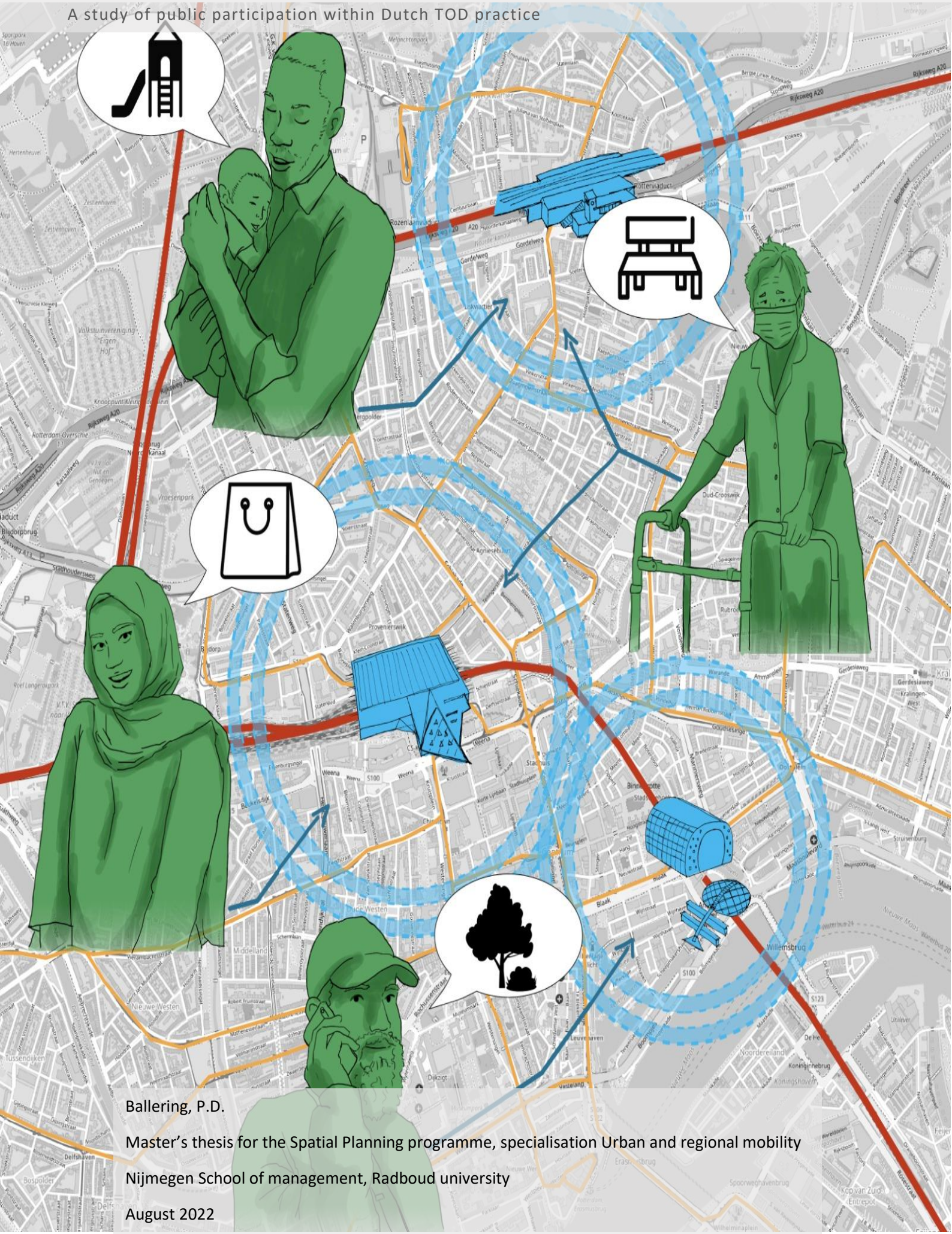
Public Participation Definitely Can Add Value To Transit-Oriented Developments

A study of public participation within Dutch TOD practice



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Preface

Before you lies the Master's thesis "Public Participation Definitely Can Add Value To Transit-Oriented Developments: A study of public participation within Dutch TOD practice". This research is conducted using the qualitative research methods semi-structured interviews, desk research and observations. The thesis was written to fulfil the graduation requirements of the Spatial Planning Programme at Nijmegen School of Management, Radboud University.

I'd like to thank my supervisor Sander Lenferink for his guidance. Doing research had been a bumpy ride before he helped me shaping the research and directed it towards the final version that lays before you.

I hereby thank all interviewees that were willing to help me on my quest to discover public participation processes within Dutch TODs. Their answers and provided insights were fundamental in shaping this research.

I'd like to thank Ruben for frequently meeting on campus to support each other in our thesis endeavours and, even after the completion of his thesis, the continued support. Both intellectually, and through the many sociable coffee breaks. I'd like to thank Floris for his amazingly drawn cover image I'd like to thank Thymen for his support nearing the end in structuring my thought process and writing.

Furthermore, I'd like to thank all who have helped with critical read-throughs and quality checks. And all who offered a change of scenery whilst writing this thesis. Concludingly, a big thank you to my friends and family who have supported me during my student years.

Pepijn Ballering

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Summary

Transit-Oriented Development and public participation are two frequently researched subjects in contemporary international literature. Yet, they are rarely investigated in unison. This thesis provided a first look into their combination. More specifically, first the current practice of public participation withing Dutch spatial planning was researched. Then, the added value as well as the advantages and disadvantages of public participation within Dutch TODs was examined. Finally, the potential for public participation within Dutch TOD practice is discussed.

This research is of qualitative nature. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the three types of actors [public sector, developer, civil society] present during TOD Participatory trajectories. These interviews provided insights into the current practice, predominantly confirmed the perceived advantages and disadvantages of public participation within TODs and mentioned future improvements. Clear communication and transparency throughout TOD projects were found to be especially important.

The overarching goals of public participation, according to the interviewees, are to enhance the outcomes of a project, as well as to create a larger support base. The potential for public participation in TODs, to accomplish these goals, is to attain the benefits of public participation, and to reduce the perceived disadvantages. Furthermore, the potential for strengthening public participation within Dutch TODs is sought in the newly constructed Environment and Planning Act. This act will increase use of public participation within the Netherlands, through making it mandatory for certain projects, as well as making it more inclusive since 'everyone' should be able to respond and participate in plans, as opposed to only those with direct interests.

Concluding, this thesis states that the TOD assessment tool 'Handelingsperspectief OV-knooppunten' should be upgraded. By increasing the number of aspects related to the urban design and by mentioning that the public can be seen as a stakeholder from the early stages, Dutch TODs can shift from an expert-centred design into a more public-centred design. The latter allows for the inclusion of location-specific knowledge and needs throughout the project, as compared to the current practice in which the public can provide input when the general outlines of the plan have already been shaped.

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1. Introduction

Against the background of urban densification, a pressing housing crisis and a related need for high accessibility, the Dutch government has an increased focus on Transit-Oriented Developments [TOD] (in Dutch: 'knooppuntontwikkeling') (Vereniging Deltametropool, 2020). These developments are located around major public transportation hubs and focus on the integration of public transport and urban planning. The aim of TOD is to provide a mixed land use and reduce the need for mobility by increasing accessibility (Dittmar & Ohland, 2004).

Research on TOD has rarely examined the connection between how the project is carried out at different stages, and local urban planning context (Scherrer, 2019). For a TOD implementation to be as best adapted to the context as possible, an in-depth analysis of every stage of a given project is needed (Scherrer, 2019).

Hrelja et al. (2020:18) identified various research gaps within the implementation of TODs. For instance, there are research gaps in "the 'processual dimensions' underlying TOD projects at the local scale, the obstacles and levers to TOD implementation, particularly with regard to governance at the local level. Previous research also indicates a particular need to understand the informal institutional success factors better, and the implications of the interactions between formal and informal institutions for the TOD implementation processes." These informal institutional factors consist of (amongst others) relations between actors in the region, practices, and public participation (Hrelja et al., 2020)

Thomas and Bertolini (2014; 2017) have defined critical success factors in TOD implementation. These include amongst others: the relationships between actors in the region, interdisciplinary teams used to implement TOD, and public participation. Additionally, Thomas, et al. (2018: 1203) mention "that land use and transportation planners seem to be familiar with TOD concepts and ideas, but less familiar with the 'softer' transferable lessons that consistently play a role in successful TOD implementation, such as good actor relationships, (…) the need for multidisciplinary approach (…) and active public engagement".

The importance of including the public in spatial developments has seen an uprise in the past decades. Modern democracies have adapted towards a more inclusive planning regime, as opposed to the autocratic, classical planning regimes of the past (Kamaci, 2014). Consulting the public allows for numerous benefits. Public participation can for example result in designing better and context specific public spaces that keeps in mind the local needs and wishes (e.g. Koch & Sanchez, 2017) . At the same time barriers exist for consulting the public, for instance the consumption of more resources (e.g. Nared, 2020) and the identification of new conflicts (e.g. Kangas and Store, 2003).

The newly formulated Environment and Planning Act of the Netherlands ('Omgevingswet') elaborates more on public participation relative to the previous acts. It states that, for certain plans, the government must indicate who it has involved, what the results were, and how it has implemented its participation policy (VNG, 2019). Furthermore, the environment and planning act stimulates an early involvement of stakeholders [citizens, businesses, social organizations, and governmental administrators].

Even though, as mentioned above, public participation is defined as one of the success factors, currently, no research has been carried out in describing public participation in TOD implementation. Within the range of aspects that TOD is comprised of, as exemplified by words starting with D's (e.g. Cervero & Kockelman, 1997), the needs and wishes identified by the public mostly refers to the Design

aspect of TOD. The concept of placemaking could provide references as to how to make a space into a place through this very design.

