participation processes in parallel with the procedural requirements under legislation. These proactive measures are the result of municipalities' initiatives as well as joint collaborative actions where municipalities, developers and even the community sector have joined forces to conduct stakeholder participation processes. From a developer's perspective, the project manager has the responsibility to identify and manage the various interests that will influence the project. According to developers, it is important to involve residents and the public in the making of plans and proposals. Failure to do so can create mistrust about the plans and further bring opposition to the development project. Furthermore, it is important that the formal planning process can balance and coordinate interests from the developers, the wider public and other stakeholders.

Due to the complexity of property development projects and the requirements with respect to sustainable development and climate change, traditional public, private and community sectors roles will need to expand. Different sectors will be required to collaborate in their developmental activities in order to reach solutions that comply with the needs and concerns of various stakeholders and those responsible for the environment. A collaborative approach to stakeholder participation that combines forces between the public, private and community sectors will be necessary. Stakeholder participation is defined in this thesis as a process where stakeholders are identified, their interests and concerns are prioritized and strategies for participation are implemented and evaluated. As described in the findings of this thesis, it became evident that an approach to stakeholder participation is needed in property development organizations. This thesis shows that stakeholder management theories and strategies may well benefit from participation theories and concepts. By integrating the two, a systematic approach to stakeholder participation can be created which in turn can enhance the collaboration and integration of relevant stakeholders in decision-making processes. Moreover, this systematic view of stakeholder participation has the potential to achieve better-informed decisions.

However, to safeguard sustainable change and increase the likelihood to effective stakeholder participation, organizational change, institutionalization and commitment to participation are vital within property development organizations.

Sammanfattning

Städer spelar en stor roll för att uppnå en hållbar utveckling och lokalsamhället är ett viktigt perspektiv att beakta för hållbar förändring. Fastighetsutveckling kan därmed bidra till utvecklingen av hållbara städer. För att detta ska kunna genomföras behöver hållbar utveckling integreras i processen för fastighetsutveckling. Genom att integrera hållbar utveckling i fastighetsutvecklingsprocessen kommer det inte längre enbart vara en teknisk och fysisk process för att producera och leverera byggnader, utan även en social process som styrs av ekonomiska, sociala och politiska intressen samt miljöhänsyn. För att fullt förstå detta är det viktigt att inte bortse från de institutionella ramarna inom vilka fastighetsutvecklingsprojekt verkar samt även vilka sociala strukturer som existerar inom ramarna. Det stora antalet aktörer som kan involveras i fastighetsutvecklingsprojekt gör det viktigt att definiera vilka dessa aktörer är och hur de relaterar till varandra; vilka roller har de, vilka strategier och intressen finns i det specifika projektet. Dessa aktörer kan definieras som de olika intressenter som involveras i fastighetsutvecklings-processen. Studier inom stadsutveckling definierar ofta intressenter som med-borgare eller lokalsamhället, medan det inom projektledning antas ett bredare perspektiv. Oberoende av vilken definition som används, är det främsta syftet med dessa studier att identifiera och analysera de olika intressentgrupper som finns för ett specifikt projekt samt de organisationer och individer som har ett särskilt intresse för eller kan påverkas av stadsutvecklingsprojektet. Genomförandet av fastighets-utvecklingsprojekt involverar och påverkar således ett stort antal intressenter, som alla har olika intressen, behov och krav, och som alla har möjlighet att påverka projektet både i positiv men också i negativ riktning. Detta innebär att bristfällig förvaltning av intressenternas olika behov och krav kan leda till konflikter gällande genomförandet av projektet. Lokalsamhällets åsikter om ett specifikt projekt har visat sig vara särskilt viktiga att ta hänsyn till vid planering och placering av ett fastighetsutvecklingsprojekt. Olika intressenter har olika krav och ett specifikt projekt kan således vara till fördel för en intressentgrupp och på samma gång ha en negativ påverkan på en annan grupp. Att ta tillvara på och förvalta de olika intressentgruppernas behov och oro, och samtidigt balansera deras olikheter, konflikter och maktrelationer genom en intressentdeltagandeprocess blir därmed avgörande för ett lyckat genomförande av hållbara fastighetsutvecklingsprojekt. Syftet med denna forskning var att förvärva en djupare förståelse för intressentdeltagande i tidiga skeden av fastighetsutvecklingsprojekt samt att bidra till begreppsbildningen för intressentdeltagande i fastighetsutvecklingsprocessen. En kvalitativ forskningsstrategi valdes med fallstudier och deltagande aktionsforskning som de främsta forskningsmetoderna. Syftet med fallstudierna och deltagande aktionsforskning som forskningsmetoder var att etablera forskningens fokus och sätta grunden för den teoretiska diskussionen. Fyra fallstudier

genomfördes, varav två genom deltagande aktionsforskning. Resultaten visar att intressentdeltagande är en framväxande strategi och att ett proaktivt förhållningssätt till intressentdeltagande återfinns främst på individnivå men genomsyrar inte hela organisationen. Det har gjorts försök att implementera samarbetsformer för att involvera olika intressenter i fastighetsutvecklingsprojekt, från externa samtal med privata aktörer och samhällsgrupper till interna samtal för att koordinera de olika intressena från myndigheter och kommuner. Det är tydligt att kommuner följer Plan- och bygglagens krav på att koordinera och förvalta lokalsamhällets intressen i den formella planeringsprocessen. Fastighetsutvecklare är dessutom beroende av den lagstiftade processen för att involvera lokalsamhället i processen. Avsaknad av tydliga riktlinjer i lagen gällande intressentdeltagandeprocessen medför dock att kommuner och även fastighetsutvecklare driver dessa processer, enligt eget initiativ, parallellt med de lagstiftade kraven. Dessa proaktiva åtgärder är ett resultat av kommunala initiativ och gemensamma åtaganden mellan kommun, fastighets-utvecklare och lokalsamhället i att driva intressentdeltagandeprocesser. Från fastighetsutvecklarens perspektiv är det projektledarens ansvar att identifiera och förvalta de olika intressen som kan påverka projektet. Enligt fastighetsutvecklare är det då viktigt att involvera de boende och lokalsamhället i planeringen. Om detta inte görs kan ett missnöje gällande planerna uppstå och leda till motstånd för projektet. Det är då dessutom viktigt att den formella planeringsprocessen kan balansera och koordinera de olika intressena från fastighetsutvecklare, lokalsamhället och andra intressenter.

Fastighetsutvecklingsprojekt är komplexa och på grund av kraven på hållbar utveckling som svar på klimatförändringar, behöver de olika offentliga, privata samt frivilliga sektorernas roller utökas. Olika sektorer behöver samarbeta för att gemensamt finna lösningar som tar tillvara behov och krav från olika intressenter. En samarbetsstrategi gällande intressentdeltagande som kombinerar resurser från de offentliga, privata samt frivilliga sektorerna kommer att krävas. I denna avhandling definieras intressentdeltagande som en process genom vilken intressenter identifieras, deras intressen och behov tas tillvara, samt strategier för deltagande implementeras och utvärderas. Från resultaten blev det tydligt att det krävs en strategi för intressentdeltagande i organisationer som arbetar med fastighets-utveckling. Denna avhandling visar hur teorier och strategier om intressenthantering kan bidra till teorier om deltagande. Ett systematiskt tillvägagångssätt kan skapas genom att kombinera de två teoretiska perspektiven, vilket i sin tur kan stärka samarbete och integrering av relevanta intressenter i beslutsfattandeprocessen. Denna systematisering av intressentdeltagande har dessutom potential att bidra till mer välgrundade beslut. Det som dock blir avgörande för att säkerställa att hållbar förändring och ett effektivt intressentdeltagande kan äga rum, är organisationsförändring, institutionalisering av intressentdeltagande som strategi, samt engagemang inom fastighetsutvecklingsorganisationen.

The author's frame of reference

I hold a Bachelor of Science degree in architecture from the University of Texas at Arlington, USA, a Master of Science degree in sustainable urban design and a Licentiate of Engineering from Lund University, Sweden. I have been involved in architecture and urban design projects as well as in architectural and urban design competitions. On the academic side, I have been involved in courses in construction and architecture, construction innovation, building information management, design communication, urban processes and the client's role in the construction process.

Apart from my academic activities, I enjoy participating in community outreach activities and contributing to international aid work. I am a member of the Swedish branch of Architects without Borders (ASF Sweden), which is an international non-profit design organization that provides architectural design solutions to communities around the world. Through this organization I have been granted the opportunity to be involved in the planning and design of a resource center in Uganda as well as in the planning of a public space project in Sweden.

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1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a description of the research background followed by a problem statement and motivation for the research. Subsequently, the aim, research questions and limitations of the research are presented.

1.1 Research background

The world's population is predicted to increase from 7.3 billion today to 11.2 billion by 2100 (United Nations, 2015a). Moreover, 54.5 percent of the world's population lives in urban areas and this figure is expected to grow 66 percent by 2050 (ibid). In Europe, 72 percent of the population lives in cities and it is expected to rise to 80 percent by 2050 (European Union, 2016a). Many European cities face social and environmental challenges, such as social exclusion, lack of affordable housing, poverty, environmental degradation and pollution (ibid). As a response to these urban challenges, national and local governments have advocated urbanization through economic growth and strategic densification in cities (United Nations, 2016b). However, to solve such urban challenges will require the integration and coordination of urban policy at all levels of government, stakeholder cooperation and collaboration at all levels of society and the integration of the global Sustainable Development Goals (European Union, 2016b).

The concept of sustainable development has been defined as "the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". This definition was first coined by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development in the report Our Common Future (WCED, 1987). This report calls for a comprehensive and integrated approach to sustainable development, which should be facilitated by new forms of international cooperation. This will in turn enhance the role of local authorities, public participation, non-governmental organizations, the scientific community and industry in order to make informed decisions in the planning and implementation of sustainable development (ibid).

Following the global trend, an increasing proportion of the Swedish population lives in urban areas. This has resulted in the development of cities to achieve the national

goal of sustainable development. One adopted strategy is densification of the built environment, as studies suggest that compact, mixed-use and high-density development served by public transit produces lower carbon emissions than conventional low-density suburban development (e.g. Senbel and Church, 2011). Indeed, a report from the Swedish parliament notes that densification and increased mixing of the city's various functions is a current trend in today's urban development strategies (Swedish Parliament, 2011). It is argued that by concentrating cities, can increase the resource efficiency in several ways (Hansson 2011, Swedish parliamentary investigations, 2012), thus contributing to a more sustainable development.

Despite the benefits that urban densification projects may bring, such projects can also have negative impacts at the local level and the likelihood increases when sociocultural dimensions of the urban environment are not taken into account. Rérat, Söderström and Piguet (2010) noted that the prevalent residential attractiveness of cities by various social groups coupled with sustainable urban development goals – such as the compact city – are two elements that are increasingly shaping our cities. They suggest that the demographic and physical restructuration processes in cities need to consider the effects these have on people – such as the displacement of communities and the resulting winners and losers from development activity – as well as the roles of private developers and local authorities in urban regeneration activities. According to these authors, this is necessary in order to find a balance between the objectives of urban regeneration, sustainable urban development and social equity and justice.

The cities of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö in Sweden have all developed individual plans for densification as a way to achieve sustainable urban development (Ståhle et al., 2009; Brunnkvist et al., 2014; Jönsson et al., 2010). Additionally, Sweden's vision for 2025 describes a plan for the densification of urban areas by adopting mixed-use developments to achieve more sustainable living environments in cities (Boverket, 2014). The emphasis on densification efforts in existing multi-family housing areas from the Million Housing Program era is of particular importance. In contrast to focusing solely on economic growth and densification, the vision states the importance of a holistic approach that considers the social dimension to achieve integrated sustainable development (Boverket, 2014). However, there seems to be a wide gap between the vision and its implementation. Indeed, Baeten (2012) warns that current urban developments in the city of Malmö could face the same mistake as in the large-scale housing developments in the sixties and seventies in that they completely ignored the needs and concerns of the population which led the inhabitants to reject the new housing estates for not meeting their expectations. As a result, the multi-family housing estates became quickly unoccupied, even before the ten-year program was completed (Baeten, 2012).

Sustainability in urban development

In 2012, UN member states, heads of state and government as well as stakeholders from the private and community sectors gathered at the *Rio+20* United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) in Rio de Janeiro to renew their political will and global commitment for sustainable development (United Nations, 2012). The outcome document, *The Future We Want*, emphasized strongly the role of cities towards economically, socially and environmentally sustainable societies. In order to achieve integrated sustainable development for the benefit and wellbeing of the present and future generations, the need for a people-centered approach was stressed (ibid). Such an approach requires the strengthening of democracy and governance, transparent and accountable institutions, responsible business practices and a responsible civil society. It was furthermore stressed in the outcome document that this can be facilitated by promoting an enabling environment that supports meaningful stakeholder participation in decision-making processes (ibid). The UNCSD concluded that an international framework of common sustainable development goals is needed in order to guide implementation and mobilization of stakeholders and resources towards global sustainable development (ibid).

Following the recommendation from *Rio+20* to develop an international framework for global sustainable development, an intergovernmental working group assigned by the UN started an inclusive project in consultation with stakeholder groups from around the world and the United Nations system to develop a set of sustainable development goals and targets (United Nations, 2015b). The outcome of this work was presented at the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit in New York in 2015 and adopted by the UN General Assembly (ibid). The outcome document, *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* is the post-2015 development agenda which includes the declaration, together with a total of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and 169 targets to be achieved by 2030 (ibid). Among these goals, number 11 states the ambition to: "make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" (United Nations, 2015b).

The increased acceptance of the transformative role that cities play in global sustainable development, as well as the need to empower local governments and other relevant stakeholders in society to achieve sustainable cities, paved the way to the creation of a common vision to sustainable urban development (United Nations, 2015b). Despite their urban challenges, cities are sites of economic growth and can act as catalysts for inclusion and innovation (United Nations, 2016a). In addition, cities play a key role in the global economy and in the achievement of global sustainable development (Sachs, 2015). A study on sustainable urban transformation showed that only a few powerful initiatives are driving urban development in a sustainable direction and concluded that key aspects for achieving

sustainable transformative change are planning and governance (McCormick et al., 2013). Moreover, the urban property development sector plays an important role in the development of sustainable cities; therefore, the property development process should take into account social, economic and environmental concerns (Deakin, 2005).

Stakeholder participation in sustainable urban development

As a response to the SDG 11, the world gathered at the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development in Quito, Ecuador in 2016 to adopt the *New Urban Agenda* (United Nations, 2016a). This global urban agenda emphasizes the coordination of resources and priorities at the global, regional, national, sub-national and local levels and the development and implementation of relevant urban policy at the right level. Furthermore, the *New Urban Agenda* calls for an urban paradigm shift that is characterized by an integrated, coordinated and collaborative participatory approach to the development and management of inclusive and sustainable cities (ibid). Such a collaborative and participatory approach demands the participation of all levels of government, civil society, private sector and all relevant stakeholders in the decision-making process of urban policy, strategies and plans (ibid). The agenda concludes that meaningful participation can only be achieved by providing an enabling environment guided by the principles of capacity building, social cohesion, dialogue and information that foster a sense of belonging and ownership among all their inhabitants, thus creating cities that are truly participatory (ibid).

That same year, ministers from European Union (EU) member states, with responsibility for urban development, gathered in Amsterdam at the informal ministerial meeting to place urban matters high in the EU agenda and to discuss the role of cities and local governments in EU policy-making and implementation (European Union, 2016b). The meeting concluded with an agreement to implement the *Urban Agenda for the EU* as a way to link urban matters in EU policy as well as to contribute to the implementation of the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, notably SDG 11 and the global New Urban Agenda (ibid). The urban agenda for the EU is a new working method that aims at strengthening the urban dimension in EU policy through effective cooperation and collaboration between the European Commission, member states, urban authorities and other relevant stakeholders (ibid).

This new working method, which consists of multilevel and stakeholder cooperation through partnerships, recognizes the important role of urban authorities as the government body that is closest to citizens. It is thus vital for these urban authorities to cooperate with local communities, the civil society, businesses and knowledge institutions to better address the complex challenges in urban areas (ibid).

Furthermore, these partnerships will integrate and coordinate EU policies and urban legislation at the local level through *'Better Regulation'*; improved access and allocation of European funds for the implementation of sustainable solutions in urban areas through *Better Funding*; and enhance the knowledge base capacity on sustainable urban solutions by sharing best practice across cities through *Better Knowledge* (ibid). Finally, it is proposed that the new working method of the *Urban Agenda for the EU* has the potential to increase evidence-based knowledge to better inform existing and future EU policy, which in turn can enhance governance to achieve sustainable urban development in Europe (ibid).

1.2 Problem statement

As presented in the previous section, cities and the urban context play an important role in sustainable development. The common global agenda for sustainable development has been defined, including the importance of a collaborative and participatory approach to create sustainable cities. Yet, the traditional representation of urban property development as a technical exercise of market analysis, valuation and investment appraisal fails to link urban property development to the general notions of sustainable development and thus the connection to environmental, economic and social aspects of sustainable urban development (Guy, 2002; Deakin, 2005). The property development process is not only regarded as the physical and technical process of producing and delivering buildings, but also a social process governed by economic, social, environmental and political interests. Knowledge of the social processes in the production and use of the built environment, specifically in land and property development processes is vital for understanding the complexity of urban development and thus assists the management of urban development processes (Healey and Barrett, 1990). This approach can transform the traditional representation of property development to an integrated environmental, economic and social structure of the development process (Deakin, 2005). A key aspect to the social production of urban property development is the understanding of the relationship between the strategies, interests and actions of the various stakeholders involved in the development process (i.e. landowners, investors, developers, consultants, public agency planning officers, politicians and community groups) and the economic and socio-political context which frames their decision making (Healey and Barrett, 1990).

To understand the social processes guiding the production of urban property development, Healey and Barrett (1990) argued for an analytical approach to the relationship between structure and agency to uncover the *structuring forces* that drive the development process and produce distinctive patterns in particular periods, as well as the way individual *actors* develop and pursue their strategies. This

approach builds on the need to pay close attention to institutional dimensions such as the strategies and interests in the production of property development and the connection between the internal power relationship of the development process to the wider power relationship of the economy and society (Healey, 1991). Thus, the broad nature of the institutional approach makes it possible to connect what is known and understood about urban property development to the environmental, economic and social content of the development process (Deakin, 2005). Calderon and Chelleri (2013) proposed that to achieve more just urban environments there is a need to challenge or balance the narrow interests of powerful actors with those that are excluded from decision making. The authors argued that it can only be achieved by implementing and coordinating a decision-making process that is guided by knowledge and expertise in stakeholder mapping, power relations analysis, participation, facilitation and integrated sustainable urban development.

It is proposed that cities play a major role in achieving sustainable development and that the local level is an important perspective for sustainable change. Thus, the property development sector can contribute to the development of sustainable cities. For this to occur, an integrated approach to sustainable development needs to be incorporated in the property development process. In this way, the property development process is not only regarded as the physical and technical process of producing and delivering buildings, but also a social process governed by economic, social, environmental and political interests. In an attempt to understand such provision, it is important not to overlook the institutional structures within which urban property development projects operate as well as the social agencies involved in those structures.

Healey (1992: p.34) points out that in property development projects "the range of actors which could be involved is potentially vast". Therefore, it is important to distinguish the organizations involved in the development process and their relationships with the actors' roles, strategies and interests in the property development project. These actors can be classified as the wide range of stakeholders involved in the property development process. Studies in the field of urban property development often refer to stakeholders as citizens, the public or the community. Despite the terminology that is used, the fundamental concepts of those studies is to identify and analyze the various interest groups, organizations and individuals that hold a vested interest or that can be affected by an urban development project. The implementation of property development projects involves and affects a wide range of stakeholders with different attributes, interests, needs and concerns who hold the capacity to influence the project negatively or positively (Olander, 2006). Thus, inadequate management of the concerns of stakeholders can lead to controversy and conflict about the implementation of the project (Olander and Landin, 2008). Community attitudes are one example that has been shown to be an important factor when planning for, and locating, a

development project (Rogers, 1998). The demands of different stakeholder groups vary and a project can benefit one stakeholder group whilst simultaneously having a negative impact on others. Thus, accommodating the various stakeholders' needs and concerns, as well as balancing their differences, conflicts and power relationships through a stakeholder participation process, is vital for the successful implementation of property development projects.

1.3 Aim and research questions

The aim of this research is to acquire a deeper understanding of stakeholder participation in the early stages of property development as well as to contribute to the conceptualization of stakeholder participation in property development.

The following three research questions, as derived from theoretical findings and practical experience, have guided the research:

> RQ1. How does stakeholder participation contribute to project success?

> RQ2. What are the challenges and opportunities of stakeholder participation in property development projects?

> RQ3. Why is facilitation important in the planning and implementation of stakeholder participation processes?

In order to answer the research questions, a qualitative research strategy was chosen with case study and participatory action research as the main research methods. The research methodology will be described more in detail in chapter two. The reason for adopting case study and participatory action research methods is to establish the research focus and to set the foundation for a theoretical discussion. The theoretical findings, as presented in chapter three, are subsequently used for the discussion and understanding of the empirical findings. The theoretical and empirical findings will support the conceptualization of stakeholder participation in property development, specifically the participation of the local community.

In all, four cases were compiled. Each case will be further described in chapter two. This specific method included participatory action research in two of the cases. Furthermore, within each case, data were collected through participant observations, document analysis, workshops, interviews and field notes. Through this strategy for data collection, it was possible to investigate how internal stakeholders and organizations work with stakeholder participation in property development projects, specifically how the local community as a stakeholder is involved, both from participating in specific projects but also by conducting an interview study with stakeholders involved in property development projects.

For this research and in order to gain a deeper understanding, it was important to come as close to the first-hand knowledge as possible. To achieve this end, the researcher facilitated the planning and implementation of participation processes through action research in the early stages of two property development projects: one in Muhanga, Uganda and one in the city of Helsingborg, Sweden. While facilitating the planning and implementation of these processes through participatory action research, a deeper understanding of local community stakeholder participation in the early stages of property development projects was obtained.

Participant observations and document analysis in the early stages of a large-scale property development project – with a social sustainability focus – further complemented the knowledge acquired in the other cases. This case was important for a further understanding of how property development organizations carry out participation processes. This specific development project was situated in the south of Sweden. The purpose of the final case, which was an interview-led study with stakeholders involved in property development projects, was to map the wider picture of the current practice of carrying out participation processes and also to corroborate the findings from the previous cases.

1.4 Limitations

The research is limited to an investigation of stakeholder participation in property development. Construction stakeholder management is often instrumental and fails to engage with the local community as a stakeholder. The current practice and theorization mainly focus on describing the task for project managers to formulate strategies to prevent project disruption from the local community rather than to engage with them to map their needs and concerns. The focus for this research is therefore limited to investigating the local community as a stakeholder in property development.

There is an especial lack of understanding of how local communities participate in the early stages of property development. The local community is often engaged in the later stages of the development and used to legitimize the development plans. This happens after a plan has already been completed. Participation as a practice puts the local community at the center of the planning process and sensitizes project managers to engage with the local community in the early stages – before any development plan is made – to develop solutions and alternatives that meet the needs and concerns of this stakeholder group as well as others. To conceptualize stakeholder participation, this research adopts the view of property development as a social process. This view is discussed in the next section.

Defining property development

Property development can be generally described as an industrial production process that involves the combination of various inputs such as land, labor, materials and finance to achieve an output or product such as the change of land use, building use or a new building over a considerable time frame, building type and location, and constant public attention (Wilkinson and Reed, 2008). The stages in the property development process are project initiation, scoping, site selection/feasibility, planning and programming, schematic design, design development, procurement, construction, post-occupancy evaluation and retrofit (Wilkinson and Sayce, 2015a). This sequence does, however, vary and stages often overlap and repeat as they are conditioned to time and space and external conditions (Healey, 1992).

In practice, property development is a complex, multi-faceted process that encompasses technical, physical, legal, regulatory, economic, social, political and environmental concerns (Guy and Henneberry, 2002; Deakin, 2005). In addition, complex property development projects have long life cycles, involve peoples' homes, jobs and future lives (Dixon, 2007). This complex characterization of the development process has resulted in studies of the property development process from different and often contested perspectives from a wide range of disciplines (e.g. economists, urban theorists, geographers, social and institutional theorists) and theoretical perspectives (e.g. economic, political, social and institutional) (Drane, 2013). Each of these disciplines and theoretical perspectives have contributed to the understanding of the complexity of property development. Even so, each of these individualist perspectives tends to view property development through the lens of its own discipline (ibid). Instead, Guy and Henneberry stress the need to take a "challenging analytical path" to property development that takes into account the many perspectives, theories and methodologies from different disciplines to enhance understanding of the property development process (Guy and Henneberry, 2002: p.301).

This research adopts the conceptualization of property development as a social process, according to Healey and Barrett (1990). This conceptualization provides an understanding of the relationship between the strategies, interests and actions of the various actors involved in the development process, and the economic and socio-political context which frames their decision making.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

Apart from this introductory chapter, the thesis contains five chapters. Chapter two presents the research methodology and a description of the qualitative research design and participatory action research approaches adopted in this research. This chapter further describes the cases, as well as the adopted research method and data collection techniques.

Chapter three presents the theoretical framework used in this research. The theoretical framework posits the concepts of stakeholder participation in property development.

Chapter four is dedicated to presenting the results of the four cases. Each case is presented with a project description and its context, followed by the findings. The findings are analyzed and categorized according to different themes that arose during the studies.

The findings and results of the cases are discussed in chapter five. The discussion is based on the author's interpretations of the findings, in relation to the theoretical framework and the position of stakeholder participation in the context of property development.

The purpose of chapter six, which is also the final chapter of this thesis, is to present relevant conclusions based on the theoretical and empirical findings. Within this chapter, the research questions will be answered and discussed based on the theoretical and empirical contributions. Additionally, some thoughts on future research to further contribute to the practice of stakeholder participation in property development will be presented.

2 Research Methodology

This chapter presents the research process and the case study and participatory action research approach to the research. The research process for this thesis is summarized in figure 1. Each element of the research process will be further described in this chapter, such as the qualitative research design, including a description of the four case studies, as well as the adopted research methods and data analysis techniques.
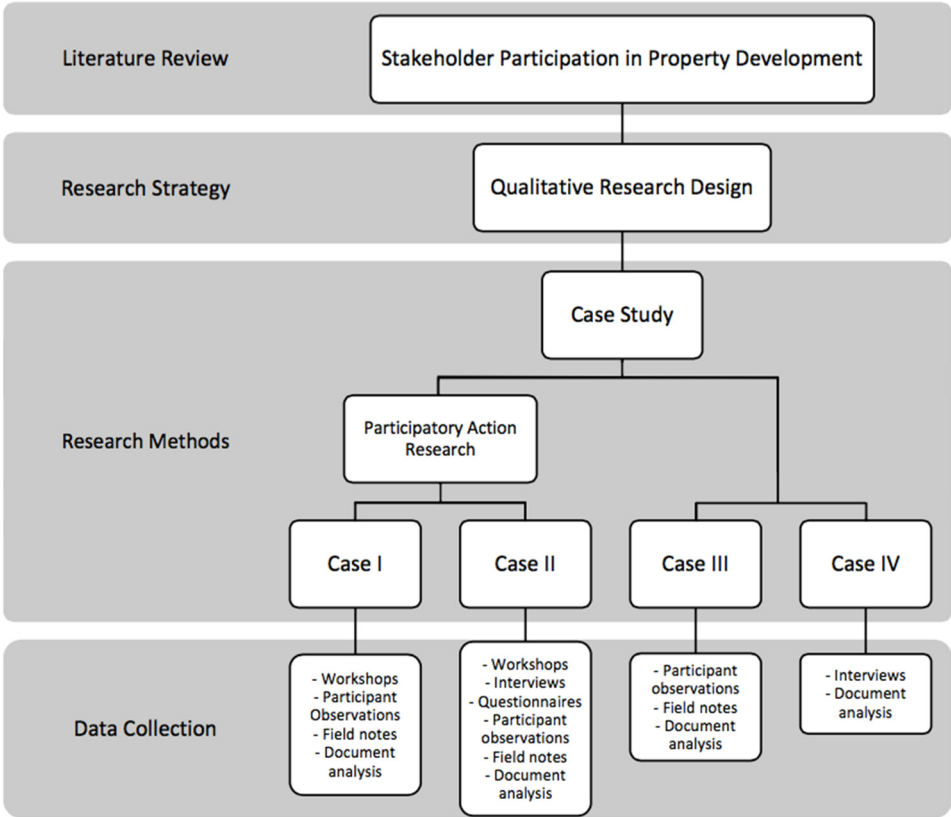
Figure 1: The research process

2.1 Literature review

The literature review has been conducted with the purpose of creating a theoretical framework to guide the study as well as to define the research problem. The literature review in this research aims to connect the theories and concepts of stakeholder, participation, property development and sustainable development (see figure 2). The theoretical perspectives, as presented in chapter three, represent a wide range of backgrounds and disciplines including urban studies, urban planning, construction management, property development, sustainability science, political science, human geography and stakeholder management. The selected literature is from scientific articles, policy documents and academic books.

Figure 2: Blending concepts and contexts

2.2 Research strategy

The approach chosen for this research is of a qualitative nature. A qualitative research approach is suitable when trying to understand a phenomenon under study (Stake, 2010). It is about recording, analyzing and attempting to uncover the deeper meaning and significance of human behaviors and emotions, as opposed to a quantitative approach that instead seeks to measure and analyze the causal relationship between variables (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). In this research, a qualitative approach was found to be more suitable as it allows the researcher to get closer to individuals' perspectives, making it possible to gain a deeper understanding of the different perspectives on the practice of stakeholder

participation in property development projects. Since quantitative research relies on methods and material that are more remote from the subject of study in the social world, it is often argued that this approach rarely captures detailed and rich descriptions (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Since quantitative research involves numeric data analysis, it is vital to remember what the numbers mean and where they come from. There is a risk that quantitative researchers focus solely on the numbers and not their meaning. When conducting quantitative research, it is fundamental to bear in mind that the numbers themselves are not the reality; they are simply a way to summarize and describe phenomena and tendencies in the world (Johnson and Harris, 2010). These rich descriptions are left aside deliberately by quantitative researchers, as they seek to generalize certain phenomena. Furthermore, quantitative researchers argue that qualitative research methods, which often rely on the researcher's interpretation, are unreliable and not objective (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Yet, a misconception about quantitative research is that it is a strictly-objective approach to research. On the contrary, it is simply a different subjective approach, with the subjectivity being in the scales as defined by the researcher (Johnson and Harris, 2010).

Since the purpose of this research is about capturing the specific rather than the general perspective, the quantitative approach was inappropriate. This chapter is devoted to describing the methods and strategies that were chosen for this research, which falls within the realms of qualitative research design.

Qualitative research design

Qualitative research can be generally described as a situated practice that locates the researcher in the field or "natural setting" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). In this manner, the researcher can visualize the studied phenomenon or phenomena and create representations by interpreting the various meanings brought by the subjects (ibid). In addition, the special character that defines this approach is that qualitative research is interpretive, experiential, situational and personalistic (Stake, 2010). Qualitative researchers focus on *how* "the thing studied" work (ibid); thus, researchers seek answers to *"how* social experience is created and given meaning" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: p.8). In this research, a qualitative approach made it possible to ask the *how* question and find answers to how stakeholder participation in property development is created and given meaning. Subsequently, this question led to further explore the implications of the practice of stakeholder participation in property development projects.

Qualitative researchers believe that there are multiple and socially-constructed realities, which differ from the positivist view of a single reality out there (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In addition, qualitative researchers stress the interactive relationship between the researcher and the object of study, while quantitative

researchers emphasize their independence from the object of study (ibid). Moreover, qualitative researchers stress the value-bound nature of inquiry while the work of quantitative researchers is considered value-free (ibid). Consequently, qualitative science is not interested in explaining the *general*, but rather in understanding the *particular* (Stake, 2010). The *general* refers to the study of quantities, amounts, intensities or frequencies as in quantitative research and the *particular* or *qualitative* refers to the study of the qualities of entities, processes and meanings (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

To study the *particular*, various methods and approaches are adopted by qualitative researchers, including case study, politics and ethics, participatory inquiry, participant observation, interviews, visual methods and interpretive analysis (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Moreover, the common methods for data collection used in qualitative research are observations, interviews, and document analysis (Stake, 2010). This research adopted both a case study and a participatory action research approach in order to create an in-depth understanding of the subject in its real-life context. Four cases were used for this research which allowed the researcher to acquire a deeper understanding of stakeholder participation in property development projects and to further explore the implications to the practice of stakeholder participation. These four cases and the specific tools used in each case will be presented further in the next section of this chapter.

2.3 Research methods

The section below introduces the case study and participatory action research methods adopted in this research. An introduction to the case study method is followed by a description of each case and the unit of analysis. This is followed by a description of the participatory action research method.

Case study

A case study seeks to investigate an individual, a group of people, an organization, an institution, a community or any entity that is found and existing in the real world (Gillham, 2000). What is common for these entities is that they all function and operate within different contexts such as physical, economic and ethical (Stake, 2000). By investigating these entities, or cases, the researcher seeks to find the answer to his or her research questions as it is in the case studies where he or she will find the evidence (Gillham, 2000). In this research, four cases were selected: cases one, two and three each comprise a project organization in a property development project; and case four is composed of a group of actors who are

involved throughout the property development process. Whilst case studies can be quantitative or qualitative, for this research a qualitative approach was chosen.

A common criticism of case studies is that it is not possible to generalize in scientific terms by only studying a single case (Yin, 2009); however, the main focus of qualitative methods is on understanding a phenomenon or phenomena by revealing any evidence that helps to explain it (Gillham, 2000). The main objective for conducting a qualitative case study approach in this research is to explore and gain a deeper understanding of stakeholder participation in property development. Once the selection of the topic for the case study was chosen and the research questions were defined, the next step was to set the boundaries of the case study. According to Yin (2009), the unit of analysis sets the boundaries of a case study; in addition, the unit of analysis links to the research questions. For example, the unit of analysis can be an individual, a group of people, a project, an organization or a process (ibid). When collecting information about the relevant individual, group or organization, it is important that such information relates to the research questions and propositions guiding the study (ibid).
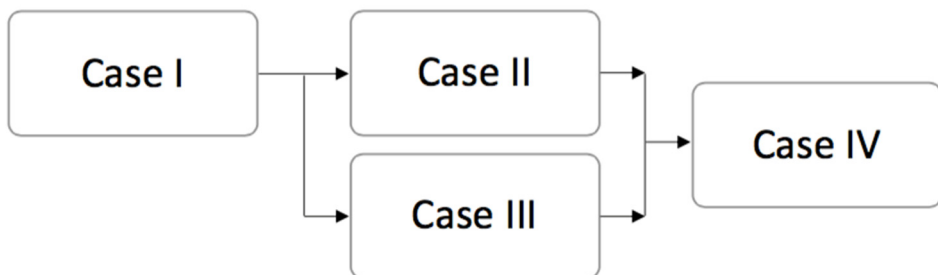
Figure 3: Sequence of the cases

Figure 3 depicts the sequence in which the cases were carried out. Below follows a short description of each case and an explanation of the unit of analysis. The empirical findings from each case are presented in chapter four.

Case I: St. Catherine Vocational Development Project in Muhanga, Uganda

Description

Saint Catherine vocational development project is a community-based organization in the rural town of Muhanga, Uganda, located two kilometers east of the trading center of Muhanga. The project started in 2001 by a local community leader who, in response to the lack of provision of basic public services by the government, decided to assist the community with educational facilities, skills training and vocational activities. This was supported with help from other community members and external donors. Along with this development project, campaigns for child rights and health information have been initiated by the community-based organization. In response to the need for financial support for the continuation of the current development activities in Muhanga, an external organization came into the project to support the local organization with the construction and finance of facilities needed to host the current vocational and educational activities. Instead of only financing and developing the construction project, the external organization opted to develop a community development plan where community participation set the policies for the development of the future vocational activities. The community participation approach was set in response to the external organization not wanting to impose a project that was not in line with the needs of the community. The researcher, as part of the project development team carrying out this participation process, had the aim of canvassing the community's points of view to construct a facility that met their needs.

Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis in this case is the planning and implementation of the stakeholder participation process in the planning phase of the resource center in a rural community in Uganda. The case was conducted through Participatory Action Research (PAR) in the early planning stages. The data collected from the PAR was through workshops, participant observations, field notes and document analysis.

Case II: Place-making in the neighborhood of Drottninghög

Description

Many housing developments built in the 1960s and 1970s in Sweden are undergoing or have already undergone major regeneration through densification (Boverket 2014). The neighborhood of Drottninghög is an example of a residential area in the city of Helsingborg, which is currently under regeneration. The neighborhood was built between 1967 and 1969 and, in common with other areas built in the 1960s

and 1970s throughout Europe, is in need of physical and social regeneration. The municipal housing company, Helsingborgshem, owns all housing stock. Currently, there are 1,114 apartments in Drottninghög and approximately 3,082 people live in the neighborhood. Plans for the regeneration of the neighborhood started in 2011 and efforts are expected to last 20 years, when more than 1,000 new apartments will have been built. The planning program for Drottninghög was approved in 2012 and the first detailed plan was out for public consultation in 2014 with the second detailed plan in 2016. The vision is to make Drottninghög an integrated part of the city of Helsingborg, physically, mentally and socially. The aim is to create an environmentally, socially and economically sustainable neighborhood. There are five overarching strategies in the regeneration plans: connect and remove barriers; increase the density of the neighborhood; create variation in tenure; promote an inclusive process of collaboration; and focus on children and youth.

Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis in this case is the planning and implementation of the stakeholder participation process in the planning phase of a community garden space in the neighborhood of Drottninghög in the city of Helsingborg. The case is conducted through Participatory Action Research (PAR) in the early planning stages. The data from the PAR process was gathered through workshops, participant observations, field notes, document analysis, interviews and questionnaires.

Case III: Stakeholder participation in the planning of a socially-sustainable urban property development project

Description

The urban property development project is organized as a consortium between public and private housing development organizations. The project organization consists of private and public developers, a project manager, architecture, landscape architecture and urban design consultants, quantity surveyors, site planners, communication officers, sustainability experts and researchers. The planning process is carried out in collaboration with the planning agency in the municipality. The development site for the development project is adjacent to a typical million program housing area in the city of Malmö. The aim of the development project is to increase the urban density in the area and within the existing neighborhood and its surroundings. The vision for the urban renewal project is to transform the monotonous residential area into a socially-sustainable part of the city. The new development plan envisions an urban mixed-used development, which includes different types of housing tenures, retail, offices, leisure facilities and public space.

Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis in this case is the stakeholder participation process in the planning phase of the property development project and the level of analysis is the project organization. The study consists of two project meetings in the early planning stages. The data gathered from the project meetings was through participant observations, field notes and document analysis.

Case IV: Organizations and actors involved in property development

Description

This study further explored the practice of stakeholder participation by studying the perceptions of different actors involved in the property development process. Actors who work with stakeholder participation in urban property development projects were involved in this study. The actors belonged to municipalities, public and private property development organizations and a private housing association. These organizations are located in the cities of Malmö, Lund and Helsingborg in the southern part of Sweden.

Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis in this case is the organizations involved in the urban property development process and the level of analysis is the actors working with or interested in stakeholder participation. The actors included, developers, facility managers, civil servants, city planners and the chair of a private housing association. This case adopted the interview method as the main means of gathering data. A total of ten interviews were conducted. Documents such as political agendas, planning proposals and other planning documents complemented the data from the interviews.

Participatory Action Research (PAR)

Action research is an approach to action science that involves local stakeholders as co-researchers in collaborative learning processes. The practice generates knowledge for the purpose of taking action (Greenwood and Levin, 2012). Action research is an umbrella term for different approaches, such as participatory action research, action learning, appreciative inquiry, clinical inquiry, collaborative management research and reflective practice (Coghlan and Brannick, 2014). The approach used in this research is Participatory Action Research (PAR).

PAR involves a collaborative process of questioning, reflecting, investigating, developing plans, implementing (action), refining, and cycling back to steps within

the process (McIntyre, 2014) – see Figure 4. As the PAR process evolves, participating actors collectively revisit questions through engagement in critical reflection and dialogue (McIntyre, 2014). The actions that result from PAR processes are framed by the questions posed and collectively examined. Sometimes, deliberated questions will result in an action plan; whereas, at other times, participating actors may decide that the item under consideration does not need to be further addressed (McIntyre, 2014). PAR bridges theory and practice and by its nature brings to conversation salient issues to the community that are further researched by the participants (McIntyre, 2014). Since PAR participants are encouraged to explore issues they individually deem important, to reflect on the issues identified by the group to then to brainstorm solutions collectively, these solutions tend to be practical and are particular to the community and to a location (ibid).

Figure 4: Participatory Action Research (PAR)
(McIntyre 2014)

To qualify as PAR, the research process must contain and balance three elements: participation, action and research.

Participation in PAR

Participation in a project is context specific. McIntyre (2014) encourages researchers and participants to co-create a meaning of participation within the PAR process. The researcher is tasked with facilitating a discussion on the concept of participation. This can be done by introducing the basic principles of PAR, its history and by posing simple questions, such as how members would define participatory action research. As McIntyre (2014) recounts, a youth group involved in PAR decided to look up in the dictionary the words that comprise PAR; participation, action and research. They used those individual definitions to co-create a definition of participation to frame their project. By posing questions, the researcher was able to direct the group to form a collective agreement on a concrete way to measure participation and keep members accountable for the purpose of the project. Although this method of defining participation allows individuals to include practical ways for them to participate, it does not implicitly follow that participation will be actualized. Members of a group may be unwilling to participate in project-related activities, even if they were directly involved in defining participation within the project.

Resistance to participate is a normal part of the process and it can be a reoccurring response from members throughout the project (McIntyre 2014). Practitioners of PAR must strategically-implement modalities that guide participants to construct knowledge that is on PAR with the aim and context of the project (ibid). These modalities are experimental methods used for participants to express themselves and to extract knowledge on their experiences, thoughts, ideas and emotions. Specific modalities of generating knowledge may elicit anxiety in people unaccustomed to expressing themselves through that modality (ibid). It is therefore important to incorporate multiple modalities for members to engage in exploration and reflection. This in turn constructs a wider body of knowledge. While it is imperative to set parameters for participation, it is equally important to allow its definition to change as the project evolves. Multiple factors, some of which are unforeseen at the start of the project, will affect the level of the participation of the researchers and participants in the PAR process such that it is unlikely they will participate equally (McIntyre, 2014).

The role of the researcher in PAR

PAR focuses on doing research "with" as opposed to "for" the local stakeholders (Greenwood and Levin 2012). In addition to negotiating the definition of participation, actors involved in PAR must also negotiate the role of the professional researcher in the collaborative process. The researcher is a co-participant and serves as a facilitator in the project; however local stakeholders are key decision-makers, and the PAR practitioner has the responsibility to guide the project in accordance with the decisions made by the group. All participants bring a set of skills,

experiences, knowledge, resources and personalities that contribute to the project. The researcher uses his, or her skill set to enhance participation, facilitates discussions and guides the project to fruition. The roles can evolve as participants discuss the extent to which a researcher assists with the modalities and throughout the process.

Action and change in PAR

Action research focuses on the action, rather than about the action. Coghlan and Brannick (2014) describe how action research works through a cyclical and continuous process: planning, taking action, evaluating the action, further planning, taking action and evaluation. During this process, the action will be more efficient as it builds up a body of scientific knowledge (Coghlan and Brannick, 2014). Similar to this description, action research can be seen as a spiral process in which the researcher formulates and tries a hypothetical solution, monitors the level of success, reformulates the proposed solution, implements the new strategy and so on (Hammersley, 2004). The main idea behind the spiral is that as the proposed solution to the problem is monitored and reformulated, the researcher will get closer and closer to the most appropriate solution to the problem.

Action within the framework of PAR is a concerted effort to create change that is framed through collaborative participation and the exploratory dialogue taking place in the stages of questioning, reflecting, investigating, developing plans and refining. The decision-making process is marked by engaging in discussions to decide collectively which salient issues to address and how. In a similar manner to resistance, disagreements in discussions are a normal part of the process. Having a group with varied perspectives is integral to the process that aids in framing the action plan or, as in some cases, deciding collectively not to act.

Research in PAR

Research in the context of PAR is not defined by a set methodology. On the contrary, the methods implemented in PAR are context specific and tailored for each project. PAR practitioners draw from different fields to facilitate engagement at different levels of the project, from the primary questioning stage to transforming knowledge into action and beyond action to refining (McIntyre 2014). PAR utilizes multiple research techniques to generate data; for example, interviews, focus groups, mapping, questionnaires, dialogue and analysis seminars, participatory experience and self-evaluation (Svensson et al., 2006). PAR data are generated as a result of participating in the modalities.

PAR is a cyclical process, analyzing data related to the initial questions and generating additional questions with themes that might shape the research. In this way, PAR is also processual in nature and so the research evolves with the process;

therefore, the scope of the research cannot be fully determined in advance and is usually undertaken in stages. There is also no predetermined method to define success and failure of a PAR project. As McIntyre (2014) notes, "self-reflection, in conjunction with investigation, critical questioning, dialogue, generative activities, and a determination to take action about issues under exploration, contributes to the development of a project that is judged not against the criterion of an objective truth but against the criterion of whether the people involved are better off because of their experiences as participants in a PAR project".

PAR provides close co-operation with the participants and has been proven to be an efficient method to acquire new knowledge, especially when studying local development processes (Svensson et al., 2006). The main ambition of action research is to bring together theory and practice through action and participation with those concerned and to lead them to practical solutions from which individuals and communities will flourish (Reason and Bradbury, 2006). Hammersley (2004) refers to action research as an intimate, two-way relationship between research and practical, or political, activity. Given the close contact with participants, the results that arise return immediately into the activity.

2.4 Data collection

This section describes the different techniques for data collection adopted in this research, namely participant observations, interviews, workshops, documents and field notes. This is important as the cross-validity and convergence of different kinds of evidence are at the heart of the case study method (Gillham, 2000) and PAR. The purpose of using a multi-method approach was to collect different kinds of evidence in order to acquire a deeper understanding of the practice of stakeholder participation in property development. According to Merriam (1998), the combination of observations, interviews and document analysis has the potential to achieve a holistic interpretation of the studied phenomena.

Participant observations

Observations are a primary source of data in qualitative research (Merriam, 1998). One of the main characteristics that differentiate observations to other research tools is that they are conducted in the natural setting and its data represent a "first hand encounter" with the studied phenomena (ibid). There are two kinds of observations: participant observation and detached or structured observation (Gillham, 2000). In the former, the researcher can take the role of a full participant in the sense that he or she is involved in the core activities of the group being observed or the role of a

spectator or complete observer (Merriam, 1998). The latter participates in naturalistic observation, which does not interfere with the people or activities under observation (Angrosino and Mays de Pérez, 2000).

In contrast, a full participant is a member of the group being studied, so it is important that the researcher hides his or her observer role from the group so as not to disrupt the group's activity (Merriam, 1998). In cases one and three, the researcher had the dual role of a participant involved in the planning activities of the project and of an observer of the activities performed by the project organization. In addition, the partial role of the researcher as a designer in cases one and three allowed the researcher to access information relevant to the investigation. In case three, the participant observations were mainly from project meetings concerning the formulation of project aims and objectives, project organization, collaboration and participation.

The observations were recorded through field notes in written and sketch format, and included descriptions of the setting, direct quotations from project participants and observer comments, which formed the empirical raw data for further analysis. This aligns with Merriam (1998) who pointed out that during an observation, a researcher is more likely to write down notes and draw sketches, which can later be used to record in detail what the researcher observed. In addition, informal conversations with project participants over the period of the project planning processes complemented the findings from the observations.

The results from the participant observations in cases one, two and three led to different themes and subjects that guided the interview study in the fourth case. Furthermore, having informal conversations about the subject of study with the project participants in cases two and three allowed the researcher to map the actors who work with issues of stakeholder participation within the organizations involved in the development projects as well as other actors within the region. These actors were then invited to take part in an interview study, which sought to further explore the practice of stakeholder participation in urban property development.

Interviews and questionnaires

The *interview* is an essential tool used in qualitative case study research (Gillham, 2000) and can take the form of a structured, semi-structured or unstructured interview (Fontana and Frey, 2000). According to Merriam (1998), the face-to-face interview is the most common way of obtaining data; however, group interviews are also used. The qualitative interview can be described as the social interaction between two or more people in the co-production of contextually-based results (Fontana and Frey, 2000). Data that cannot be obtained through direct observation such as behavior, thoughts, feelings, interpretations and the like can only be

obtained through interviews (Merriam, 1998). Such a tool is considered a powerful way to understand individuals (Fontana and Frey, 2000). Moreover, interviewing is considered to be the best tool when conducting case studies with a few selected individuals (Merriam, 1998). In order to obtain realistic knowledge of the current practice of stakeholder participation in urban property development projects, the fourth case adopted the interview method as a means of gathering data – see appendix for interview guide. A total of ten interviews were conducted with twelve actors who work with or have an interest in stakeholder participation in urban property development projects. The interviews were conducted with city planners, civil servants, municipal developers, facility managers, private developers and one chair of a private housing association. The interviews adopted a semi-structured design, allowing for flexibility in discussion (Merriam, 1998). This made it possible to gather the actors' experiences, feelings and thoughts about the subject of study, thus providing richer descriptions of the practice of stakeholder participation in urban property development.

The semi-structured nature of the interviews meant that data were both inductive and qualitative. In response, data-driven coding of the interviews was chosen (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). The transcribed interviews were structured in a bottom-up approach in four steps: transcripts (bottom), codes (lower middle), categories (higher middle) and themes (top). The transcripts are the formal record of the interviews. The codes are short and, in common with keywords, summarize a sentence or a small paragraph. Links were identified between the codes in each category where each consisted of a few codes. Finally, overarching themes for the categories were sought, searching for relationships and synergies between the categories. Thus, explanations that were logically compatible with the set of data were created. The results and analysis of the study are presented in chapter four.

While interviews can range from being unstructured, so-called verbal observations, to semi-structured, with open and closed questions, *questionnaires* are found at the other end of the scale of the survey main method, considered to be more structured. Semi-structured questionnaires include multiple choice and open questions, whereas structured questionnaires include simple, specific and closed questions. Given the nature of questionnaires, they are especially useful when collecting simple, straightforward and factual information. The value and usefulness of the collected data will ultimately depend on the specific research (Gillham, 2000). In case two, a questionnaire was conducted with five of the participants who were engaged in the planning and implementation of the participation process in the community garden project (see appendix for questionnaire content). In addition, interviews were conducted with four of the residents who participated in the stakeholder participation process (see appendix for interview guide).

Document analysis

A document is associated with any written, visual or physical material relevant in a study (Merriam, 1998). Documents are "social facts, in that they are produced, shared and used in socially organized ways" (Atkinson and Coffey, 2011: p.47). Such documents can be public records, personal documents and artifacts and are widely used in qualitative research (Merriam, 1998). In cases one, two, three and four, documents such as political agendas, notes, minutes of meetings, proposals, planning documents and other internal records were accessed. As Yin (2009) notes, the use of document data is to corroborate and supplement evidence from other sources. Such documentary data provided the context of the investigated phenomena (Merriam, 1998). The document analysis made it possible to develop further understanding of the phenomena and ideas relevant to the study. In addition, such data "can provide descriptive information, verify emerging hypotheses, advance new categories and hypotheses, offer historical understanding, track change and development, and so on" (Merriam, 1998: p.126). Moreover, documents are not written separately from other texts; they relate to other documents. It is, therefore, important to analyze the relationship between them (Atkinson and Coffey, 2011).

When analyzing the data from cases three and four, it was possible to see the relationship between project proposals, urban policies and national and international agendas. In addition, the discourses in these documents were reflected in the practices and interests of the actors involved in the property development project in cases two and three as well as the actors interviewed in the fourth case. Documents can be fragmented, lack authenticity and may not be relevant to the research project (Merriam, 1998); therefore, it is important to have access to the relevant documents for the study. When gathering the data for this research, the task was to find as many relevant documents as possible relating to the project background, especially those that were connected to issues of sustainable development and stakeholder participation. Having a dual role in the cases one, two and three allowed the researcher to gain access to relevant documents and information for the research.

Workshops

A workshop, in the context of this research, is a means for involving the public in active participation in the planning process to construct ideas and concepts collectively. During a workshop, the public is brought together with the planners and other relevant stakeholders. As opposed to the public hearing format of engaging with the public, workshops can offer the interactive element of having the public and planners work together (Heberlein 1976). This can very well be applied to research as it is a method for bringing a group of people together to learn and acquire new knowledge, as well as to engage in problem-solving or innovation

regarding a specific topic or context (Ørngreen and Levinsen, 2017). Early interaction in the planning process is likely to mean more immediate feedback between the two groups of participants. Ørngreen and Levinsen (2017) found that one of the benefits of adopting workshops as a research method is that it helps to "uncover participants' unrecognized or unacknowledged blind spots". They also found that they would not have acquired the same research findings through other research designs. The knowledge and empirical data from workshops is different from that which can be obtained from interviews and observations. The researchers do however point out that although observations provide researchers with first-hand evidence and interviews allow access into individuals' thoughts, workshops provide a place for collaborative thinking and actions between the participants themselves, as well as between the participants and the researchers. Workshops bring everyone close to practice without being in practice (Ørngreen and Levinsen, 2017).

Workshops should typically be designed to meet a pre-defined purpose and the results of the workshop will ultimately depend on the researchers to create a pleasant atmosphere, within which the participants should be gently pushed into performing, without forcing them to participate against their will (Ørngreen and Levinsen, 2017). Another key factor for success in a workshop is participant composition. Heberlein (1976) pointed out that a problem with public hearings and workshops is the difficulty of identifying the appropriate public to engage. He underlined the *democratic maxim*, according to which "those affected by the decisions should have the opportunity to affect those decisions". Since workshop participants are expected to participate actively and influence the direction of the workshop, this group of participants should be kept small to allow everyone to get the attention they need and to give them the chance to be heard (Ørngreen and Levinsen, 2017).

Literature has identified three perspectives on workshops: workshops as a means to achieve a specific goal, workshops as practice and workshops as a research methodology (Ørngreen and Levinsen, 2017). Workshops as practice introduces a development dimension, with the participants jointly creating something. This perspective on workshops is often carried out in a design or work process. As research methodology, the workshop embraces both the authentic form of workshop as it aims to produce an outcome collectively, in relation to the objectives of the workshop, as well as to realize the research purpose by producing reliable and valid data about the field of study or phenomena.

With workshop as a research methodology for participation, one can distinguish between four different participation modes, namely *contractual* (i.e. people are contracted by the researchers to participate in experiments), *consultative* (i.e. people are consulted regarding their opinions), *collaborative* (i.e. researchers and participants work together, with the researcher in control) and *collegiate* (i.e.

researchers and participants contribute in a mutual process, controlled by the participants) (Ørngreen and Levinsen, 2017).

Concluding remarks

This chapter presented the chosen qualitative research approach. Such an approach focuses on the *particular* rather than the *general*, thus a qualitative approach was appropriate to attain a better understanding of stakeholder participation in property development. The chapter provided a description of the four cases and an explanation of the unit of analysis under investigation. The purpose of using a multi-method approach to collect different kinds of evidence was presented together with a description and motivation for the data collection techniques adopted. The combination of participant observations, interviews, document analysis and workshops generated the necessary evidence to better understand the practice of stakeholder participation in property development projects.

3 Theoretical perspectives

This chapter presents the theoretical framework used in this research and posits the concepts of stakeholder participation in the context of property development.

3.1 Property development

Wilkinson and Sayce (2015b) identify the major stakeholder groups that are engaged in the different stages of property development. According to them, the stakeholders can be categorized as: policy makers, regulators, owners, developers, investors, producers, marketeers – real estate agents, consultees – proponents and opponents, and users. Decision-making in property development projects is complex, this is partly due to the many stakeholder interests represented throughout the development process (Wilkinson and Sayce, 2015b). However, this complexity arises when sustainability requirements come into play, even more when there is a lack of knowledge and understanding about sustainability among the various stakeholder groups (ibid). Furthermore, the decisions and actions of the many stakeholder groups do have an impact on the level of sustainability in property development projects (ibid).

Models to conceptualize the property development process have been developed from various perspectives, offering different ways of understanding the development process (Gore and Nicholson, 1991). Five main approaches to modeling the development process have been identified: equilibrium models (Healey, 1991); event-sequence models (Healey, 1991) also known as sequential or descriptive approaches (Gore & Nicholson 1991); agency models (Healey, 1991) also known as behavioral or decision-making approaches (Gore & Nicholson 1991); structure models (Healey, 1991) or production-based approaches (Gore & Nicholson 1991); and institutional models (Ball, 1998).

The following paragraphs summarize the models and approaches to the development process identified by Healey (1991), Gore and Nicholson (1991) and Ball (1998).

Equilibrium models (Healey, 1991) derive from mainstream economics and assume that development activity is driven by supply and demand (e.g. rents and yields, land/property valuations and assessments of costs and returns). These models view the development process as unproblematic and fail to take into account other important characteristics of development activity such as the events and timescale of the development process, the many actors and their interests and the agencies involved throughout the different stages of the development process.

Event-sequence models (Healey, 1991) derive from an estate management concern with managing the different stages of the development process. These models make an attempt to describe the complexity and timescale of development activity by depicting the development process as a sequence of events.

According to Goodchild and Munton (1985), these events include:

(1) maturing of circumstances

(2) land purchase

(3) land preparation

(4) preparation of development scheme including planning permission

(5) arrangement of finance

(6) construction

(7) occupation, operation and disposal.

As noted by Healey (1991), there is no standard sequence of events for a development project as they often overlap and repeat due to obstructions that might occur at several stages in the development process. Thus, the main criticism of these models is their lack of explanation of the actors and interests involved in the different stages of a development project and how these influence the way a development process is shaped. Moreover, a sequential or descriptive approach isolates property development from the rest of the built environment and external factors such as government policy, availability of finance and demographic change (Gore and Nicholson, 1991).

Agency models (Healey, 1991) derive from behavioral or institutional analyses of the development process. These models open up the complexity of development activity by focusing on the roles, interests and strategies of the different actors as well as the agencies involved and their interactions in the development process. Such models recognize that agents can have multiple roles and that events might occur in parallel as well as in sequence. Moreover, agency models connect actors to events and suggest that the interests and strategies of actors are linked to their social relations, which in turn may influence their behavior. Even so, these approaches fail to consider the role of external forces such as economic circumstances or

government policies in influencing decisions and events at different stages of the development process (Gore and Nicholson, 1991).

Structure models (Healey, 1991) are grounded in mainstream economics and urban political economy and focus on the production of property development. Attention is given to the way the relations of property development are structured by the broader dimensions of capital labor and capital landowner, and describe market relations. Structure models hardly provide any detail of the events and the agency relations of the development process thus fails to acknowledge the interrelationship between structuring dynamics and the active constitution of agents' interests and strategies. Consequently, it is argued that empirical analysis must enter into the details of agency relations in the events of the development process.

Institutional models (Ball, 1998) derive primarily from mainstream economics, power approaches to institutions, structure-agency institutionalism and structures of building provision. Although important differences exist between them, the differences are related to methodological approaches rather than to whether institutions matter or not. In addition, institutional models are broad and incorporate many of the elements from the models and approaches mentioned above. In conclusion, their focus is on the organizations and individuals involved in property development and the practices and networks that influence the ways in which those organizations and individuals operate and interrelate.

The social production of urban property development

The traditional representation of urban property as a technical exercise of market analysis, valuation and investment appraisal fails to link urban property development to the general notions of sustainable development and thus the connection to environmental, economic and social aspects of sustainable urban development (Guy, 2002; Deakin, 2005). In this way, the property development process is not only regarded as the physical and technical process of producing and delivering buildings, but also a social process governed by economic, social, environmental and political interests. Knowledge of the social processes in the production and use of the built environment, specifically in land and property development processes is vital to understand the complexity of urban development and thus to assist the management of urban development processes (Healey and Barrett, 1990). This approach might help to transform the traditional representation of property development to an integrated environmental, economic and social structure of the development process (Deakin, 2005). A key aspect to the social production of urban property development is understanding the relationship between the strategies, interests and actions of the various actors involved in the development process (e.g. landowners, investors, developers, consultants, public agency planning officers, politicians and community groups) and the economic and

socio-political context which frames their decision-making (Healey and Barrett, 1990).

To understand the social processes guiding the production of urban property development, Healey and Barrett (1990) argued for an analytical approach to the relation between structure and agency to uncover the *structuring forces* that drive the development process and produce distinctive patterns in particular periods and the way individual *actors* develop and pursue their strategies. Consequently, Healey (1992) developed an institutional model of the development process based on Giddens structuration theory (1984), which consists of a structure-agency analysis to relate the agencies' roles, strategies and interests to the underlying structural resources, rules and ideas. This model builds on the need to pay close attention to institutional dimensions such as the strategies and interests in the production of property development and the interrelationship between the internal power relations of the development process to the wider power relations of the economy and society (Healey, 1991).

According to Healey (2007), in urban planning and development the structuring forces are related to: (1) the resources allocated for urban development projects; (2) the regulations and procedures governing urban development projects and programs; and (3) the ideas and discourses that inform the qualities and appropriate development trajectories for an urban area. It is suggested that the structuring forces (i.e. discourses, resources, regulations and procedures) guiding urban development in many cities today have been influenced by social and environmental concerns as well as global-local agendas on sustainable development (Calderon and Chelleri, 2013). These can be reflected in global-local initiatives towards alleviating poverty, combating global warming, promoting social development, supporting urban densification and advocating participation and collaboration.

Guy (2002) takes an institutional approach to explore the relation between environmental innovation and the social organization of property development. Guy challenges the view that environmental innovation in the property development process simply reflects the environmental attitudes of key property actors to the understanding that structural dynamics (i.e. social, political, technological and commercial pressures) equally or to a large extent shape the development practices of different professionals, giving some actors more power to influence the process than others. In an institutional analysis of the production of public space in Barcelona, Calderon and Chelleri (2013) found that urban projects are the result of complex social processes, influenced and shaped by the interrelation between structuring forces and a wide variety of actors operating in the socio-political context in which the project is located. In their study, they showed that the interests of the actors (e.g. government agencies, private developers, planners and urban designers) that were aligned with the structuring forces (i.e. resources, regulations

and discourses) were favored against those interests (e.g. community organizations, residents and external funding agencies) that were disconnected from them.

This is in line with Healey (2007) who pointed out that urban development projects are influenced and shaped by the interrelation between structuring forces and actors operating in each socio-political context; however, if desired, these configurations can be changed to achieve different outcomes and identities for an urban project. Calderon and Chelleri (2013) proposed that, to achieve more just urban environments, there is a need to challenge or balance the narrow interests of powerful actors with those that are excluded from decision making. The authors argued that this can only be achieved by implementing and coordinating a decision-making process that is guided by knowledge and expertise in stakeholder identification, power relations analysis, participation, facilitation and an integrated approach to sustainable urban development. Thereby, the broad nature of the institutional approach makes it possible to connect what is known and understood about urban property development to the environmental, economic and social content of the development process (Deakin, 2005).

Social and political impacts of urban property development

In the course of rapid urbanization of cities and neighborhoods, planners and local officials continue to pay little attention to the needs and aspirations of people as well as the quality of urban space (Friedmann, 2010). It is argued that the post-modern planning approach separates the social and political from the economic in urban planning which results in top-down or speculative development practices that fail to take into account the needs and concerns of society (Baeten, 2012). The process of reconfiguring and reimagining the urban spaces in cities today are the efforts of city elites and other stakeholders to reposition the city in the global competitive landscape – in search of economic growth – with the aim of attracting a new class of citizens, investors, developers, businesses and tourism (Swyngedouw et al., 2002). As a result of an increasingly globalized world, large-scale projects continue to win over the small, humanized spaces of the city (Friedmann, 2007) as urban planners continue to privilege the city and development scales at the expense of the small scale in city planning (Gehl, 2010).

In addition, the aspiration of turning cities into global competitors presents limitations for the participation of its citizens, as such imagining of the city is articulated directly in line with the visions of those *coalitions of elite players* who are included in the formulation, planning and implementation of urban development projects (Swyngedouw et al., 2002). The increased attention to the design of grand urban schemes and world-class architecture (Friedmann, 2010) gives priority to modern, large-scale developments that comprise offices, hotels, commercial and high-end housing in order to attract a new class of citizen (Baeten, 2012). Such

developments are often disconnected from the growing social problems in the city which in turn contribute to more segregation and polarization between the rich and the poor. Moreover, the construction and property development industry plays a major role in the creation of such landscapes of wealth, prosperity and exclusivity (Baeten, 2012).

Baeten (2012) warns that current urban developments in the city of Malmö could result in the same mistake as in the large-scale housing developments in the 1960s and 1970s in that they completely ignored the needs and concerns of the population which led to the rejection of housing estates for not meeting their expectations. As a result, multi-family housing estates were quickly vacated even before the ten-year program was completed (Baeten, 2012). Indeed, according to Swyngedouw et al. (2002), urban development projects are often portrayed as instruments that can help alleviate socio-economic problems and contribute to more inclusive developments. Such rhetoric is instrumental in character and as explained by Swyngedouw et al., (2002) "[the] official rhetorical attention to social issues is mobilized politically to legitimize projects, while the underlying and sometimes explicit objective is different" (p.564). For Baeten (2012), urban development projects in Malmö are being built "with similar impatience and optimism" as in the ten-year program era, but this time in a different post-modern approach that mainly seeks to attract middle and high income groups. It is argued that Western Harbor and Hyllie not only borrow architecture and design language from the ten-year program estates, but also contribute to modernizing Malmö by erasing its past (e.g. industrial image, the unemployed, the poor and the unskilled), replacing it with the emerging *creative class* and the image of the *knowledge city* (Baeten, 2012).

Indeed, urban development projects in the city of Malmö have become the subject of closed architectural competitions, compliance in the local press, a focus on construction of the project as a main motivation and absence of social and political issues (Baeten, 2012). These exclusive urban landscapes of wealth can stretch from a local city to a regional scale through a systematic connection of transport infrastructures that in turn allows a conurbation to operate independent from the rest of the city while reinforcing its exclusivity from those who cannot afford it (Baeten, 2012). This can be exemplified in the current urban development projects in the south of Sweden such as Brunnshög in Lund, Hyllie and Western Harbor in Malmö, along with urban developments in Denmark such as Örestad and Copenhagen city center which are all connected through excellent transport infrastructures that stretch via the new metro line in Copenhagen, the Öresund bridge, the city tunnel in Malmö and the future tramway in Lund (Baeten, 2012). This conurbation is what Baeten refers to as *The Örescale*. To him, "Örescale is an upscaled city that feeds off the existing city for land and labor but is simultaneously in denial of it"…, "hovering just above the skyline of the Lund-Malmö-Copenhagen conurbation" (Baeten, 2012: p.32).

Such urban development projects are not only present in Sweden but are common across the Western world (Baeten, 2012; Swyngedouw et al., 2002). According to Swyngedouw et al. (2002), these large-scale urban development projects are symbolic examples of neoliberal forms of urban governance which contribute to social exclusion and polarization in major European cities. In the city of Malmö, neoliberal practices of urban planning are characterized as catering for the elite or the creative class while ignoring the needs and concerns of the poor and marginalized groups (Baeten, 2012). The focus on spectacular architecture and urban design mainly seeks to attract wealthy groups into the city while excluding lower income groups. This feature can be observed in the mismatch between affordable housing and the supply of high-end dwellings in Sweden (Baeten, 2012). Such built environments are planned and designed for the needs and aspirations of the *creative class* and are often excluded rather than integrated into the urban fabric (Baeten, 2012).

A recent study of sustainable urban transformation show that only a few powerful initiatives are driving urban development in a sustainable direction and conclude that key aspects for achieving sustainable transformative change are planning and governance (McCormick et al., 2013). However, current forms of urban governance do not necessarily contribute to alleviating social segmentation and exclusion in cities, instead – most often – these contribute to the development of "...islands of wealth in an impoverished environment, resulting in the city becoming a patchwork of socioeconomically highly diversified and more mutually exclusive areas" (Swyngedouw et al., 2002: p.567). In Malmö, large-scale urban development projects such as Western Harbor and Hyllie are characterized as new landscapes of "wealth, prosperity and exclusivity" where architecture and urban design play a major role in the creation of environments that determine who has access to and who is excluded from such urban environments (Baeten, 2012: p.33). This exclusion is what undermines the integration between Hyllie and its neighboring deprived neighborhoods of Holma and Kroksbäck, which contributes to the increasing socio-spatial polarization in the city (Baeten, 2012).

According to Senbel and Church (2011), the goal to achieve compact transit-oriented urban environments is seen by residents and local communities as a vision that is imposed against their wishes and without consultation (Senbel and Church, 2011). As a result, densification as the means to achieve sustainable development has faced increased opposition from residents, community groups and social activists concerned with gentrification and housing affordability (Quastel et al., 2012). Indeed, there is evidence that densification may lead to gentrification of existing urban areas and contribute to inequality and social problems (Quastel et al., 2012). Forms of gentrification can be observed in wider processes of urban change through the renewal of existing housing stock in inner city areas, the regeneration

of brownfield land, the development of infill sites as well as the upgrading of public and commercial space (Rérat et al., 2010).

In housing regeneration projects, infill development can lead to the removal of places cherished by the community. The removal of places by local authorities to make way to profitable real estate venture is considered "a violent act, as established patterns of human relationships are destroyed" (Friedmann 2010: p.157). According to Rérat et al. (2010), the outcome of gentrification and new-built gentrification processes is the direct or indirect removal of the working class from their homes, families, communities and neighborhoods; hence, the *loss of place*. Although new-build gentrification – mainly through the development of brownfield and infill sites – does not always cause direct displacement of low-income groups, it does so indirectly by excluding them from access to development projects (Rérat et al., 2010). In China, 20 percent of the urban population have experienced relocation and displacement due to the demolition of existing residential building stock – through the urban renewal program – in major cities, which in turn has affected the lives of many urban residents (Yu et al., 2017). Negative effects resulting from the demolition of existing communities include health problems, homelessness, unemployment and adverse impacts on social support systems that affect the quality of life of the local community (Yu et al., 2017). This perception of social risks is explained as one of the reasons why local communities act in opposition to construction projects (Yu et al., 2017). The displacement of low-income groups from their environments is often to allow room for the more affluent households to occupy the city, which contributes to socio-spatial polarization within cities (Rérat et al., 2010). The demolition of existing housing to give way to the new construction has generated many conflicts among various stakeholders, often leading to opposition from community groups, which, up to now has been considered a major risk that increasingly challenge the successful implementation of urban redevelopment projects (Yu et al., 2017).

The act of removing places can be explained as the result of human actions guided by the social relations who make these decisions (Friedmann 2010). According to Swyngedouw et al. (2002), urban development projects can be characterized as arenas of power struggle among elite groups who try to shape and define – through the use of their socioeconomic, cultural or political power – the development direction of urban development projects to meet their needs and aspirations. As the case of Hyllie shows, the lack of meaningful debate, the priority given to high-end architecture and urban design proposals, the absence of planning alternatives and the separation of the social and the political from the economic, has according to Baeten (2012) "introduced an era of post-political development in Malmö" (p.38). This implies that the voices of those lay people, who do not belong to any of the groups that exclusively conduct urban development projects (e.g. developers, key politicians, city administrators and professionals), are excluded from the decision-

making process (Baeten, 2012). In this way, large-scale urban development projects such as Hyllie have contributed to the institutionalization of neoliberal, depoliticized planning practices in Sweden (Baeten, 2012).