The national government of the Netherlands has designed a tool to stimulate integrality, joint approaches, and collaboration amongst various stakeholders within TODs. The tool is called 'Handelingsperspectief OV-knooppunten' (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2019) . The tool fails to promote collaboration with the very public that makes use of nodes and networks in their everyday lives. Actors frequently involved in using the tool are the local and regional government, the network operator (NS) and the rail infrastructure manager (ProRail). These key-actors are at times accompanied by local actors such as developers and educational institutions. By not including the general public in this early stage, the identification of needs and wishes of the public is not consulted and thus could result in an expert-centred focus of the task at hand.

Identifying and acknowledging various underpinning causes for the lack of citizen participation in Dutch TODs, this research will investigate the current practice of citizen participation in Dutch TODs. It does so by conducting semi-structured interviews with various stakeholders. Using existing public participation theory, it then aims to determine what the benefits and barriers are for including civil society's perspectives within TODs.

Concluding, this thesis investigates what the potential is of strengthening the role of public participation within Dutch TODs and provides recommendations and initial leads for changes in policy.

1.1 Research Problem & Research Aim

As was described above, this thesis assesses that there has been little interconnection between TOD and public participation theory. Accordingly, direct public participation is a missing piece in thinking about location/context specific needs and wishes. As this thesis will show, this gap of thinking about public participation in TODs is present in current literature. Additionally, the thesis evaluates this perceived gap in Dutch practice. Consequently, the research hypothesizes that Dutch TODs now often do not make use of their potential to address the specific local context to their full extent through public participation.

Addressing this research problem, this research aims to provide a perspective on the full potential of direct public participation in Dutch TODs. It does so by analysing the current practice of public participation from the perspective of the key stakeholders, civil society and developers. Consequently, it provides an overview on how stakeholders in TODs view the role of public participation.

Its conclusion functions as a first step for policymakers in taking advantage of this potential for designing better TODs. With the ultimate goal to address the concerns and needs of the public that lives in and makes use of TODs.

1.2 Research Question and sub questions

With the above-mentioned research problem and research aim in mind, the following research questions can be deduced.

Main research question

WHAT IS THE POTENTIAL FOR STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION WITHIN DUTCH TRANSIT-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT?

Sub research questions

SQ1: HOW IS PUBLIC PARTICIPATION CURRENTLY IMPLEMENTED IN STATION AREAS IN THE NETHERLANDS?

SQ2: WHAT ARE THE PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES FOR INCLUDING PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN TODS?

SQ3: WHAT IS THE POTENTIAL FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN DUTCH TODS?

1.3 Societal relevance

The societal relevance of this study lies in the insights provided into what public participation can provide for Transit-Oriented Developments. The outcomes of this thesis will be useful for governmental, semi-governmental, and market organizations in shaping the future of participatory processes for TOD in the Netherlands. Both through the design of this process from the start, but also for non-organizing parties in terms of addressing other options for participatory processes.

Subsequently, civil society is informed on their perceived potential and pitfalls in participatory processes, and could use this to procure a larger foothold in said processes. Furthermore, thousands of citizens do live in and experience each TOD location daily, community suggestions for the design can create a more gratifying living environment for all.

In conclusion, the timing of this thesis is of importance. The remainder of TOD projects for the programme 'Toekomstbeeld OV 2040' (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2019a) can be carried out, using the insights that are provided by this research, to create a more elaborate participatory process and thus designing station areas with local needs and wishes better incorporated from an early stage.

1.4 Scientific relevance

The scientific relevance of this study lies in providing insights in the research gap that is located in combining Transit-Oriented Development with public participation theory. Even though, as mentioned above, public participation is defined as one of the success factors for implementing TODs (Thomas and Bertolini, 2014; 2017), currently, no research has been carried out in describing public participation in TOD implementation.

By researching the potential benefits and barriers of public participation in Dutch TODs, this research contributes to the little existing body of research on the combination of TOD and public participation.

The lessons learned from the current practice in the Netherlands can conceivably be of help in structuring participation processes in other countries. Even though these lessons may not always be directly transferable because of their cultural context (Thomas et al., 2018), they then provide a train of thought that can be further researched to other national contexts.

1.5 Thesis outline

The following chapter, Chapter Two more deeply analyses the theoretical basis for this thesis. The Third Chapter describes the methodology used for answering the sub-questions posed in this thesis. Chapters Four, Five and Six aim to answer the sub-questions. Chapter Seven then poses the conclusion. Concludingly, Chapter Eight expresses the discussion in which directions for future research are addressed.

2. Literature Review, Theoretical Framework, Conceptual Framework

Having inferred that the theoretical and societal relevance of this thesis lies in analysing the perceived lack of connection between TODs and participatory processes in the Netherlands, this chapter seeks to further scrutinise the theoretical underpinnings of these concepts. By doing so it aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the current literature on TOD, participation theory, and their connection.

2.1 Transit-Oriented Development

The concept of Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) was first mentioned by American architect Peter Calthorpe in the late 1980's (Carlton, 2007). TOD became a fixture of modern planning when Calthorpe published his book "The New American Metrolopis" in 1993. The concept was coined as a guide to sustainable community design as opposed to car-centric design. TOD is seen as a paradigm shift from planning for mobility to planning for accessibility (Banister, 2008). Transit-Oriented Development is typically defined as an approach to transport and land use planning that supports a mix of uses, at various densities, within a half-mile radius around a transit stop (Dittmar & Ohland, 2004; Hrelja, et al., 2020). These developments make walking, cycling and transit use convenient and desirable, whilst at the same time maximizing the efficiency of existing public transit services (Hrelja, et al., 2020). TODs are places that have a high level of accessibility as well as a high level of possible mobility. These locations provide amenities such as shopping, parks and other everyday needs within a walkable distance (Dittmar & Ohland, 2004). The majority of studies relate to rail based public transport.

Literature has mainly been concerned with judging when a TOD is found to be a success or a failure. The level of change in modalities (car usage, public transport ridership, cycling, walking), increases in land value, mix of functions, and liveability amongst other factors is used to assess the success (Hrelja, et al., 2020). Authors like Cervero et al. (2002) and Hale (2014) define developments that lack some key components of TOD as Transit-Adjacent Developments (TAD), mostly developments that are in proximity of stations but have only limited integration of land use- and transport planning (Hrelja, et al. 2020).

Transit-Oriented Development as a concept is extensively used in urban and regional planning practices worldwide. Yet, the impact it makes differs between continents and between countries. As Curtis (2012) argues, there are large differences between TODs in North America and Australia as compared to Europe. The European approach to spatial planning has been public transport oriented for a long time. Even though the concept of TOD has a larger impact on car-focused spatial planning forms, European countries and literature has adopted the concept with open arms. Additionally, there is a complexity in that the implementation of the concept of TOD is not easily transferable between geographical and cultural contexts (Thomas, et al. 2018).

Transit-Oriented Development requires the involvement of many actors: national railroad authorities, regional and local authorities, private developers, private contractors, and other organisations involved in land development around transport infrastructure (Hrelja, et al., 2020). This complex set of relations can make TOD challenging (public-vs-private sector and regional-vs-local authorities).

2.1.1 TOD in Dutch Context

Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) is in the Dutch context mainly pointing toward the densification of the existing cities, the facilitation of commuters, and the finance-ability of said developments. The Netherlands has a tradition of TOD, mainly stemming from the Fourth Planning Memorandum (1988)

and its supplement, known locally as *Vinex* (1991). These policy documents advocated the densification of station areas, as part of the revival of the 'compact city' policy. This compact city policy aimed to reconcentrate developments in major urban centres and increase density in existing suburbs (Pojani & Stead, 2018). The densification of key urban nodes (*'knooppunten'*) was advocated as the logical way forward in urban planning. The 'compact city' and 'urban nodes' policies steered away from mainly greenfield developments, towards urban infill in city centres and greenfield developments adjacent to existing built-up areas (*Vinex*-locations). More recent policy decentralized the government, leading to increasingly more responsibility for municipalities. (Pojani & Stead, 2018)

Parallel to these Vinex-locations, large urban renewal funds were made available to upgrade the quality of the existing housing in the urban cores of larger cities. The growing infill in urban centres reduced the open space and made the real estate prices rise, leading to social segregation. (Pojani & Stead, 2018)

International TOD literature is often talking about new developments, whereas in the Netherlands Transit-Oriented Developments are most often implemented within existing urban centres and existing public infrastructure. Another difference compared to most countries is that of slow (/active) transportation. Bicycle use is widespread in the Netherlands, making the standard distance for non-motorized travel to train stations much higher as compared with TODs in other countries (Pojani & Stead, 2015). The catchment area of TODs has therefore increased from the standard half-mile (800 meters) to 3 km [for cycling] (Geurs & Klinkenberg, 2014).

Municipalities are initiators and have a leading role in station-area (re-)developments (Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat, 2000). Their ambitions in these developments portray a great similarity to TOD, being: increasing the quality of public space, creating a safe environment for cyclists and pedestrians, linking multiple modes of transport, and increasing the accessibility of the municipality (van der Kraan, 2013). Additionally, there is a focus on multi-modality and in creating a comfortable and quick transit between the modes of transport (PBL, 2014). Thirdly, there is a focus on the 'first-last mile' (Geurs & Klinkenberg, 2014; EEA, 2019). And fourthly, both in practice and in literature, disincentivizing car-ownership by investigating the use of financial means and restricting parking at new developments (Bemmel-Misrachi, 2015; Provincie Zuid-Holland, 2017; BPD, 2018), as well as further development of 'Mobility as a Service' (MaaS). As can be delineated from this summation, TOD in the Netherlands is strongly focussed on the mobility perspective.

Next to the focus on mobility, TOD in the Netherlands is concerned with the finance-ability of station area developments (Geurs & Klinkenberg, 2014; van der Krabben et al., 2013). From the finance perspective, a lot of real estate in the Netherlands is owned by private investors who are not participating in station area developments. Whereas (semi-) government institutions are raising questions as to who should be accountable, who is willing to invest, and thus, is inherently willing to take financial risks (PBL, s.d.). In order to realize the full potential of TOD's; responsibility and financial means should be embedded to make investments in infrastructure and urbanization strengthen each other (PBL, 2014).

Having examined the literature on Dutch TODs, it becomes apparent that, similar to international literature, the inclusion of civil society is not included in the research. Research thus displays a lack of effort in understanding what constitutes a successful TOD implementation according to its very users. Furthermore, an analysis on what stakeholders are often included in TOD is missing, displaying a lack on scientific knowledge in this respect.

2.1.2 Characterization of TODs

Within TOD literature, the built environment is often characterised by words starting with 'D's. Cervero & Kockelman (1997) started this trend with the first three Density, Diversity, Design. Later Destination accessibility and Distance to transit were added (Ewing & Cervero, 2001; Ewing et al., 2009). Some literature refers to two more Ds being Demand management and Demographics (Ewing and Cervero 2010; Ogra & Ndebele, 2014). Although these effects are used for quantitative studies, they provide a solid basis for determining key components of Transit-Oriented Development.

Density is characterized by amongst others population, dwelling units, employment and building floor area per unit of area. Diversity refers to the number and percentage of land-uses in a given area; resulting in the mix of functions within an area. Destination accessibility measures the ease of access to trip attractions both on regional and local scale. Distance to transit in turn measures the shortest street routes from residences or workplaces in an area to the nearest rail station or bus stop. (Ewing & Cervero, 2010)

Design includes street network characteristics within an area, such as the average blocksize and the number of intersections within an area. Additionally, design includes safe and smooth accessibility to transit stations (e.g. foot and bicycle paths, streetlights) and amenities (e.g. benches, parks and landscaping) (Ewing & Cervero, 2010; Ogra & Ndebele, 2014).

Especially the Design-component of this characterization is interesting for research related to public participation. Design appeals to the imagination, is not a far-off show, and is tangible enough so that everyone can think along. Furthermore, urban design affects the mood and mental health of people (Monfries, 2020), portraying the importance of a well-designed urban environment. The discussion on space versus place and that of placemaking assists in this regard.

2.1.2.1 Node and place, Space and Place

Transit-Oriented Development is thought to have a dual-purpose strategy that is geared towards a high-frequency transit system and a regionally coordinated urban development program focused on the station areas within the transit network (Papa et al., 2013). The transit-related system is labelled as a node, and the urban form with a concentration of infrastructure and a diversified collection of buildings and open spaces is labelled as a place (Bertolini and Spit, 1998). Land use patterns and transportation patterns are closely related to each other (Chorus & Bertolini, 2011). Spatial separation of land uses creates the need for travel and thus influences the mobility behaviour of people.

Where the 'land use transport feedback cycle' illustrates the complex relationship between land use and transport (e.g. Giuliano, 2004; Wegener and Fuerst, 1999). The relation between land use and transport in station areas is summarized in a model by Bertolini (1999). The node-place model (Figure 1) follows the reasoning that:

> *"Improving the transport provision (or the node value) of a location will, by improving accessibility, create conditions favourable to the further development of the location. In turn, the development of a location (or an increase in its place value) will, because of a growing demand for transport, create conditions favourable to the further development of the transport system."* (Chorus & Bertolini, 2011:47).

It is important to note that an assigned location on the model is a current state of an ever-developing location, because of the reciprocity of developments in both the node and the place. The node-place model displays five ideal-typical situations: balance, stress, dependence, unbalanced node, and unbalanced place. Within a certain extent, a station area should strive to find a balance between node and place related development. In the two unbalanced situations, either the node or the place is relatively more developed. Over time these are expected to move towards a more balanced state. The situation of dependence is a state that both the place and node are relatively weak, there is little struggle for space, but an intervention like subsidization is necessary to kick off developments. In the situation of stress there is a struggle for space since both node and place have been used to the fullest. The strong position on both scales, generates relatively many claims on limited amount of space, possibly creating conflicts. (Chorus & Bertolini, 2011)

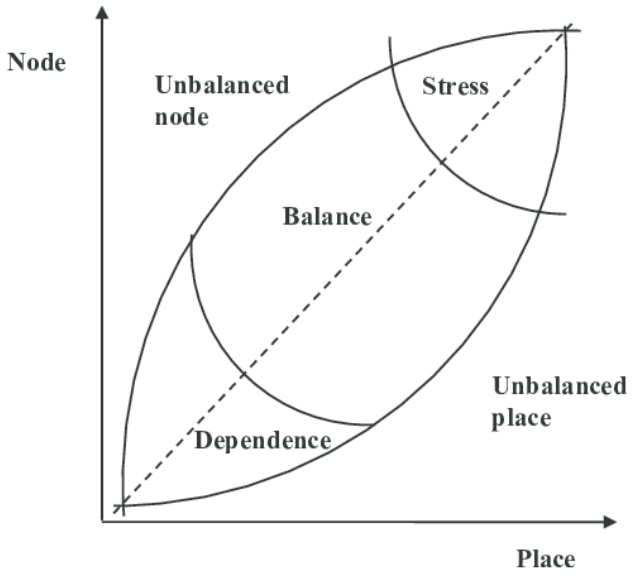

Figure 1: Node-Place model (Bertolini, 1999)

Some authors (e.g. Lyu et al., 2016; Vale et al., 2018) use an extended place-node model (Figure 2) that incorporates urban design features. The design features are related to the walkability of the area, which, according to Vale et al. (2018) should be included because walkability influences the overall accessibility of the station and has an impact on public transport patronage. The design is measured by density of intersections, total length of the accessible network and the pedestrian shed ratio. These characteristics are in part related to above mentioned design 'D' by Cervero and Kockelman (1997). An important distinction is that it only assesses the accessibility of the stations and disregards the design features such as amenities that look beyond the space and create a place (see paragraph 2.1.2.2).

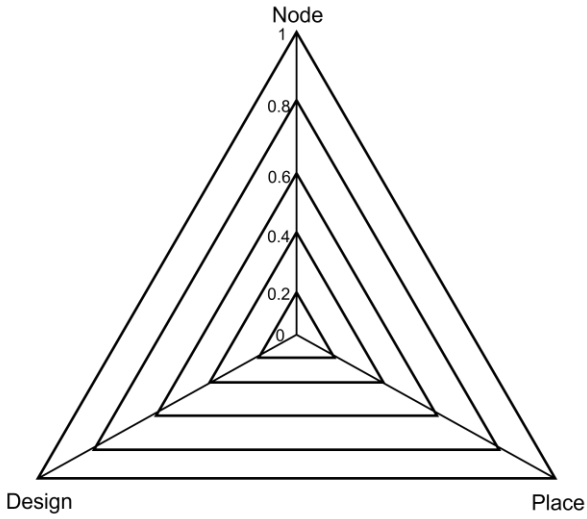

Figure 2: Extended Place-Node model (Vale et al., 2018) [Edited by Author]

Another model, the 'butterfly-model' (Figure 3) developed by the Dutch Vereniging Deltametropool (2013), also makes the distinction between a node and a place in station areas. They define a station area as a location where multiple modalities unite and where urban activities take place. Here, utilizing the coherence between network and space can create a better station area. The model portrays the form of a butterfly with the left 'wing' illustrating the node and the right 'wing' illustrating the place. The model is depicting three characteristics for the node: accessibility of the station for walking and cycling, public transport and by car, and three characteristics for the place: proximity of the station to the urban centre, intensity of inhabitants, employees and visitors and degree of functional diversity (Caset et al., 2018).

The above-mentioned literature shows the apparent interconnection of node and place. Furthermore, researchers provide the knowledge that improving the place-value provides more favourable conditions for further development and increased public transport demand. The ambition of governments and developers to develop in station areas is thus supported by a well-designed place. Placemaking assists in thinking of what constitutes a well-designed place.