Such planning practices give priority to high-profile urban developments that seek to attract a new elite and exclude the *have-nots* by failing to take into account the real needs and wishes of the people (Baeten, 2012; Swyngedouw et al., 2002). In some cases, these can be observed in the pervasive new-build gentrification processes that displace low-income groups indirectly by excluding them from access to high-profile urban development projects (Rérat et al., 2010). Other characteristics of such practices include the commission of urban development projects to prestigious architects, the appointment of invited candidates to architectural competitions, the allocation of land to major property developers and the advertising of such urban development projects at international real estate events (Baeten, 2012). It is argued that in the case of Hyllie, the local media contributed to the absence of meaningful debate and alternative plans by uncritically reporting on the development of Hyllie. Instead, its image as a prosperous development was reinforced through the use of impressive rendering of high-end architecture and urban milieus from various architectural competitions. According to Baeten (2012), such a powerful image can make citizens – who do not have a knowledge of the planning system – believe that plans have been finalized, when in fact these are just proposals. This image portrayed by the media may fool the citizens to believe that it is too late to influence the plan making process, hence, undermining contestation, debate and disagreement (Baeten, 2012).

Swyngedouw et al., (2002) argue that new forms of urban governance such as the emerging public-private partnerships are institutions that are against citizen participation and influence by local communities in urban processes and against democratic control and accountability. Moreover, these institutions show a tendency to avoid a social and political debate over alternative paths and strategies (Swyngedouw et al., 2002). Such exclusion of other voices supports the creation of singular discourses about what urban development projects should be like and ignores alternative development discourses (Baeten, 2012; Swyngedouw et al., 2002). An alternative discourse, according to Di Maddaloni & Davis (2017b), might well lead to a people-centered vision for inclusive cities that enhances quality of life and produces prosperous neighborhoods.

Sustainable urban solutions to complex urban challenges requires the integration and coordination of urban policy from all levels of government, stakeholder cooperation and collaboration and the integration of principles and cross-cutting issues discussed in Agenda 21, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the Paris Agreement and the New Urban Agenda (European Union, 2016b). Moreover, it is proposed that sustainable urban development can be achieved through

collaborative action, especially when ambitious goals are defined (McCormick et al., 2013). However, the lack of collective understanding of sustainability among the wide range of stakeholders in the planning, design, implementation, operation and maintenance of urban property development projects has been identified as a hindrance to achieving sustainable urban development (Curwell et al., 1998). In particular, Vallance et al. (2011) stressed the need for a better understanding of the social dimension of sustainable development and argued for a deeper focus on the various social needs and their complexities. Evidence shows that collaboration between local government and cultural institutions increases local government capacity by strengthening resources and improving political efficacy and governance, thus leading to better credibility with citizens and increasing networking and political capacity (Gough and Accordino, 2013). Davidson (2009) points out that this engagement must be at the policy conception stage as this is when policy makers can ask what society wants to be sustained.

Indeed, it is recommended that before any development activity is implemented in an urban project, proponents must ensure that residents and other relevant stakeholders understand the planned stages and promote broader stakeholder participation by using a wide range of participatory methods (Kopec, 2013). It is expected that balancing the needs and interests of a wide range of stakeholders in the decision making of urban projects can lead to a more just built environment that reflects the needs and interests of the wider society (Calderon and Chelleri, 2013).

Challenges and opportunities for the property development and construction industry

Construction projects can have negative effects on local communities and the public at large and these social impacts are well documented (Yu et al., 2017). Thus, the social and political impact of construction and property development affecting local communities requires attention. Such lack of attention is due partly to the narrow focus on construction projects as the main motivation for development (Baeten, 2012). Di Maddaloni and Davis, (2017) argue that the social and political context of construction projects is often overlooked and urges academics and practitioners to conduct in-depth analysis of the socio-political context in which projects are embedded. They argue that few efforts have been made by practitioners and academics "to achieve a people centered vision for cities which enhances quality of life and produces prosperous neighborhoods", and further argue that such lack of effort explains why large-scale urban projects continue to deliver local disruption, but no local benefits (Di Maddaloni & Davis, 2017b).

Indeed, studies of large-scale urban development projects in Europe found that such projects have caused increased physical and social fragmentation in the cities where

they are located (Swyngedouw et al., 2002; Baeten, 2012). Evidence shows that a failure to meet the needs and concerns of the people in urban property development projects leads to the provision of a poor-quality built environment (Baeten, 2012). Thus, there is a need to approach property development projects from a social, economic and environmental long-term perspective since short-term thinking leads to socio-economic problems (Baeten, 2012). Such a short-term approach can undermine the potential to achieve the development of inclusive, safe and resilient cities and neighborhoods as noted in the Sustainability Development Goal 11 (United Nations, 2015b). Thus, an explicit assessment of projects in terms of equity, sustainability and acceptance of community and the public at large can be used to guide decisions about projects (Vanclay, 1999). If the compact city is to be adopted, urban projects such as housing developments must be tailored and comply with the people's perceptions about the developed area (Vallance et al., 2005).

According to Kyttä et al. (2013), urban densification projects require planning strategies and solutions that are tailored to the local context and respect the residents' local experiences. In order for cities to accommodate an increasing population, socio-economic changes need to be taken into account rather than simply providing housing and promoting densification (Turok, 2011). Overlooking other important factors such as distribution of employment opportunities and planning of transportation systems reduces the potential for lasting sustainable solutions (Dodman, 2009). To create attractive cities and neighborhoods where people from different socio-economic backgrounds can cohabit requires new and improved services, amenities and public spaces that are tailored to the needs and desires of a wide range of stakeholders. Furthermore, it is proposed that a participatory planning approach can contribute to enhanced cooperative relationships and help create more stable and cohesive sustainable communities (Turok, 2010). However the participatory turn in urban planning and design remains a challenge. As noted by Swyngedouw et al. (2002) in their study of large-scale urban developments in Europe, they found that urban governance institutions – such as public-private partnerships – rarely institutionalize democratic participation principles (Swyngedouw et al., 2002). This deficiency enables the production of particular realities based on the needs and aspirations of the included while the marginalized groups remain absent from decision making (Swyngedouw et al., 2002).

Although it has been recognized that the construction and property development industry has a key role to play in society in providing a better built environment (Jones et al, 2006) and the achievement of sustainable cities (Deakin, 2005), the industry remains skeptical over the sustainability agenda and its ability to approach integrated sustainable urban development (Dixon, 2007). Instead, a number of adverse impacts continues to arise as a result of construction activities which have negative effects on immediate neighbors and residents (Glass and Simmonds, 2007;

Yu et al., 2017). Due to the significant environmental and social impacts that construction causes (Myers, 2005), construction and property development projects frequently attract opposition among the local community and general public (Barthorpe, 2010; Yu et al., 2017). Such opposition is the result of the disruptive impacts arising from construction activities throughout the life-cycle of construction projects (Barthorpe, 2010).

If the construction and property development industry is to contribute to the UN Sustainable Development Goal 11, there is a need to evaluate the social and ethical performance of construction companies. For them to become good corporate citizens, companies should integrate social and ethical considerations – also known as corporate social responsibility – in their corporate governance structure that considers working environment concerns, sustainability, occupational health and safety measures, relationships with suppliers and commitment to local community protection and stakeholder engagement (Petrovic-Lazarevic, 2008). The World Business Council for Sustainable Development defines corporate social responsibility (CSR) as "the continuing commitment by business to behave ethically and contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well as of the local community and society at large" (Watts and Holme, 2003: p.3). In the construction industry, CSR can be traced in a company's vision and mission statements; a company's healthy working environment (HWE); the application of the ISO 14001 (EMS); occupational health and safety programs (OHS); the role of unions in the organization; and the ethical issues related to organizational culture that include the values, beliefs and norms of the organizational members (Petrovic-Lazarevic, 2008). Identified CSR actions that contribute to sustainable construction include respect for and protection of the environment; contribution to the improvement of knowledge and personal development of employees; strengthening the ties with the community; and open communication with stakeholders (Myers, 2005).

Organizations within the construction sector that are socially responsible have been found to have a competitive advantage (Lichtenstein et al, 2013). Indeed, an organization that is genuinely committed to the idea of CSR would use it to grow the business in a social, environmental and economic integrated way (Myers, 2005). Despite this, committing to CSR has proven to be a challenge for organizations. Jones et al (2006) noted that while companies might wish to adopt CSR as an integral part of their business strategy, such an approach might not always be reflected at the operational level or in relationships with suppliers, sub-contractors and communities. Furthermore, CSR is traditionally based on voluntary actions and not necessarily motivated by the law (Lichtenstein et al, 2013). Thus a firm is more likely to engage in CSR if the anticipated benefits are greater than the costs (ibid). A study of CSR in the construction industry in Australia and New Zeeland reveals that CSR is not widely seen as beneficial to competitive advantage and economic

performance; in other words, being a socially responsible firm does not improve financial performance (Loosemore & Lim, 2017). Nonetheless, the findings suggest that actors in the construction industry are more appreciative of how CSR could help improve the quality of stakeholder relations than their economic performance (ibid).

It has been argued that CSR in the construction sector is characterized as integrative in nature, narrowly focused, immature, non-strategic and compliance-based. In other words, the industry seems to operate on a low CSR maturity level (Loosemore and Lim, 2017). According to Myers (2005), the biggest challenge for the construction sector to make a rapid transition to sustainable development is the complex nature and fragmented characteristics of the industry in terms of the many different processes and actors involved. Reflecting on the fragmented characteristics of the construction industry, it can be argued that there is a link between the fragmented nature of the construction industry and the limited implementation of CSR at the operational level (Jones et al, 2006). Furthermore, preserving the fragmented nature of the construction industry will complicate the transition towards sustainable construction (Myers, 2005) and, in this way, the construction industry might never see the potential benefits from adopting CSR construction practices and processes. In addition, firms may not be able to fulfill their purpose without collective stakeholder engagement (Lichtenstein et al, 2013).

In order to contribute to sustainability, a complete life-cycle perspective must be adopted in the construction industry that looks at buildings in a holistic way, from planning, design, construction, operation and deconstruction (Myers, 2005). In addition, a strategic stakeholder approach has the potential to transform the construction industry to change from its traditional fragmented processes towards a more customer orientated business approach (ibid). By this means, the industry can adopt a more collaborative approach to its many different activities. If a company wants to become a good citizen, then it needs to develop positive relationships with society, the community and its stakeholders. Thus, there is a need to move towards CSR as a mutuality of interests between companies and the communities in which they operate. Adopting strategic CSR theory and stakeholder salience can move the research forward into that direction (Loosemore and Lim, 2017).

Indeed, the successful implementation of property development projects is linked to developers' ability to interact and partner with other stakeholders (Dixon, 2007) such as the local community. In the construction industry, organizations are increasingly recognizing the importance of "having a good relationship with the local community in which they operate by satisfying community needs and ensuring the overall well-being of the community" (Petrovic-Lazarevic, 2008: p.98). In addition, some larger organizations acknowledge the sustainability aspects and recognize that a business can no longer be judged on the economic performance solely but also by the social and environmental value they add or destroy (Myers,

2005). In the United Kingdom, influential government initiatives such as the Considerate Constructors Scheme have played a major role in promoting social responsibility in construction and committing the industry to improvements in safety, people and environmental management standards (Barthorpe, 2010; Loosemore and Lim, 2017). Indeed, studies show that an increased awareness of the social aspects already in the planning and design stages can result in a better integration of social, environmental and economic concerns (Valdes-Vasquez and Klotz, 2013). Incorporating social and ethical considerations in the construction companies' objectives and strategies can create the conditions where social and environmental benefits can be integrated into business activities as opposed to challenging the traditional view of the firm (Myers, 2005).

Valdes-Vasquez and Klotz (2013) argued that a truly sustainable construction project needs to consider social considerations for the final users, the project's impact on the surrounding community and the safety, health and education of the workforce. They suggested that integrating these considerations in the early stages of construction projects will help to improve both long-term project performance and the quality of life for those affected by the project. Project managers and contractors should therefore maintain a balance between both the requirements of the client and the needs of the community (Vee and Skitmore, 2003). In a study about professional ethics in the construction industry, companies considered good ethical behavior to be seriously worth pursuing and critical to their organizational or business goals (Vee and Skitmore, 2003). For projects to be successful, project managers and companies need to exercise one of the critical elements of their profession which is "consideration of ethics and social responsibility" (Fryer, 1997: p.13 cited in Vee and Skitmore, 2003: p. 120). Glass & Simmonds (2007) point out that there is a lack of understanding of the extent to which project managers and companies have mastered the art of managing community relations. Recent studies show that companies have a narrow understanding of what community engagement entails and that the best attempt to show their engagement with the community has been through donations in support of community activities and charitable organizations (Loosemore and Lim, 2017).

Studies reveal that too often that communication in CSR activities is one way and there is no possibility for community stakeholders to provide input in the development of CSR policies and activities (Petrovic-Lazarevic, 2008). As in construction, once a project has arrived at the implementation stage, there is very little room for community stakeholders to have a say or give their input (Loosemore and Lim, 2017). This can result in skepticism among community stakeholders about the organizations CSR activities and further reinforce the reputation that CSR reporting is no more than *window dressing* (Myers, 2005). Instead of promoting proactive approaches to community engagement in CSR strategies, construction companies have adopted reactive CSR as a way to placate communities that might

oppose construction projects; thus, the role of managers is to negotiate community expectations based on the relative power of different community groups, and all of this for the company's advantage. In this way, the construction industry focuses solely on doing what is required by society rather than what is desired or expected (Loosemore and Lim, 2017). Project managers can play an important role in the implementation of proactive CSR practices in construction projects. Newcombe (2003) urged managers to be sensitive and responsive to stakeholder expectations. He believed that project managers needed to develop a new set of skills in managing construction projects, including communication and engagement. In communicating CSR, there is a requirement for two-way communication practices so as to minimize the gap between the company's environmental and social aspirations and the perceptions in the community (Petrovic-Lazarevic, 2008). When developing CSR strategies, community leaders should be involved in the determination of CSR activities so as to ensure that they are relevant to the community (Lichtenstein et al, 2013).

Valdes-Vasquez and Klotz (2013) found out that stakeholder engagement is regarded by experts in the construction industry as the most important aspect to achieve social sustainability in construction projects. Such a stakeholder engagement approach calls for a need to identify the key stakeholders in the early stages of the project and establish the right mechanisms to support the collaboration of the various stakeholders throughout the different stages of the project. To Valdes-Vasquez and Klotz (2013), the social sustainability processes that need to be integrated in the planning and design phases of construction projects are: community involvement, CSR practices, safety through design and social design. According to them, community involvement in the planning and design stages has the potential to eliminate the negative impact of construction projects in the local community. CSR practices can better meet the needs and concerns of the various stakeholders affected by the construction company's operations. In addition, safety through design can eliminate safety hazards during construction and operations in the design phase, and social design or participatory design contributes to the involvement of unrepresented groups in the decision-making process.

3.2 Stakeholder management in construction

The concept of stakeholder can be defined in different ways. The narrow definition of a stakeholder is "those groups without whose support, the organization would cease to exist" (e.g. financiers, customers, suppliers, employees and communities) (Freeman et al., 2010, p.26). These stakeholder groups can be classified as primary or internal stakeholders (Olander, 2007). A broader definition of the stakeholder concept is "any group or individual that can affect or be affected by the realization

of an organization's purpose" (e.g. government, media, competitors, special interests groups and consumers) (Freeman et al., 2010, p.26). These stakeholders are classified as secondary or external stakeholders (Olander, 2007).

Healey (1992, p.34) points out that in property development projects "the range of actors which could be involved is potentially vast". Consequently, the implementation of property development projects involves and affects a wide range of stakeholders with different attributes, interests, needs and concerns who hold the capacity to influence the project negatively or positively (Olander, 2006). Thus, inadequate management of the concerns of stakeholders can lead to controversy and conflict about the implementation of the project (Olander and Landin 2008). Community attitudes are one example that has been shown to be an important factor when planning for, and locating, a development project (Rogers 1998). The demands of different stakeholder groups vary and a project can benefit one stakeholder group whilst simultaneously having a negative impact on others. Understanding the viewpoints of different stakeholders helps the project manager build relationships and thus avoid preconceived ideas and assumptions (Watson et al. 2002). To ensure stakeholder participation, especially by stakeholders in the external environment, various analysis and mapping techniques are available (e.g. Olander and Landin, 2005, Bourne and Walker, 2005, Olander, 2007). Various stakeholder groups are analyzed depending on their possibility to influence project decisions, and the potential consequence, for the project, if they choose to do so. An understanding of stakeholder theory is relevant in order to fully understand the numerous trade-offs that exist in sustainability-related problems (Hörisch et al. 2014). Stakeholder theory implies that successful organizations recognize stakeholder interests in a continuous process with the aim of creating value for a wide range of stakeholders (Strand & Freeman, 2015) through, for example, a participatory process.

The local community is an important yet neglected stakeholder in the project management debate (Teo & Loosemore, 2017). Although the local community is widely recognized as an important project stakeholder in the project management literature, little has been done to understand how to engage effectively with this stakeholder group to resolve their concerns (Teo & Loosemore, 2017). Local communities negatively affected by construction projects are being empowered and organized and are willing to engage in protest against construction projects (Boutilier and Zdziarski, 2017; Teo and Loosemore, 2017; Teo and Loosemore, 2014). Research that focusses on communities as legitimate stakeholders in projects can be found in emerging studies from a relationship-based approach to project management theory (Teo and Loosemore, 2017). Teo and Loosemore (2017) argue for a better understanding of the factors that drive communities to engage in protest against construction projects. They found out that collective action, collective identity and social capital play a key role in driving community protest and

sustaining long-term participation efforts against construction projects. In addition, studies show that core group members within protest groups play an instrumental role in driving and sustaining community action (Teo and Loosemore, 2014). Teo and Loosemore propose that managers should direct their engagement strategies towards opinion leaders in the local community in order to acquire a better understanding of the community social networks. They argue that to avoid community opposition and misperceptions of risk, managers should establish communication channels with community leaders early and throughout the development process. Furthermore, to establish trust among the community members, managers should engage the community in a meaningful and transparent way. In this way, communities and developers can work together to achieve mutual benefits for both the project and the community.

Local community stakeholders are often perceived as a threat rather than an opportunity. This view implies that managers exert control on the local community to maintain project support by empowering projects supporters and marginalizing non-supporters. This instrumental approach suppresses the disempowered groups by silencing their voices (Teo and Loosemore, 2014). Instead, Teo and Loosemore argue that an approach to community engagement rather than community management is needed. This requires two-way communication between project managers and the local community to resolve people's concerns, rather than suppressing or marginalizing them. Scholars in the field of construction management are concerned about the perceptions of local communities regarding risks associated with construction projects and how they organize in opposition or support (Boutilier and Zdziarski, 2017; Teo and Loosemore, 2017; Teo and Loosemore, 2014). Such a social risk is perceived to increase the challenge of the successful implementation of construction projects (Yu et al., 2017). However, social impact is defined as "the consequences to human populations of any public or private actions that alter the ways in which people live, work, play, relate to one another, organize to meet their needs and generally cope as members of society. The term also includes cultural impacts involving changes to the norms, values, and beliefs that guide and rationalize their cognition of themselves and their society" (Burdge et al., 1995). The assessment of projects in terms of equity, sustainability and acceptance of community and public at large can be used to guide decisions about the project (Vanclay, 1999). Other scholars have developed models to increase the social license of construction projects, see for example Boutilier and Zdziarski (2017).

Scholars have developed models to identify public responses to social impacts to better capture the public responses to potential social impacts as well as their interests and concerns in the early stages of construction projects and thus improve the social evaluation of projects and public participation practices (Wang et al., 2016). Traditional Social Impact Assessment models are used in the project

appraisal phase to analyze, monitor and manage both positive and negative social consequences. Such models allow project stakeholders to identify undesirable social effects, enhance positive impacts and mitigate negative impacts from construction projects (Wang et al., 2016).

However, the resulting identification of undesirable social effects, as well as the strategies to enhance positive impacts and mitigate negative effects, are mainly those perceived by project managers to be the most critical for project success. In addition to Social Impact Assessment models, more integrative models of social risk management have been developed to identify social risks from a stakeholder and social network analysis perspective. Effective communication through transparent and efficient information exchange between project proponents and the local community are essential to gain a better understanding of local communities' concerns and thus allow project managers to mitigate the social impacts in construction projects (Wang et al., 2016). Information asymmetry and deficiency can generate negative public attitudes towards construction projects, which in turn can lead to public opposition, especially from vulnerable groups and those that have a closer social relationship and/or negative attitude towards the project (Wang et al., 2016)

To reduce social conflicts and ensure the feasibility of projects, project teams must carry out comprehensive evaluations on social risk before embarking on any project. Even though more studies recognize the community as an important stakeholder and consider them as an opportunity rather than a threat, such studies fail to recognize their participation in the project definition. Instead, they propose that managers should consult the local community early, for example by presenting the proposals before the local community try to oppose the project. These are instrumental in that recommendations are given to project managers to identify the network of project supporters (e.g. Boutilier 2017) to empower them by enhancing coalitions of supporters to increase project support while marginalizing those that are against it or those that do not have a voice. This, according to Teo and Loosemore (2017), undermines the potential engagement with those that are marginalized from the decision-making process. Instead, Teo and Loosemore, (2014; 2017) focus on those who are negatively affected and propose that managers engage with them to resolve their concerns before they oppose them. Whilst Teo and Loosemore (2017; 2014) recognize the local community as an important stakeholder, they do not provide any insights into how local community stakeholders can be engaged in the early stages of construction projects.

3.3 Stakeholder participation

Stakeholder participation in decision-making has been mandated by the state and local officials to be an essential part of the decision-making process in urban development. However, practitioners and scholars do not have the same notion of what to achieve with participation and how to translate it into practice, which makes this a contested concept (Day, 1997). It is argued that stakeholder participation was first introduced in the United States in the 1960s in a number of federal programs such as the urban renewal, anti-poverty and Model Cities (Arnstein, 1969). Scholars have argued that participation in local planning originates from the 1870s in the United States before it was recognized as planning policy in the 1960s. It then made its way to Europe via the UK (Wulz, 1986). Since then, the concept has attracted attention from officials, practitioners and scholars. The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe introduced public participation at the Arhus Convention in 1998 (UNECE, 1998).

Participation was introduced as a way to grant citizens the right to access public information and to participate in governmental decision-making processes on matters concerning local, national and global environmental issues (UNECE, 1998). The lack of public distrust about what constitutes a *good* solution, an increase in knowledge and interests in development decisions and the introduction of political agendas in sustainable development and cross-collaboration have contributed to wider acceptance of the concept of participation (Richards et al., 2004). Moreover, public participation is increasingly being used by different community groups in the decision making of urban development projects and is becoming a democratic right in many countries. Stakeholder participation played an important role in the work undertaken by the Brundtland Commission, *Our Common Future* (WCED, 1987), and was further developed at the Earth Summit in 1992 with the adoption of Local Agenda 21 (United Nations, 1992). LA21 is an action plan that includes the need for active participation of all sectors of society in decisions relating to sustainable development (ibid). The action plan has been widely recognized by national and state governments around the world which have subsequently mandated its adoption in local government activities (United Nations, 2002).

Definitions and approaches to participation

Participation can be defined in many different ways. What is common in all definitions is the active role of stakeholders including those that are affected by a decision to have an input to the decision-making process (Smith, 1983; Rowe et al., 2004). For Arnstein (1969), participation is the redistribution of power to those excluded from the political and economic arena to take part in the decision-making process. Three approaches to justify participation have been identified in the

participation literature (Stirling 2006; Fiorino, 1990). These approaches are classified into normative, substantive and instrumental (Bickerstaff and Walker, 2000; Glucker et al., 2013). The normative approach to participation focuses on the democratic rationale, considering participation as an end in itself. The normative focus is on equality rather than on the quality that comes out of the process. The substantive arguments look instead at participation as a means to an end, with an emphasis on improving the quality of the decisions made, for instance by incorporating local knowledge into the decision-making process. The instrumental approach, considers public participation as a means to re-establishing credibility and trust, and to legitimize decisions already made. This approach suggests that the implementation of a project can be facilitated through increased legitimacy (Glucker et al., 2013). Bickerstaff and Walker (2000) argued that practitioners claim that the main objective for public participation should be to generate legitimacy; therefore, motivations for the involvement of local communities have been instrumental rather than substantive and normative.

The seminal work of Arnstein (1969) has been influential in the discourse of participation (Innes and Booher, 2004). In her work, Arnstein describes different levels of citizen participation based on an analysis of federal social programs such as the urban renewal, anti-poverty and Model Cities programs in the United States. Arnstein (1969) presents a typology of eight levels of citizen participation, which is represented as a ladder with each rung indicating a significant level of participation. The two lower rungs of the ladder represent manipulation and therapy and are classified as *non-participation* approaches. According to her, these levels of participation do not enable citizens to participate but instead is a strategy for power holders to *educate* or *cure* the participants. Low levels of participation are regarded as window-dressing rituals where the decision makers' main goal is to obtain evidence that they have gone through the process of involving the stakeholders. The consecutive levels three, four and five represent information, consultation and placation and are classified as *tokenism*. These approaches to participation may well allow the citizens to be heard and to have a voice but decision makers still possess the power to decide based on their own interests. The upper levels six, seven and eight represent partnership, delegated power and citizen control and are classified as degrees of *citizen power*. These approaches to participation allow citizens to obtain nearly full access to decision making or complete managerial control. Arnstein presumes that citizens need power in order to influence decision making and that only through participation will citizens get the power needed to influence.

Arnstein's ladder defines participation through different levels and suggests that some levels are better than others; however, scholars have argued that this ladder fails to propose a logical progression between the different levels (Connor, 1988). Connor further developed the metaphor of the ladder by introducing the notion that the different levels have a cumulative effect and each successive level builds upon

the previous (ibid). The first rung of Connor's ladder starts with education; it then builds successively by information feedback, consultation, joint planning, mediation, litigation, resolution and prevention (ibid). This ladder of participation therefore provides a systematic approach to prevent and resolve public controversy about various proposals. Connor argues that there is not one solution to design and manage a participatory process; instead, a systematic process appropriate to the decision-making must be designed and implemented for the specific situation (ibid). He further emphasizes the need to simultaneously use different approaches to meet the needs of the involved stakeholders.

Luyet et al (2012) developed a comprehensive framework for stakeholder participation in environmental management projects that address the questions of "who should participate?", "how should they participate?" and "when should they participate?" The comprehensive framework can help project managers to design a process of stakeholder involvement that takes into account stakeholder heterogeneity, the complexity of decision-making processes and the project context. The framework proposes a set of practical tools and techniques to identify and characterize stakeholders, assign a degree of involvement to each stakeholder, select appropriate participatory techniques, implement the participatory techniques and evaluate the participatory process. The authors suggest that there is no standardized method to select the most relevant tools and techniques and that the choice of techniques are context dependant and project specific. The authors emphasise that the selection of the tools and techniques should be according to the project context and project objectives and implemented in a transparent way in order to reduce bias. The framework was applied in the Rhone river restoration project in Switzerland and evaluated to show its strengths and weaknesses.

A qualitative evaluation of the participation process was conducted through interviews to acquire an in-depth understanding of the process and its outcomes. The criteria used in the interviews concerned the design of the process, integration of every stakeholder interest, transparency, equity, clear rules of the process, early stakeholder involvement, facilitation, stakeholder representativeness, stakeholder competency, trust, social learning and impact of the participation process and results. The authors' stress that by involving all potential stakeholders in the early stages of the project can help minimize the risk of opposition from unidentified stakeholder groups in later stages. However, the authors recognize that by involving all stakeholders can increase the complexity of the participation process. Their findings show that the limitations of the participation process are mainly concerned with the cost and time consuming nature of the process, lack of clear answers, and unresolved conflicts. They suggest that sufficient time and careful planning should be allowed in the design of participation processes in order to minimize potential risks. Furthermore, according to (Luyet et al., 2012), the application of the stakeholder participation framework in the river restoration project allowed to

involve stakeholders in a comprehensive way. In addition, the participation process was perceived to be successful by the stakeholders' and project manager as it improved the design of technical solutions, developed social learning and understood the stakeholders' concerns. As a result, the project management decided to adopt the framework in the entire watershed management program.

Participatory tools and techniques

There are various tools and techniques that can be applied in participation processes to engage in dialogue with stakeholders. The tools described below are: SWOT analysis, Delphi technique, Design charrette, Q-sort, Model making, Social map and mobility map, Dream map and Transect walk. Some of the tools are more engaging than others, however if well facilitated, they can contribute to generating high levels of engagement.

SWOT analysis

The SWOT analysis is a commonly used tool in strategic planning (Charmack and Kasshanna, 2007). This tool for assessing the strengths, weakness, opportunities and threats for an organization is of subjective nature. The SWOT tool has wide range of uses and advantages and as pointed out by Helms and Nixon (2010), in order to increase the quality of the analysis and to reduce the subjectivity it is vital to include a substantial assessment and interpretation of the information provided, as well as an external analysis through benchmarking against competitors or similar organizations in the industry or on the market. The SWOT analysis is carried out by categorizing the four variables strengths, weakness, opportunities and threats in quadrants. The SWOT analysis is hence a framework for unveiling internal (strengths and weaknesses) as well as external (opportunities and threats) forces, which are necessary when making strategic decisions (Charmack and Kasshanna, 2007). As stressed by the Helms and Nixon (2010), the categorization of the different variables can be challenging and will have an impact on the analysis, e.g. if opportunities and strengths are reversed, as well as threats and weaknesses. Ultimately, the classification of a variable as a strength instead of a weakness depends on the purpose of the analysis. As further pointed out by the authors, although the SWOT analysis is useful and provides substantial information, it does not automatically provide an actual strategy to implement based on the identified opportunities and strengths. When conducted properly, the SWOT analysis will give the organization enough information to choose a strategy that ensures that the internal capacities (strengths and weaknesses) can meet the external forces (opportunities and threats) (Charmack and Kasshanna, 2007).

A weakness with the tool in itself is the fact that the analysis may lead to, as Helms and Nixon (2010) put it, "an oversimplification of a situation that is more complex".

As the surrounding environment is constantly changing, the analysis only reflects a specific point in time, which means that there will constantly be new strengths and weaknesses within an organization, even a shift among the four different variables (Helms and Nixon, 2010).

Delphi technique

The Delphi technique can be defined as "… a method for structuring a group communication process so that the process is effective in allowing a group of individuals, as a whole, to deal with a complex problem" (Linstone and Turoff, 2002). As presented by the authors Linstone and Turoff (2002), this technique exists in two different forms: The Delphi Exercise and the Delphi Conference. The Delphi Exercise, also known as the conventional Delphi, is the most commonly used out of the two. A questionnaire is sent to a larger group and once the questionnaire has been returned to the monitor team, the results are summarized. Based on the results a new questionnaire is developed, which is sent to the same respondent group. The respondents are then given the opportunity to re-evaluate their original answer, based on the group response. The purpose of the Delphi Exercise is hence to reduce the communication effort from the respondent group to the monitor team. The Delphi Conference, which is a newer form of the Delphi technique, is a more automated technique for summarizing the results from each round of the Delphi questionnaires, as it replaces the monitor team by a computer programmed to compile the group results. This automation reduces the time for compiling the results from each Delphi round.

Regardless of which of the two forms of Delphi as described above is carried out, the Delphi technique goes through four distinct phases (Linstone and Turoff, 2002). During the first phase the subject is explored by giving each individual in the focus group the possibility to contribute with information he or she thinks is necessary for the specific subject. It is during the second phase when the group's perception of the subject is gathered and analysed. During this phase the monitor team look at where the members of the focus group agree or disagree and how they define terms such as importance and achievability. Any significant disagreements are further investigated during the third phase by unveiling the reasons for the differences. The fourth and final phase, which is also the final evaluation, takes place when the gathered information has been analysed.

Design Charrette

This tool is used when developing creative designs and it is often carried out in participatory or group formats. It is especially useful within sustainable design (Walker and Seymour, 2008). A simple definition of the Design Charrette is a meeting during which people brainstorm, plan and visualize ideas. However, compared to other workshops, charrettes are characterized by intense and creative

collaboration between designers and citizens with the focus on delivering a detailed solution to a community design problem. This solution will incorporate the concerns and needs of all relevant stakeholders, and it can be implemented after completing the charrette. The charrette is hence a democratic process, it takes place on site, involving all relevant stakeholders, and run over a few consecutive days, usually no less than four (Lennertz and Lutzenhiser, 2017).

As described by the authors Lennertz and Lutzenhiser (2017), the charrette consists of three phases. All relevant information and stakeholders are gathered during the first phase. The intensive collaboration starts already during this phase as it is the stakeholders themselves who collaboratively collect and prepare all the data and input necessary for the next phase of the charrette. Depending on the complexity and scale of the project the duration of this first phase can vary from a few days to several months. Once the data and people are in place, it is possible to move into the event in itself, the charrette. As mentioned previously, this second phase lasts at least four days, with the goal of delivering a plan that can be implemented in the end. The reason for this minimum duration is that the charrette is organized as a series of three feedback loops, each providing the charrette team with the information they need to deliver a feasible plan for the project. It is important to provide the team with enough time to accommodate all the feedback as well as to allow for feasibility testing before entering the third phase. The plan is further refined and tested during the third phase and usually no longer four to six weeks after the charrette was completed, the revised plan is presented for final approval by the community.

Q-sort

The Q-sort combines quantitative and qualitative research methods while studying human subjectivity (Ellingsen et al., 2009). This tool is used to identify people's opinions on a specific topic by letting them rank a set of statements. A subsequent factor analysis reduces these to a few perceptions that are shared among the reference group (Danielson 2009). Ellingsen et al. (2009) defined the following key steps when adopting the Q-sort tool: 1) Identify all possible aspects surrounding the topic of interest; 2) Develop a limited set of statements that represent the different layers of the topic (also known as Q sample); 3) Specify the respondents and instructions for the study; 4) Collect the participants' ranking of the Q sample; and 5) Analyse and interpret the results (Factor analysis).

Model making

A *model* explains the details of a project while representing people's perceptions, not those of experts. Models are used to create an awareness about a specific project among people who are not directly involved in the process. Similar to maps, models are used to explore, identify problems, plan, discuss and to analyze; but, as opposed

to maps, models display three dimensions of the space, namely length, width and depth. A map can only present length and width (Kumar 2002). An advantage of working with a three-dimensional model is that it is a replica of the real thing, which helps in arriving at a more realistic discussion. There are, however, limitations even with models. Naturally, they are more time consuming to produce, which in some contexts will indirectly exclude some people from participating effectively due to time constraints and busy schedules (Kumar 2002).

Social map and mobility map

Compared to a regular map, a *social map* is, first of all, made by the community and not by experts and, secondly, it represents the social dimensions of the community's reality within a specific context and at a specific site. The focus is on presenting the habitation patterns, as well as the nature of housing and social infrastructure such as roads, drainage systems, schools etc. To achieve a fair representation of the social dimensions of the community, social mapping requires an active involvement of a large group of participants (Kumar 2002). Social mapping is an efficient tool for attitudinal change, participation of the local community and for data collection. First, during social mapping, the local community takes the lead and shares its knowledge with the facilitators (the researchers), which in turn leads to important reflections among the researchers. Second, as a tool for data collection, social mapping is versatile and can be done in many different ways. It is, however, important for the researcher to limit the data collection to necessary information and not to collect an abundance of data that in the end will not be used. Kumar (2002) emphasizes that the social map is not the end in itself; it is merely a means to understand the material and the social aspects within the community that is being studied to create a common understanding for further discussion.

A *mobility map* is used to study the movement pattern of individuals or a community, with a focus on where people go and for what. Other aspects within the movement pattern are important, such as the frequency of visits, distance, mode of transport, preference, purpose, accessibility and the importance of the places visited. All in all, the mobility map reflects people's perception of different movement patterns. An advantage of the mobility map is that it provides a good understanding of the movement patterns in a community (Kumar 2002).

Dream map

While the social and mobility maps represent the reality in a community, the *dream map* is instead used to portray the future, which will be based on the wishes of the people in the local community (Kumar 2002). When using this method, the participants initially draw a map of the current state, the baseline map and, later on, they are asked to draw a map that represents the future, the reference map, based on their visions and dreams. When comparing the two maps, it is possible to identify

where change is needed. Kumar (2002) emphasizes that the dream map is a tool for introducing a discussion on possible interventions to improve a situation. It is also a valuable tool for monitoring and evaluating specific interventions in a community as the dream map provides both a baseline and the reference for desired achievements. Kumar (2002) mentions a couple of limitations in the dream map tool, namely that participants tend to draw unrealistic aspirations, and the facilitator (i.e. the researcher) must be aware that it might raise the expectations of the local community.