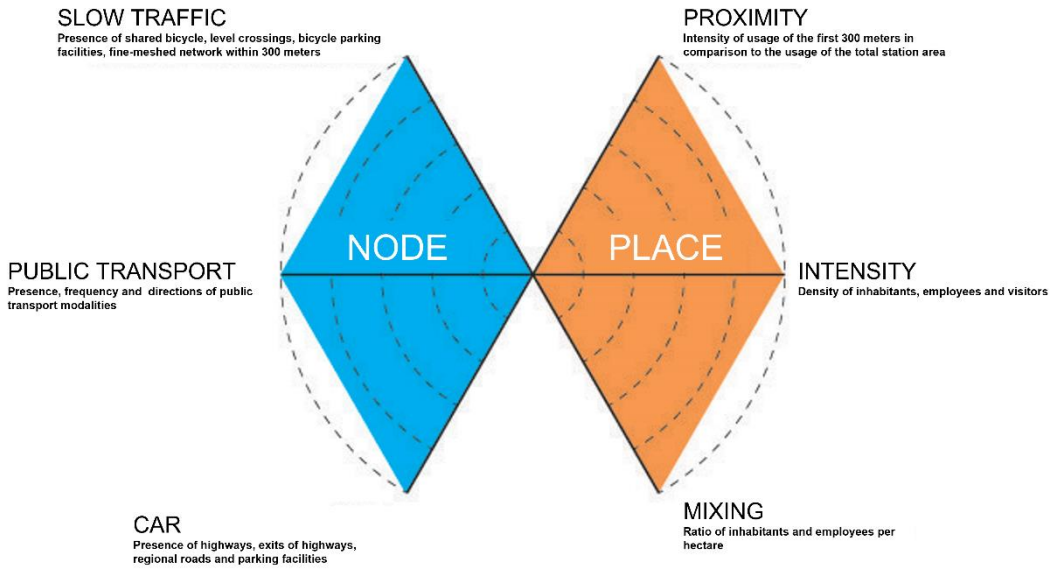

Figure 3: The Butterfly-model (Vereniging Deltametropool, 2013) Translated by Author

2.1.2.2 Placemaking

Verheul (2017) mentions that a public space can display at least three different discourses. Public space as a free meeting space, public space as a frictionless transition space, and public space as a thematised consumption space. The discourse public space as a frictionless transition space displays the current TOD application in the Netherlands through Handelingsperspectief OV-knooppunten. Public space as a frictionless transition space refers to control, efficiency and safety. Whereas public space as a free meeting space refers to a place of meeting people, exchanging stories, thought formation, et cetera. Here it refers to the quality of stay of public spaces (Verheul, 2017). A concept related to making spaces into places is placemaking.

Placemaking is a way of shaping spaces to create meaningful experiences for people. The shaping of places is guided by people's needs and aspirations (Hes et al., 2020). Placemaking is inspired by authors as Jane Jacobs and Jan Gehl. Gehl (2004 IN Hes et al. 2020:3) claims "that cities should first have life, then spaces, then building, as the other way would not work". This though process led to alternative ideas for urban planners that public spaces primarily cater for the needs of people, over the needs of non-human participants (e.g. cars).

Project for Public Spaces (PPS), an institution within placemaking in the US, show what makes a space into a place and how this is qualitatively and quantitatively measurable (Figure 4). These indicators not only provide a way to research and score a place, but also act as a conversation starter into what could aid in improving the location.

Within placemaking Verheul (2017) poses the possibility of four interventions. Interventions in the hardware, software, mindware and orgware of placemaking. Hardware refers to concrete physical interventions in the public space. Software refers to the programming of activities in the public space. Mindware refers to seeing spaces differently through placemaking, and orgware refers to the involved actors, their collaboration and how they organize. Since this thesis focuses on the concept of TOD in relation to public participation, I argue that public participation can assist in interventions in the hardware and mindware and orgware of public spaces. Chiefly because civil society will be the users of said public space and possess local knowledge that can aid in creating better solutions (see paragraph 2.2.1). This statement does not imply that public participation cannot provide support in software interventions, that might be the result of interventions in the orgware. I.e. when public participation has created a sense of community that in turn lead to the programming of activities.

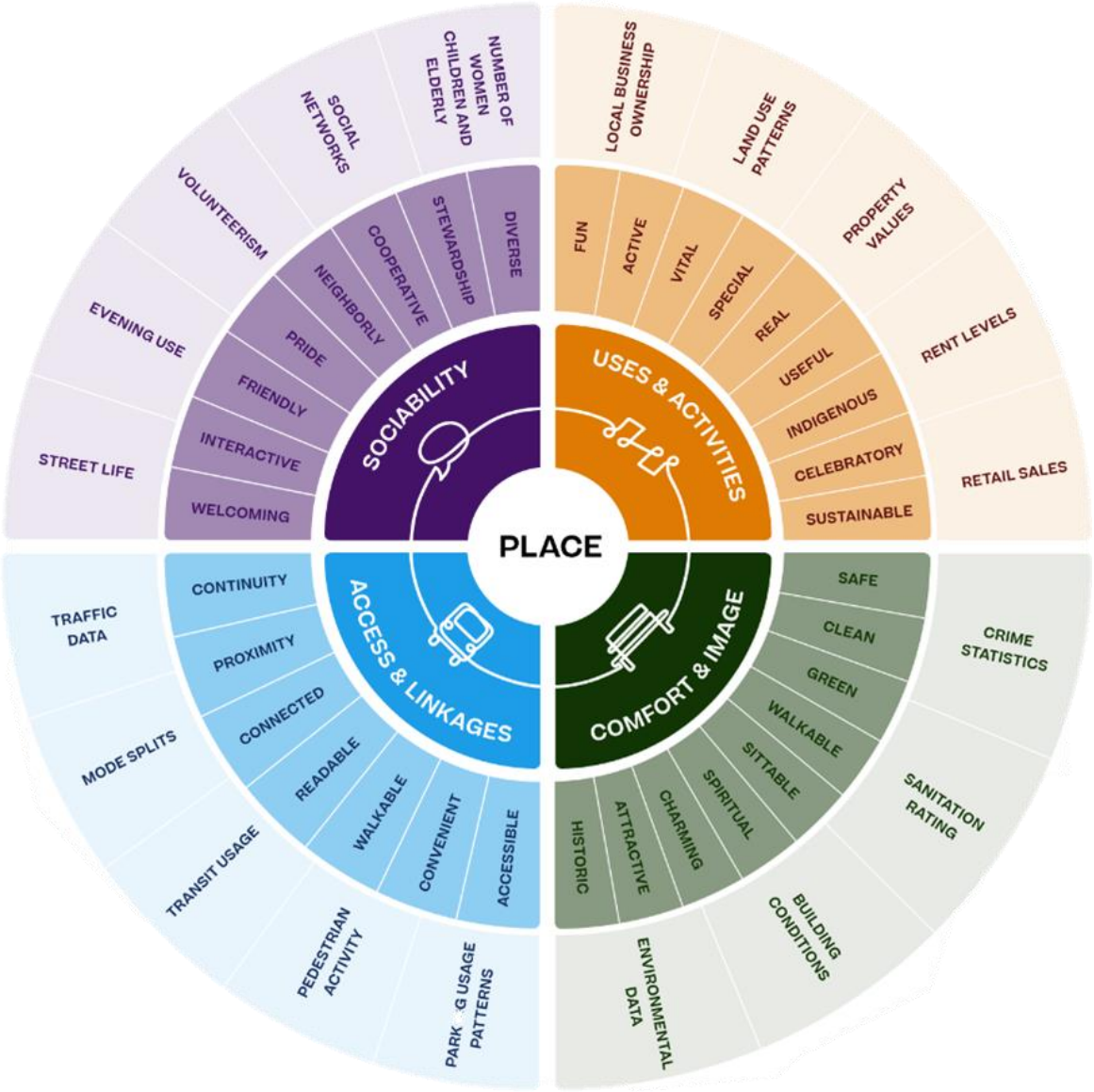

Figure 4: Placemaking. The inner circle portrays a place, this place can be evaluated by 4 key attributes (first ring) with their qualitative aspects (second ring) and quantitative measurements (outer ring). (PPS, s.d.)

2.2 Public participation

In classical planning approaches [i.e., Blueprint planning and Urban rational comprehensive planning], urban planners were the all-knowing people who decided plans by themselves (Hall, 1983). It was contrary to basic conceptions of classical planning that citizens could provide a voice in determining the ends and means of planning (Lane, 2005 IN: Kamaci, 2014). Experts in the field of urban planning, mostly employed by the government, were to develop a broad scale of solutions based on rational planning thought (Kamaci, 2014). Experts' decisions could capture 'the public interest' by scientifically analyzing 'the greatest good for the greatest number' (Creighton, 2005). Citizen participation then only operated to validate and legitimize the goals of planning (Lane, 2005). It was only later, in the system planning approach, that participation in the form of consultation was used to gather information from, and to provide information to the public (Kamaci, 2014).

Nowadays, public participation is more commonly accepted, and widely applied in democratic countries. Yet, as we have evolved from a more autocratic planning regime towards a more inclusive planning regime, the definition of citizen participation has also evolved over the years. Arnstein (1969), who is seen as a highly influential author on this concept defines citizen participation in the following – rather liberalistic perspective, manner:

> "*Participation is about redistribution of power in which the have-nots of our society who are presently excluded from the political and economic processes are given power to have control and influence over matters that affect their lives*".

This often-cited definition provides a way of thinking that is 50-years old. In more recent definitions, citizen participation is allotted to everyone who is affected by the plans and wishes to participate, not just the '*have-nots that are excluded from political and economic processes'*. Weber and Tuler (2006) define citizen participation as forums that are organized to facilitate communication among *interested* and *affected* citizens and groups, scientists, experts, political officials, and regulators to make a specific decision of governance or solving a shared problem. Another point of view, that directs thinking into what attainments citizens can bring to the table, is that of Nabatchi and Leighninger (2015: 14):

> " *[public participation encompasses] the ways in which community members' interests, needs, values, and concerns are integrated into public decision and actions".*

Beside the countless scientific publications about the definition of public participation, other publications are concerned with the different levels of participation (e.g. Arnstein, 1969; Vroom, 2003; Creighton, 2005; Luyet et al., 2012). Defining the levels of participation is generally done on a scale from the lowest level of informing the public, to the highest level, joint agreement (Creighton, 2005). Or an even wider spectrum that authors such as Arnstein (1969) propose, from non-participation to full citizen control. These scales are in turn often used to answer the question 'what level of participation is right?' (Creighton, 2005; Quick and Bryson, 2016).

A common route towards answering this question, is to make a distinction between expertise versus public opinion. Where experts have followed an appropriate education and follow a rational approach, public opinion is based on location-specific, experiential knowledge (e.g. Fischer, 2000; Creighton, 2005; Quick and Bryson, 2016). Furthermore, the merits and demerits of consulting the public in urban planning related decision-making are discussed extensively (e.g. Koch & Sanchez, 2017; Roberts, 2004; Nared, 2020)

2.2.1 Advantages and disadvantages of public participation

International literature on the positive and negative sides of public participation is plentiful. To provide a holistic view of public participation, a literature overview was created on the perceived advantages (Table 1: Literature overview: Advantages of Public participation.Table 1) and disadvantages (Table 2) belonging to public participation.

Some advantages are disadvantages at the same time. While participation processes may use more resources (staff, time, money), they can also reduce the quantity of resources used. Exempli gratia, there could be less opposition generated through collectively decided plans, whereas, on the contrary, the decision to not use public participation may lead to opposition and thus prolong the overall process. Additionally, educating the public may consume resources, while at the same time, this education created lasting skills enjoyed by the public and may reduce the need for education in participatory processes down the road.

ADVANTAGES OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION	AUTHOR(S)
Increasing a project's legitimacy	Koch & Sanchez, 2017; Roberts, 2004; Nared, 2020
Increasing transparency	Irazábal, 2009; Roberts, 2004; Stein, 2017
Increasing democratic values in urban development	Irazábal, 2009; CBT, s.d.; Roberts, 2004; Feldman & Quick, 2009
Providing alternative solutions to complex problems	Koch & Sanchez, 2017; Roberts, 2004; CBT, s.d.; Feldman & Quick, 2009; Quick & Bryson, 2016
Increasing design outcomes by including local knowledge, needs, and wishes	Koch & Sanchez, 2017; Irazábal, 2009; Stein, 2017; Nared, 2020; Quick & Bryson, 2016; Innes & Booher, 2010; Thomas & Bertolini, 2020; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004; Habron, 2003; Beierle and Cayford, 2002
Generates less opposition through community input, public acceptance of decisions made	Irazábal, 2009; Berry et al., 1993; Potapchuk, 1996; Roberts, 2004; Stein, 2017; Irivin and Stansbury, 2004; Konisky and Beierle, 2001; Reed, 2008; Junker et al., 2007
Educates citizens, teaches skills, fostering and developing social learning	Irazábal, 2009; Berry et al., 1993; CBT, s.d.; Roberts, 2004; Blackstock et al., 2007; Junker et al., 2007; Pahl-Wostl, 2002; Beierle and Cayford, 2002
Creating human and social capital and a sense of community	CBT, s.d.; Potapchuk & Crocker, 1999; Roberts, 2004; Stein, 2017; Feldman & Quick, 2009; Quick & Bryson, 2016
Creation of ownership by the community	CBT, s.d.; Nared, 2020
Increases a project's credibility	CBT, s.d.
Builds trust and respect between government and community	CBT, s.d.; Roberts, 2004; Feldman & Quick, 2009; Quick & Bryson, 2016; Richards et al., 2004; OECD, 2001; Beirle, 2000
Provides the basis to include all who wish to participate (inclusion)	CBT, s.d.; Feldman & Quick, 2009
Increases understanding of the issue and thus project	Duram and Brown, 1999
Integration of various interests and opinions	Griffin, 1999; Creighton, 1986

Table 1: Literature overview: Advantages of Public participation.

DISADVANTAGES OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION	AUTHOR(S)
Uninformed public opinion may distract from the main issue	Roberts, 2004
Consumes more resources (money, staff, time)	Roberts, 2004; Feldman & Quick, 2009; Irazábal, 2009; Nared, 2020; Mostert, 2003; Lawrence and Deangen, 2001; Vroom, 2000; Luyet, 2005; Smith Korfmachter, 2001
Allows for selfish/opportunistic/self-serving opinions that may not serve the greater good	Roberts, 2004; Stivers, 1990; Hart, 1992
Direct citizen participation is inefficient (costly, slow, cumbersome)	Roberts, 2004; Stivers, 1990; Krumholz et al., 1975
The average citizen does not have the ability to comprehend complex problems	Roberts, 2004; Hart 1992; Stein, 2017
Negation of the expertise built up by specialists	Kaufman, 1969
Requires skill, resources, money, and time that most citizens do not have	Roberts, 2004; King et al., 1998; Nared, 2020
Not all citizens may want to participate, which raises questions of inequality	Roberts, 2004
Difficult to assure all the right people are involved (inclusion)	CBT, s.d.; Feldman & Quick, 2009; Irazábal, 2009; Koch & Sanchez, 2017
Involvement of stakeholders who are not representative Difficult to ensure a level-playing field between citizens (The higher their socioeconomic status, the more likely they are to possess resources and skills)	Feldman & Quick, 2009; Reed, 2008; Junker et al., 2007; Smith Korfmacher, 2001
May cause disagreement and tension between (a member of) the community and experts	CBT, s.d.
The longer the process, the more people lose interest, which may result in participants losing commitment. Potential Stakeholder frustration	CBT, s.d.; Reed, 2008; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004; Germain et al., 2001
Identification of new conflicts	Kangas and Store, 2003; Germain et al., 2001; Cooke and Kothari, 2001

Table 2: Literature overview: Disadvantages of Public participation.

2.2.2 Participatory planning

Participatory planning is an approach to community-driven designing of cities, which makes urban planning accessible to everyone (MUEC, 2015). The concept refers to the inclusion of interested and affected groups of the population. Together with policymakers and other stakeholders, joint decisions are being made (Nared, 2020). For this reason, resident participation and participatory planning are seen as a form of empowerment of local inhabitants and an important element of local democracy (Pacione, 2014). Since citizens are living in their neighbourhood every day, they can provide user knowledge; useful insights, and local knowledge. Participatory planning is grounded in the belief that blending local knowledge and expert knowledge leads to strong outcomes of a planning process (MUEC, 2015).

The integration of citizens' observations, concerns, and aspirations from the start, and throughout the project, create a solution that reflects the needs of a community. An important aspect of participatory planning is the notion that the community is involved throughout the project, rather than one consultation used for showing their preference for one of the provided alternatives (MUEC, 2015).

Currently, participatory planning practices are not used to the fullest. Participatory planning has the potential to be used much more than is the case currently. The responsible institutions rarely utilize participatory planning within a greater scope than is described by law. It often occurs too late in the planning process and even then, it is used more to provide information than to actively involve the public. (Nared, 2020)

2.2.3 Degree of participation and participation techniques

As stated in the previous section (see Paragraph 0) public participation literature is concerned with defining the levels of participation. This started when Arnstein (1969) published her 'Ladder of participation' (Figure 5). This ladder encompasses 8 levels that portray the level of participation that the public can hold in participatory processes. The lowest level of participation is manipulation, and the highest level is citizen control. International literature has made adaptations to the ladder ever since.

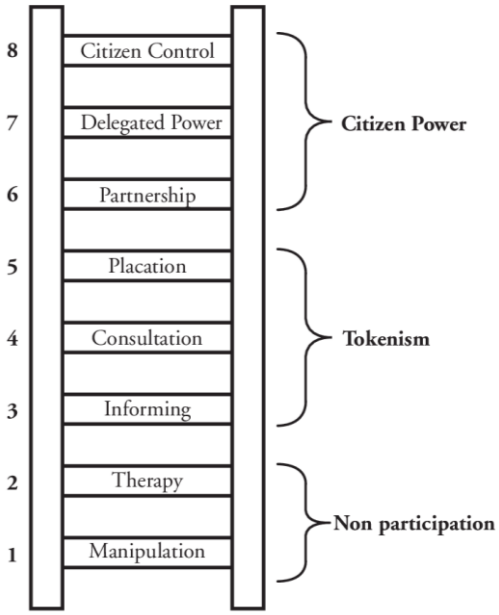

Figure 5: Ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969)

This thesis is following the framework posed by Luyet et al. (2012), who in turn based their degrees on participation on papers that made adaptations to Arnstein's ladder. They present five different degrees of participation (Table 3): information, consultation, collaboration, co-decision and empowerment. The difference lies in removing the non-participation steps granted that public participation is used by the government. Furthermore, the section of citizen power is in part removed granted that governmental institutions are always included in these developments.

Luyet et al. (2012) created a table that links participatory techniques to their corresponding degrees of participation (Table 4). This table aids in examining the current state of public participation in current TOD implementation in the Netherlands.

Degree of participation	Description
Information	Explanation of the project to the stakeholders.
Consultation	Presentation of the project to stakeholders, collection of their suggestions, and then decision making with or without considering stakeholders' input.
Collaboration	Presentation of the project to stakeholders, collection of their suggestions, and then decision making, explicitly considering stakeholders' input.
Co-decision	Cooperation with stakeholders towards an agreement for solution and implementation.
Empowerment	Delegation of decision-making over project development and implementation to the stakeholders.

Table 3: Degrees of participation (Luyet et al., 2012) [Edited by Author].

Participation technique	Information	Consultation	Collaboration	Co-decision	Empowerment
Newsletter	X				
Reports	X				
Presentations, public hearings	X	X	X		
Internet webpage	X	X			
Interviews, questionnaires and surveys	X	X	X		
Field visit and interactions	X	X	X		
Workshop		X	X	X	X
Participatory mapping			X	X	X
Focus group			X	X	X
Citizen jury		X	X	X	X
Geospatial/ decision support system	X	X	X	X	
Cognitive map	X	X	X		
Role playing			X	X	X
Multicriteria analysis			X	X	
Scenario analysis		X	X	X	X
Consensus conference		X	X	X	X

Table 4: Participatory techniques with their corresponding degree of participation (Luyet et al., 2012).