Transect

Transect walks is a form of field trip to the site that is being studied. It is a method for exploring the spatial dimensions of people's realities (Kumar 2002). The transect walk is typically led by a couple of local people from the community within which the study site is located. The local people are the experts and the facilitators (the researchers) ask and learn from them. The main strength of this tool is that it provides an immediate overview of the site. Transect is a way to confirm the information gathered through the social maps and any other of the above-mentioned methods. Practitioners can find the transect walk easy to facilitate, although Kumar (2002) stresses the importance of not focusing too much on the output of the walk. It is more important to ask questions and discuss during the walk and needs careful planning.

Critics to participation

Although participation is regarded as a good thing, its complexity and ambiguity create confusion and disillusionment among scholars and practitioners who fail to see the benefits of participation realized (Reed, 2008). Innes and Booher (2004) argued that participation is the right thing to do; even so, there is a prevailing notion that the more open and inclusive the participatory process is, the more polarized an issue can become which can cause delays and *bad* decisions. As a consequence, scholars argue that practices of participation in planning and decision making do not work and that their function is merely that of rituals to satisfy legal requirements (ibid). Moreover, participation has been criticized for not living up to its philosophies and for being merely a window dressing strategy to legitimize decisions already made (Rowe and Frewer, 2000). As a result, this has led to skepticism and distrust from the public who feel that their inputs have not been taken into account (Rowe and Frewer, 2000). Accordingly, Arnstein (1969) considered participation as an empty ritual process where decision makers claim that all interests and concerns are taken into account but, in reality, it only benefits the interests of a few. Such empty ritual processes fail to meet the needs and concerns

of the public, fail to improve the quality of decisions and fail to incorporate a wide range of stakeholders (Innes and Booher, 2004).

Arnstein (1969) stressed that approaches to genuine participation must safeguard stakeholders' needs and concerns in the decision-making process. Furthermore, it was argued that there is not one universally-effective method to participation as different methods are highly dependent on the contextual and environmental factors embedded in a project (Smith et al., 1997). Scholars have opted to move away from the study of the ideals and principles that characterize best practice stakeholder participation to study the socio-political factors embedded in participation practices (Calderon and Chelleri, 2013). Calderon (2013) identifies how differences, conflicts and power relations have a major impact on how participatory processes are conducted. He suggests moving from the theorization of ideals and principles of participation that emphasize inclusiveness, power-balance and consensus building to the politics of participation (i.e. *conflicts of interests* and *power relations*) in order to tackle the challenges that prevail in participatory decision-making processes.

Implications to stakeholder participation

Innes and Booher (2004) mention that participation models exclude the participation of a broader range of stakeholders, and that such models are often perceived as a dual system involving citizens and the government and which fails to integrate other stakeholders into the model. Instead, they propose that participation must be perceived as a collaborative process that engages a wide range of stakeholders from citizens, special interest groups, non-profit organizations, the private sector and public sector (ibid). A collaborative multi-stakeholder participation process that is guided by the principles of communication, learning and action has the potential to build social capital and produce innovative solutions to complex problems in society (ibid). However, as argued by Brody (2003), broad participation in the planning process does not necessarily lead to better plans; it is instead the involvement of specific stakeholders which significantly increases the quality of plans. Instead of engaging as many stakeholders as possible, it is suggested that focus should be placed on identifying and involving specific stakeholder groups that are likely to enhance the quality of decisions (ibid).

New practices need to be developed with an outlined methodology on how to involve the various stakeholders. Such practices would differ from traditional participation approaches and seek to address the interests of all stakeholders through democratic dialogue and time (Innes and Booher, 2004). Although achieving representativeness in participation is ideal for a more democratic process, Rowe and Frewer (2000) highlight practical implications for its implementation, due mainly to the inefficiencies arising from large groups of stakeholders working together.

They propose that focus should instead be placed on selecting the right methods and techniques according to the specific context to achieve efficient participation.

Innes and Booher (2004) argue that participation practices should support the dynamic interaction between the citizens, local officials and other relevant stakeholders to influence the decision making in a meaningful way; moreover, they emphasize that learning and exchange of knowledge play an important role in the process. Such a dynamic interaction guided by learning and knowledge exchange may well lead to conflict resolution and innovation (Connick and Innes, 2003). Innes and Booher (2004) propose that a collaborative approach through inclusive dialogue has the ability to serve the various purposes of participation: informed decisions that are representative; inclusion of local knowledge in policy-making; advancement of fairness and justice; and increased legitimacy of participation. It is argued that participation in the late stages of the planning process provides minimal opportunity for stakeholder influence in the decision making (Arnstein, 1969); therefore, public or private project proponents must act early and provide the necessary arenas of participation where dialogue and learning takes place (Innes and Booher, 2004).

Early stakeholder participation through place-making

It has been recognized that early engagement of local communities in the formal planning process can help speed up plan approvals and promote better urban design solutions (Wilkinson and Sayce, 2015c). However, stakeholder participation in planning is often neglected by developers and planners or is simply conducted through less creative and innovative forms of participation such as questionnaires (Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014). Although some developers still consider local community stakeholders to be a potential threat to their developments, in many developed countries, stakeholder participation is embedded within statutory processes such as the formal planning process and is increasingly regarded as a component of sustainable development (Wilkinson and Sayce, 2015c).

Social sustainability aspects have received less attention in property development compared to environmental aspects (Wilkinson and Sayce, 2015c). However, the pressing need of inclusive built environments for current and future generations has raised awareness among stakeholders to integrate the social aspects in design and development practices in order to achieve sustainable property development (ibid). Some of the social sustainability characteristics of property development at the urban and building scale includes urban design and place-making, community participation and designing for community (ibid). Urban design and place-making can contribute to the creation of community spaces that are adapted to a specific context, inspire people and encourage and facilitate safe pedestrian movement; such qualities can make a development successful and sustainable (ibid). The creation of such spaces should be designed according to the needs of the end users and the local

community as well as to how buildings, infrastructure or public space will be used (ibid). It is proposed that sustainable property development enhances the social infrastructure of communities by creating a sense of place, and contributing to social amenity and healthy workplaces (Wilkinson and Sayce, 2015c).

To plan for lively and inclusive cities, Jacobs (1993) urged planners to acquire precise and unique knowledge about the places with which they work. She proposed that a detailed understanding can be obtained from the people who inhabit these places as they know best their neighborhoods. Jacobs emphasized that such a level of detail is needed for guiding constructive actions in urban planning. Planning at eye-level or the *human landscape* is the smallest scale in urban planning (Gehl, 2010). Gehl argued that the small scale in urban planning is the key to ensure better conditions for the human dimension and needs to be carefully integrated into city planning practice. Even so, Gehl recognized that achieving this will require changes in traditional ways of thinking and working methods. Emerging alternative methods of urban planning such as the place-making approach emphasize a bottom-up perspective, which favors the site specific and human scale of planning (Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014).

The place-making approach focuses on adapting spaces to people by identifying the behavioral interactions and movement patterns in a place and designing to enhance these existing patterns (Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014). An increased recognition of *place meanings* in public land management has opened the way for land managers to increase their understanding of people's attachment to place (Kruger, 2006). This has resulted in the design of participatory processes to capture local knowledge about the meanings of places and to incorporate this knowledge into resource planning and management (Kruger, 2006).

It is argued that participation in the late stages of the planning process provides minimal opportunity for stakeholder influence in the decision making. Public or private project proponents must therefore act early and provide the necessary arenas for participation where dialogue and learning take place (Innes and Booher, 2004). According to Cilliers and Timmermans (2014), in order for stakeholder participation to be successful, participatory processes need to foster innovation and creativity. They argue that a high level of engagement can be fostered through creative participatory processes, which in turn can enhance the stakeholders' interests in the place and its development process as well as build social capital. Temporary uses of empty space give the opportunity for resident stakeholders to participate actively in shaping the transformation of spaces at an early stage before any plans or strategies are being made (Andres, 2013). Such temporary uses range from pop-up parks, temporary shops, cafés and urban gardening. Place-making can be achieved by adopting innovative participatory planning tools such as the workbench method,

guerrilla gardening, extreme experience, *meet my street stool* and the creative techniques tool (Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014).

Joint efforts among planners, residents and local communities can take place in urban regeneration projects to improve the quality of life in neighborhoods (Friedmann 2010). Nonetheless, engagement can prove to be challenging, especially when these stakeholder groups are unfamiliar with genuine participation efforts (Friedmann 2010). Balancing the needs and interests of a wide range of stakeholders in the decision making of urban projects can lead to a more just built environment that reflects the needs and interests of the wider society (Calderon and Chelleri, 2013). Thus, a genuine participation process is required, where power is equally redistributed and dialogue is promoted (Friedmann, 2010). In this manner, genuine and democratic participation can allow people to exercise their *right to the city* (Lefebvre 1996).

There is evidence of successful urban regeneration projects through temporary uses of space and place-making (Andres 2013). La Friche in Marseille, France, offers a unique case where a partnership between the local authorities, a landowner and a local cultural association, all with different objectives, managed to sustain a long collaborative process based on a shared distribution of power between all stakeholders (Andres, 2013). Through this collaborative process of shared power and place-making strategies, the local cultural association gained the power to exert influence and contributed to the development of regeneration strategies (Andres, 2013). This case illustrates how the needs of the area and the local knowledge can be acknowledged as an asset, which leads to a progressive transfer of place-making power.

Place and place-making

Cresswell (2009) defined *place* as "a meaningful site that combines location, locale, and a sense of place". First, location refers to a point in space, for example an address in a particular geographical point. Second, locale refers to the material setting for social relations; examples include tangible aspects of a place such as physical characteristics of the place and elements of the built environment (e.g. buildings, streets and parks). Last, a sense of place refers to the meanings given to a place and the feelings and emotions that a place evokes. In this way, place goes beyond the physical location for activity and is characterized by people's histories, meanings and attachments to it; thus, a place is the social construction of relationships, experiences and meanings played out in a particular location (Kruger, 2006). By interacting with places, people assign collective meanings and values to them (Kruger, 2006). Such interactions are performed in the form of play, encounter, worship, trade, performance and festivity as well as contestation and resistance

(Friedmann, 2007). Thus, the spatial configuration of place and its rhythms can be characterized as dynamic (Friedmann, 2010).

A place for Friedmann is small scale, lived in by its residents, meaningful and central to encourage encounter and gathering (Friedmann, 2010). Small scale refers to a *pedestrian scale*, which facilitates the interaction of people in formal and informal ways. *Lived in* refers to the way residents inhabit their spaces which then influence how spaces are modified and transformed over time. The transformation of spaces can also come from initiatives taken by the residents or external forces (i.e. public and private interests). Meaningful places attach people to place. Such an attachment can be seen when residents resist the demolition of places by developers or local authorities or when groups of residents take joint action to improve the physical and social conditions of their neighborhood spaces. Finally, important to the formation of places is *centering* or central, which means that one or more points of attraction are centrally defined in a neighborhood to encourage social interaction. This, in turn, might reinforce a sense of community and belonging.

Every neighborhood has a unique character, and this character evolves over time as the neighborhood strives for a character of its own (Friedmann, 2010). This change of character is, however, determined by the way people inhabit places through daily routines, community rituals and socio-spatial patterns (Friedmann, 2010). This continuous regeneration of identity and character shows the dynamic dimension that places represent. In order to preserve the identity and human aspect of places in the built environment, new planning approaches will be required. Gehl (2010) suggests that the conventional practice of city planning from *above and outside* must be replaced with a new planning approach from *below and inside* which follows the principle: first life, then space, then buildings. According to Gehl, working with the human dimension or a people-centered approach to cities requires that life and space be treated before buildings.

Now that the concept of place has been defined, the process of *place-making* can be conceptualized. Place-making can be defined as the process of appropriating space in order to create a *mirror of self* (Cooper (1995) in Friedmann (2007: p.259)). For example, at the dwelling level, when acquiring a living space, in order to make the place homely and habitable, one customizes it by placing furniture and adding a personal touch (Friedmann, 2007). At the neighborhood level, place-making happens by "appropriating an already existing place" through the act of interacting with the local residents, learning about the place and partaking in local activities (Friedmann 2007: p.259). By experiencing the spaces in the neighborhood through different forms of everyday life and by taking part in social relations and rituals, these places become lived in, and "by being lived in, urban spaces become humanized" (ibid).

Successful and lively places are those designed with a strong social focus that takes into account the needs and aspirations of the users of the space; in this way, place-making is "the process of transforming spaces into qualitative places" (Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014). Friedmann (2010) argues that to revive neighborhoods will require that people reclaim the *human habitat* of places to reconnect with other people in meaningful ways. In urban planning, place-making is regarded as the process in which planners engage directly with users of space to create meaningful places (Friedmann, 2010). Gehl's planning approach recognizes the place-making philosophy of space (Gehl 2010). His approach to planning for livable cities begins by determining the character and life in the proposed development. Based on the desired urban patterns and connections (e.g. pathways and cycling lanes), programs and activities can then be prepared for the city spaces and city structure. Once the city space and connections are established, "buildings can be positioned to ensure the best possible coexistence between life, spaces and buildings" (Gehl 2010: p.198). According to Gehl, this method is rooted in the requirements for a well-functioning human scale and can be applied to the planning of new urban areas as well as to improve existing urban areas.

Power imbalances in place-making

Processes of change in place-making activities do not automatically become inclusive (Friedmann, 2010). These are contested sites where power struggles among different stakeholder groups are played out to determine how a space is used and transformed (Calderon, 2013). Such power imbalances among the stakeholders define who is included and who is excluded from the decision-making process in place-making activities. This is due to power being inherently embedded in the production, reproduction and contestation of places and their meanings (Cresswell, 2009).

In addition to emphasizing place as the site of lived experience and dynamic change, place-making provides the analytical lens to unpack the social and power relations that exist between actors, organizations and institutions involved in the socio-spatial production of place (Lombard, 2014). By unpacking the imbalance of power between the stakeholders involved in place-making, it is possible to determine who wins and who loses in the production of space (Calderon, 2013). The socio-cultural and political processes which influence place-making are deeply embedded in the context where they play out (Lombard, 2014). Furthermore, place-making activities are culturally and historically bounded (Friedmann, 2010). Lombard (2014) notes that discourses have the power to influence how urban residents perceive themselves and other residents, as well as the power to influence local policy interventions. Thus, place-making is affected by the local discursive constructions of place from

local policy, media, academia and public opinion to discourses at the national and international levels (Lombard, 2014).

Place-making – a new approach to create inclusive communities

Cilliers and Timmermans (2014) emphasize place-making as "the most concrete practice of producing place". A study by Friedmann (2010) about place-making in Japan, China and Canada found that there is no single best method of place-making; yet, a common finding in case studies highlights the critical role of government in getting local initiatives underway and encouraging autonomous neighborhood institutions (e.g. neighborhood associations, resident committees and not-for-profit settlement houses). Andres (2013) argues that temporary use of empty space has the ability to: shape the space from a user-centered perspective; influence and challenge the distribution of power that are inherent in master planning processes; and enable occupants to acquire and sustain their role in the place-making process.

Friedmann (2010) suggests that making places is everyone's job, and that place-making activities need to be supported by organizational and discursive strategies specifically designed to build capacity and voice, to foster a sense of common benefit, to empower disadvantaged groups and to facilitate conflict resolution. In this context, place-making can be regarded as the process of participating in "both the production of meaning and in the means of production of a locale" (Lepofsky and Fraser 2003: p.128). For Kruger (2006), this participatory process is driven by actively engaging the people who inhabit a place with a strong emphasis on "the relationships among people and between people and place". Lombard (2014) points out that when a common goal is reached among the people inhabiting a place, collective efforts towards place-making activities can be achieved. Participatory processes can contribute to the continuous production and negotiation of knowledge about a place while enabling the implementation of that knowledge in decision-making, planning, design and implementation of place, thereby making places meaningful (Schneekloth and Shibley (1995) in Kruger (2006: p.389)).

Concluding remarks

This chapter has provided the background to urban property development, the role of cities for sustainable development and the link to stakeholder participation in achieving sustainable urban property development. Theories highlight the need for the involvement of a wide range of stakeholders and, in the following chapter, we will further investigate how this is translated in the current practice of urban property development projects. The purpose of the literature review was to link the concepts of property development, construction stakeholder management and participation.

4 Empirical fieldwork and analysis

This chapter presents the findings and analysis of cases one, two, three and four. Each case is presented with a project description and the specific context, followed by the findings. The findings are analyzed and categorized according to different themes that arose during the studies.

4.1 Case I: St. Catherine Vocational Development Project in Muhanga, Uganda

This section describes case one which concerns the planning and implementation of a stakeholder participation process in the planning stage of the development of a resource center in the parish of Muhanga in the south west of Uganda. The section starts by presenting a background to the project and the motivation for choosing this case as well as the matter of acquiring access to it. The section further presents the results from the planning and implementation of the stakeholder participation process in the planning stage of the resource center.

The vocational development project

In 1998, the idea to start a vocational development project in the community of Muhanga was conceived by a member of the local community. The project was a response to the absence of the government's provision of basic services such as universal education in the local community. That same year, the community member in collaboration with an Austrian started to develop a concept for the vocational development project with the aim of contributing to the quality of life of the most vulnerable people in Muhanga. To accomplish the aim, the vocational development project sought to provide information, primary and secondary education, as well as vocational training to orphans, out-of-school children and youth, young mothers and widows. In 2000, the two promoters acquired a plot of land, two kilometers outside the trading center of Muhanga, to establish the educational and vocational activities. Unfortunately, in that same year, the Austrian passed away; however, her spirit left a legacy behind.

On July 25, 2001 the vocational development project was registered in Muhanga as a community-based non-profit organization. The organization was established by a group of men and women from the local village who shared the vision of a sustainable, equitable and stable society. The organization works to improve the quality of life of orphans, vulnerable children, out-of-school youth, young mothers and widows. The mission is to enhance the opportunities of these groups of people so as to realize their full potential, capabilities and self-sustainable development. As the organization was established, a process of selection was taken to elect the management committee as well as a board committee.

During 2001 and 2003, three buildings were erected on site to house the various educational and vocational activities in the organization. The three main buildings comprise an office building, a school building, a building for storage and cooking, and toilet facilities (see figure 5). In 2005, the buildings were severely damaged by a landslide after a prolonged period of heavy rainfall. Throughout the years, the buildings have been damaged by heavy rain during the rainy seasons and the buildings have been continuously restored.

Figure 5: Photo illustrating the three main buildings on site
From left to right: Office building, school building and storage/kitchen building

On January 17, 2005 vocational training activities started in the buildings. Vocational skills such as tailoring, carpentry, brickmaking, hair dressing and

catering were taught to girls and boys. In 2009, the vocational training program could not continue due to the lack of finance and contribution from the local community. In spite of this, the organization continued to work in the community through other activities. Along the vocational development project, campaigns in child rights and health information campaigns have been initiated and implemented by the community-based organization. For example, on August 14, 2009 a child labor campaign was organized as a reaction to eight children who were found working in a local quarry – this was an initiative to raise awareness about the child labor situation in Uganda. Approximately 1500 people participated in the campaign including children, teachers, parents and the community at large. Ever since, the organization has developed and implemented different activities and programs to promote awareness of the rights of children.

Today, approximately 522 children are registered in the community-based organization, mainly vulnerable children who do not have the means to obtain primary and secondary education. The community organization prioritizes the most vulnerable children such as children living alone, living with a terminally sick guardian and children with disabilities. The community organization provides opportunities for vulnerable children to benefit from the on-going universal primary and secondary education and to instill in the children a sense of creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and harmonious co-existence. In addition to the work with children, the community organization provides vocational training activities to young women in the art of sewing, baking and candle making. Income-generating activities such as mushroom growing are given to young women and families. Future vocational activities include a construction training program for the out-of-school youth to gain skills in construction. This activity will run in combination with the construction of the resource center.

The resource center project

In 2011, an engineer from Sweden with experience in building schools in various countries in Africa came into contact with the community-based organization in Muhanga. The Swedish engineer was given the task to design and build a resource center that contained a library, computer laboratory, workshop spaces, indoor playing areas and an office space to accommodate the various activities driven by the vocational development project. A proposal was made by the engineer in collaboration with other stakeholders. However, the building design proposal lacked feasibility in relation to the site conditions so further design modifications had to be made. This meant that the design proposal had to be modified to a large extent. In 2012, the engineer came in contact with a non-profit design organization in the south of Sweden to seek help and collaboration for the new design of the resource center. The non-profit design organization supports vulnerable groups and communities around the world to achieve inclusive neighborhoods and settlements in order to

contribute to a more sustainable built environment. The non-profit design organization brings together architects, planners, designers, engineers, artists and others who want to use their knowledge to contribute to a more sustainable and fair world.

In November 2012, collaboration was established and a design team was formed that comprised five members from the non-profit design organization. The task given to the design team was to plan and design the resource center. That same year, a charity foundation in Sweden joined the collaboration in order to finance the construction project. Unfortunately, the Swedish engineer passed away during the beginning of the collaboration. The engineer had worked hard during the beginning of the collaboration and had been determined to provide a resource center for the community of Muhanga. The Swedish engineer had been a key person in the early stages of the collaboration for the construction of the resource center in much the same way as the Austrian had been key in the early stages of the development of the organization. The legacy of the Swedish engineer to build a resource center in Muhanga was taken on by the design team and the charity organization.

The engineer had been the link between the non-profit design organization, the charity foundation and the community-based organization. Due to the absence of the engineer, the communication between the design team and the director of the community-based organization diminished and information about the project and its local context was gone. This was due to a lack of shared documentation about the project. Since the design team had little communication with the director of the community organization, the design team became confused about its role and responsibilities. In addition, no one in the design team had been on site before. All of this led the design team to become frustrated about the lack of communication and information. In order to continue with the design project, the team decided that it was necessary for its members to travel to Muhanga to establish collaboration with the new representatives from the non-profit design organization and to generate trust with the representatives of the community organization. The design team organized a trip to Muhanga, Uganda in August 2013 to meet the community organization, develop trust, map the needs and concerns of the community, and acquire relevant information about the construction project and its site for the continuation of the planning and design development of the resource center. The design team got support from the Swedish charity foundation, the non-profit design organization and Lund University to conduct these activities.

The charity foundation assisted the design team in the planning of the activities to be conducted whilst in Muhanga. Since the charity foundation had visited Muhanga in the beginning of 2013, its insights and experiences about the vocational development project was a valuable contribution to the formulation of the

participatory activities planned by the design team. The design team sought to build on those activities performed by the charity foundation early that same year.

The beginning of a new collaboration

During January and March 2013, members of the charity foundation in Sweden traveled to Muhanga to support the vocational development project. The members contributed resources and time to the development of the organization as well as the refurbishment of the existing buildings. The contributions were made in different ways, for example by helping to document information about the 522 children registered in the community-based organization, developing a communication and collaboration strategy, contributing technical advice and support, as well as participating in various vocational practices. In regard to the existing buildings, the members helped repair the office building and built a compost facility near the kitchen. They also donated equipment such as laptops and sewing machines for the future and ongoing vocational training activities.

During 2013, the charity foundation continued to provide financial and advisory support to the community organization and in March 2014, the charity foundation became formally registered as a charity foundation in Stockholm, Sweden. The purpose of the foundation is to support the community-based organization with financial, legal, and technical support. The finance mainly comes from monthly donors and fundraising activities. However, the foundation works in close collaboration with the community organization to develop strategies for the self-sustainability and self-sufficiency of the vocational development project. The Swedish charity foundation shares the vision of the community-based organization and is committed to support the activities carried out by the community organization. Today, the Swedish charity foundation provides funds for various ongoing projects such as the sewing project, mushroom growing project, provision of school supplies project as well as the construction of the future resource center.

The sewing project is provided to vulnerable young women to learn the skill of sewing and use it to support themselves and build a stable ground for their future. The sewing activities have been carried out in the home of the director, however, the plan is to move this activity to the future resource center. The mushroom project provides the people in Muhanga the skill to grow mushrooms in an indoor environment. The aim is to provide the people in the community with a source of income. The school supplies project supports 350 vulnerable children with scholastic materials so that the children are able to take part in school activities. Before a semester starts, the community organization delivers the materials to at least 350 children in the community. The resource center project aims to provide access to information, education and vocational training to the local community. The resource center is located outside the trading center of Muhanga in the village

of Kafuka. The resource center will function as a meeting space for everyone in the community and nearby areas.

Project organization of the resource center

Today, the project organization for the resource center consists of three bodies: the community-based organization, the charity foundation and the non-profit design organization (see figure 6). The non-profit design organization in Sweden is responsible for the master plan of the resource center, the design of the buildings and the production of construction drawings. The charity foundation is responsible for the financial and legal support for the construction project. The community-based organization is the client organization with the director being the main contact person. The community-based organization ensures that the activities part of the vocational development project are planned, implemented and evaluated.
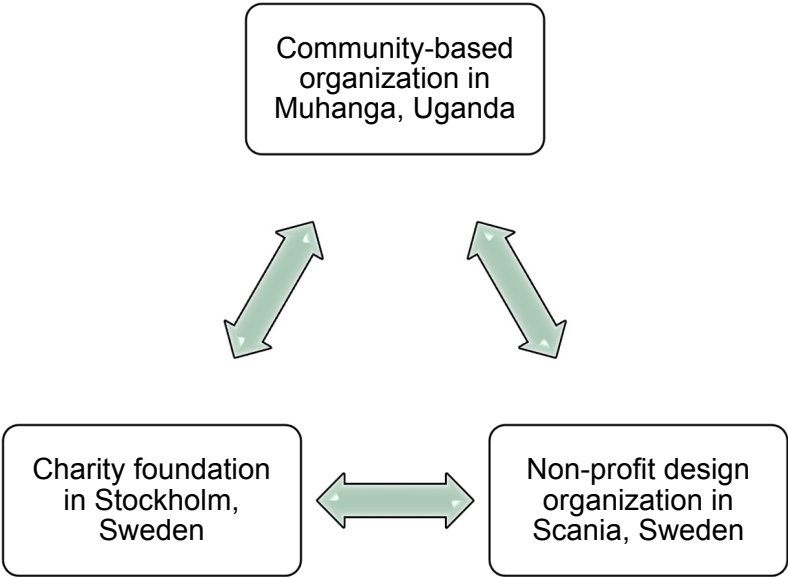
Figure 6: Project organization of the resource center

The setting for this study is the planning stage of the development of the resource center. The unit of analysis is the planning and implementation of the participation process. The section below describes the interaction between members of the design team, members of the charity foundation and the director of the community-based organization in the planning of the stakeholder participation process. This study is situated before, during and after the participation process conducted in August 2013

when the researcher and two research participants – also members of the design team – embarked on a journey to Muhanga to collect information about the needs and requirements for the planning and design of a master plan for the resource center. During the time of this study, the researcher and the research participants represented a non-profit design organization whose task is to provide technical knowledge and expertise – mainly in developing countries – within the fields of architecture and construction. The planning and design phase of the building project was conducted in collaboration with the community-based organization in Muhanga and the charity foundation that supports the activities of the organization and which is also responsible for the funding of the construction of the resource center.

Three members of the design team including the project manager and two design team members traveled to Uganda to implement a participation process in order to capture the needs and concerns of the local community stakeholders during the planning stage of the resource center. The design team and the research participants in this study planned and implemented the participation process. My dual role in the project organization was as a member of the design team and as a researcher in charge of facilitating the planning and implementation of the participation process. The project manager represented the non-profit design organization and the charity foundation. The third research participant represented the non-profit design organization. The third research participant became an active member of both the design team and the charity foundation after the visit to Muhanga.

A stakeholder participation approach to the development of the resource center

In the spring of 2013, the design team consisted of a total of five participants including four architects and one building engineer. As in many projects of this kind, volunteers have joined and left the project. When members have left the project, relevant information about the project and the participants has gone too. The lack of information about the project became a challenge in the design process. During the design meetings, the design team felt the need for information about the context, the site, the culture and especially the future users and the local community. In addition, the design team had little information and understanding about the community organization and little communication with the director. In Muhanga, the internet is a luxury and electricity outages often make it hard to communicate. Consequently, a lack of communication, information and collaboration made it difficult for the design team to work towards a common vision and goal for the development of the resource center. The design team did not know the local conditions and the priorities. The information available to the design team was the need for a resource center, the drawings of an old proposal for the resource center, and a cadastral map

of the property. This information was provided by the Swedish engineer who unfortunately was no longer present.

During the design meetings, the design team discussed a design solution that reflected the needs and aspirations of the vocational development project as well as the local community. In addition, the design team wanted to work towards the same goal of the community organization. Since communication with the director had been minimal, the design team thought it was important to try to develop better communication with the director for the continuation of the design process. Three members of the design team decided to travel to Uganda to conduct research about the needs and requirements of the project. The design team increasingly recognized that a trip to Muhanga was needed in order to acquire an understanding of the context and the local culture and to obtain first-hand information about the needs and requirements for the development of the resource center. In addition, the purpose of the trip was to establish continuous collaboration with the community organization and the local community.

In order to achieve the desired objectives for the design project, the design team decided to take a participatory approach to the planning and design of the resource center. By doing so, the design team believed that a better formulation of the needs and requirements from the various stakeholders in the project was going to be achieved. In addition, the motivation behind involving the local community throughout the development process was to empower it to take part of the development of the resource center and its future activities. The design team believed that by engaging with the local community, a better solution would be achieved as well as a greater sense of pride in the local community. Furthermore, the design team started discussions about participation of the local community in the construction phase to provide skills in construction to the local community.

The participation of the local community in the development of the resource center became a shared commitment from the community-based organization, sister organization and design team. This was in order to provide buildings that reflected the local community's needs and aspirations. By incorporating valuable insights, information, knowledge and expertise from the local community into the planning and design phase of the resource center, the design team believed that the outcome would be a construction that was legitimate to the community and in harmony with the context. The participatory approach to the planning and design of the resource center became a guiding principle and strategy adopted by the design team and supported by the charity foundation and the community-based organization. The three organizations cooperated with resources and time to plan and implement the participation process.

Planning the participation process

In the summer of 2013, three members of the design team planned a trip to Muhanga. The design team informed the director about the visit. The team agreed to create a plan of the various activities that the members were intending to perform during their stay. The activities included a stakeholder participation process and other research activities relevant to the design development process. The director requested a mission statement from the design team concerning the activities intended to perform during their visit. Short-term and long-term activities with measurable results in the short and long term were requested by the director. According to the director, this was needed in order to guide the design team in achieving the desired goals. The director also requested the design team to prepare a memorandum of understanding to be signed between the three organizations to have a mutually-binding legal relationship.

As discussed earlier, the main purpose of the participation process was to engage with the community organization, local community and future users of the facilities in order to acquire information about the present condition and uncover their needs and aspirations for the future resource center. Since the purpose of the participation process was to engage with the stakeholders, the main discussion revolved around who should participate and how to get people to participate. In particular, the design team had long discussions about who the local community was and how to engage with it. This led to the discussion about which groups were necessary to engage in the process. Some of the stakeholder groups that were mapped by the design team included children and women as these groups were important for the community organization and the most vulnerable. In addition, the design team concluded that it was vital to engage with the board members and the director to establish a common objective and collaboration. Furthermore, it was noted that engaging local experts in architecture and construction in the planning and design process would contribute to a solution that was going to be appropriate for the context.

The design team discussed the matter of engagement of the various stakeholder groups in the participation process with members of the Swedish charity foundation. The members of the Swedish charity foundation informed the design team members about the challenge to get people to participate, especially when the people do not get anything in return for their participation. According to the members of the charity foundation who visited Muhanga early in the year of 2013, people in the community are busy trying to get food for the day. The project manager explained to the members of the design team that it could be a big thing for people in Uganda to give away a day to participate in a workshop. The design team concluded that it was important to discuss this issue further with the director to generate ideas of how to engage the local community.

The design team discussed various types of activities and decided to send a participation plan to the director in order to get her input and determine the feasibility of the plan. The project manager emphasized that the plan should be written in an understandable manner. The project manager explains to the design team after having communicated with the director about the plan.

> "As the director mentioned, we need to put a description about what to do when we're down there. I think most of the things we've planned will be no problem; but if we are to inform her about the workshops, I think we have to describe what we want to do more exactly. Maybe we should discuss it between us first since this kind of way working is probably uncommon down there."

The design team decided to send a plan to the director in order for her to help the design team organize the workshops and reach the participants. In addition, the design team discussed if it would be appropriate to ask the director for suggestions about a suitable hours and days when people could participate in the participatory activities. The project manager showed concern about the participation of the director and the board members.

> "Since the director has her full-time job too, we'll see how much she and the other board members can participate; but I really hope they take the time to participate these days. If we are really clear about when and for how long they will participate it might be easier."

A participation plan was sent to the director via email with a description of the various participatory workshops to be conducted. The plan included a description of the purpose of the workshops in a clear manner. The project manager describes the purpose to the director:

> "Our goal is to plan buildings that fit into the lives and activities of the community in the town of Muhanga, as well as the current school activities. We want sustainable building solutions; the buildings shall stand for many years and be adaptable to the various activities in the project. It is also important to minimize the impact on the environment on site and fit the buildings to the surroundings."

In the email, the project manager asked the director for advice on how to fit the participatory workshops within the period from August 6 to August 14, 2013. In parallel with the participatory activities, the design team planned other activities relevant to the planning and design of the resource center. These activities included site analysis, visits to precedent construction projects, mapping local construction techniques and materials, and visiting the various vocational and educational activities in the project. These were necessary in order to acquire a better understanding of the local context. The project manager explained to the director thus.

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"We are planning research activities that will give us answers about the site and life around Muhanga. We are also hoping to start relations with the people that will later be responsible for the production of the buildings when the drawings are made. During the first ten days when we are in Muhanga, we are hoping for people in the project to contribute with ideas and [for us] to meet as many people as possible. We hope this will enable better communication and collaboration in the future."

In addition, the project manager explained to the director about the method for the research activities. The project manager simplified the definition of participatory workshops.

"To us it's a big creative meeting and process. We're hoping that the people from Muhanga who will be influenced by the project will show up and add their opinions to the discussion about what to create on the site."

In the preliminary plan that was sent to the director, the design team planned a series of participatory workshops with the local community and board members. The plan contained an explanation about the importance of the design team understanding the local values and context in order to design a solution that was responsive to community needs, wants and aspirations. In addition, the plan described that the approach adopted sought to contribute to the main goal of the community-based organization which is to empower the most vulnerable and build resilient communities.

In the preliminary plan, the design team explained to the director that the workshop with the board members was a very important step and that the goal was to establish collaboration between the three organizations represented. The purpose of the workshop was to discuss about the goals of each organization and to create a shared vision for the resource center project. Some of the issues planned to be discussed during the workshop were to do with finding ways to organize and collaborate during the design process and define an effective way to communicate during that process. The project manager informed the director so.

"It's really time for us to get the big picture of everything. This meeting will be about getting to know each other and our organizations, to build trust in each other and come to a long-term agreement."

In the plan, the design team emphasized that it was important to have good communication with the community organization in order to have a smooth planning and design process. The design team wanted to acquire a real picture of the organization and its members in order to help build trust and commitment. In addition, the purpose of the workshop was to map out the needs and requirements from the board members for the different functions of the resource center. The project manager describes the purpose of the first workshop to the director.

"The discussion will lead us to a more inspirational, forward-looking discussion about what to accomplish. Who are we building for? And what activities will the project house? We don't need specific explanations although they can be given if you have them. We want to know everything that can give us a picture of what is in your minds regarding the results of the buildings."

The director agreed with the activities in the participation plan but showed concern about the budget for the activities including transportation for people to be able to attend the workshops. The director mentioned that when inviting people for a meeting, the host needs to provide food and transport for those that live far away from the location of the meeting. The director requested information about the budget of the activities before the director could start inviting people for the activities as well as to get an idea of how many people to invite. In addition, the director suggested organizing the workshop activities close to the participants' workplaces and homes.

As suggested by the director, the design team planned to host the workshops close to the participants' homes and workplaces, since transportation can be very expensive in Muhanga. For example, it was proposed to host the workshop with the board members close to their workplace in the city of Kabale which is situated 35 kilometers from Muhanga. As for the workshops with the local community, it was decided to host them at the project site since the local community had better access to the site.