2.2.4 Direct vs Indirect participation

The term 'public participation' has the underlying notion that citizens are directly participating, that they may directly contribute to the discussion at hand. Yet, different forms of participation exist. Apart from direct participation, indirect participation is also seen as a viable way of participation. Where direct participation is about directly interacting with citizens, indirect participation – or representative democracy, regards citizens being represented by public officials (Roberts, 2004). These public officials have been elected and thus are the voice of the community (Stein, 2017). For some decisions, direct participation may not always be needed when indirect participation could succeed too. Roberts (2004: 317) states that if a participatory process is seen as successful, one still needs to ask whether direct participation works on all levels of government, in all sectors, for all issues, during all phases in the policy process, and with all mechanisms of involvement? Or does direct citizen participation only function with certain kinds of people (both leaders and participants), in small face-to-face groups, on simple non-technical issues? As Schumpeter (1943:283) stated *'masses are incapable of action other than a stampede'.*

Roberts points out that the positive sides of indirect participation are that it prevents the tyranny of the majority, buffers from uninformed public opinion, and serves as a check on corruption. And lastly, indirect participation meets the needs of a complex, post-industrial society that requires technical, political, and administrative expertise to function. Chosen public officials do have the time and the interest to deliberate for the purpose of developing informed public judgement, unlike citizens (Roberts, 2004).

2.2.5 Quality of participation

For citizen participation to procure the afore-mentioned benefits (paragraph 2.2.1) – and minimize the negative effects, Quick and Bryson (2016) argue, depends on a few key themes discussed in participation literature. These themes will be discussed below. The first being Legitimacy. Legitimacy is one of the most questioned elements in public participation. Typically, legitimacy is expressed in terms of the adequacy of participation or representation, the technical or political workability of the decision outcomes and the procedural fairness of the process (Quick & Bryson, 2016).

Legitimacy

Legitimacy is a theme that can be divided into four segments [quality of exchange, quality of the process, legitimacy of policy outcomes and trust]. The basis for *Quality of exchange*, is clear communication in the sense of having stakeholders formulate their exact aim, using concrete and logical arguments, as well as using valid criteria to come to options and results (Jacobs et al., 2009). *Legitimacy of policy outcomes* questions whether the decisions are leading towards a good policy in terms of equity, efficiency and technical implementability. Fung (2006) states that legitimacy of policy outcomes is a meaningful subject in order to create a policy that is both acceptable to the public and takes into consideration the wishes and needs of the public.

Quality of the process refers to procedurally just and procedurally rational processes. These processes are considered to be of high quality. Procedural justice is the degree to which processes are embodying democratic values such as fairness, transparency, and the openness to input from the public. Processes are procedurally just when they encompass the gathering, analysing and use of relevant information to come to decisions. Procedurally just processes increase the acceptability of the decisions taken (Innes & Booher, 2010). Procedural rationality refers to whether the final decisions are purposeful on (amongst others) technical, administrative, legal and ethical grounds. (Quick & Bryson, 2016)

Finally, process legitimacy is also connected to *Trust*. In participation procedures, trust is sometimes hard to accomplish. Each stakeholder has their own agenda, goals, motives, and power. Conversely, including a large array of different voices and controlling power may lead towards a process with a higher legitimacy, higher quality of decisions and a more effective implementation of decisions (Quick & Bryson, 2016). Tyler and Degoey (1996) found that people, even though not their personal preferred outcome, accept decisions that they believe is produced in a procedurally just manner. As stated above in the positive outcomes of participation, this smooths out the process in terms of time and opposition. Public hearings, a form of participation that is commonly known as “window dressing” – a process where decisions are already made, and the public is solely informed about this decision – could be understood as an illegitimate process, and in turn could diminish one’s trust in (local) government. Next to diminishing trust, illegitimate processes could have the opposite effects on policy implementation in forms of delays and generated opposition (Innes and Booher, 2004).

Diversity and Inclusion

In order to get most out of a participation process, one needs to consider who to include (and who to exclude). The second of the key themes is *Diversity and Inclusion* (Quick & Bryson, 2016). For this, a stakeholder analysis is needed. Stakeholder analyses should look beyond the ‘usual suspects’ of participation processes and consider under-represented and marginalized groups. Usual suspects are people who have been in the public arena before, who are comfortable with and are used to language

and the logistics of these arenas. Including an appropriate range of interests should always be the goal of public participation. Inclusion and exclusion often relate to the ethnic, racial, gender and/or socioeconomic diversity of those taking part in participation processes (Bryson & Quick, 2016).

Including a diversity of different perspectives could lead to discover new understandings of problems, resources, and design outcomes (Quick & Feldman, 2011). Exploring these additional opinions and options should be done by active negotiation and actively trying to understand the provided perspective. Merely inviting and including diverse stakeholders, is not sufficient. Active management of conflict and power is needed in order to enable the non-usual suspects to have their voice heard. Depending on how conflict and power are managed, participation may enhance marginalized groups' influence and provide a robust container for negotiation among differences (Crosby & Bryson (2005) IN: Quick & Bryson, 2016:5). Not adequately managing conflict and power could have adverse effects and may silence opposing views.

Expertise and Participation

Including a diverse range of perspectives raises the question of knowledge and leads to the third theme described by Quick and Bryson (2016); *Expertise and Participation*. 'Including a variety of perspectives in decision-making through public participation often agitates concerns about whether substantively rational outcomes can be attained and legitimated' (Quick & Bryson, 2016:5). Expert judgement is believed to create rational outcomes, whereas emotional and motivational factors may contribute to reduced decision quality (Kirkebøen, 2009). Whereas experts are believed to be competent, not all public stakeholders may be equally proficient in deciding what is best for the community.

The matter of expert versus 'lay' knowledge is one that needs to be addressed. Expert knowledge is produced by someone certified, specialized, decontextualised and codified, whereas lay knowledge is knowledge that is locally specific, experiential and context based (Fischer, 2000). As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, including only expert knowledge would be considered as a classical planning approach, whereas contemporary planning approaches include both expert and lay knowledge. One view is that including the public in decision-making could produce poor outcomes that do not serve the greater public needs (Quick & Bryson, 2016), and opens the table for NIMBY-lobbying. The other view is that introducing the local, experiential, and context based lay knowledge provides a breeding ground for designing better policy outcomes that serve those who live in and thus experience the outcomes every day (Innes & Booher, 2010).

Participation design

The final theme for producing the benefits of participation is *the challenge of designing participation processes* (Quick & Bryson, 2016). Public participation is not based on a fixed, reliable technology. The subject, participants, and methods for organizing the process are all based on the context and interact uniquely in every setting (Quick & Bryson, 2016). Therefor it is not possible to provide a blueprint for participatory processes. Literature shows us that parts of this process are to some extent generalizable but always remain context specific. Society and participation processes are evolving constantly and therefore these processes should be designed and re-designed based on new knowledge and experience (Bryson et al., 2013).

The design of the participation process could differ between physical meetings and online meetings. Within the late Covid-19 pandemic, online participation processes became more common. Yet,

because these online sessions are about the same subject, the same questions arise in online meetings, as they would have raised when held in person (Quick & Bryson, 2016). When designing participation processes, the above-mentioned themes should be considered (i.e., Legitimacy, Diversity and Inclusion, Expertise and Participation) in order to abide by contemporary scientific insights.

2.2.6 Social learning

In order to learn from the above mentioned concepts and information received from stakeholder-interviews, the concept of social learning needs to be examined. Social learning is "learning in and with social groups through interaction or collaboration, organization, and learning which occurs in networks of interdependent stakeholders. It is a process of iterative reflection that occurs through sharing experiences and ideas and reviewing experiential history and ways of knowing, to ascertain an emergent hybrid of theorizing and practice which isolates difference leading to new insights and innovations." (Hurlbert & Gupta, 2015:102)

Following Hurlbert and Gupta (2015), social learning can take the form of single, double, or triple loop learning. Single loop learning is used to improve routines and policy approaches. It entails error correction by following the rules and operating norms when solving a problem. Double loop learning is error correction by critically questioning the assumptions and mental models that underpin strategies. Questions that can be asked are: 'why is this the case?' and 'why is this the norm?'

Triple loop learning is practiced when values and norms that underpin assumptions are questioned and reflected upon leading to a deeper understanding of the context, power dynamics and values. Examining the reasons behind the rules, systems, processes and the desired outcomes; how we decide what is right.

This thesis is placed in the category of double loop learning. It hypothesises that public participation is not carried out in the way that it reaches its full potential. This thesis assesses why this is the case and why it is the norm and poses the potential of public participation in the Netherlands related to Transit-Oriented Development implementation. The research does not stretch as far as examining the values and norms around public participation (i.e. triple loop learning). If the outcomes of this thesis will not aid in improving public participation processes in TODs, then triple loop learning should be pursued.

2.3 Conceptual framework

This section presents the conceptual framework (Figure 6) on which this thesis is based. The conceptual framework provides the main [causal] relations which are expected to exist between the concepts of Transit-Oriented Development and Public participation. These relations are based on the literature discussed in this chapter.

Transit-Oriented Development is, like the concept clearly states, about developments. The developments around transit-hubs can be seen as a continuous process. Years of developments will eventually lead to what can be called a TOD. The stages that this process follows will be discussed in Paragraph 4.1.1. The TOD planning process is the independent variable, of which the TOD product can be seen as the dependent variable. Throughout the planning process, moving forward to the TOD product, public participation processes can be deployed [multiple times]. Public participation is thus the mediating variable. This public participation is subject to quality criteria (Paragraph 2.2.5) and the component that the public can express themselves on, in the case of TODs, the urban design (see Paragraph 5.1).