The design team also planned to discuss local hierarchies and if people in Muhanga independent of age and profession were accustomed to working together. The design team planned to discuss with the director about the possibility to find someone in the community to help with translation during the workshops with parents and children. Two head teachers helped translate in the workshops with the parents and children. These questions were sent to the director for further advice.

In an email sent by the director to the design team, she noted that it would not be a problem to mobilize the stakeholders to participate and that she was going to reach out to the stakeholder groups.

The director also commented that a workshop meeting starts with a prayer, then an introduction of herself and then the rest of the members present themselves. After that, she usually presents the agenda and the expectations from the meeting. She proposed that the first workshop should start on August 7, two days after the team members arrived. The director thought that it was best to have a day or two to get to know each other, discuss and make the final preparations for the workshop activities and to hear about the history of the community organization. The design team revised the agenda to fit the director's requirements for the workshop meetings and the process.

Based on the participatory activities that were planned, resources were gathered through various means to buy material for the workshops such as colored paper, crayons, markers, paper rolls, tape, pens, wood, as well as to cover the costs for food, refreshments and transportation. The design team discussed the need to get to know the people who take part in the activities in the vocational development project before the start of the participation process. The design team believed that it was a good idea to live in the community so as to have access to the project site and the community life to acquire an understanding of the living conditions, the daily activities in the community and the activities in the project site. This information was considered important for the design team and relevant for the design process. The design team arranged to stay in the home of the director which is located a few hundred meters from the project site. Members of the design team became aware that such a short visit was not going to be enough to get a whole picture of the context and culture. The project manager explained to the director that once the two other members had left Muhanga, she had plans to spend more days in Muhanga to visit the vocational project activities. As the project manager puts it:

> "I'm hoping for a little more time to really feel the atmosphere and get to know people."

Two of the members from the design team planned to leave Muhanga after the implementation of the participatory activities. However, the project manager planned to stay in Muhanga for two more weeks. The project manager explained to the director that during those two weeks, she had planned to further investigate the current situation in the vocational development project, including the daily routines in the vocational activities as well as in the community. After that, the project manager explained that she was going to travel to northern Tanzania to volunteer in the construction of a children's center. The children's center is a project which is supported by a design team from Stockholm whose members belong to the non-profit design organization in Sweden. The purpose of the center is to provide orphan and vulnerable children a home and education. The project manager explained to the director that after her voluntary period in Tanzania she was going to travel back to Muhanga, Uganda. During her second stay in Muhanga, the project manager planned to conduct research activities, take part of the vocational activities in the organization and present a conceptual design proposal to the director. A conceptual design proposal was planned to be developed by the design team in Sweden after the participatory workshops and first investigations during the planning phase had been conducted. The project manager expressed hope to the director that her experience in Tanzania would help direct and inform the collaboration for the resource center in Muhanga.

The design team arrived in Muhanga on August 5. The members stayed at the home of the director. The team and the director discussed the purpose of the participation

process. The purpose was in line with the objectives of the organization to improve the lives of the most vulnerable people in Muhanga. The purpose of the participation process was to map the needs and aspirations of the local community and the community organization in order to provide a solution that met their needs and requirements. The design team believed that such an approach could contribute to an integrated sustainable solution.

The director, who previously helped the design team map the stakeholder groups that were going to be engaged in the participatory workshops, suggested the involvement of representatives from each of the stakeholder groups. This decision was made as a response to the limited resources for the participatory activities.

The following groups were identified: board members, schoolchildren, parents, head teachers and local experts – see figure 7. The director identified and selected a group of representatives in each category of stakeholders and invited them to participate: 30 representatives from the parents whose children were registered in the organization; 54 representatives from the 522 children who were registered in the organization; Nine representatives from the head teachers of the 15 schools that were registered in the community organization; three local experts who have been engaged in the construction and reconstruction of the existing facilities; and ten board members who provide advisory support in the activities of the community organization. The board members were community leaders, who worked in the district of Kabale with different development activities. They worked closely with the communities and therefore knew the challenges that the communities faced due to the lack of the provision of public services from governmental agencies.
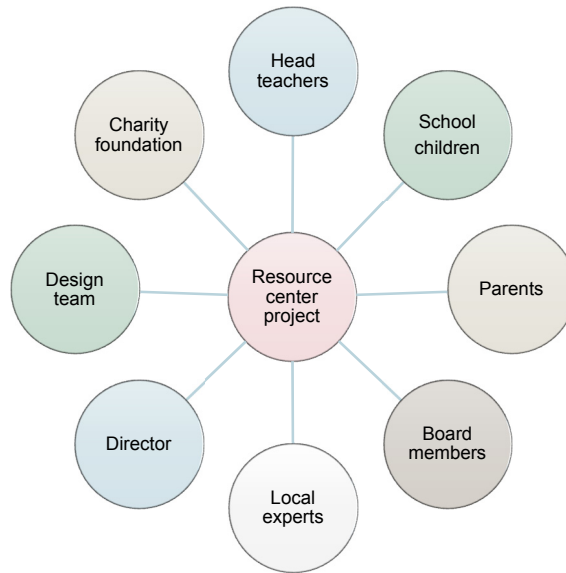
Figure 7: Stakeholder map
Identification of the stakeholders in the early stage of the development of the resource center

The workshop with the board members was conducted in a government facility near the workplaces and homes of the board members. As for the head teachers, parents and children, the director proposed to have the workshops in the school building in the main vocational center in Muhanga. For those that lived far away from the site, they were picked up by a van by the design team and the director. The director helped the design team reach the stakeholder groups by communicating with the representatives of the local community and the board members and informing them about the participatory activities. The director was in charge of inviting the local community to participate in the workshops. The director informed them once a plan was created.

Implementation of the participation process

By adopting a participatory approach to the development of the resource center project, the design team members were able to interact in dialogue with the stakeholders and gather relevant information about their needs and aspirations.

The participatory workshops were implemented during August 7 and August 10, 2013 (see figure 8). A total of five workshops were conducted with different groups of stakeholders. Each group was composed of representing individuals from each stakeholder group. The workshops included: one workshop with the board members of the community-based organization; one workshop with a group of head teachers

who represented the 15 schools registered in the vocational development project run by the community-based organization; one workshop with a group of children who represented the 500 children who are registered in the vocational development project; one workshop with a group of parents who represented the parents of the 500 children who were registered in the community-organization; one workshop with all representing individuals of each stakeholder group – the participants who participated in the previous workshops.

The workshop with the board members lasted three hours. The workshop was conducted on August 7 between 9.00 and 12.00. Ten board members participated in the workshop.

The workshop with the head teachers lasted two hours. The workshop was conducted on August 8 between 10.00 and 12.00. Nine head teachers participated in the workshop.

The workshops with the parents and children were conducted in parallel and lasted two hours each. The workshops were conducted on August 9 between 10.00 and 12.00. 30 parents and 54 children participated in the workshops.

The workshop with all stakeholder groups lasted six hours. The workshop was conducted on August 10 between 11.00 and 17.00. 96 people participated in the workshop.

Figure 8: Timeline of the participatory workshops

The workshops were conducted in two different locations. Since the members of the board lived in the city of Kabale – which is approximately 35 kilometers from Muhanga – the director proposed to have the workshop with the board members near their workplaces. We had the workshop with the board members in an office space at the city council office in Kabale. As for the workshops with the head teachers, parents and children, we conducted the workshops in the school building in the vocational development site in Muhanga. The final workshop with the all stakeholder groups was held at the vocational development site. The parents and children who lived far away from the site were picked up in a van.

The day before every workshop the design team, together with the director, discussed about how the workshops were going to be conducted and the roles and responsibilities of each facilitator. After every workshop, the design team put aside time to reflect and discuss each participatory workshop. These discussions and reflections were often done during dinner at the home of the director or at a nearby lodge. The lodge had access to internet connection thus it was possible for the design team to report about the activities via a blog website to the other members of the design team in Sweden. The reflections and discussions after each workshop helped the design team to improve and prepare for the following workshops. The design team members gained confidence and improved their facilitation skills throughout the participation process.

In addition to the workshops, the design team together with the director went on field trips to various building sites and exemplar buildings. The purpose was to gather information about local materials and traditional construction techniques as well as to gather inspiration and ideas for the design of the resource center. The design team believed that by acquiring information of the needs and aspirations of the local community, together with information about local materials and traditional construction techniques, they could contribute to a design solution that met the needs of the community and which was suitable for the context.

The goal for the development of the resource center is to improve the social situation in the community of Muhanga. In order to achieve that, a participatory approach to the development project was adopted. Two main questions guided the participation process: what do the local community need and how can we engage with the local community in the development process? Instead of presuming what is needed, the design team wanted the people in Muhanga to tell them, and explain, what was needed. To find the needs and aspirations, the design team conducted different workshops with different stakeholder groups to share their thoughts.

The workshop method was chosen as a means to acquire first-hand information about the needs and requirements of the local community. The workshop method allowed the design team to engage in dialogue with the stakeholders and together identify the current needs in the community, their aspirations and requirements. Furthermore, the tools used in the workshops helped to identify the type of buildings that were necessary in order to contribute to the needs and aspirations of the local community. The tools used in the workshops were: Q-sort, dream map and model making.

Engagement was ensured from all participants through the integration of activities that required all participants to express their needs, concerns and aspirations. For the workshops with the board members, head teachers and parents, the Q-sort tool was chosen. For the workshop with the children, the dream map tool was chosen.

For the final workshop with all stakeholder groups, the model-making tool was chosen.

The workshops with the board members, head teachers and parents were conducted in the following steps:

The first part of the workshop consisted of a brainstorming session about the current needs in Muhanga, where the participants generated a list of needs based on different viewpoints. After the brainstorming session, all participants individually were asked to rank the five most important needs. After each participant ranked the five most important needs, the participants were then asked to rank the five most important needs as a group. This allowed the group to collectively rank the most important needs in the community.

The second part of the workshop consisted of identifying the building facilities that were required in order to fulfill the identified needs. The results from the first part of the workshop were used to brainstorm around the type of building facilities that were required in order to meet the identified needs. Once a list of various building facilities was created by the participants, they were asked to rank the building facilities according to the relevant needs. This step was done individually as well as collectively. The outcome of these workshops helped the design team to reflect upon the actual needs of the people in Muhanga.

In the workshop with the children, the dream map tool was used. This enabled the children draw the elements that were required in their future school, based on the needs and wishes of the children. They were asked to draw the elements that represented their needs and aspirations for the school. The dream maps enabled a discussion on the interventions required to improve the design of the resource center.

In the workshop with all stakeholder groups, the model-making tool was used. The stakeholder groups, parents, children, head teachers and some of the board members contributed to building a full-scale prototype model of a playground that included a swing. The model represented everybody's perception about the needs and requirements of the playground. Model making was used to explore and identify solutions, plan, discuss, analyze and implement a solution. The full-scale prototype of the playground allowed discussion about a possible location of the future playground.

Overall, all of these workshop activities gave the design team many insights into the needs of the local community. Most importantly, it helped the design team define the project goals, objectives, building specifications and priority lists.

Workshop with the board members

The aim of the first workshop was to engage with the board members of the vocational development project to collaborate and work towards a common goal in the development of the resource center. Ten board members participated in the workshop, including the director of the community organization. The workshop was divided into two parts – see figure 9 for images of the workshop.

The purpose of the first part of the workshop was to present the three organizations and their members who represented the resource center project. These included the community-based organization, the charity foundation and the non-profit design organization. The presentation of each organization, including its projects and activities was necessary in order to find a common goal for the development of the resource center. The presentation of the community organization allowed the design team to get an insight into the different community development projects carried out by the community-based organization in Muhanga. The outcome of the first part of the workshop was a plan for collaboration between the three organizations.

The purpose of the second part of the workshop was to acquire an understanding of the needs in the community of Muhanga and to define the type of building facilities were needed in order to meet those needs. This followed a discussion about the type of building facilities to prioritize in order to meet the most pressing needs. The outcome of the workshop was a list of building functions to accommodate the existing vocational development projects carried out by the community organization.

Figure 9: Workshop with board members

Workshop with head teachers

The aim of the second workshop was to engage with the head teachers – who belong to the 15 schools that are registered in the vocational development project – to identify and map the needs and aspirations of the local community and to collectively define the type of building facilities that can meet the most pressing needs. A total of nine teachers participated in the workshop – see figure 10.

The purpose of the workshop was to map the needs and aspirations of the community of Muhanga based on the perspectives of the head teachers. Particularly, the workshop allowed the design team to acquire information about the needs of the school children regarding the indoor environment in classrooms. The teachers identified the need to design classrooms that had adequate daylight and a soundproof ceiling to diminish the harsh overhead noise produced from the rain. These aspects of classroom design were considered important in order to help children increase their learning skills.
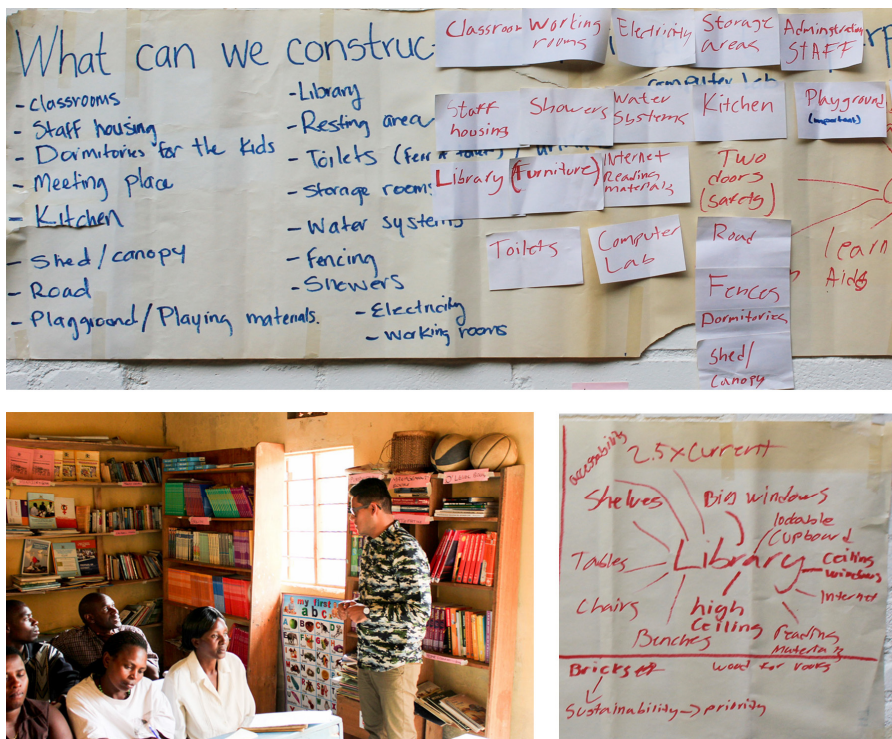
Figure 10: Workshop with head teachers

Workshop with parents

The aim of the third workshop was to engage with the parents of the children who are registered in the vocational development project to identify and map the needs and aspirations of the local community and collectively to define the type of building facilities that met the most pressing needs. A total of thirty representing parents participated in the workshop. Most of the parents in the workshop were women who, according to the director, were categorized as vulnerable woman. Many of the adults could not speak or write in English and so assistance was provided by a head teacher who translated during the workshop – see figure 11.

The purpose of the workshop was to map the needs and aspirations of the community of Muhanga based on the perspectives of the parents. The workshop facilitated the identification of the building facilities needed for the current and future vocational and educational activities carried out by the vocational development center. One of the requirements identified by the parents was a library where people could access information and a place that could serve as a meeting point for the community. Another important facility that was identified by the parents was a playground. The parents felt that a playgroup was needed for the children to play while they waited for their parents to pick them up after school hours.

Figure 11: Workshop with parents

Workshop with children

The aim of the fourth workshop was to engage with the school children who are registered in the vocational development project to identify and map their needs and aspirations for the future resource center. A total of 54 school children participated in the workshop. Those that participated in the workshop were in nursery, primary and secondary school and were categorized as vulnerable or orphaned according to the community organization – see figure 12. Many of the children could not speak or write in English and so assistance was provided by a head teacher who helped to facilitate the workshop.

The purpose of the workshop was to get an insight into the needs and aspirations of the school children from the town of Muhanga and nearby villages who were part of the vocational development project. The workshop with the children consisted of a dream mapping exercise where the children were asked to draw and describe elements and qualities that they considered important to have in their future school. This helped the design team to identify the elements and qualities that needed to be incorporated in the school facilities within the new resource center.

Figure 12: Workshop with children

Workshop with all stakeholder groups

The aim of the fifth workshop was to engage with all four stakeholder groups that participated in the previous workshops – board members, head teachers, parents and children – to plan, design and build a full-scale prototype of a playground. A total of 96 persons participated in the workshop – see figure 13.

The purpose of the workshop was to facilitate the planning and implementation of a solution to a need for the future development of the resource center. Throughout the various workshops, board members, head teachers, parents and school children identified the immediate requirement for a playground. The parents and teachers stressed that a playground would allow children to play during recess and remain on site after school until their parents picked them up. The mission was collectively

to identify a potential site for the playground and build a full-scale prototype of a swing.

During the first part of the workshop, the participants were asked to brainstorm important aspects to consider when selecting a site for a playground and for designing and building a swing. Parents, teachers, children and board members defined the important elements and together designed the swing. After developing a design, the participants were asked to choose a potential site for the playground. The participants pointed out that the surface had to be flat, on a grassy area, and far from the stream.

In the last part of the workshop, the parents, head teachers and a local carpenter built a full-scale prototype of a swing that complied with the needs and requirements of the school children. The goal of this exercise was to facilitate social inclusion, community empowerment and social innovation as a first step towards the development of the future vocational center.
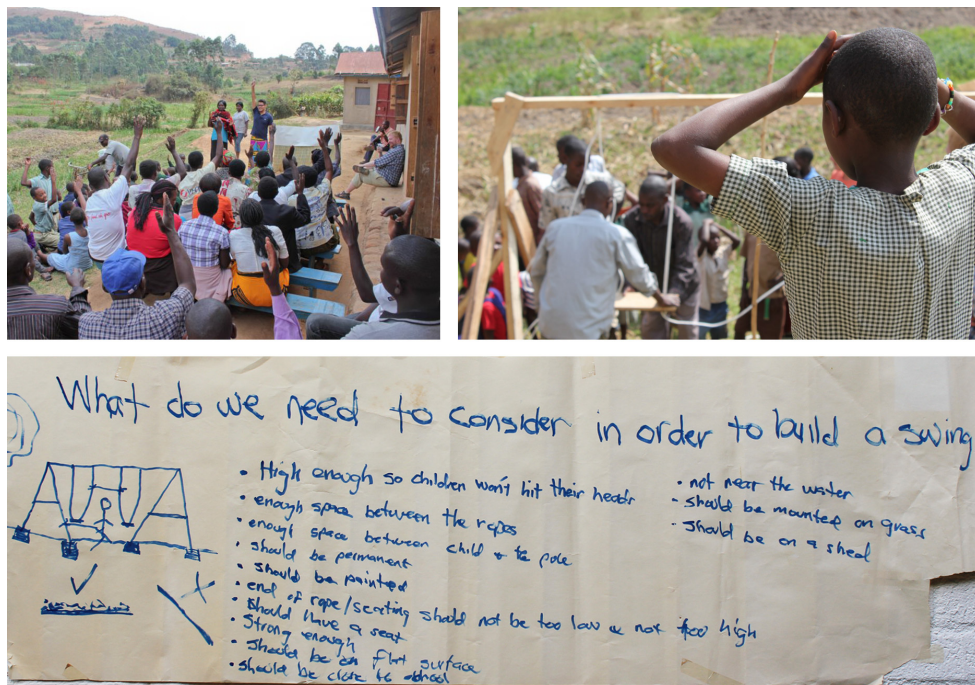
Figure 13: Workshop with all stakeholder groups

Complementary research activities to the stakeholder participation process

In addition to the participatory workshops, the design team conducted various activities to complement the findings from the workshops with support from the director. Some of the complementary activities during and after the participation process included the following: site visits to construction sites and building exemplars (see figure 14); searching for local building materials and traditional building techniques; conducting site analysis in the project site; attending the vocational activities to make observations of how the existing facilities were being used; and participating in the daily activities of the local community.

Figure 14: Picture of vernacular buildings in Uganda
Pictures taken during a field trip to an exemplar building complex

Meeting with local experts in construction

The aim of the meeting with the local experts was to establish collaboration for the development of the resource center. A local architect, one engineer and a project management advisor were engaged to provide valuable insights into local construction techniques, local materials and building regulations. The participants in the meeting were three members of the design team, the director of the community organization and three local experts – see figure 15. During the meeting, collaboration was established and so it was decided to maintain the collaboration for future development.

Figure 15: Site visit to a construction site with the local experts and the director

The first part of the meeting consisted on a site analysis of the property where the resource center will be built. The design team and the local experts walked around the site to map the conditions of the terrain and the existing buildings. The design team discussed different scenarios for the construction of the resource center based on previous conceptual designs. When analyzing the conditions of the site, it became evident that the slope was a very important element in the project that needed to be resolved. The slope had become eroded due to the heavy rainfall during successive rainy seasons. The meeting started a discussion about an integrated solution to stabilize the slope with the use of native plants and a water management system that could solve the problem. During the meeting, the design team members learned that the local municipality owned the property above the project site and that the municipality had plans to build an office complex. The project manager advisor recommended that the design team discuss the possibility of collaborating with the municipality about the slope solution it could also benefit. In addition, the local experts recommended implementing a solution for the slope problem before the construction of the resource center.

The second part of the meeting consisted on a field trip to a construction site of one of the projects carried out by the architect and engineer – see figure 16. The purpose of the trip was to get an idea of the building materials and building techniques that were commonly used in the area. During the visit to the construction site, the local experts explained the challenge of finding brick makers in the area that produced good-quality bricks. The experts recommended sticking to the same supplier as soon as one good brick maker was found. Otherwise, if using different suppliers, the problem will be one of different brick sizes and variable quality. Furthermore, when building, thick layers of mortar will have to be used in order to even up the bricks throughout construction, which is not recommended, as this makes the construction unstable.

Figure 16: Pictures illustrating a typical construction site in Muhanga
The pictures show a detail of the brick construction, including the various brick sizes and thickness of mortar layers

The findings from the meeting with the local experts gave the design team insights into the challenges for the construction of the resource center. It became evident that the design team not only has to engage with the local community, but also other stakeholder groups such as consultants, suppliers and the local authorities. The challenge concerning the slope condition (see figure 17) and the supply of good quality local materials was something that had to be considered during the design phase of the resource center. In response to the findings, the design team started to identify the possible involvement of other expertise in the design team, especially in the fields of landscape architecture, construction engineering and water resource engineering.

Figure 17: Photo illustrating the unstabilized slope condition behind the exisiting buildings

Study visit to an exemplar building project

In addition to the research activities in the local area, the design team included a field trip outside of the region towards Kampala – the capital city of Uganda. The design team and the director visited an elementary school located outside of the city – see figure 18. The purpose of the trip was to gather inspiration for the design and construction of the resource center. The design team found this building project via the website of the non-profit organization that undertook the project. According to the organization's website, the buildings of the elementary school were considered to be successful in terms of their design, construction and community participation. The design team considered this building project worth visiting. Fortunately, the design team and the director were able to meet with the principal of the elementary school and a manager of the non-profit organization who designed and built the school facilities. The field trip also included a visit to the primary school where the design team and the director met with the principal and a visit to the office of the non-profit design organization in Kampala. The non-profit organization is an American-based body with offices around the world.

The purpose of the field trip was to gain knowledge of how similar building projects were carried out in terms of project organization, community participation, design and construction. During the study visit, the design team, the director and the principal of the elementary school had very interesting discussions about the building project in terms of its organization, participation, design, construction and operation. Some of the discussions about the buildings were concerned with the roof design, materials and construction. The school principal pointed out the design flaws of the shed-roof design that was used in the buildings. The principal noted that, although the shed-roof design was good in terms of providing cross ventilation, in the rainy season rain went through the cross-ventilation screen causing flooding inside the classrooms and offices. The school principal mentioned that flooding disrupted the school activities and damaged the teaching materials. In addition, the actual construction of the roof seemed to disrupt the school activities. The roof is comprised of wooden trusses for the main structure and corrugated sheet metal panels for the roofing. According to the school principal, the corrugated metal caused high noise levels during the heavy rains, which created distraction from learning among the students. The principal explained that they had tried to develop and implement solutions to improve the acoustics in the classrooms.

Figure 18: Picture of a classroom building in the elementary school
The picture shows the shed roof design built with wooden trusses and corrugated metal sheets. The rain comes inside the building through the wooden screen that allows cross-ventitalion.

Challenges concerning operation and maintenance

The design team and the director learned a lot from the elementary school building project in terms of its design, construction, operation and community participation. The design team considered these aspects in the design development of the resource center project.

The non-profit organization focuses on providing design and finance only for construction. Once the buildings are constructed, the buildings are handed over to the local government for them to operate. This is an important issue for the staff in the local schools as they face the challenge of maintaining the buildings and ensuring that they provide education for all children with the small fee they receive from the parents. According to the school principal, most parents in the local community might have a small part of the total tuition fee while others might have none. This situation was reflected in the small percentage of students who attended the school.

One aspect concerning the operation was that the school buildings were not used as intended because there was a lack of enrolled children due to the high tuition fees. According to the people in Uganda, there is a lack of provision of basic services, including universal primary and secondary education. In this particular project, the director explained that before the construction of the school buildings, the school activities were performed under a tree. This is how they were discovered by the non-profit organization that then helped them build the new school facilities. The school principal explained that when the school activities were performed under the tree, there was a high level of attendance as the tuition fee was very low. After the construction of the new school buildings, the tuition fees increased and children were no longer able to attend school. The parents of the children were not able to pay the high fees so the children were forced to drop out from the school. Only a

small fraction of the children were able to remain in school, mainly those whose parents could afford to pay for their education.

The school principal explained that the parents in the community had been promised a minimal tuition fee they helped in the construction of the buildings. The non-profit organization engaged the local community in the construction phase of the school buildings. According to the school principal, the local community was very enthusiastic to participate in the construction of the buildings as these were going to provide a permanent school for their children with a higher standard than previously experienced. However, the community participation strategy turned out to be unsustainable in the long term. As the school started to operate, the staff realized that the school needed resources to conduct the daily school activities, to operate and maintain the buildings and to pay the salaries of staff and teachers. As a result of the lack of resources, part of the staff left the school and the school children whose parents could not afford to pay the tuition fees. The parents of the school children were very upset, as they had been promised that the school fees were going to be affordable in order for their children to have access to education. Most buildings in the school complex were not in use: it was very sad to see how some of the classrooms were decaying without any use or serving their purpose. There was one building, however, that was used as a temporary home for a family.

This became an eye opener for the members of the design team and the director and they started to question the long-term sustainability of the development of the resource center in Muhanga. The design team realized that it was not only design and construction aspects that needed to be taken into account in the development of the resource center, but also its operation and maintenance. Especially, ensuring that the buildings were going to serve their purpose – to contribute to the social development of the community of Muhanga. The design team had many discussions with the director about how to ensure that the buildings in the future resource center would be available to the local community as well as providing design solutions that required low maintenance during its operation.

The findings from visiting the primary school made the design team question building practices that only focused on the physical aspects of buildings and incentivized them to enhance the participatory approach to the development of the resource center in order to further explore the social and cultural aspects that buildings are dependent upon.

During the project manager's stay in Muhanga, she kept alive the discussions about the findings from the study visit with the director, especially about the need to secure the use of the buildings by the local community. The secondary school building project outside of Kampala was an eye opener for both members of the design team and the director. It was agreed that the design team did not want to contribute to the development of building facilities that could end up being unused and deteriorate

because of lack of operation and maintenance. In order to ensure the operation of the buildings, the design team recommended that the project organization should work on trying to reinforce the existing educational and vocational activities in the development project and find ways of achieving sustainable self-support. It was pointed out that this needed to be done in parallel to development of the resource center. Furthermore, it became evident that design and construction would have to be in line with the primary needs of the vocational development project. This was indeed the purpose of conducting the participation process in the planning phase so as to find the current needs and build accordingly. In this way, the design team could provide buildings that met the needs of the current situation and ongoing activities rather than building a facility for an activity for which there are no staff, equipment or resources for activities. During the design meetings, the design team also considered affordability, low maintenance and sustainability questions as well as finding ways to ensure that the children and the vulnerable people in Muhanga can have access to the activities performed in the buildings.

As a response, the project manager who is also part of the Swedish charity foundation, has been working hard together with the charity foundation to ensure that the programs and activities implemented in the vocational development project become less dependent on external donors by, for example, implementing activities that can generate income to finance the future activities of the vocational development project.

Participating in the local community

After the field trip to the elementary school project, two of the members from the design team traveled back to Sweden to start the development of the conceptual design of the resource center together with the rest of the members in the design team. The project manager stayed in Muhanga to continue conducting research activities to acquire further information for the design development process. The activities included engaging in dialogue and spending time with the people that are currently engaged in the vocational development project such as the director of the community organization, board members, administrator, school teachers, school children as well as the young women who were part of the sewing vocational program. This was done in order to acquire a deeper understanding of their needs and requirements for the design of the future resource center. This information complemented the information gathered during the participatory workshops.

The activities included dialogue sessions with the director, the administrator and the project board members to find a strategy for how to effectively communicate about the project and to map out the current and future vocational and educational activities. In addition, the project manager visited the project site and spent time with the children that take part in the educational activities of the vocational development project. This was important in order to acquire a deeper understanding

of how the educational activities functioned and what was needed. One activity that the project manager conducted was a workshop with the children in the school. The purpose of the workshop was to discuss about the children's dreams. For this, the children drew images that depicted their dreams in a postcard paper format. The postcards were placed on a board in the school library together with the results about the previous participatory workshops to inform the local community. The postcards were scanned and printed to give out to the project donors as a way of gratitude from their financial support.

In addition to the visits to the vocational project's activities, the project manager conducted site analyses on the project site during the rainy season in September and October which enabled the project manager to gather first-hand information about how rain water ran through the slope and the site. This information contributed to the conceptual design of a water management strategy which was developed later during the design process. In addition to the site analyses and observations of the current activities in the vocational development project, the project manager spent time with the young women who were enrolled in the sewing vocational program. The sewing activities were held in the home of the director, in a small workshop space. The director also provided shelter for the young women who were enrolled in the program, as most of these women did not have a home. The project manager spent time with the girls in the workshop and helped out with the sewing activities. During this time, the project manager made observations of how the workshop space was used and took note on how it could be improved. The project manager and the director discussed about preserving the same opportunities that were given to these young women in the new workshop facilities in the future resource center. As the project manager describes.

> "I just had this nice warm feeling in my heart when I got back yesterday and some of the girls in the sewing shop said hello. It was such a nice feeling to hear the sewing machines, smell the smoke from the kitchen and watch some ladies preparing beans outside. The strongest part in this project is the fact that people have come and gone. They get their shelter, work around the house for food and accommodation until they find somewhere to go. The most important thing as I see it is to keep and improve these opportunities when we move them to the project site."

The project manager participated in the local community by taking part in the activities in the community such as attending church, a wedding and a funeral. The project manager also helped with the chores in the house of the hosting family such as cooking, fetching water from the nearby well and picking bananas from the plantation fields. The participation of the project manager in the local community gave her an insight of the local culture and an understanding of how people participate in various events and activities in the local community. Overall, the project manager continued working with building relationships with the stakeholder

groups that were engaged with during the participatory workshops. She placed a report of the results of participatory workshops in the small school library for people to see it when visiting the library. The library is open during the weekends for the whole community. At the same time, the project manager continued reporting to the design team in Sweden about new information regarding the needs and requirements for the design of the resource center, the site and the context. She also continued to engage in dialogue with the local experts such as the local architect, engineer and project management advisor.

Other activities performed by the project manager included participating in a similar community-based project in another African country. During her stay in Uganda, the project manager traveled to Tanzania to volunteer in the construction of a children's center in the village of Jua kali in northern Tanzania. The children's center project aims to improve the living standard of orphan and vulnerable children in the area. The children's center project is managed by a member of the community of Jua kali whom since 2009 has provided shelter to 15 orphans. The design and construction of the first phase of the children's center was carried out by a group of architects and engineers from Stockholm who are part to the Swedish design non-profit organization. The project manager participated in the project by helping in the construction of a building prototype of the children's center. The project manager acquired knowledge and insights about the building project, especially on how to organize efforts to build the building prototype as well as how to work together with the local community.

In a conversation with the project manager, she explained.

> "I had a great conversation with the founder of the children's center. The founder explained that in order to succeed in this kind of projects, accountability is the most important aspect and that this kind of projects require time and strong efforts. The founder said that she dedicates her time and resources to this project. She said that she tries to avoid collaborating with people who are not devoted to the project and who only seek to gain monetary compensation from the project. She mentioned that she avoids this since she is aware that her organization cannot afford it as they work on a voluntary basis."

The project manager also visited a foundation that works to improve the lives of youths – mainly boys – who live in the streets and who are prone to drug abuse. The foundation runs a vocational boarding school for boys in the city of Arusha. The foundation was established by a Dutch non-profit organization. The school provides education and vocational training programs in various skills such as farming, carpentry, electricity and cooking. The purpose of the vocational training program is to equip the youth with a vocational education that can provide them with the means to work and sustain themselves so as to prevent the youth from going back to the street life. The foundation partly supports its activities from selling the

products that are produced from some of the vocational training programs such as carpentry. The profit made from the locally manufactured products is also a source of income for the youth while studying in the three year vocational training program. The project manager came in contact with the foundation as they supplied some of the doors and windows for the construction of the children's center. The project manager talked to the staff working at the foundation to acquire information about the vocational development project. She got inspiration from the organization of the project as well as its financial system, educational and vocational training concept and the design and construction of the building facilities.

During the project manager's stay in Tanzania, she acquired inspiration from the children's center project and the vocational boarding school. Throughout the design development process of the future resource center in Muhanga, these two projects were often referred to as a good practice and became a source of inspiration to the vocational development project in Muhanga and the future resource center. These projects enabled the design team to discuss beyond the physical aspects of buildings, to also discuss about the building's functions and their wider purpose of contributing to the social development of the local community. In addition, these projects provided the design team with ideas on how the construction of the resource center could be integrated in the vocational training programs offered by the vocational development project in Muhanga. As the project manager explains.

> "I definitely think we should go for teaching people while we build. It fits with the vision of the vocational development project. That is also what the foundation I visited did."

The project manager wrote a project report which included the results from the participatory workshops and the complementary research activities such as site analyses and construction, organizational studies and visits to the vocational activities. The report also includes her personal reflections about her learning experience when working in Tanzania. She writes about her collaboration experience with local architects, engineers, builders and the local community and how collaborating with different stakeholders and learning from one another makes things better. Furthermore, the report included reflections on some of the challenges that were encountered during the field studies which included language barriers, cultural clashes, trust and prejudice.

The project manager eagerness to document about the project's past and present was crucial in order to move forward with the project. The report was handed out to the members of the project organization of the development of the resource center. The project manager believed that everyone in the design team had to read the report in order to acquire an understanding of the project, especially those who did not have the opportunity to visit the project site. The report provided the foundation for the

development of the resource center, not only for its design and construction but also the organization and collaboration. It contained relevant information about the vocational development project and about the needs and requirements for the future resource center. The report served to remind the design team and the project organization about the project's vision, needs and requirements and a detail understanding of the local context. This report became the foundation for the design process and a document that helped every design member in the team understand the purpose of the resource center project.

Outcomes from the stakeholder participation process and complementary research activities

One of the most challenging aspects in the building project was the instability of the slope which is positioned behind the existing buildings. After the analysis of the results from the workshops and the complementary research activities it became evident that the first phase of the building project was to reinforce the slope in order to prevent its erosion and prepare the site for the construction of the new resource center. The slope is positioned along the project site, and the steepest point is located just behind the existing buildings which during the rainy season, the flow of rain water runs towards the back side of the buildings, which causes damage. The design team continuously worked on developing concepts and ideas to reinforce the slope and handle the rain water (see figure 19).

After long discussions with the director and the results from the workshops and research studies a decision was made to start the development of the resource center with the construction of a multi-use building – as the first phase of the resource center – to house the existing activities in the vocational development project. The task for the design team was to design a modular building that was flexible to accommodate the existing activities in the project such as the education and vocational activities as well as a community library. The project manager explains.

> "When it comes to the first building we've been thinking of multifunctional spaces. Really important! I can see how the first building can be a school during the day, vocational practice in the afternoons and accommodation during the night."

The design team agreed to develop a master plan that included the buildings with various functions that were identified during the participation process in the planning phase of the development project. The building functions and building phases were listed according to the priority list that resulted from the participatory workshops with the various stakeholder groups and according to the priorities in the vocational development project. The participatory process was crucial in the planning phase in order to identify the needs and requirements.

All of these research activities allowed the design team to structure the priorities and acquire a better understanding of the context. Throughout the design development process, the design team realized that the needs and priorities were not static but changed throughout the design process. Thus, mapping the needs and requirements was only possible by maintaining a continuous communication with the project owner and the users as well as the external environment.
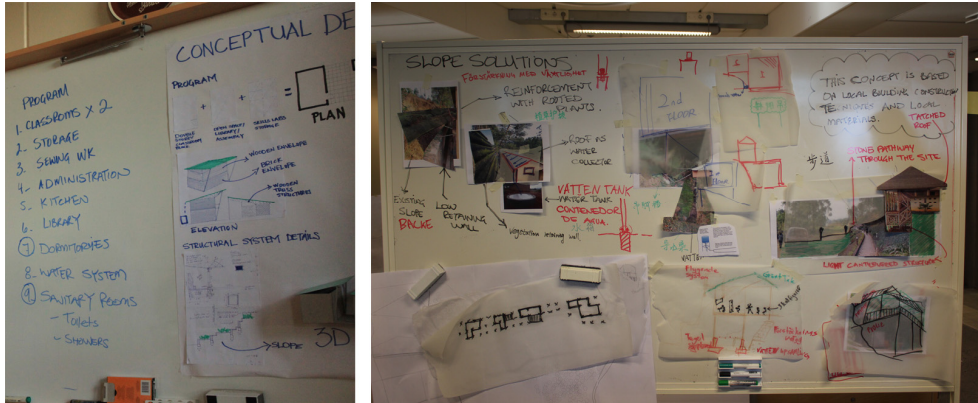

Figure 19 : Photo illustrating concepts and ideas developed by the design team

Creating a culture about participation for the future development of the resource center

Throughout the design development process, the design team made strong efforts to engage with the local community in Muhanga. Stakeholder participation became a strategy throughout the design development and discussions were made about how to continue with the participation strategy throughout the construction and operation of the development of the resource center. This strategy was not only envisioned by the design team but also supported by the project organization. It was believed that by adopting a stakeholder participation approach in the project, the collaboration between the internal and external stakeholders would be improved.

The design team believed that the collaboration exercise when building the prototype playground together with the local community during one of the workshops was a good representation of how the collaboration was envisioned to be throughout the development of the resource center. Different ways were discussed to incentivize the participation of the local community in the construction of the resource center. For example, one way was to integrate the construction activities in the vocational development project through a vocational training program for the youth. This decision was supported by the project organization. The design team also discussed about how participation was reflected internally in the working practices during the design process. The design team believed that the design

meetings were fruitful as the design team focused on sharing knowledge between different members. The integrated nature of the design team made such interactions very rewarding for the members of the design team.

Outreach activities were also conducted to recruit new members to the design team to contribute with knowledge and design solutions about some of the aspects that were raised during the field studies, such as the slope and flooding conditions. Three new members were recruited to the design team and contributed with design and technical expertise to design a retaining wall and a water management system. The new members who were finalizing their university studies at the time, conducted field studies in the fields of landscape architecture and water resources engineering as part of their master thesis. The information about the needs and requirements that was gathered during the planning phase of the project in the summer of 2013 set the foundation for the continuation of other participatory processes in the project in the design of a water catchment and management system and the design of a playground for children.

Overall, the studies conducted between the years of 2013 and 2014 contributed to the design of a master plan for the vocational development project. The master plan of the resource center was the outcome of the participatory processes that were conducted in the year of 2013 and 2014. The master plan was achieved in collaboration with architects, landscape architects, engineers and social scientists from the non-profit design organization in Sweden and local experts in the community of Muhanga. The master plan of the resource center includes, a retaining wall, offices, workshops, classrooms, a cafeteria, toilets, washrooms, services, a playground, a water catchment and management system, agricultural fields, and dormitories for staff, students and volunteers.

Early in 2017 a title for the land was acquired. In July of 2017, the project manager traveled to Muhanga to submit the application to acquire the building permit for the first phase of the construction project. The implementation of the first phase of the master plan will consist of a retaining wall and a modular building that can house the many different vocational development activities that exists today. The first phase of the development of the resource center will accommodate the vocational training and educational activities that are present today as well as a community library to establish a meeting place and an information center for the local community. Instead of demolishing the existing buildings to give way for the new construction, the strategy was to restore the existing buildings while designing a modular building that can accommodate the multiple activities happening in the existing buildings. Once the new construction is completed, the activities in the existing buildings will be relocated to the new facility. In parallel to the new construction, the slope will be reinforced with a honey comb retaining wall system. Once the new construction is in place, the existing buildings will be demolished.

4.2 Case II: Place-making in the neighborhood of Drottninghög

This section describes case two which concerns about the stakeholder participation process in the planning of a community garden in a neighborhood which is currently undergoing regeneration. The section starts by presenting the background to the neighborhood and the motivation for choosing this case, as well as the matter of acquiring access to it. The section further presents the planning and implementation of a stakeholder participation process in the planning of a community garden in the city of Helsingborg, Sweden.

The neighborhood

Many housing developments built in the 1960s and 1970s in Sweden are undergoing major regeneration through densification (Boverket, 2014). The neighborhood of Drottninghög is an example of a residential area in the city of Helsingborg, which is currently being revitalized through refurbishment of the existing housing stock and new-built developments. The area was built between 1967 and 1969 and, in common with other areas built in the 1960s and 1970s throughout Europe, needs physical and social regeneration. The municipal housing company owns all housing stock. Currently, there are 1,114 apartments in Drottninghög and approximately 3,082 people live in the neighborhood. Plans for the regeneration of the neighborhood started in 2011 and work is expected to last 20 years, by which time more than 1,000 new apartments are expected to have been built. In addition to the building of residential units, efforts have been made to regenerate the public spaces of the neighborhood. The provision of new spaces has been in the form of playgrounds, open green areas, community gardens and horticultural facilities. The planning program for Drottninghög was approved in 2012 and the first detailed plan was out for public consultation in 2014 with the second detailed plan in 2016. The vision is to make Drottninghög an integrated part of the city of Helsingborg, physically, mentally and socially. The aim is to create an environmentally, socially and economically sustainable neighborhood. There are four overarching strategies in the regeneration plans, these are: connect and remove barriers; increase the density of the neighborhood and create variation in tenure; promote an inclusive process of collaboration; and focus on children and youth.

Drottninghög can best be described as a multi-family residential neighborhood where the majority of its residents have different cultural backgrounds. Around seven multicultural community organizations operate in the area. The area is comprised of two schools, a church, a neighborhood center, a swimming hall, a community center, housing for the elderly and multifamily residential buildings of

three stories high. The community center in the area is a very important place for the residents in the neighborhood. The community center is equipped with a library and meeting rooms. The community center is also used by the community organizations to host various cultural activities. There is a large grocery store near the neighborhood which brings many people from other parts of the city. A main route within the neighborhood links the neighborhood's various outdoor spaces and connects to the nearby grocery store. The municipality's vision for this main route is to create a corridor with many different recreational activities. One of the outdoor spaces along the corridor is the community garden. Other activities include a large green open area, an outdoor swimming pool and a playground. In 2011, a group of residents in the neighborhood began cultivating vegetables and flowers in the gardening space provided by the municipality. The urban horticultural facilities are provided through a project called *Planteringar utan gränser* or Gardening without borders. The community garden became a successful public space in the neighborhood. In 2014, the residents and community organizations who participated in the gardening activities decided to improve the qualities and design of the space. Many different local organizations and residents in the area have been activating the space through gardening, barbeques and performances. In an article about the community garden in the local newspaper, a resident who was interviewed recalled the experience.

> "We have barbecue evenings in the summer, then someone would come and play music" (Helsingborgs Dagblad, 2015).

In addition, the resident mentioned that the horticultural activities have contributed to social integration in the area. The resident describes it thus.

> "It's multicultural. Many come from countries outside of Sweden. So, you can meet and tell each other what a plant is called in a particular language" (Helsingborgs Dagblad, 2015).

Project background

Gardening without borders (*Planteringar utan gränser*) is a project that aims to contribute to social sustainability through urban gardening in the city of Helsingborg. The project, Gardening without borders was started in 2010 by the municipality of Helsingborg in collaboration with the municipal housing company and the Church of Sweden. In the municipality, the project is driven by the city planning office, the local development board and the administration for culture. The municipal housing company and the Church of Sweden are external partners and financial contributors. Currently, there are five different urban gardens in the city, all of them located on municipal land. Gardeners are employed by the municipality

and oversees all five locations. The gardeners take care of the facilities, teach gardening techniques and take responsibility for facilitating and coordinating onsite activities.

The initial design of the community garden in the neighborhood of Drottninhög was driven by a participatory philosophy that invited residents to co-create its design. An evaluation by Delshammar et al. (2014) of the first implementation of the community garden project in Drottninghög showed that the people involved in the gardening activities gained an increased sense of meaning of, and belonging to, their neighborhood. The evaluation showed that the success of the community garden project was due to the engagement of inspirational local gardeners who facilitated the gardening process *and* the local actors (i.e. housing associations, municipal administrations and local organizations) who supported and participated in the gardening activities. According to Delshammar et al. (2014), the urban gardens are expected to remain and survive even without the municipal support due to the well-developed collaboration between existing local organizations and the gardeners. Furthermore, collaboration with existing organizations further strengthened the position of the project in the local environment (Delshammar et al., 2014).

Furthermore, the evaluation showed that the community gardens have contributed to the social development of the areas by bringing people together and enhancing the social networks. According to Delshammar et al. (2014), over the years, the community garden in Drottninghög evolved gradually as more people engaged and more activities were integrated, thus becoming a meeting place for the residents of Drottninhög. In addition, the project has also created a culture of co-creation in that residents have been engaged in the design and implementation of its horticultural facilities as well as the gardening activities (Delshammar et al., 2014). The evaluation of the five community gardens has shown that the residents involved in the urban gardening activities have gained an increased sense of meaning and belonging in their neighborhood, new social relations have been created and a strong sense of community has been fostered. In the case of Drottninghög, the resources and support from the municipality and the local organizations, as well as the role of the gardener in facilitating the dialogue between the municipality and the residents, were key factors in the social development of the neighborhood (Delshammar et al., 2014).

Place and place-making – a new way of working?

Place-making through stakeholder participation, which is the focus of this study, took place in 2015 when a decision was made to revitalize the community garden in Drottninghög. The municipality initiated a new partnership with the non-profit design organization *Architects without Borders* to plan and implement a participation process. In 2014, the municipality reached out to the non-profit design organization to help them plan, design and facilitate the implementation of a

stakeholder participation process in the revitalization of the community garden. Two meetings with the city planner were conducted before an agreement was made to start a collaboration for the design and implementation of the participation process.

The representatives from the municipality, some of whom have worked with the urban agriculture project since its inception believed that the community garden in Drottninghög was successful and that its facilities needed to be improved and become permanent. The representatives from the municipality wanted to improve the design of the community garden and believed that a participation process with the community was needed before any plans about the space were carried out. They believed that it was crucial that the residents got the opportunity to inform the planners about their needs and requirements regarding the planning and design of the community garden. Thus, a project organization was formed to plan and implement a stakeholder participation process in the planning of the new community garden (see figure 20). The project organization in charge of planning and implementing the participation process was composed of members from the non-profit design organization, researchers, the local planner and four public servants. Two gardeners and a representative of the municipal administration for culture whose work is based in the neighborhood were in charge of recruiting participants. They selected a total of 25 community stakeholders, 14 of whom were classified as residents and eight classified as ambassadors from local community organizations. The local community organizations represented were the Iranian Women's Association, the Balkan Association, the Gambian Association, the Church of Sweden, the Neighborhood Watch association, the Islamic Center association, the rental housing association and the Kurdish International Women's Association.
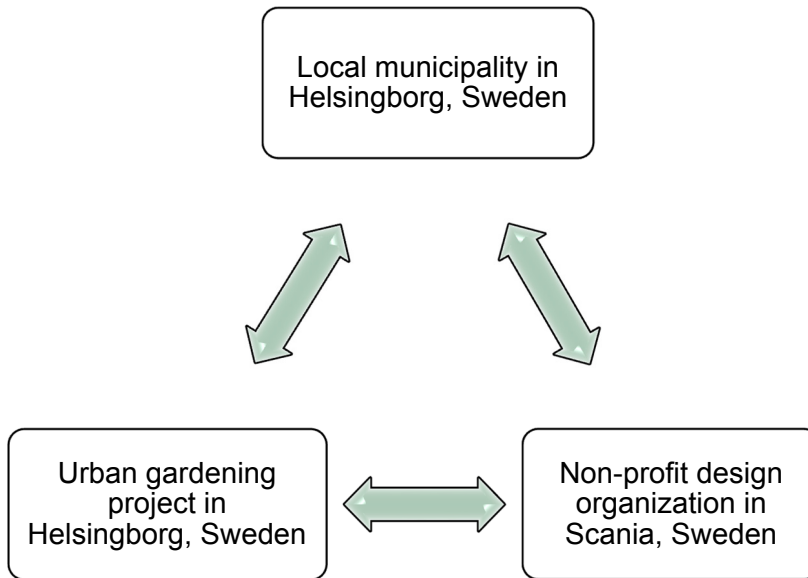
Figure 20: Project organization for the participation process of the community garden project

Process initiation workshop with the process facilitators

The first workshop with the facilitators – also known as the process team – of the participation process was held on December 2, 2014. The first workshop consisted on a brainstorming and idea generation session with five members from the non-profit design organization including the researcher. The purpose of the first workshop with the facilitators was to discuss about the theory of participation, including the principles of participation, participatory tools and techniques as well as the challenges and opportunities of participation. In addition, the aim of the workshop was to define the roles of each of the participants and organize for the planning and implementation of the participation process.

Some of the issues that were discussed during the first workshop were about the needs of the community regarding the community garden project and finding ways to engage the community in the process in a meaningful way. Various purposes for the participation process were discussed during the brainstorming session. The purposes of participation that were discussed were: to achieve informed decisions, social inclusion, empower the local community, facilitate exchange of knowledge, and improve the quality of design solutions. In addition, some of the goals of the facilitators that were discussed included: to gain experience which could be applied in other similar projects, work in an interdisciplinary environment, gain knowledge about participatory methods, implement research into practice, promote social

integration and community engagement, and to enable a creative environment during the participation process. Some of the potential barriers to the implementation of the participation process that were discussed in the workshop included: language barriers, technical barriers, levels of engagement, the various stakeholder interests, the heterogeneity nature of the local community (e.g. age, gender, education level and social status) and institutional support from the project organization. It was also discussed that clear rules about the participation process needed to be established at the outset of the participation process.

In addition, to raise interests among the participants and inspire them to contribute in the participation process, the process team discussed about having hands on activities that promote creativity and social innovation. The tools that were discussed were: SWOT analysis, Delphi map, design charrette, model making and prototyping. Furthermore, the process team believed that in order for the participation process to contribute to the overall community garden project, the process needed to be integrated to the overall project objectives and project phases (e.g. planning, design, construction and operation). Based on the outcomes of the first workshop and various planning meetings the process team developed a draft of a plan for the participation process. The plan was further developed through various iterations with the city planner to include aspects of the context and project objectives. The process team developed a draft of the participation plan and presented it to the city planner and project organization. The plan was completed on December 16, 2014.

Planning workshop with the project organization

In January 2015, a planning workshop was conducted with the project organization to finalize the plan for the participation process. Two members from the process team and five representatives from the city's department for culture, environment, streets and parks and urban development attended the planning workshop. The planner who was in charge of the planning of the outdoor environments in the neighbourhood attended the workshop.

The role of the non-profit organization in the participation process was to help design and facilitate the participation process. During the planning workshop, the city planner made emphasis on the role of the non-profit design organization. As the planner puts it.

> "Architects without borders is the link between the municipality of Helsingborg and the residents of Drottninghög."

The aim of the stakeholder participation process was to engage with the local community in the early stages of the project in order to map their needs and

requirements. The purpose was to empower the local community to contribute with ideas and solutions for the design of the community garden. Thus it was important to integrate the participation process in the development phases of the project. The members of the non-profit organization believed that their role as a neutral part in the project was vital in order to facilitate meaningful discussions.

The representatives from the municipality, some of whom have worked with the urban agriculture project since its inception believed that the community garden space in Drottninghög was successful and that its facilities needed to be improved and permanent. The representatives from the municipality wanted to improve the design of the community garden space and believed that a participation process with the community was needed before any plans about the revitalization of the space were carried out. They believed that it was crucial that the residents got the opportunity to inform the planners about their needs and concerns regarding the planning and design of the space. The municipality proposed to create a focus group composed of representatives from the various community organizations in the neighborhood.

During the planning workshop, it was decided that the participation process was going to be conducted during the months of February and March of 2015. It was decided that the non-profit design organization was going to facilitate the participatory workshops, analyse the data from the workshops, evaluate the process and prepare a presentation of the results of the participation process to be exhibited in the neighborhood and the city planning office. The planner informed that the outcome of the process was going to inform the design development process which was going to be carried out right after the end of the participatory workshops. It was also informed that the construction of the project was going to start in the end of the same year. During the planning workshop, the draft of the plan for the participation process was discussed which contained a lecture about urban gardening, a field trip, and four workshops.

During the lecture event, it was decided to start the meeting by introducing the participation process and its purpose, the members of the design non-profit organization and their role in the process, and the representatives from the municipality. The first lecture event was open for the whole community. The lecture as well as the workshops were going to be held in the premises of the community center. The planning workshop participants also discussed about the various activities that were going to be performed during the field trip. A field trip to various community gardens and horticultural spaces in the city of Malmö were planned. It was decided that a bus was going to transport the participants to the various locations and different tour guides – representatives from the municipality of Malmö – were going to talk about the various community gardens. The community gardens that were visited were located in one of the parks in the city of Malmö and in the

neighborhoods of Rosengård, Seved and Augustenborg. The field trip also included a visit to various community organizations that worked in these neighborhoods.

The planner suggested to ask questions to the participants regarding the qualities of the spaces and what elements they wished to have in their community garden space. Several techniques were discussed to collect the information from the participants during the field trip. The techniques included questionnaires, photos and field notes. The planner suggested to print out a small questionnaire to hand out to each participant during each site visit that included questions related to the community garden project such as, how does the irrigation systems in the visited sites functioned. This was in order to start a conversation about potential solutions that could be implemented in the design of the community garden space. The facilitators were given the task of designing the questionnaire and to hand them out to the participants. In addition to the questionnaires, another suggestion was to ask the participants to take photos and notes of the elements that they found relevant in the different locations.

Since the municipality wanted to ensure that the participants were able to participate throughout the process, it was decided that the exact date of the participatory workshops was going to be defined together with the participants during the lecture event. It was also suggested about the possibility to combine the participatory workshops with the ongoing community activities to ensure participation of the local community. During the planning workshop, it was emphasized that the content of the workshops covered activities to acquire information about the neighborhood, the project site and the specifics of the community garden space regarding the communities' needs and requirements. Several participatory tools and techniques were discussed such as the SWOT analysis, Delphi map, design charrette, model making, prototyping and role play.

It was decided that the facilitators were going to finalize the planning of the activities of the participatory workshops based on the aspects that were discussed in the planning workshop. A stakeholder participation process was finalized by the process team that took into account the needs and requirements of the project organization (see figure 21). Once the participation activities were defined, the plan was sent out to the representatives from the municipality for further comments. The planner agreed to make a cost estimation of the activities and provide with the necessary resources to implement them. The other civil servants agreed to arrange a locale to host the participatory workshops.
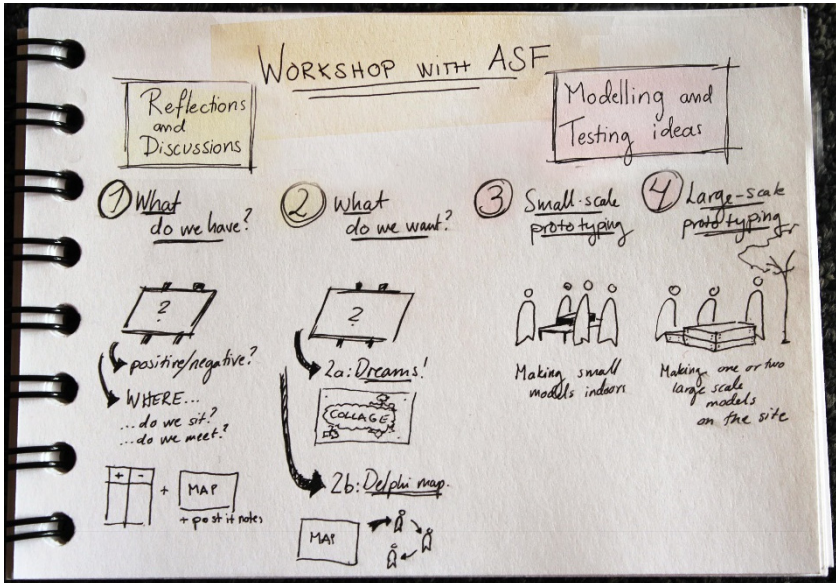
Figure 21: Sketch showing the final plan of the participation process

To conclude the planning workshop, it was discussed that it was important to remind the participants during the participation process that the development of the community garden space was going to take time as there are many things to take into account. It was also emphasized about the importance of getting the participants to understand the project from a development process perspective including the complexity of the formal planning process.

The gardeners and a representative of the municipal administration for culture who were based in the neighborhood were in charge of recruiting participants. Eight community organizations who actively partake in the gardening activities were invited to participate in the participation process. The community organizations decided who was going to represent them in the participation process. Most of the representatives resided in the neighborhood and a few of them resided in adjacent neighborhoods. A total of 25 community stakeholders were selected, 14 of whom were classified as residents and eight classified as ambassadors from local community organizations. The local community organizations represented were the Iranian Women's Association, Balkan Association, Gambian Association, Church of Sweden, Neighborhood Watch, Islamic Center, rental housing association and the Kurdish International Women's Association (see figure 22).
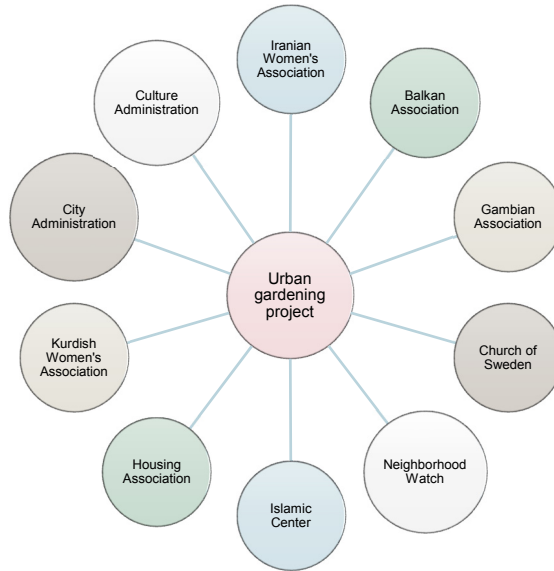
Figure 22: Stakeholder map
Identification of the stakeholders in the early stage of the development of the community garden project

Implementation of the stakeholder participation process

The participation process was carried out using the following activities: a lecture, a study trip and four workshops. These activities took place between 3 February and 7 March 2015 (see figure 23).
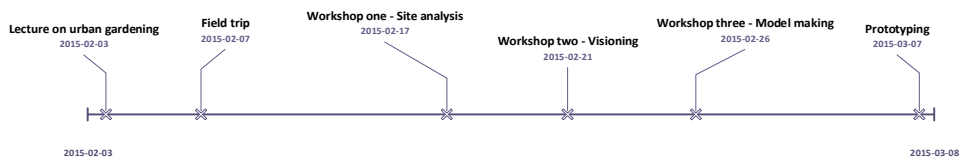
Figure 23: Timeline of the participatory workshops

Lecture – urban gardening

The purpose of the lecture was to show examples of urban gardening projects from around the world so that participants could visualize the potential of urban gardening in their neighborhoods. Specifically, this was done to stimulate a conversation about how urban gardening in Drottninhög could look in the future. During the lecture, the participants were able to discuss alternatives and envision a future for their urban

gardening space. The examples given in the lecture were taken from similar neighborhoods in Sweden and around the world.

Field trip – generating inspiration

A study trip was organized, the purpose of which was to gain inspiration from various urban horticultural projects, ranging from community gardening projects in neighborhoods to city park gardening projects. Three locations were selected for the group to visit, each of which contained successful urban gardening projects (see figure 24). Group discussions centered around their qualities and functions.

Figure 24: Photos illustrating the field trip

Workshop one – site analysis

The purpose of the first workshop was to map existing activities and identify the positive and negative aspects of the project site with the aid of a SWOT analysis tool and aerial maps. The outcome was the identification of existing activities, uses, movement patterns and the definition of technical functions, social aspects and spatial design (see figure 25).

Figure 25: Photos illustrating the site analysis

Workshop two – visioning

The purpose of the workshop on visioning was to visualize what the space could be by using collage-making and Delphi mapping tools. The outcome was the visualization of collective ideas and imageries of the new space (see figure 26). The participants gathered ideas and collected pictures from magazines to create collages. At the end of the workshop each group presented their suggestions to the other groups.
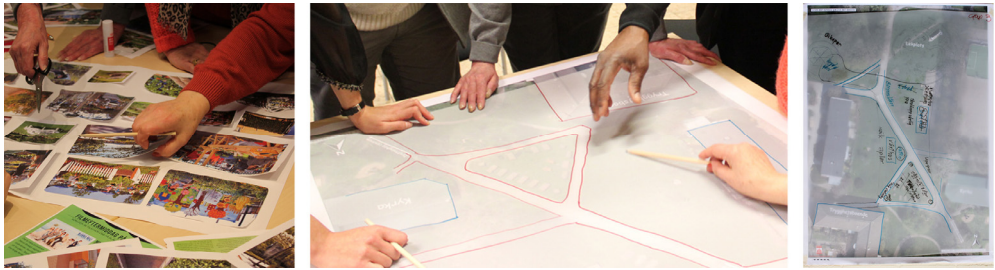
Figure 26: Photos of the collages and Delphi maps

Workshop three – model making

The purpose of the model-making workshop was to translate the ideas expressed from the previous analyses and collages into three-dimensional models of the space (see figure 27). The participants configured the space in different ways and placed different functions. Each group presented its models to the rest of the participants for discussion. After each presentation, new ideas and questions were raised. With the help of the physical models, the participants were able to discuss further what the space was going to look like.

Figure 27: Photos illustrating the model-making workshop

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Workshop four – prototyping

The final workshop took place on site in the location of the urban garden. The purpose of the prototyping workshop was to get a sense of scale and placement by translating the dimensions of the three-dimensional models to a scale of 1:1 in the outdoor environment. The participants brought their ideas from their collages, models and maps and were encouraged to define the plots for each proposed activity with the use of paint, wooden sticks, rope and signs (see figure 28). The outcome was the location of garden beds, benches, a green house and a fence. The discussions included the possible location of an outdoor stage for public performances.

Figure 28: Photos from the prototyping workshop

Contributing factors for the successful implementation of the participatory process

The existing social relations, the established communication channels between the residents and the municipality, the participatory culture in the urban gardening project and its high social focus paved the way for the participatory process in the place-making of the community space in Drottninghög. During one of the participatory workshops, a local newspaper interviewed the city planner and some of the participants. During the interview, the planner explained what had happened.

"We call this, participatory design. It's unique. In addition, he announced, if this goes well there can be more of it in the future (Helsingborgs Dagblad, 2015).

In addition, a resident who contributed to the development of ideas for the revitalization of the urban gardening space is quoted as saying the following.

"Great. It's good that they invited us" (Helsingborgs Dagblad, 2015).

The results from the participatory process shows that such a planning approach is valuable in terms of advancing democracy, acquiring detailed information about the area and establishing good relations with the residents. The planners, residents and the facilitators found the process meaningful and educational. The process was described as creative, experimental, exciting and hands on. The previous engagement experience between the residents and the municipality enabled the trust and commitment needed in the participatory planning process. As a result, the level of interaction was high and the participants showed a great level of enthusiasm throughout the participatory process. One of the facilitators put it this way.

"The engagement was great. I found them to be an engaged group that was happy to be a part of the participation process. I think it was really great that we were seen as a link between the municipality and the participants and that it helped to keep the conversations on a good level."

The results show that having a facilitator, in this case members from the non-profit organization, Architects without Borders, played a key role in facilitating the dialogue between the municipality and residents. One of the facilitators summarized the outcome.

"I think that our clear role helped us to create good collaboration with the municipality. In general, the collaboration worked out well; the municipality provided us with material and they also gave us quite free hands and responsibility."

In this way, civil society can play a major role in intermediating and facilitating dialogue between public institutions and citizens. The planner explained the process.

"Architects without Borders has participated with great commitment and knowledge of participatory processes. It put in a lot of time ahead and was very well prepared for each meeting. It was fun and inspiring to discuss different views on stakeholder participation. Architects without Borders has also made valuable summaries after each workshop that facilitated the work of the group. Overall, I am very pleased with our cooperation with Architects without Borders.

The planner had a strong commitment in the process and attended every workshop to capture the information generated through the activities and to listen to the needs and concerns of the residents. In addition, the planner played a major role in advocating this new approach to planning in the municipality. The planner's values, enthusiasm and interest in participatory planning were key drivers for the implementation of the participatory process. Thus, the planner can be characterized as an advocate for citizen participation within the municipality. Last, the relations created among the participants seemed to play a key role in the participation process. A facilitator explained the experience.

> "The collaboration with the residents and community organizations made the experience so valuable and meaningful for me. I think the collaboration was easy because the community organizations already knew each other and they also grew closer as a group during the process."

Learning and exchange of knowledge

The participants, including the residents, the planner and the facilitators described the process as a learning experience, filled with interesting and well-considered discussions. One resident put it this way.

> "I learned so much, it was a new way of working for me. I will take this experience and apply it into other areas."

A facilitator added:

> "[it] was a learning process for us and I think we all were open to what could happen."

Such learning experience and openness led to the exchange of knowledge and an in-depth analysis of the place from many different perspectives. Most of the methods and techniques employed allowed the residents to express their thoughts about issues in their neighborhood and to generate inspiration and new ideas about what their place could be. In addition, the activities in the process enabled the participants to share and understand each other's ideas. One of the facilitators explained what had occurred.

> "They also joined each other's building-making processes and discussed and cooperated, which was great to see. The method made them negotiate and discuss common things. It also directed the discussions towards common subjects."

Another facilitator added the following.

> "I think the participants [were] creative and started to imagine and also tried to put the ideas into a plan as well as understanding the other groups' ideas."

Social interaction, trust and relationship building

The results showed that the participatory process facilitated valuable social interactions among the residents, facilitators and the planner. The emphasis on social interaction enhanced trust among the participants, which in turn contributed to developing stronger relationships and creating new relationships. The planner showed how easy it was for participants to get along.

> "The overall involvement from the community was good. It was quite easy to get in touch with everyone and the interaction improved over time. Everyone has great fellowship."

The trust generated through these interactions enabled the participants to engage and cooperate in the process. A facilitator described the process.

> "They were a great group to work with! They were engaged and they were working well together as a group. The community organizations were already engaged in the transformation process of the area, which gave us an advantage when leading the workshops. I also felt like they enjoyed our work and appreciated the workshops and our engagement."

The high level of social interaction and the trust generated throughout the process seems to be a key factor for participation processes. Another facilitator highlighted a further benefit.

> "I think that the way they all got to know each other better was part of making this project and the workshops great."

As a result, new relationships were created and existing relationships were enhanced. One resident was grateful for introductions.

> "I got to know people and made friends through plants with people I haven't been in touch before."

In addition, the facilitators' engagement escalated throughout the process and generated a sense of community. One facilitator felt real enthusiasm for the process.

> "In general, I felt very engaged in the process. I was excited and I was looking forward to the workshops. I also felt ownership of the process together with the group, since we created it together."

Another facilitator had more to say.

> "I really enjoyed the group, both the group from Architects without Borders and the participants, and the social climate really helped to be engaged more about the process."

Power relations and the role of facilitation

A participation process does not automatically become inclusive. Indeed, the results show awareness and concern from facilitators, planers and residents about the power imbalances that exist in participatory processes. The process was characterized by *dominant* and *passive* voices. However, the results indicate that awareness and emphasis about the issue(s) already in the planning of the participatory process helped to reduce the power imbalances in the implementation of the process. One facilitator explained the nature of the discussions.

> "We discussed how we would start the discussions and that everyone should participate whatever their background and knowledge was. We also talked in the planning meetings about the importance of different ways for the participants to express themselves."

In addition, the collective engagement and shared meaning of place among the residents helped to reduce these imbalances. A concerned resident was able to point out one weakness.

> "Some people did not get the chance to have a say. Some dominated while others did not speak. You have to make sure that everyone is included, I mean, how do we get them to participate?"

This reaction shows the concern of some participants to enable others to contribute in the process. A facilitator responded to the above concern.

> "Some tried to intercede between *dominant* participants when there were big discussions. There were tensions sometime, but most of the time it worked out fine. The participants all knew each other before the workshops, which helped them to communicate."

In addition, the planner was aware and seemed to share the same view with the facilitators about the subject. He explained his concern about dominant participants.

> "It is important to listen to them and not dismiss them but at the same time, one must motivate those who are a bit more reluctant to say their opinions. After all, the group has a great deal of understanding for each other."

This same proactive thinking is shared by the facilitators, where one of them explained her method.

> "I tried to bring all opinions forward by changing seats and sitting next to the person that did not speak or only agreed with others. Then we had a small conversation about what they thought, I wrote it down and confirmed with the participant and putted the post-it on the map. I also used a few direct questions to the participants asking them if they agreed with the common thought and asked why they agree or disagree."

In addition, some of the techniques proved to be more inclusive than others. This was due to their flexibility to enable the participants to express their opinions in a more creative way. The results indicate that passive participants were more active in the activities where techniques such model-making and visioning through collage were implemented. A facilitator had a specific observation.

> "In the collaging activity, it was nice to see how the more dominant participants made sure to collect everybody's ideas, even the more passive participants were very active."

The results show that awareness and shared commitment among participants, project proponents and facilitators to reduce power imbalances in participatory processes can contribute to more inclusive participatory processes.

Figure 29 compares the location before and after the participatory process took place.

Figure 29: Photos illustrating the *before* and *after* the participatory process

4.3 Case III: Stakeholder participation in the planning of a socially-sustainable urban property development project

The third case concerns the stakeholder participation process in the planning of a socially sustainable urban property development project.

Project background

The area for the proposed development project is in the district of Hyllie, which is a newly built mixed-use area located in the southern part of the city of Malmö with high ambitions for sustainable development. The project site has strong potential for the real estate market as it is situated near the newly-developed city center of Hyllie and the city tunnel station, which connects the southern region of Sweden to Denmark. The development project is being carried out in partnership by two property development companies. One is a municipal housing company and the other is a private property development company. The vision for the development project is to achieve a sustainable part of the city where social sustainability is at the core of the development. This vision complies with the objectives for urban planning stated in the social policy document entitled "Malmö's path towards a sustainable future, health, welfare and justice" (Malmö stad, 2013). The project aims to achieve this through a mixed-used development, which comprises different types of housing tenures, retail, offices, leisure facilities and public space. One of the main challenges and opportunities for the future development is to integrate the strategic development to the surrounding neighborhoods. To achieve this, different urban strategies have been proposed in the comprehensive plan for Malmö, such as pedestrian pathways, cycling lanes, public transport and car traffic routes as well as through the densification of existing urban areas (Malmö stad, 2014).