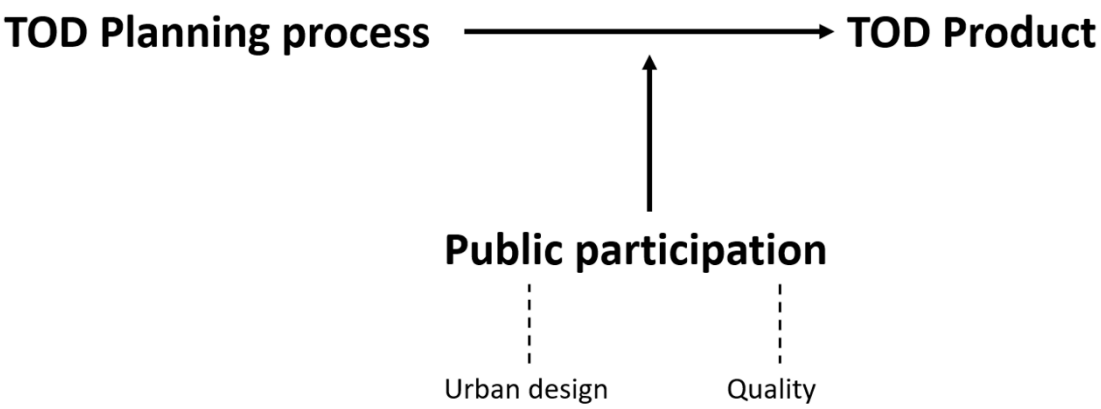

Figure 6: Conceptual Framework

3. Methods

This chapter describes the research philosophy, research strategy, and methods that were used in this thesis. Furthermore, the chapter describes the means of data collection and the reliability and validity.

3.1 Research Philosophy

The system of beliefs and assumptions about the development of knowledge is called research philosophy (Saunders, 2009) or research paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Different research paradigms exist and are distinguished by assumptions of the researcher (Van Thiel, 2014). Assumptions made about human knowledge are called epistemological assumptions. Assumptions about the encountered realities are called ontological assumptions (Saunders, 2009). It is important to state these assumptions as they inevitably shape how one understands their research questions, methods and interpretates their findings (Crotty, 1998 IN Saunders, 2009).

Epistemology, in addition to assumptions about knowledge, determines what constitutes acceptable, valid and legitimate knowledge and how to communicate knowledge to others (Saunders, 2009) Ontology determines how one sees the world and therefor affects the choice of what to research (Saunders, 2009).

This study follows an interpretative approach – as opposed to the empirical-analytical approach. The interpretative approach is closely linked to the younger constructivism. This approach presupposes that there is not just one empirical world, but everyone has their own perspective or personal view of reality. The same event can be experienced in a significantly different way by different people. In order to understand these differing points of view, the researcher is trying to reach a certain level of understanding. This is researched by using a holistic approach, to study events in their totality (Van Thiel, 2014). Existing theory can form a basic guideline within this approach. Researchers can apply a model and use it to determine which variables, conditions and mechanisms to watch out for in the unique context (Van Thiel, 2014).

This interpretative approach differs from the empirical-analytical approach, often used in natural sciences, in that the empirical-analytical approach aims to test theoretical rules or laws. Furthermore, this approach often makes use of quantitative methods, that are more easily controllable and reproduceable. Criticism on the empirical-analytical approach is that this natural science-approach is not considered to be applicable to research in social sciences. People have reflective thoughts and thus are not as predictable as physical phenomena. Furthermore a criticism is that this approach follows a one-way causality of theoretical models, whereas people and organisations can affect each other (Van Thiel, 2014).

In this thesis, the case of public participation within Dutch TODs was researched. This was done by using the interpretative approach. The perspectives and experienced of three types of actors [public sector, developers, civil society] are gathered on a number of factors that were extracted from the literature. The use of qualitative research methods is most often used within the interpretative approach (Van Thiel, 2014). The ontology is that all reality is a matter of perspective (Van Thiel, 2014). The Epistemology within the interpretative approach is that all knowledge is based on interpretations (Van Thiel, 2014), multiple 'knowledges' can coexist (Gumba & Lincoln, 1994). This stance on perspectives and interpretations allows for a general first look at public participation within Dutch TODs.

3.2 Research Strategy

With the above described interpretative approach in mind, the next step is to explain the research strategy. The research strategy is the overall logical procedure that will be followed. By following this research strategy, different methods of gathering data can be used (paragraph 3.3). This data is then analysed by using techniques (paragraph 0) (Van Thiel, 2014).

Four major types of strategies are the experiment, survey, case study and desk research. Choosing between these strategies is guided by the subject of study and the available body of existing knowledge. With a vast quantity of existing knowledge, more units of study can be included in the study, which in turn make it easier to apply statistical techniques (Van Thiel, 2014). Considering little information is available on the subject of this thesis, statistical techniques will be unfeasible, and hence, conducting an experiment or a survey is not considered a good option (Van Thiel, 2014).

The research problem of this research is of explorative nature with a relatively small number of units [public sector, private sector, civil society]. The number of actors within these units differs per Transit-Oriented Development, but because of time-restraints (Van Thiel, 2014), a selection of actors was made within these units of study. Moreover, because there is little available knowledge, there is a large number of variables to be considered before narrowing down in further research. All aspects mentioned in this paragraph are pointing towards using the case study research strategy (Figure 7).

Strategy	Research problem	Number of units	Number of variables
Experiment	Explain, test, evaluate	Small	Small
Survey	Describe, test, diagnose	Large	Large
Case study	Explore, describe, diagnose, design, evaluate	Small	Large
Desk research	All	Varies	Varies

Figure 7: Characteristics of the four main research strategies (Van Thiel, 2014)

A case study is “used to generate an in-depth, multi-faceted understanding of a complex issue in its real-life context” (Crowe et al., 2011:1). Three types of case studies are to be distinguished; intrinsic, instrumental and collective. The intrinsic case study is used to learn about a unique phenomenon, the instrumental case study uses a particular case to gain a broader appreciation of an issue or phenomenon, and the collective case study involves researching a multitude of cases to attempt to generate an even broader appreciation of a particular issue (Crowe et al., 2011). The case study lends itself for capturing information on exploratory questions (how, what, why). Moreover, the way to approach a case study can differ between research philosophies. As mentioned above, this thesis is approached from the interpretivist standpoint, in which Crowe et al. (2011:4) point out, uses a case study to “try (...) to understand individual and shared social meanings”. Doolin (1998, IN Crowe et al. 2011) argues that within interpretative case studies, researchers can usefully draw on a critical, reflective perspective which seeks to take into account the wider social and political environment that has shaped the case.

The selection of the single case for this thesis, the Netherlands, asks for explanation. The Netherlands, as a country, can be seen as a single (instrumental) case (Van Thiel, 2014). This is a deliberate choice

because there is no scientific body of knowledge on combining the two large bodies of knowledge, public participation and Transit-Oriented Development. Because of the lack of said information, the explorative character of this research (Crowe et al. 2011), time constraints (Van Thiel, 2014), and because the unit of study is affiliated to national policies and national railway agencies, the Netherlands is selected as one single case. By using countries as case studies, this allows for countries to be compared with each other in future research. Ideally cases will be selected based on theoretical grounds, in spite of that this is not possible for inductive research (Van Thiel, 2014) such as this thesis. The large amount of data collected in such a case study like the one in this research, can serve as a basis for developing new theories (Van Thiel, 2014).

3.3 Research Methods

Using the case study research strategy, the next step is to explore what data collection method is used, the research method. There is a variety of methods to be used in case studies ranging from quantitative methods (e.g. questionnaires, audits, routinely collected data analysis) to qualitative methods (e.g. interviews, focus groups and observations) (Crowe et al., 2011). As mentioned above, because of the little existing body of research, this research will make use of qualitative collection methods. Therefore, the quantitative methods will not be described in more detail.

Observation is one of the methods that is often associated with case studies. Observations serve a complementary purpose to other research methods (Swanborn, 2010). Observations can be of the participatory kind, in which the researcher fulfils a functional role, as well as being practiced during field visits (Swanborn, 2010). Furthermore, qualitative case study research can make use of focus groups. Focus groups are used when a researcher is interested in understating some issue from the perspective of a specific population (Asbury, 1995). In addition, focus groups are particularly well suited for needs assessment, development or refinement of instruments and exploration of the interpretation of research results (Asbury, 1995).

An interview is a conversation between the researcher and the respondent in which information is gathered by questioning said respondent (Van Thiel, 2014). There are three types of interviews to be distinguished; the open interview, semi-structured interview and the fully structured interview. The open interview is an interview that has only one fixed item, the initial question. It is an open question that introduces the subject, but does not provide a lead on where the interview should go. This is often used in exploratory research. The semi-structured interview provides, as the name suggests, a more structured approach. The researcher uses an interview guide that contains a number of questions or topics that the researcher wishes to discuss (Van Thiel, 2014). The fully structured interview essentially acts as an oral version of a questionnaire (Van Thiel, 2014).

This thesis is conducted by using the method of semi-structured interviews in addition to document analysis and observations (which fits the interpretative approach). The document analysis and observation serve a complementary purpose, the main research method is the semi-structured interview. The reason for choosing an semi-structured interview over the open interview, is that Transit-Oriented Development and Public Participation as concepts have been studied extensively in the past, thus a large body of knowledge on both subjects is available (except for combining them). Therefore in this case the use of an open-interview, which is geared towards exploring a certain unique subject, does not apply. The semi-structured interview uses variables mentioned in the research question and related existing theories to formulate suitable interview questions.