In 2008, the two developers created a development strategy for the future development of the site. This strategy set the requirements for a design brief that was submitted to an international architecture and urban design competition with the purpose to generate innovative ideas for the future development of the proposed area. One million Swedish kronor were spent in the architectural competition by the developers. In 2012, the city of Malmö together with the two developers commenced the formal planning process by developing a community value program of the area (Malmö stad et al., 2013). The selected proposals from the architectural and urban design competition (Malmö stadsbyggnadskontor, 2013) as well as the outcomes of different social programs, policies and dialogue activities with the citizens of Malmö (Malmö stad, 2009; 2011; 2013) set the foundation for the value program and conditioned the requirements for the urban property development

project. To begin the planning work, the developers formed a project organization, which comprised a project planning group and a land development group.

In 2014, the municipal planning authorities commenced the development of a community development program (*planprogram*), which comprised not only the strategic development site but also the surrounding areas (Malmö stad, 2016). The plan proposal for the community development program was carried out in collaboration with the property developers' project organization. It is in the making of the community development plan proposal where the investigation of this case takes place. The unit of analysis in this case is the stakeholder participation process in the early planning stage of the urban property development project, and the level of analysis is the project organization. The study consists of two project meetings in the early planning stages of an urban property development project. The data gathered from the project meetings were from participant observations and field notes. This data were complemented by the analysis of documents such as project proposals, political agendas, notes, minutes of meetings and planning documents.

Project organization

This urban property development project is carried out in partnership between a municipal housing company and a private property development organization. The property for the strategic development is owned by the municipal housing company and the city of Malmö. The steering group for the property development project is composed of stakeholders from each of the two property development organizations. The project organization is comprised of a project management team, urban design group, land development group, quantity surveyors, community dialogue group and public relations group, as well as marketing, sustainability and research groups. The actors in the organization consisted of two developers, design consultants, land developers, quantity surveyors, marketing agents, communications officers and researchers. In 2014, the municipality agreed to commence work to develop a community master plan together with the developers' organization. A municipal local planner in collaboration with different administration departments led the formal planning process. Over the years since the inception of the project, much time and effort has been spent on creating relations between the developers' organization and the municipality. The community development plan was prepared in collaboration between the property development organizations and the municipality (see figure 30).
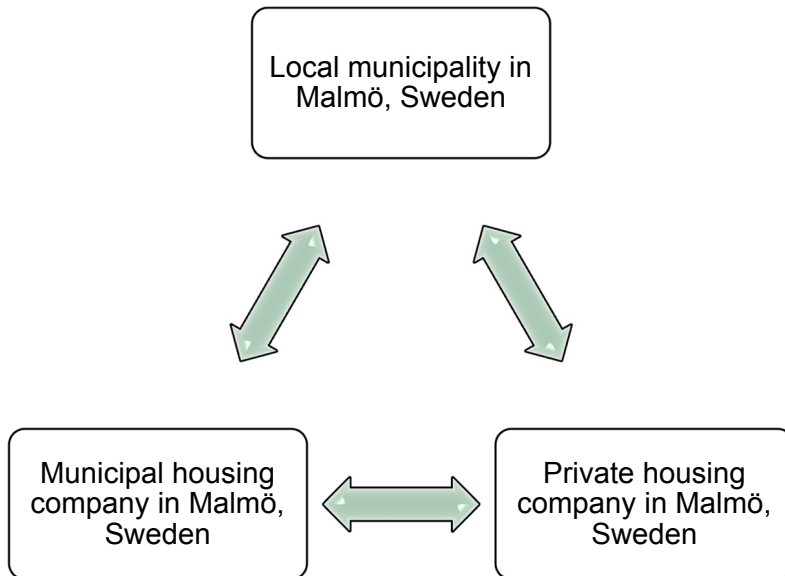
Figure 30: Project organization for the community development plan

The following sections present the findings from two project meetings concerned with the preparations of the community development program and plan proposal.

First project meeting – Mapping the stakeholder interests

This section describes the issues discussed during the first internal project group meeting. The participants in the project meeting consisted of two members from the project steering group and eight consultants from the urban design group in charge of developing the plan proposal for the community development program (*planprogram*). This section seeks to explain the issues that were communicated during the meeting, which concerned the project organization, collaboration and future work. The purpose of the meeting was to find ways of collaboration and to seek direction for the continuation of the work. Participants in the meeting discussed ways to organize the process and defined a structure for the project organization. A project manager was assigned to facilitate the collaborative planning process between the municipality and the developers and the roles and responsibilities for the rest of the consultants were assigned. An important theme in the meeting was the discussion about the potential external stakeholder interests and the internal stakeholder interests including those from the design consultants. The various stakeholders in the project are depicted in figure 31.
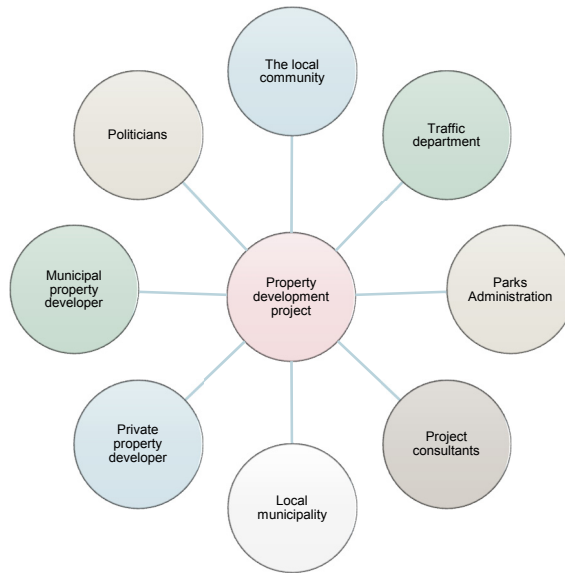
Figure 31: Stakeholder map
Identification of the stakeholders in the early stage of the property development project

Interests from the property developers

An important goal for the developers is to achieve a socially-sustainable property development project that contains different types of housing tenures, retail, offices, leisure and public space. Moreover, for the development to be successful, it became important that the strategic area for development was well connected to the surrounding neighborhoods through different means of transit such as pathways, cycling lanes, transport and car traffic routes. It was also emphasized that the new development should meet demands from the real estate market and their profit criteria. Finally, the developers stressed the need to increase the flexibility in the formal planning process.

Interests from politicians

There are political interests and agendas involved in the development project. Some of these include the improvement and establishment of new school facilities in the area and the construction of cycling lanes including a bicycle boulevard that is planned to run through the area connecting it to other parts of the city. In addition, other political goals included the achievement of social, economic and environmental sustainable development through urban densification. However, it is important to note that the elections at that time (2014) not only brought newly-elected political representatives but also a new organizational structure within the

public housing developer organization, which introduced new stakeholders into the process.

Interests from the local authorities

The city of Malmö decided to include the adjacent neighborhood in the community development program and plan proposal, which meant that more stakeholders would be affected by the project. Moreover, the local municipality has around ten different plan proposals from the different city administrations such as the property development department, streets and roads department, traffic department, service department and environment, as well as the district council and others.

Interests from the local community

The interests from the local community were not discussed in the meeting. This particular stakeholder group was overlooked during this discussion and it became evident that no stakeholder analysis to identify this stakeholder group and their interests had been done. The one concern related to the community brought up in the discussion was that the construction of condominiums adjacent to the ten-year program area would bring new opportunities for the existing residents. It was, however, pointed out that despite many residents living in these adjacent areas having an interest in the new housing development, many might not have the means to afford anything.

Interests from the consultants

The project manager played a dual role in the process, both in managing the planning process and contributing to the design strategies of the proposal. The organization represented by the project manager had a long history of collaboration with the municipality of Malmö and the municipal housing company. Perhaps not surprisingly, it was noted that the project manager's role in the process was to increase the likelihood of realizing the developers' proposal. On the other hand, the professional consultants wanted to fully engage in the process by contributing and developing comprehensive ideas and strategies. The main interests among the design consultants was to contribute urban design and architectural ideas and strategies to shape the character of the area in terms of its urban form, landscape and public space.

Strategy for collaboration

The developers stressed the need to develop a strategy for collaboration with the local city planners in the making of the community plan proposal. One developer put it this way.

> "We want that the city planning department says at the end of the process, thank you for making it so easy for us, congratulations."

The developer further stressed that the project team should facilitate the planning process for the municipality.

> "What we need to have is a time plan and an organization plan so that we can tell the city planning department how we are going to work."

Other points that were highlighted during the meeting were, forms of communication, transparency, leadership, collaboration and organization between the project team and the city planning department. Furthermore, the developers emphasized the wish of the city planner to have a good relationship with the project manager from the project organization to be able to set regular meetings. Another aspect that was discussed in the meeting was the idea to use experience from past successful projects with similar processes as a way to organize the collaboration. One developer made a proposal.

> "Maybe we could take project 'A' as an example of how to work as an organization?"

The meeting concluded with the suggestion to start with a workshop meeting with all the relevant stakeholders including the project proponents from both developer organizations and the local planning authorities.

Time plan for the coming activities in the development of the community development plan

During the meeting, a preliminary time plan was developed by the participants, which indicated a list of various planning activities. A decision was made that the project manager was going to develop an organization and communication plan based on the discussion in order to continue with the work. It was also decided that the project manager was going to lead a workshop where the project group and the different administrations from the municipality were going to meet to talk about how the development of the community plan should proceed.

Second project meeting – Internal and external stakeholder interests

This section describes the issues discussed during the workshop meeting between the developers' project organization and the municipality of Malmö. Different stakeholders from the project team were represented as well as different local officials from the various administrative departments in the municipality. The stakeholders from the municipality represented in the workshop meeting were representatives from the land use, traffic and roads, parks and environment

departments. Representatives from the project group were developers, planners, urban designers, project managers, communication officers, researchers, sustainability advisers, community dialogue specialists and quantity surveyors. The assigned project manager who had previously worked with the municipality of Malmö facilitated the meeting. The purpose of the workshop was to present the visions, the community value program, the goals and strategies for traffic, technical aspects, the project organization and collaboration plan. Emphasis was placed on how to proceed with the development of the community plan proposal. The meeting started with an introduction of the development project, the municipality and developers' joint collaboration for the community development program and the project group organization for the community plan proposal.

The vision for the development project

The project manager started with a description of the ongoing process since the inception of the project in 2008. The project manager then explained the vision for a sustainable urban property development and its relation to social, economic and environmental sustainability and outlined the need for a collaborative planning approach in order to achieve integrated, sustainable development. The project manager showed examples of a holistic and integrated planning versus traditional planning approaches where land use planning, roads, traffic and park planning are often fragmented. The project manager promoted the need to plan in a holistic manner.

"If we do not plan together, we will never reach the sustainable city."

Social aspects in the development of sustainable cities such as human scale, social integration, places for people, mixed-use development were some of the main highlights in the presentation and the project manager stressed the need to take into account the social dimension when planning for sustainable development. The project manager stressed the need to keep in mind those for whom we are building. The project manager finished his presentation with a simple statement.

"The challenge…. designed for who?"

The community development program and plan proposal

The local planner started by presenting the formal planning system, the planning organization and the different administrations involved. The local planner continued by presenting the existing needs in the local area, new opportunities for development and the strategic development site. The planner explained the process and outcome of the community value program developed in 2013 and how it was complemented by input from the residents through a community dialogue process. The planner then presented the draft of a community development program prepared by the city

planning department. The community development program (*planprogram*) and the community plan is a non-legally binding document usually developed by the municipality, which serves as a guideline for the detailed community development plan.

The aim of the document is that all stakeholders involved in the development process have an input in the planning process. The community development program contained three sections that were based from the requirements of the municipality. These sections described the main concept, guidelines and strategies. Some of these guidelines included were focal points, public space, densification, mixed-use development, integration, connectivity, pathways and leisure zones. Based on these requirements, a fourth section is to be developed which consists on a community plan proposal. This plan proposal is to be developed in collaboration by all the stakeholders involved in the development project, including the development project organization.

Goals and strategies for traffic

A representative from the transportation department presented the goals and strategies concerning road and traffic planning. Some of the strategies were cycling, pedestrian friendliness and effective collective transport. The traffic planner presented the future plan for a bicycle boulevard to be developed close to the strategic area and their plan proposal for the streets and roads structure and traffic accessibility within the strategic area.

Many conflicting points of view concerning the proposed street network emerged during the presentation. In addition, issues of car parking, collective transport, a car pool system and pedestrian streets versus traffic-oriented streets were discussed. During the discussion, there were conflicting views between the traffic planners, the land use planners and the developers on the subject of car accessibility in the new area. Traffic planners seemed to oppose car accessibility while developers and land use planners were proponents of car accessibility within the new area. The traffic planners' main argument was that the space between the existing buildings was too narrow to allow car and bus traffic to access the area. At one point in the discussion, a participant mentioned that the value program (which was completed in 2012) states that cars are to be allowed to pass through the area at a reduced speed. The participant add the following.

> "The purpose of the value program is to have all the actors involved early in the process, to give input in order to set the guidelines for development. So if the value program is supposed to be done by all the departments in the city planning office, then why are we still discussing if we want cars to drive in the area or not?"

Technical implications for development

A representative from the city planning office presented a plan of the land use and existing technical conditions in the strategic site. One of the existing conditions of the development site is the city tunnel, which passes under the strategic site, which in turn poses implications for building construction. The planner mentioned that attention should be paid when proposing new construction in the area. The planner stressed that building construction of maximum three to four stories were only to be built on land above the city tunnel. A second condition emerged which is the existence of water, heating and electricity ground pipelines in the site. Different guidelines for new construction were explained and it was emphasized that the ground pipelines could not be moved due to the high costs that this implies. Further discussion about the implications of these barriers to the development process took place and it became clear that these posed further implications for the development project.

Another topic that emerged was the proposal for transforming one of the existing roads adjacent to the strategic site from a major road to a city street. The road is characterized by high traffic and it is considered as one of the main gateways into the city of Malmö. This meant that the existing road needs to be reduced from a four-lane road to a two-lane street. A participant posed the following question for discussion.

> "What are the consequences for the proposal of the transformation of the road?" A traffic planner replied. "That is a big question which is not that easy to answer."

During the discussion it was emphasized that the transformation of the road into a city street was a prerequisite for the development project to reinforce the connection of the strategic site to the surrounding neighborhoods; however, this issue brings implications such as high costs, traffic disturbance and the like. A participant in the crowd added the following.

> "The proposed transformation of the existing road and the ground pipelines are two very important questions."

It was recognized by the participants that the transformation of the road brings many challenges but at the same time it brings opportunities such as connectivity and integration of the new development with the surrounding areas. Moreover, issues relating to the different groups' interests and concerns and how these will be aligned during the process were highlighted. It is important to note that one of the developers raised the issue of the residents as another group of interests. One of the developers shared a frustration.

"When will the residents come in the process to give their opinion and inputs about traffic and other questions?"

Organization and continuation of the community development plan

The stakeholders represented in the meeting seemed to share the vision of a socially-sustainable part of the city, and were concerned about social, environment and economic issues. The developer proposed a second workshop meeting and stressed the need to find new ways of thinking and working and a different approach to property development in order to achieve sustainable development.

The local planner mentioned that many of the issues discussed during the meeting could be further developed in parallel by the two organizations. The property developer then suggested that the developers' project organization could work on three different plan proposals that will consider the interests and concerns highlighted by the stakeholders during the meeting. The developer further emphasized that this could be a starting point for all the relevant stakeholders to further analyze the viability and consequences of different solutions. The developer further suggested that the participants should start a dialogue on how this work could be further organized. The developer finished the meeting by highlighting once again.

"Let us not forget about the sustainable-related questions concerned by the research and sustainability group in the project organization and the community dialogue process. We should involve these two aspects during the planning process and not at the end."

Furthermore, the municipality agreed to the project group developing three proposals based on the issues that were discussed during the meeting. The local planner proposed a deadline for the submission of proposals and agreed to arrange a meeting with the different administrative departments to analyze and discuss the proposals with the aim to arrive at a decision on how to proceed with the work on the community development plan.

During the meeting, many aspects concerning road and traffic, land use, environment and technical issues were discussed. In addition, the need for collaboration, participation and new ways of organizing were also highlighted throughout the meeting. However, these were not discussed as thoroughly. Instead, the issues that dominated the discussions were those concerning planning guidelines, strategies for traffic and technical aspects. Despite the fact that these are very important issues that need to be considered for comprehensive planning, matters such as stakeholder participation, dialogue and new ways of working needed to be discussed equally. It is important to note that one of the property developers mentioned several times the need to bring aspects such as research, community dialogue and stakeholder participation into the project. The developer stressed the

necessity of bringing these aspects in at the beginning of the process and not at the end. Furthermore, it became evident that there is a need for a systematic approach to stakeholder collaboration and participation. A participatory process is needed where all relevant stakeholders are identified, interests and concerns are prioritized and stakeholder engagement strategies are implemented.

4.4 Case IV: Organizations and actors involved in property development

Description of the case

This study explores the practice of stakeholder participation through the perceptions of different actors involved in the property development process. Actors who work directly or indirectly with stakeholder participation in property development projects participated in this study. The actors who participated in the study belong to municipal organizations, public and private property development organizations and a private housing association. These organizations are located in the cities of Malmö, Lund and Helsingborg in the southern part of Sweden. The unit of analysis in this case study is the organizations involved in the property development process and the level of analysis is the actor working with stakeholder participation in property development projects. The actors involved in the study include developers, construction managers, facility managers, civil servants, city planners, and the chair of a private housing association. This case study adopted the interview method as the main mean of gathering data. A total of ten interviews were conducted with twelve actors who work directly or indirectly with stakeholder participation in urban property development projects. Documents such as political agendas, plan proposals and planning documents complemented the data from the interviews. Before the interview started, the interviewees were asked to describe their role in their organization and a general description of their activities. After a presentation was given by the participant, the interviewer provided a definition of stakeholder participation. The list of participants is shown in table 1.

Table 1. List of participants

Interviews	Participants	Role	Organization	Duration
1	1	Communications Officer	City Planning Office	0:58
2	1	City Planner	City Planning Office	0:30
3	1	Business Manager	Private Property Developer	1:12
4	2	Project Manager and Construction Manager	Municipal Housing Company	1:26
5	1	Construction Manager	Municipal Housing Company	0:32
6	1	Planner	City Planning Office	0:46
7	2	Planners	City Planning Office	0:40
8	1	City Area Development Coordinator	Municipality	0:56
9	1	Chairman	Private housing Association	0:35
10	1	Facility Manager	Municipal Housing Company	0:48

Stakeholder participation in property development

A key aspect that emerged from the interviews is the need for a wide range of stakeholders to collaborate in property development projects. The project proponents that were interviewed seemed to share the view that urban property development projects are complex and require innovative solutions in the allocation of land and functions; therefore, planning for sustainable solutions should be given appropriate time and resources. According to some of the interviewees, it is uncertain that urban densification will lead to sustainable development, although it has the potential to do so. Densification strategies are implemented in the ten-year program areas in order to make them attractive by solving the inefficiencies that prevail in the area. At the same time, there are political goals to double the housing stock in these areas. The complexity arises when densification strategies are implemented in existing built areas. Because of the increased complexity, it is vital that a wide range of stakeholders are involved in the development of local plans. The process may require more time and resources, but the end-result will be better.

It is argued that municipalities, planners, developers, property owners, financiers, politicians and the general public should be involved in the decision making process. The city planner of a municipal organization mentioned that municipalities have carried out initiatives to involve the developers and the different city planning administrations in the planning process in the most effective way. In addition, it is in the municipality's goals to be better at dialogue with different stakeholder groups such as the city planning administrations, authorities, citizens, developers and landowners.

One interviewee from a municipal organization explained the position.

> "In order to reach a more sustainable development, potential stakeholders should be identified early on in the project and willing to share the decision making process.

The project cannot advance if developers, future residents, facility managers and neighbors are not part of the collaboration."

Another interviewee from a municipal organization explained the importance of involving all stakeholders.

"We work with all stakeholders, from citizens to the different city administrations as well as key actors with access to the budget etc. We are lost without these stakeholders; we cannot do anything without the involvement of these stakeholders. It is fundamental."

An interviewee from a property developer company added the following.

"There is a need to come up with a solution that is good for all stakeholders, a decision that will benefit everyone. The implementation of the solution will be better and it will be an added value, not only in monetary terms but also for the built environment. So this benefits the developer, municipality and future residents."

The majority of the interviewees linked the stakeholder participation process to the Swedish Planning and Building Act. The Planning and Building Act states that when a proposal for a development plan is drafted, the municipality should consult a wide range of stakeholders who have an essential interest in the development plan. The purpose of consultation is to give the stakeholders an opportunity to influence, and provide insights into, the decision-making process. A number of public officials in charge of the formal planning process have made strong efforts to engage stakeholders from the different city planning administrations in the planning process. In addition, initiatives for dialogue have been employed to engage other stakeholders outside of the organization such as developers, landowners, property owners, contractors and the public.

An interviewee from a public housing company explained.

"Several participatory initiatives from the municipality have been launched to engage with developers and land owners at an early stage through platforms that promote exchange of knowledge and collaboration. These platforms have been successful and often result in better collaboration between the stakeholders."

Stakeholder groups such as citizens, co-operative tenant owners, residents and community organizations are traditionally involved during the public consultation period when municipal officials present and inform about their plan proposals. The Planning and Building Act states that when necessary, a public consultation should be carried out at the end of every planning stage. The public consultation period is the stage where the public and other stakeholders with an essential interest in the plan can make their inputs concerning local development plans. The interviewees

from the municipal organizations explained that the prevalent levels of participation in their planning processes have been mainly information and consultation. Information is an important component of the entire planning process in order to inform the public and other stakeholders about future developments. In addition, consultation of plan proposals is important for seeking stakeholders' input for planning decision making.

Some interviewees explained that it is impossible to achieve higher levels of participation without going through information and consultation levels of participation. Sometimes more ambitious participatory processes through dialogue are implemented by municipalities and property development organizations, but these are usually achieved in small-scale projects. One interviewee from a housing developer company explained the position.

> "For example, in one of our ongoing projects, the greenhouse project, will aim to achieve higher levels of participation where the residents will be part of the design of the space. Otherwise, we work with information and consultation in large-scale projects and higher levels of participation in small-scale projects."

Stakeholder participation initiatives differ among different municipalities. While some municipalities have focused on trying higher levels of participation by means of different methods and activities of engagement, other municipalities have focused on following what is required by the legislation regarding public consultation. The public consultation period is minimum one month with one public meeting where public authorities present the plan proposals in front of a wide audience. During public consultation meetings certain groups of individuals often dominate while other groups do not dare to participate. As confirmed by the interviewees, public meetings are sometimes ineffective and, at times, there might be the need to employ other means of dialogue.

The interviewees from the municipal organizations stated that in order to deal with such challenges, they have started to implement *parallel participation processes* that use more innovative techniques to involve and engage different stakeholders during the public consultation period. Success is highly dependent on the ambition and experience of each project leader, project group support and the allocation of resources. Implementing such a participation process varies according to the project type and size of plans. There is nothing formulated in the municipal organizations that parallel participation processes need to be implemented, which explains why the implementation of these processes depends on the project and the project initiators working with it. Traditionally, planners will always go back to the formal legislated process. One interviewee from a municipal organization simplified the position.

"We implement several processes. In each detailed planning process, we follow the legislation requirements for the public consultation period. In addition to that, we implement several parallel processes to legitimize the plans by including different actors."

Stakeholder identification and purposes for stakeholder participation

In general, the interviewees pointed out that it is vital to involve a wide range of stakeholders at different levels and stages of development projects. Planners have made efforts to engage with property owners, landowners, developers and different administrations in the municipality early in the planning process. In addition, efforts have been made to collect opinions from the community within the planned areas. A strategic planner of a municipal organization described the situation.

"The ones who will build, the ones who will operate and maintain, these stakeholders will always be included and they are important, as well as the different administrations form the municipality, always at different levels of involvement. It is good to scan the opinions in the area before the public consultation. According to the law we need to send all the information regarding the plan to the stakeholders before the public consultation."

Housing and commercial developers, as well as facility managers, highlighted the importance of engaging with a wide range of stakeholders early in the development process. One interviewee of a public housing company put it this way.

"There are many other stakeholders than just those who live there. They are important! But they are one of the many stakeholders we have to think about."

It was mentioned that stakeholder groups external to the project organization need to be considered early in the development process. The developers and facility managers interviewed reported that they had made an effort to engage with external stakeholder groups such as residents, customers and businesses. Although, there is an interest to involve a wide range of stakeholders early in the development process, it can be challenging for municipal organizations and property development companies to identify and engage residents, neighbors, potential residents and community organizations. An interviewee from a municipal organization explains the position.

"We always start with the big actors, such as the city administrations and strong private actors like property developers. Such big and strong actors still have the most influence in the planning process."

Different purposes for stakeholder participation have been identified in the collected data. These can be classified under the different approaches for participation found

in the literature. One of the purposes mentioned for conducting stakeholder participation is to legitimize and create positive publicity in order to facilitate the implementation of plans and projects. A second purpose is to collect valuable input and knowledge from various stakeholders to improve the quality of plans, projects and efficiency of processes. The third purpose is connected to the advancement of democracy by giving the stakeholders the right to influence decisions that affect their lives and their environment.

Stakeholder participation practices in property development

According to interviewees, municipal organizations have created forums for dialogue to facilitate the collaboration between stakeholders in planning processes. These forums of collaboration have been implemented in several development projects and have contributed to enhanced co-operation, reconciliation of interests and knowledge development. Moreover, significant efforts have been made to communicate and engage with municipal administrations, developers and other stakeholders in the early stages of the planning process.

During the public consultation period, municipal organizations are assigned to inform the general public and other affected stakeholders about plan proposals. The public is then given the opportunity to comment and submit their inputs, which contribute to the revision of plan proposals. The purpose of consulting stakeholders is to allow them to provide insights to the decision-making process. The public consultation period is complemented by exhibitions, public meetings and the provision of information.

The municipal organizations interviewed have recognized that in certain cases, traditional public consultation practices are not enough and demand new methods and practices to involve stakeholders. Municipal agents have a shared challenge of conducting extra participatory activities as the public consultation period can demand more than one public meeting. Such participatory activities vary and can take the form of engaged focus groups, meetings and outreach in the neighborhood to inform stakeholders about plan proposals. Furthermore, the majority of the interviewees stated that they are trying to move away from the traditional practices of one-way communication to more engaging forms of participation. Some of the interviewees explained that, recently, they had started to influence the design of public consultation activities to be more engaging practices. For example, instead of holding a presentation of the project in the form of one-way communication, this is replaced by dialogue forums, workshops and transect-walks in the planned area. These activities have proven to be highly beneficial as it opens up better dialogue between the stakeholders and helps to increase mutual understanding and knowledge about plan proposals. Moreover, there is an ambition for municipal agents to inform and engage more stakeholders, especially those on the periphery of

the decision-making process. These efforts include the distribution of invitations, outreach activities and dissemination of information through different means of communication.

Some municipal officials interviewed have pursued more ambitious processes to engage stakeholder groups such as residents, neighbors and community organizations. These processes have been mainly implemented in small-scale projects such as urban farming community projects, playgrounds and management of common grounds. Such participatory processes are driven by dialogue, trust and learning and aim to influence the decision-making process. Activities range from generating ideas for themes, program and design to active participation throughout the different stages of the development process. One interviewee put it this way.

> "The end result is that we believe that users will appreciate the place more than if we had built exactly the same place without their involvement, and that's worth a lot to us. That people have been involved in creating their own environments."

Furthermore, there are examples where public and private actors have shared resources to engage residents, community organizations and other affected stakeholders in activities to inform and discuss planning proposals and collect opinions from the public. There is an interest among the property developers interviewed to be proactive in finding better ways to involve their tenants, customers and neighboring residents in new construction and renovation projects. As explained by the developers, the level of involvement varies according to the project scale and type. In building renovation projects, the tenants are at times involved through workshops, meetings and surveys to collect their opinions, input and suggestions on alternatives; for example, in the renovation of kitchens, bathrooms, and parking spaces. It was emphasized that the residents' approval is needed when there are major renovations that will affect the tenants' living conditions. Additionally, by involving the tenants, it is believed that when these have had the chance to influence they will be more positive to the proposed change. Some public housing companies have developed a concept of self-management, where the tenants are given responsibility for choosing and implementing change to their environments. Other initiatives coming from individuals in organizations are the creation of tools and methods for stakeholder participation, used in small-scale projects in facility management and operation.

Proactive actions towards stakeholder participation in new building production seems to operate at information and consultation levels where meetings are held to present plan proposals to tenants and residents as well as listen to their opinions. Some of the reasons for the information and consultation levels of participation are project complexity and the decision-making process. According to the developers, it is the public consultation period in the formal planning process where the

residents, neighbors and affected stakeholders have the possibility to provide their comments on plan proposals.

An interviewee from a property developer company mentioned a tool for creating value in commercial property development. The tool can assist in identifying the customers and their interests early in the process and further engage them in influencing the building's design. The developer added that in commercial property development, it is easier to consider the customers' interests at an early stage since customers are generally known. However, it is difficult to engage with potential tenants in rental apartment developments since they are often unknown and hard to identify early in the process. Public housing companies have conducted market analysis to get input from potential tenants in the early stages of housing projects; however, such responses are often impractical. An interviewee from a public housing company mentioned that the company has plans to introduce a customer plan policy to engage their customers through dialogue in the early stages of a housing development project.

According to the interviewees, there are specific individuals and groups within organizations who drive proactive actions for stakeholder participation. Examples of proactive actions given by one of the developers included the ambition to engage tenants and residents in the design of a community space in a housing development project. In addition, in the public consultation period, some developers have assisted the municipality by sending out personalized invitations to residents and neighbors in order to reach out more stakeholder groups. Another key aspect that emerged from the data was individuals' and groups' abilities to leverage support in the organization to conduct stakeholder participation processes in plans and projects. A city area coordinator from a municipal organization described the situation.

> "Sometimes ideas come from the grassroots level that influence the management's way of thinking. It takes time to convince the management, but it is getting more common that ideas come from individuals at grassroots level."

From a city planner's perspective, certain project leaders and project groups in charge of planning processes were identified as strong enablers for more ambitious stakeholder participation processes that aim to engage a wide range of stakeholders. These participation processes are generally implemented in parallel with the public consultation process mandated by the Swedish Planning and Building Act. The majority of the interviewees from the municipal organizations reiterated that the determination to perform such ambitious participatory processes is still at an individual level rather than at an organizational level. According to them, this driving force is linked to the individual's personality, experience, interests and resources. One of the interviewees explained the reason.

"To drive such a process is very much linked to the personality and the interest of the project leader. If the project leader is interested in such a process, the project leader will decide to do this. But if a project leader with no interest in these processes would get the same project, there would most likely not be such a process. There is nothing saying that this should always be implemented."

Another interviewee had the following personal insight to share.

"We work more with these questions than we did five years ago, but it is still at an individual level rather than a functional level. Only a few people work with this and try to influence, but there is nothing in the organization as a whole: we are not there yet. A lot is still connected to the individual person working, his or her interests in driving these questions. So if these people would move on and leave the organization, the organization will lose the competence. We are making progress but we are still far away from it."

From a developer and facility manager perspective, individuals and groups within the organization have developed methods and strategies for participation in the development and refurbishment of facilities. These initiatives include methods for different levels of participation, customer plans and activities to get to know their customers and residents. Most of these initiatives are implemented in small-scale projects or renovation and maintenance. One interviewee from a public housing company expressed the following view.

"For example, in one of our projects to build a community space we will achieve higher levels of end-user participation as the users will be part of the design of the space. We work with information and consultation in large-scale projects and higher levels of participation in small-scale projects."

The interviewees seemed to share the view that factors for successful stakeholder participation include experience, skills, special procedures and principles. Such procedures as identified in the data include the need for early involvement, clear objectives, context dependency and stakeholder networks, as well as the principles of respect, dialogue and trust.

Fundamentals and principles for stakeholder participation

The need for early stakeholder participation

The interviewees have identified early involvement as an important factor to successful stakeholder participation. The involvement of stakeholders in the early stages of the development process can contribute to constructive dialogue and lead to positive effects such as better project outcomes and legitimacy. On the contrary, not involving stakeholders early in the process can lead to conflicts and resistance

to the desired change. According to an interviewee from a property development company, actions to involve the residents and other affected stakeholders are late during the implementation of the project with the purpose of seeking project acceptance. However, there are plans to work more proactively by involving these stakeholder groups early in the process.

Proactive actions taken by some of the property developers interviewed have been to inform the residents and other stakeholders affected by the development before an application is sent to the municipality for a detailed development plan. A public developer pointed out that a major benefit of informing and involving the residents early in the process is the successful identification of the needs in the area. An interviewee from a housing cooperative explained that the residents should be involved from the start to be able to influence the development of the area and not too late when drawings have been produced. Some municipalities have engaged the wider public in the creation of general comprehensive plans through dialogue activities to collect their knowledge and input in the creation of the vision for the city. Moreover, in the detailed planning process, a public consultation period is conducted were the planning officials inform and present the plan proposal to the wider public and collect their input and concerns. The private developers said that early involvement of a wide range of stakeholders could lead to a more efficient planning process. An interviewee from a municipal organization explained that they are making efforts to engage stakeholders early in the planning process instead of presenting finished plans and proposals, which can be difficult to influence with changes and suggestions.

Clear objectives of the participatory process

The interviewees from the municipal organizations shared the view that the purpose and objectives for involving stakeholders should be clear from the beginning of a development project. In addition, genuine and transparent communication is important throughout the process, especially when clarifying the purpose of the participation process. Clear communication can reduce the risk of giving false expectations to the participants about their contribution to the plans and further avoid unrealistic expectations that cannot be met. Failing to achieve clear communication can result in a disappointed group of stakeholders and further negative reactions to the project.

Participation is contextual

The majority of the interviewees said that development projects and plans are different; thus, the way they are implemented varies. Their processes may differ according to the specific situation, so it is important that the context sets the frame for the participation process. Therefore, it is essential for project initiators to have a toolbox that can be adapted to the specific project and its context while using their

skills and experiences. Consequently, it is important to create a participation culture that relates to the specific project. By creating a culture of participation, trust can be created among the stakeholders and the toolbox, skills and experiences can be applied throughout the participation process.

Importance of creating stakeholder networks to reach a wider range of stakeholders

Although it is much easier to identify those stakeholders with a direct interest in a development project, the interviewees of the different organizations share the challenge of reaching out and communicating to a wide range of stakeholders that are relevant to the project. Failure to reach out a broad range of stakeholders can result in increased unawareness about development plans in the area. In response to the challenge, many of the organizations interviewed have implemented strategies to develop networks to reach specific stakeholder groups; however, it was noted that there is always the risk of not reaching everyone. On the other hand, these networks have enabled project proponents to identify stakeholder groups that are considered hard to reach because of language barriers and the like.

A strategy mentioned by some of the interviewees is for project proponents to go out in public spaces to invite stakeholders directly to participate in workshop activities. These outreach strategies can help project proponents to get to know and maintain good relations with the residents by organizing community activities that promote the development of ideas for the future development of their area. One way to identify hard-to-reach stakeholder groups is to contact existing networks such as local organizations, schools, libraries, community centers and housing associations within the area and use them to reach out to specific target groups. A more established strategy that was identified among the public housing developers and municipalities is the placement of a local office in the developed area. According to the interviewees, a manager placed in the local office serves as the link to the project proponents and the local residents and neighbors. Thus, the manager's task is to build good relations and trust with the residents and local organizations in order to create a strong network. The outcome of creating good relations with the local community is that it facilitates the process of identifying and engaging stakeholders that are hard to involve and establishes the trust needed for a successful participation process. Thus, it is proposed that a stakeholder network is vital for the successful implementation of stakeholder participation processes.

Respect, listening and trust

A majority of the interviewees seemed to share the view that creating trust among stakeholders can be very valuable for the participation process. According to the interviewees, without trust among the stakeholders there is no collaboration and a risk that the stakeholders will be against the project or plan. In order to gain trust, it

is vital to be genuine, transparent and respectful of stakeholders' skills and knowledge. Moreover, clear communication throughout the process is essential as well as the ability to listen to the stakeholders' opinions and concerns.

Failure to create trust among the stakeholders could result in a bad atmosphere and opposition to the project. Interviewees from the municipality and public housing companies said that in order to facilitate trust building, they have a local office in the developed area with the aim of creating good relations with local stakeholder groups. The outcome of this strategy is that positive interest from local stakeholder groups increases when there are plans for future development in their area. An interviewee from a municipal organization had the following personal insight to share about his experience.

> "In one stakeholder dialogue we implemented, much of the focus was on creating trust. My office was at a recreational center in the area. We sat there for five years. We created good relations with the youth, their parents, local organizations and different businesses. We brought all these groups together, gained their trust, so when I would contact the people for their input, I would contact the chairman for the local organizations, who in turn spread the word in their local organizations of about 200 and 400 members each. In one week we gathered 220 people to participate in one evening event. It is important to be humble and listen. As for any human relations, it is about give and take. So it was important to listen. If they had an idea or a wish, whoever it was, parents, youth, local organizations etc., I would take the idea and modify it to fit the purpose of the organization to be able to *sell it* to the administrations to get resources and to help the residents to realize their ideas. The reward is that when I need the help from local organizations or residents, they would give their support. In participation processes, this way of thinking and working must be a part of the organization and institutionalized in the organization."

The area manager positioned in the local office is considered a key person when identifying and engaging local stakeholders to contribute to the development of plans in an area. Thus, their closeness and ability to reach out to a wide range of stakeholders makes local area managers the link between these stakeholder groups and the facilitator in charge of driving the participation process.

One interviewee, representing a public housing company said.

> "In every area we have a local office with a facility manager; this functions as a link to the residents. We will never know every person living in the area, but the facility manager in the area will know most residents. This is a strategy to create trust. The facility managers who are placed in each area are key persons when it comes to densification projects as they can inform the residents about what is going on."

Dialogue and communication

The interviewees pointed out that dialogue is the best way to achieve better communication with stakeholder groups. Methods identified to achieve good dialogue were through small-group activities and informal meetings as these allow participants to speak openly and interact closely. In addition, when engaging a large group, workshops conducted in small groups can give the participants the opportunity to discuss in detail about a specific topic that interests them. These methods for engagement seem to function well as opposed to large meetings where too often only a few participate.

The outcome of a good dialogue is valuable input, which can contribute to better solutions that meet the needs of a wider range of stakeholders. At the same time, it provides stakeholders with an understanding of how formal planning processes work and further gain knowledge from this learning experience. The majority of the interviewees mentioned that they want to work more with the above philosophies and that this way of working should be part of the organization. Even so, working with participatory processes is not without problems; for example, some interviewees stated that project proponents often do not want to work in this way due to the fear of criticism and bad encounters with an angry public. Moreover, these processes require significant time and resources; therefore, planning practices must allocate sufficient resources to accommodate these aspects in order to build trust among the different stakeholders. The interviewees shared the belief that the outcome of a successful participation process can be valuable to the development project.

Challenges to stakeholder participation

According to the interviewees, some of the challenges to participation processes are associated with the lack of experience from stakeholders such as residents and neighbors. Consequently, lack of experience and understanding of participation processes makes it hard for these stakeholder groups to understand the motives of the process, their contribution and procedural practices. Furthermore, participation processes can be time consuming and there is a risk for participants that they will suffer from participation fatigue. In addition, the inability to implement the outcomes of participation processes within a short time can cause disillusionment among participants for not being able to see their contribution implemented. In addition, their lack of experience in development processes and the time-consuming nature of development projects can make it difficult for participants to take part in participation processes.

Resources need to be allocated

The interviewees seemed to share the view that participation processes are time consuming and demand additional resources such as money and extra hours outside of internal project work. In addition, due to the complexity of participation processes and the extra resources required, project managers may not be willing to implement such processes. Thus, it is vital for organizations to allocate the necessary resources and incentivize project managers to initiate stakeholder participation processes. Another challenge pointed out is the lack of participants' experience and understanding about participation processes in development projects. Such processes demand time and can cause frustration among stakeholders, especially when not seeing rapid implementation of their inputs. In some cases, it can be challenging to make stakeholders understand that the realization of development projects and the implementation of their input take time. Finally, it was stated by the interviewees that participation processes may bring risks and demand more time and resources; however, the end result will be valuable for the development project.

Unable to reach a wide range of stakeholders

Generally, it was stressed by the interviewees that it is important to reach a wide range of stakeholders; however, this process can be difficult. Efforts have been made by municipal and property developers' organizations to reach a wide range of stakeholders by sending out invitation letters, using the project managers' experiences to identify stakeholders and, with the help of local networks, reach out other stakeholder groups. Another way to deal with this situation is to select a focus group that can represent the stakeholders' interests. The challenge is then to make sure these groups represent all interests in the area. Despite such efforts, there will always be stakeholder groups that are unaware of planning proposals in the area. According to the interviewees, the process of reaching a wide range of stakeholders is often difficult; therefore, it is important to have an open mind when identifying and involving stakeholders and to create an inviting environment.

Not everyone can or wants to participate

Many of the interviewees mentioned that, in the development of plans and projects, there are stakeholders who want to participate and ones who refuse to participate. The reasons for stakeholders refusing to participate are associated with stakeholders' opposition to plans or projects, especially in areas with a high interest or a lack of time for the participation processes. Moreover, municipal organizations share the view that there is a lack of participation among residents and other stakeholder groups in public consultation meetings. An interviewee from a municipal organization explained the situation.

> "Our responsibility is to give the people a possibility to make their voices heard but not everyone comes to the public consultation meetings; it's usually one type of [individual] who participates. Not everyone has the time to participate in these activities so we need to find other ways to give them the opportunity to make their voices heard."

In addition, it was pointed out that facilitation in public consultation meetings is needed in order to deal efficiently with those stakeholders who dominate the discussions in order to allow others who do not speak to have a say.

Balance of stakeholder needs and interests

Project proponents face a shared challenge of finding the right stakeholders, and to balance their interests. In decision-making processes, the involvement of many stakeholders can increase the complexity of arriving at a shared decision, as it is difficult to satisfy every interest especially when disagreement arises. Stakeholders will have contrasting opinions and conflicting interests; thus, the challenge will be to balance the various interests and motivate the adoption of some interests over others. Some interviewees emphasized that the complexity of balancing the various interests lies not only on the individual's interests but also on individuals who try to convey the views of political parties or other interest groups. Furthermore, this complexity increases the difficulty of handling all the input from stakeholders and so it is unlikely that all needs will be met. It was also stated that, since it is impossible to involve many stakeholders in complex projects, it is vital to find a stakeholder group that is representative of all interests. This could be a major challenge since stakeholders have different and often contrasting interests. Consequently, in addition to laws, regulations and societal interests, the involvement of more stakeholders can increase the chances of not getting anything done. One interviewee saw the position thus.

> "[society] is getting more complex, all these things make it hard as it is, and in adding citizen dialogue to this, there is a risk that it will be a disaster. People might be tired and we might not reach what we want and it will take more resources."

Challenges to evaluate the stakeholder participation process

A majority of the interviewees said that the evaluation of stakeholder participation processes is very important and is considered the foundation of any process. Nevertheless, it was mentioned that participation processes are often not evaluated due to lack of time, expertise and resources; even so, measurements are taken to encourage improvement. Other challenges for not evaluating participation processes include the difficulty of finding the right measurement variables and the lack of following-up the evaluation process years after the completion of the project to measure the impact of participation.

Institutionalizing stakeholder participation in property development organizations

Another key aspect that emerged from the interviews was the need for stakeholder participation to be part of the organizational culture to leverage support for the institution. It was pointed out that without the support of management, it is difficult to introduce new working practices and new ways of thinking in the organization. There have been cases where ideas originating from grassroots levels in organizations have influenced managerial practices. It was pointed out that stakeholder participation initiatives and competences remain at an individual level within organizations; therefore, it is vital to collect and systematize these practices in order to make them part of the organizational culture.

One interviewee had this personal insight to share about his experience of influencing early dialogue practices in urban development.

> "In my work we start with dialogue processes: some people are better at this than others. It was difficult to get dialogue practices into our working routine, as there were many who were skeptical of dialogue practices. It took a while before my colleagues had confidence in me. Today, we are heading into a new way of thinking and working than we did before. With dialogue, we appeal to those who have something to say early on, so we could have a better communication over all. I believe that many do not dare to have this type of communication and to face the criticism, but then you will end up with problems. When people get angry, dialogue is the best method of treatment."

The interviewees seemed to share the view that stakeholder participation requires reshaping the way that institutions are organized and further identified different ways to achieve this. The interviewees mentioned that it is essential project initiators dare to apply stakeholder participation practices and further inspire individuals in the organization to believe in it by showing the benefits achieved from conducting early stakeholder participation. Another suggestion is the need to build on existing competences in stakeholder participation practices within organizations. One way is to conduct participatory approaches in small-scale projects to acquire a foundation of practical knowledge and skills that are essential when working with all types of projects. In turn, the outcome of this knowledge development can contribute to the organizational culture.

Additionally, it was suggested that project initiators should work closer with various stakeholders to strengthen mutual relationships in order to provide services that meet the needs of the stakeholders. Dialogue techniques were considered the best when conducting participation processes due to the high levels of interaction that emerges. In addition to the need to allocate knowledge, skills and resources, it was emphasized that stakeholder participation must be part of the organization's

activities and that it needs to be institutionalized in order to develop best practice stakeholder participation.

Interviewees seemed to share the view that practices to stakeholder participation are emerging in their organizations; yet, these initiatives are still promoted from an individual level rather than from an organization level. In addition, interviewees shared the view that systematic practices of stakeholder participation need to be part of the organization's culture in order to optimize their adaptation. Moreover, competences, skills and resources must be allocated in the organization to facilitate the implementation of these practices.

According to the interviewees, making a change in the organization's traditional practices is a process that takes time and requires support. Therefore, it is essential to keep the discussion alive, promote best practice, search for new perspectives and support individuals who promote participatory practices within organizations. One interviewee from a municipal organization summarized the position.

> "Stakeholder participation is important in all areas and at all levels. I think we will soon change the way we work in our organization here at the city planning office to be able to meet these kind of questions in a better way, we will need it."

Interviewees seem to share the view that there is not one way to implement a stakeholder participation process in a project. Projects are different, thus contextual factors are important when implementing a participation process. Interviewees suggested the need for a toolbox or framework in the organization that can be adapted for every project. The implementation of such tool or framework will require knowledge and experience as well as sharing this knowledge and expertise across the organization.

5 Discussion

The findings and results of the cases are discussed in this chapter. The discussion is based on the researcher's interpretations of the findings, in relation to the theoretical framework and the conceptualization of stakeholder participation in the context of property development.

It is proposed that cities play a major role in the achievement of global sustainable development (Sachs, 2015) and that the local level plays an important role in this process too. The importance of the local level in the achievement of sustainable cities has been recognized in world sustainable development summits (United Nations, 2016a) and in EU policy-making (European Union, 2016a). In addition, there is an increased recognition of the important role of participation and collaboration among citizens, local government, corporations, non-profit organizations and other relevant stakeholders. This new urban governance has the potential to contribute to initiatives that can drive urban development in a sustainable direction. As pointed out by (McCormick et al., 2013), key aspects for achieving sustainable transformative change are planning and governance. Furthermore, it has been recognized that the property development and construction industry play an important role in the development of sustainable cities. However, for this to become reality, the property development process should take social, economic and environmental concerns into account (Deakin, 2005). It is proposed that working with the social aspects already in the planning and design stages can contribute to a better integration of the social, environmental and economic concerns (Valdes-Vasquez and Klotz, 2013). By incorporating social and ethical considerations in the firms, objectives and strategies can establish the conditions where social and environmental benefits can be integrated in business activities as opposed to challenging the traditional view of the firm (Myers, 2005).

The findings of this research confirm the need for supporting an integrated approach to sustainable development to achieve sustainable property development. According to the findings, this can only be achieved by establishing collaboration and participation among the various stakeholders who represent the economic, environmental and social interests. In this way, the property development process needs to be regarded, not only as the physical production of the built environment but also a social process dominated by economic, political, social and environmental interests (Healey 2007). Such an understanding requires careful attention to the

structuring forces (e.g. discourses, resources, regulations and procedures) and actors (i.e.. funders, regulators, producers, occupiers and users) that condition the way a property development project is planned, designed, implemented, occupied and even reused or demolished.

To achieve sustainable property development, new practices must be developed to involve the various stakeholder groups throughout the development process. Stakeholder participation can contribute to balancing the needs and interests of the various stakeholders in the decision-making process of property development projects. As the findings suggest, such a participatory process can take place on collaborative platforms where a continuous dialogue among the stakeholders is facilitated and guided by the principles of respect, trust and learning.

The findings show that to achieve successful stakeholder participation, such a process must be implemented at the outset of a project. As the findings from case four indicate, local planners and developers have the potential to engage with the various stakeholder groups early in the formal planning process when visions and plans are developed. A stakeholder participation process can be incorporated through a collaborative planning approach where the public, private and community sectors are involved in the planning process. The findings show different purposes for engaging stakeholders. The purposes are aligned to the approaches to participation found in the literature. According to scholars, these approaches are classified as normative, substantive and instrumental (Fiorino, 1990; Bickerstaff and Walker, 2000; Stirling 2006; Glucker et al., 2013). The normative approach to participation focuses on the democratic rationale. The focus is on equality rather than on the quality that comes out of the process. The substantive approach focuses on improving the quality of the decision-making process. The focus of the instrumental approach is to legitimize decisions that have been already taken.

As the findings reveal, a clear purpose for the participation process should be defined at the outset of a project and aligned to the objectives of the project and its organization. In addition, the stakeholder participation process should be adapted to the context (social, political, cultural and economic) of the project. In this way, project managers acquire relevant information about the local context before implementing a stakeholder participation process. By getting to know the local context, the project manager can map and reach the existing networks in the area and establish trust and relationships. As the findings show, establishing trust and building relationships with the local community can facilitate the collaboration with the community in the planning process. In addition, the local networks in the community can be the link to other stakeholder groups that are normally hard to identify. By identifying such stakeholder groups, project managers can then reach out to more people and invite them to participate.

As the findings from case one, two and four show, certain individuals and groups of individuals within organizations are implementing proactive practices of stakeholder participation. As case four indicates, the actors' experiences and facilitation skills are driving forces for innovative stakeholder participation practices that can contribute to the success of the organization. However, best practice examples are implemented in small-scale projects and it was pointed out that there is a long way before participation processes can be implemented in large-scale projects. This finding was reflected in case two where an ambitious stakeholder participation process was carried out in collaboration with the municipality, a non-profit design organization and the local community in the planning of a community garden. The community garden project can be categorized as a small-scale project within the framework of a larger project which consists of the regeneration of a neighborhood. This finding relates to (Friedmann 2010) who pointed out that joint efforts among planners, residents and local communities can take place in urban regeneration projects to improve the quality of life in neighborhoods (Friedmann 2010).

Some of the challenges to participation as indicated in case four include the lack of resources and support from the organizations, the inability to reach a wide range of stakeholders, the challenge of balancing the needs and interests of stakeholders, lack of participation and a lack of evaluation of participation processes. However, as shown in case one and two the support and commitment from the project organization became a driving force for the successful implementation of the stakeholder participation process. The commitment of the project organization to adopt a stakeholder participation approach to the activities of the project, the alignment of the purpose of the participation process with the project objectives, and the resources allocated by the project organization enabled the implementation and continuation of the participatory process throughout the various stages of the development process.

As shown in case four, in order to overcome the challenges, proponents of stakeholder participation have stressed the need to institutionalize stakeholder participation in the organization. Organizations should foster the knowledge and expertise from the champions within the organizations and support these practices by providing the necessary resources to conduct stakeholder participation in property development projects. Moreover, it has been stressed that a systematic approach to stakeholder participation in organizations is required in order to achieve successful implementation of stakeholder participation. It was pointed out that such a systematic approach can be supported by a toolbox or framework that can be adapted to the context of every property development project.

A stakeholder participation process has been conceptualized for property development projects based on the work of Luyet et al (2012) and the empirical findings (see figure 32). The participation process includes seven steps.

The stakeholder participation process:

1. Define purpose of stakeholder participation in relation to the objectives of the project organization.

2. Define and identify the stakeholders who will participate in the participation process.

3. Define the level of participation in relation to the purpose of the stakeholder participation process.

4. Select the methods and tools to accomplish the purpose and ensure sufficient resources for the stakeholder participation process (e.g. time, money and expertise).

5. Conduct outreach activities to reach the stakeholders and invite them to participate.

6. Implement the stakeholder participation process in relation to the context of the project.

7. Evaluate the participation process, document and report the findings to the organization for future stakeholder participation processes.

Before planning and implementing a stakeholder participation process, the project manager must identify the stakeholders in the project organization. This can be achieved with the support of tools such as the stakeholder impact index (Olander 2007). In addition, a management *for* stakeholder approach needs to be taken.
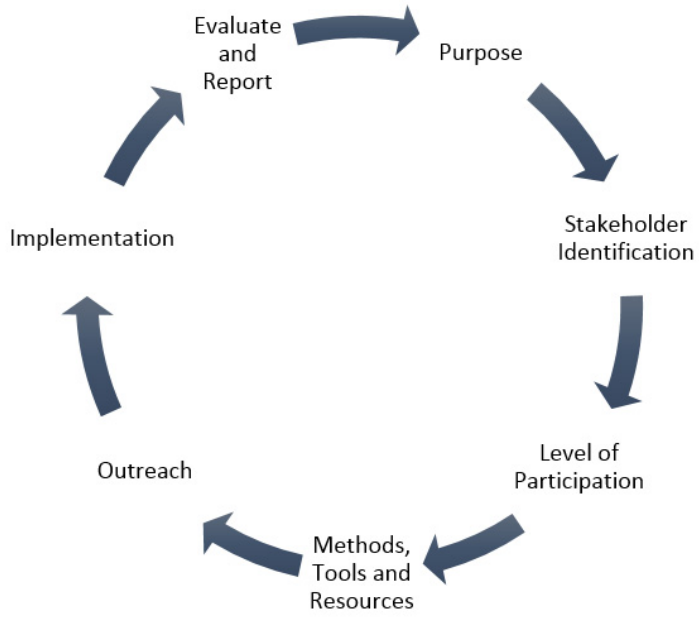
Figure 32: Stakeholder participation plan as a process (adapted from Luyet et al., 2012)

6 Conclusions

This chapter presents the relevant conclusions based on the theoretical and empirical findings. In this chapter, the research questions are answered and discussed based on the theoretical and empirical contributions of this research. Additionally, some thoughts on future research to further contribute to the practice of stakeholder participation in property development are presented.

The aim of the research was to obtain a deeper understanding of stakeholder participation in property development. This has been achieved by conducting four cases. Cases one and two were conducted through participatory action research in order to facilitate the planning and implementation of stakeholder participation. Case three investigated how stakeholder participation in the planning of a socially-sustainable property development project was conducted. Consecutively, case four sought to explore the practice of stakeholder participation in urban property development. The research questions are answered based on the theoretical and empirical contributions of this research.

6.1 Stakeholder participation for project success

How do we define project success? In conventional property development and construction, project success is achieved when a project is delivered on time, on budget and with a certain level of quality. This conventional approach to projects is reflected in mainstream construction stakeholder management theory and practice. The task for project managers is to deploy their strategies to prevent local communities from disrupting construction activity and the local community stakeholders are often involved after plans and construction documents have been prepared. Thus, the purpose of involving the local community is mainly to legitimize the decisions that have already been made. This view of stakeholder management perceives the local community stakeholders as a threat, rather than a valuable asset for the project. From a sustainability perspective, stakeholders such as the local community are considered vital for the development of sustainable and inclusive communities. Such an approach requires the participation of those affected by a construction project to participate in the decision-making process. Considering the social aspects in the early stages of a project can contribute to the integration of the

social, environmental and economic concerns. As the complexity of projects increases due to the challenges brought about by a commitment to sustainable development, there will be a need to change how we define project success in construction and property development. This research has sought to start a conversation about how project success can be redefined in order to include local communities' expectations, concerns and needs regarding the specific property development project. From this research, one could argue that project success can be achieved when the social dimension is considered.

6.2 Challenges and opportunities of stakeholder participation in property development

Early stakeholder participation in the development process has been identified as an important factor that can lead to efficient planning processes. It is proposed that sustainable solutions can be achieved through the early involvement of relevant stakeholders in the property development process. Such an early involvement has been identified to take place in the formal planning process. Local planners have made significant efforts to involve landowners, property owners, developers and contractors early in the planning process; however, other groups such as residents, local communities and citizens have been difficult to reach and involve. The latter groups of stakeholders are mainly informed and consulted in the public consultation stage of the planning process to give them the opportunity to comment and provide input on predetermined plans. It is argued that these stakeholder groups should be involved early in the process through more engaging activities that involve two-way communication rather that one-way communication. In this way, stakeholders can better contribute to the decision making process in property development projects. In order to achieve this, certain individuals and groups of individuals in municipal planning organizations have implemented more ambitious participation processes in parallel with the traditional public consultation process. These processes are often driven through dialogue and seek to develop trust, learning and understanding by building relationships with the participants. The driving force behind these proactive practices for stakeholder participation is connected to the individuals' personality, values, experiences and resources. Individuals from property development organizations have made considerable effort to engage these stakeholder groups in refurbishment projects as well as in the management of facilities. According to these individuals, the level of participation is greater in small projects than in large, complex projects. Thus, it is proposed that learning from experiences of successful participation processes in small-scale projects can provide the needed capacity to implement proactive participatory practices in large, complex projects.

Not involving the stakeholders early in the process can lead to conflict and resistance to change. Moreover, since urban projects are different, it is important that the nature of the project as well as the context set the frame for the participation process. In addition, there is a common view about the difficulty of reaching out to a wide range of stakeholders; therefore, it is important for project proponents to be placed on site to create stronger relations with the community. By developing trust, stakeholder participation can be facilitated and through dialogue and learning, it can lead to achieving sustainable solutions that comply with the needs of the stakeholders. Other challenges to stakeholder participation include the lack of resources for participatory activities, the difficulty of balancing the various interests of stakeholders and the lack of means to evaluate the stakeholder participation process. Finally, stakeholder participation initiatives and competences remain at an individual level within organizations; thus, it is vital to collect these practices and embed them in the organizational culture. Even so, organizational change takes time so it is important for managers to support these practices and the individuals who promote stakeholder participation in their organizations.

6.3. Facilitation in the planning and implementation of stakeholder participation

This research points out to the important role of facilitation in the planning and implementation of stakeholder participation in project organizations. Through a participatory action research approach, the planning and implementation of stakeholder participation was achieved. By engaging project teams as research participants in the planning and implementation of the stakeholder participation process, the project teams were able to carry out the participation process throughout the different stages of the project. In case one, the participation process was implemented in the planning phase and carried out through the design phase. There are plans to continue the participation process through the construction phase and combine it with the vocational practice in order to teach out-of-school youth the skill of construction. In case two, the facilitation of the planning and implementation of the participation process was conducted in the planning phase. The municipal planner in charge of the development process safeguarded the process throughout the design phase by including representative members of the local community in the design process. This initiative was taken solely by the municipal planner. This shows that the role of facilitation is vital in the planning and implementation of stakeholder participation. Through a participatory action research approach, the facilitator was able to engage *with* the project team to co-create a solution to a problem and empower the project team to take over the process and carry on with it. Putting theory into practice should, indeed, be an aim of action research.

The findings have implications for the future role of project managers. They show that project managers need to acquire an additional set of skills in order to engage with the external environment. Social skills including facilitation, engagement and leadership will be required. As the findings show, before a participation process is implemented, it is important to engage with the local community in order to gain trust and acceptance. In that way, project managers can develop relationships which are necessary for the collaboration in property development projects. The findings also suggest that such facilitator could be a new role in project management. The new role will require for such facilitator to develop a holistic approach to property development that takes into account the economic, social and environmental sustainability aspects of projects. In addition, the facilitator will need to be able identify and engage with the various stakeholders and institutions that take part in the property development process.

6.2 Contribution

This research contributes to the conceptualization of stakeholder participation in property development. This research indicates that the concepts of stakeholder, participation and social sustainability are intertwined and together can contribute to social change. By linking these concepts, a systematic approach to stakeholder participation can be achieved. In the participation literature, it is often contested who the stakeholders are; thus, stakeholder theory can contribute to this end by providing the necessary tools and methods to identify the various stakeholders in property development projects. A stakeholder analysis can assist the participation processes by identifying the stakeholders that have a vested interest in the project and those that can be affected by it. A stakeholder analysis can thus be the foundation for the planning and implementation of a stakeholder participation process. Participation theory contributes to construction stakeholder management by incorporating principles and ideals such as empowerment, learning, equity and trust. In addition, participatory methods and tools can facilitate a meaningful dialogue between project managers and the stakeholders. The ideals and principles of participation have the potential to transform the often instrumental approach to construction stakeholder management to a normative and substantive approach. In that way, management *for* stakeholders in property development can contribute to sustainable development in cities.

The result is a systematic framework for stakeholder participation in the context of property development (see figure 33). The framework is derived from the empirical and theoretical findings. This framework contains a set of guiding principles (empowerment, equity, learning and trust) and seven steps in a cyclical process. In addition, the systematic approach to stakeholder participation links the participation

process to the project objectives and contextualizes it throughout the different stages of the property development process. While the framework is conceptualized in property development, the framework could be applied in other types of projects. In addition, this research contributes to engineering education by bringing a social dimension to construction management. In the near future, construction and property development organizations will require managers to have knowledge about social aspects in the field. This research can also contribute by preparing students for the future challenges.

6.3 Future research

Future research will be required to implement the framework in a property development organization through a participatory action research approach. Testing the framework in both small-scale and large-scale projects in different contexts will be necessary in order to assess the viability of the framework. In addition, the framework covers planning, design, construction and operation. Research is needed to include the refurbishment and demolition phases. A holistic framework will require to adopt a cyclical process to property development. In that way, the cyclical process of participation presented in this thesis can run in parallel with the cyclical process of the property development process.
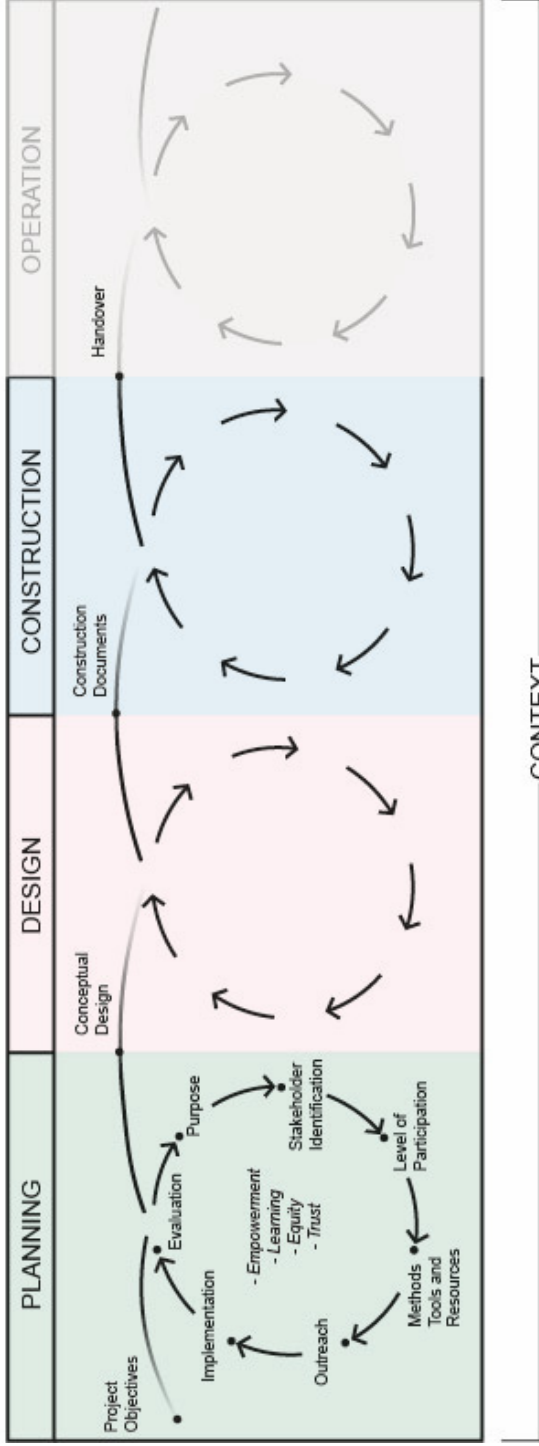
Figure 33: A systematic framework for stakeholder participation in the context of property development

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Appendix

Questionnaire guide used in case II.

Reflections on workshop one:

Activity: Mapping existing activities and identifying positive and negative aspects in the area

Outcome: Identifying current activities, movement patterns and defining technical functions, social aspects and spatial design

1. Generally, what are your thoughts about workshop one? Please explain.

2. What are your thoughts about the activities for workshop one? Please explain.

3. Do you think that the activities for workshop one were in line with the purpose of the participation process that was discussed during the early planning meetings? Please explain.

4. Do you think there was a connection between workshop one and the study trip? Please explain.

5. Do you feel like you had a contribution to the formulation of the activities of workshop one? Please explain.

6. Did you feel prepared before the start of workshop one? Please explain.

7. How was your engagement with the participants during the workshop? Please explain.

8. How did you perceived the participants during the workshop? Were there any participants that dominated in the discussions? Were there passive participants? How did you handle the situation? Please explain.

9. How was the interaction among the participants during workshop one? Please explain.

10. How would you define the outcome of this workshop? Please explain.

Reflections on workshop two:

Activity: Visioning and dreaming through collaging of images and Delphi map

Outcome: Visualizing ideas through collages and collectively analyzing the area through the Delphi map

1. Generally, what are your thoughts about workshop two? Please explain.

2. What are your thoughts about the activities for workshop two? Please explain.

3. Do you think that the activities for workshop two were in line with the purpose of the participation process that was discussed during the early planning meetings? Please explain.

4. Do you think there was a connection between workshop two and workshop one? Please explain.

5. Do you feel like you had a contribution to the formulation of the activities for workshop two? Please explain.

6. Did you feel prepared before the start of workshop two? Please explain.

7. How was your engagement with the participants during the workshop? Please explain.

8. How did you perceived the participants during the workshop? Were there any participants that dominated in the discussions? Were there passive participants? How did you handle the situation? Please explain.

9. How was the interaction among the participants during workshop two? Please explain.

10. How would you define the outcome of this workshop? Please explain.

Reflections on workshop three:

Activities: Model-making

Purpose: to translate the ideas expressed from the analyses and collages into three-dimensional models

1. Generally, what are your thoughts about workshop three? Please explain.

2. What are your thoughts about the activities for workshop three? Please explain.

3. Do you think that the activities for workshop three were in line with the purpose of the participation process that was discussed during the early planning meetings? Please explain.

4. Do you think there was a connection between workshop three and workshop two? Please explain.

5. Do you feel like you had a contribution to the formulation of the activities for workshop three? Please explain.

6. Did you feel prepared before the start of workshop three? Please explain.

7. How was your engagement with the participants during the workshop? Please explain.

8. How did you perceived the participants during the workshop? Were there any participants that dominated in the discussions? Were there passive participants? How did you handle the situation? Please explain.

9. How was the interaction among the participants during workshop three? Please explain.

10. How would you define the outcome of this workshop? Please explain.

Reflections on workshop four:

Activity: Prototyping

Purpose: To build prototypes of the ideas developed in the previous workshops. E.g. Defining the placement of the elements of the community garden

1. Generally, what are your thoughts about workshop four? Please explain.

2. What are your thoughts about the activities for workshop four? Please explain.

3. Do you think that the activities for workshop four were in line with the purpose of the participation process that was discussed during the early planning meetings? Please explain.

4. Do you think there was a connection between workshop four and workshop three? Please explain.

5. Do you feel like you had a contribution to the formulation of the activities for workshop four? Please explain.

6. Did you feel prepared before the start of workshop four? Please explain.

7. How was your engagement with the participants during the workshop? Please explain.

8. How did you perceived the participants during the workshop? Were there any participants that dominated in the discussions? Were there passive participants? How did you handle the situation? Please explain.

9. How was the interaction among the participants during workshop four? Please explain.

10. How would you define the outcome of this workshop? Please explain.

Other questions

1. How engaged did you feel throughout the process? Do you feel ownership of the process?

2. What are your thoughts about the collaboration with the municipality to realize this process?

3. What are your thoughts about the collaboration with Architects without Borders to realize this process?

4. What are your thoughts about the collaboration with the community organizations to realize this process?

Interview guide used in case II.

Field trip:

1. Did you attend the field trip?

2. Were you informed about the field trip in advance?

3. Were you informed about the purpose of the field trip before the event?

4. Did you find the exercise during the study trip useful for expressing your views? Explain.

5. Did you feel that you could voice your opinion? Explain.

6. Did the outcome of the exercise reflect the opinion of everyone? Explain.

Workshop one:

1. Did you attend the first workshop?

2. Were you informed about the workshop sufficiently in advance?

3. Were you informed about the purpose of the workshop before the event?

4. Was the link between the field trip and first workshop clear to you? Explain.

5. Did you find the workshop useful for expressing your views? Explain.

6. Did you feel that you could voice your opinion? Explain.

7. Did the outcome reflect the opinion of everyone? Explain.

Workshop two:

1. Did you attend the second workshop?
2. Were you informed about the workshop sufficiently in advance?
3. Were you informed about the purpose of the workshop before the event?
4. Was the link between the first workshop and second workshop clear to you? Explain.
5. Did you find the workshop useful for expressing your views? Explain.
6. Did you feel that you could voice your opinion? Explain.
7. Did the outcome reflect the opinion of everyone? Explain.

Workshop three:

1. Did you attend the third workshop?
2. Were you informed about the workshop sufficiently in advance?
3. Were you informed about the purpose of the workshop before the event?
4. Was the link between the second workshop and third workshop clear to you? Explain.
5. Did you find the workshop useful for expressing your views? Explain.
6. Did you feel that you could voice your opinion? Explain.
7. Did the outcome reflect the opinion of everyone? Explain.

Workshop four:

1. Did you attend the fourth workshop?
2. Were you informed about the workshop sufficiently in advance?
3. Were you informed about the purpose of the workshop before the event?
4. Was the link between the third workshop and fourth workshop clear to you? Explain.
5. Did you find the workshop useful for expressing your views? Explain.
6. Did you feel that you could voice your opinion? Explain.
7. Did the outcome reflect the opinion of everyone? Explain.

Other questions
1. Overall, do you think that the workshops clearly identified the issues in your area?

2. Do you think it would be useful to continue with such workshops?

3. Can we share this information with others?

4. Do you have any other comments?

Interview guide used in case IV

Stakeholder participation in property development:
1. Are you aware of the concept of stakeholder participation? If so, what is your opinion?

2. Do you think that stakeholder participation can contribute to the sustainability of property development projects? If yes, how?

3. Do you find the concept of stakeholder participation relevant to the organization? If yes, explain.

4. Does the organization have a process for stakeholder participation or similar? If yes, explain.

5. Does the organization have a management system to handle this process? If yes, how does it work?

6. Who is in charge of managing the participation process?

7. How is the participation process implemented at project level?

8. When in the development project is the stakeholder participation process conducted?

9. Is this a continuous process that runs throughout the development stages of a project?

10. Do you think this is an area that your organization wants to be better at? Do you think this kind of processes will become more important in the future?

11. What are the perceived benefits of conducting a stakeholder participation in property development projects?

12. What are the challenges to stakeholder participation in property development projects?

13. How do you identify the stakeholders in a project?

14. Do you have any tools to analyze the different stakeholders in a project?

15. Who are the stakeholders that are normally involved in the participation process?

16. What is the purpose to involve the stakeholders in a project?

17. What is the level of participation used? (According to the following: information, consultation, collaboration, co-creation)

18. What kind of activities are used to involve the stakeholders? What types of techniques are used?

19. What means of communication are used to involve the stakeholders?

20. What means are used to evaluate the process?

Carlos Martínez-Avíla is a researcher in construction management, with a focus on stakeholder participation in property development. He has a background in architecture and sustainable urban design and has experience from working with participatory design in Sweden and Uganda. Carlos lectures in stakeholder participation, social innovation in construction and architectural design.