Semi-structured interviews should, in the first instance, be used to gather non-factual information, such as opinions, perceptions and relationships (Van Thiel, 2014). Additionally, these interviews are used to check on certain facts, as a means of triangulation. The researcher should avoid asking suggestive or leading questions and should aim towards asking questions about the respondent's reality and experiences (van Thiel, 2014). The answers can include illustrative examples that can be used in the phase of interpreting the answers. When this is the case, the order of the questions may shift during the interview, depending on where the conversation flows. Additionally, when a upcoming question is already answered during a previous question, this question can be skipped (Van Thiel, 2014). The interview guide is included in APPENDIX B.

The reason for not choosing the method of focus groups, is that individual input provides the perspective of various stakeholders, as compared to one holistic perspective generated by a group. A group perspective can result in the loss of the personal opinions and experiences of professionals and is prone to more socially desirable responses. Further research is highly encouraged to use focus groups in order to refine (Asbury, 1995) policy and tools with the recommendations posed in this thesis, along with the results of the focus group.

3.4 Data analysis methods

Transcribing interviews

The interviews were transcribed with the help of software SONIX.ai. This speech-to-text software allowed for a quicker transcription. The researcher then dug through the generated transcripts in order to correct the plentiful misunderstood words.

The transcribed interviews were published in qualitative data analysis (QDA) programme ATLAS.ti. The first reason for using a QDA programme is the systematic storage of the collected data, regarded as a vital part in successful analysis (Van Thiel, 2014). Secondly, ATLAS.ti is used for coding purposes.

The interviews were conducted in Dutch, which were in turn transcribed in Dutch and to minimize the loss of context, these transcripts were subsequently codified into English.

Coding

The data from the interviews is structured through coding. Coding is the researchers' interpretation of qualitative data through assigning codes or labels to different pieces of information (Van Thiel, 2014). These codes make it possible to categorize and subdivide data, for comparison in a later stage.

A code is a short indication of a qualitative data unit (in this case text fragments). This indication is a brief summary of the main attributes or features of the unit (Van Thiel, 2014). By assigning the same code to similar text fragments throughout the collected data, it becomes possible to compare the different data units.

Usually, in deductive studies, the codes will correspond with the operationalizations that are decided upon in advance through examining available literature (Van Thiel, 2014). In inductive studies, the codes are gradually developed and refined during the process of analysis. This thesis is of the inductive type. Yet, as explained before, this research rests on two heavily studied concepts that generate operationalizations or code in advance. The research is about exploring the combination of these

concepts. Consequently, both codes through operationalization beforehand (deductive) and through gradual development (inductive) are used in examining the data.

Whilst studying the interviews, codes will be assigned to text excerpts. After completion of the first interview, the second is analysed, which could provide new codes. The previous interview has to be analysed again to see if the newly found codes are applicable to that interview too (Van Thiel, 2014). When all interviews are analysed in this systematic way, eventually an exhaustive coding scheme is reached (van Thiel, 2014).

3.5 Data collection

The interviews provided insight in the current practice in the Netherlands and provide their individual point of view on and experience with public participation in transit-oriented developments. The collected data from the individual respondents was subsequently combined into a discussion of the subject per type of stakeholder and as a means of providing a holistic point of view by combining the input of the different types of stakeholder.

The interviews were conducted in Dutch. All interviews carried on for a minimum of 45 minutes up to 100 minutes. They were held both in-person and online [Microsoft Teams and Zoom Meeting]. Most interviewees were interviewed individually, apart from the Civil Society interviews. Those interviewees brought in a second party or partner to provide a more comprehensive statement. After each interview, the author created a transcript of the interview. This transcript is in Dutch in order to not have contextual data lost in translation during transcribing. Additionally it is important to note that all interviewees were interviewed only once, at a fixed moment in time.

Selection of respondents

The respondents (or interviewees) were selected after meeting in person on a location-visit, by asking interviewees for colleagues or project-partners that could provide additional insights, as well as through contacting respondents directly by email.

This thesis conducted interviews with 17 respondents. The respondents are divided into three types of actors; Public sector (9 respondents), Developers (2 respondents) and Civil society (6 respondents). The distinction of these types is related to the role within TODs, where stakeholders in the public sector are the organizing stakeholders, that organize public participation. Furthermore, the developers can be located in two types of public participation; through the public sector, and their own public participation going into the realisation phase. Civil society is stated as a type of actor for this thesis in order to grasp organizations that are experienced with public participation, and thus provide a more holistic overview of the process as compared to interviewing individual citizens.

The public sector organisations were interviewed at different levels of the government (transport region, provinces, municipalities) as well as the national rail infrastructure manager (ProRail) and the national railway operator (NationaleSpoorwegen). These public sector (PS) interviews portray the perspective of the most common stakeholders in TODs.

Interviewee code	Function
PS1	Project manager municipality A
PS2	Project manager municipality B
PS3	Communication advisor municipality B
PS4	Regional mobility coordinator Province A
PS5	Policy advisor & Node director Province B
PS6	Programme manager nodes Province B
PS7	Plan developer NS Stations
PS8	Communication advisor ProRail
PS9	Strategic policy advisor Transport Region

Table 5: List of respondents: Public sector (= PS)

Additionally, the following Civil Society organisations (CS) and (interest) representatives were interviewed. These organisations were interviewed because they have experience in representing the public or represent specific interests in civil society. And thus provide input that is different from that of the other two types of stakeholder.

Interviewee code	Function
CS1	Member Regional travellers' advisory board
CS2	Secretary Cyclist association
CS3	Consultant Mediator A
CS4	Consultant Mediator A
CS5	Director Representative handicap A
CS6	Director Representative handicap B

Table 6: List of respondents: Civil society (= CS)

In conclusion, two developers (D) were interviewed. Developers are major players in TODs that have a large influence on parts of the process in which public participation could add value.

Interviewee code	Function
D1	Deputy director Developer A
D2	Department manager in environmental management Developer B

Table 7: List of respondents: Developers (= D)

3.6 Validity and reliability

In trying to understand individual and shared social meanings through this qualitative case study, it is important to take into consideration the validity and reliability of such research. The controllability and repeatability of qualitative data analysis is more difficult to assure as compared to that in quantitative data analysis, the greater part of the analysis takes place in the researcher's mind (Van Thiel, 2014).

Criticism on case studies is related to their validity and reliability (Van Thiel, 2014; Almeida; Andrade and Ferreira, 2020). Reliability and validity form a fundamental element so that the findings obtained by the case study can be credible, confirmable, transferable and dependable (Almeida et al., 2020). The collection and interpretation of data can be potentially biased, through the empiricism and subjectivism of the researcher (Van Thiel, 2014; Almeida et al., 2020).

Triangulation is a highly suitable means to counter problems that might arise with respect to the reliability and validity of small sample sizes. A mixed-method design (e.g. a combination of observation/content analysis/documents and other materials) is therefor often chosen (Van Thiel, 2014). This thesis mainly uses data derived from semi-structured interviews. In addition to the interviews, desk research and a small amount of observation was used. Because the Civil Society interviews were conducted with multiple participants per interview, this can be seen as a form of triangulation (Fusch et al., 2018).

3.6.1 Reliability

The reliability of a research has two functions; the accuracy and the consistency with which the variables are measured (Van Thiel, 2014). The accuracy refers to the measurement instruments that are used, in this case semi-structured interviews. Aiming at a high accuracy, the questions that were asked during the interviews were very direct in order to be able to acquire the most coherent answer pertaining to the question. The consistency off a study revolves around the idea of repeatability, under similar circumstances, the same measurement will lead to similar results (Van Thiel, 2014). Within social sciences, the repeatability is harder to achieve, as the subject (people) can change over time and learn from their previous experiences (Van Thiel, 2014).

3.6.2 Internal validity

The internal validity refers to whether the researcher has measured the effect they intended to measure (Van Thiel, 2014). The internal validity comprises of adequately operationalization of the theoretical construct and whether the presupposed relationship exists between the independent and dependent variable. In regard to the operationalization, the interview questions were derived by carefully considering the themes within the international literature on TOD and public participation, with the aim to not provide the possible answers. Moreover, the questions were aimed to gather contextual insights that are useful in interpretative research.

Interviews are always susceptible to obtaining socially desirable answers. In trying to reduce socially desirable answers, the researcher has chosen to interview most interviewees separately, as compared to group-interviews or focus-groups.

3.6.3 External validity

The selection of interviewees is important in this regard. In order to strengthen the external validity of this research, all public sector parties that are present in Transit-Oriented Development processes were interviewed. The organizations ProRail and NS are operating nation-wide, using the same policy. In regard of governmental organizations [municipalities and provinces], multiple organizations were chosen to be interviewed [in locations that are not in close proximity], in order to reduce the possibility of talking to one person with a deviating opinion. Even though provinces and municipalities can differ between each other, the Netherlands as a whole is more or less generalizable as a case because of the shared cultural and legislative background. In regard to the transport region, only two exist, of which one perspective is provided.

The interviewed developers operate throughout the Netherlands, creating a knowledge base that spreads further than just their location. The civil society stakeholders that were interviewed are active within the same region. Therefore, the perspective provided regarding this selection of stakeholders can be more location-based.

Next to the use of multiple organizations per public sector actor, the selection of the Netherlands as a single case, as opposed to multiple specific TOD projects, can be elaborated through the TODs making use of the same national policy and tools.

The generalizability of single case study-research is generally low. The in-depth research, by conducting semi-structured interviews, lead to holistic descriptions of the single case of the Netherlands. Because of the cultural and political differences between countries, the generalizability is low. The external validity is somewhat increased by having made connections between this study and existing academic literature on TOD and public participation. Whereas the results are not per se generalizable to other cases, the case study design and the interview guide are directly transferable through the formation of the questions using international literature.

4. The current implementation of public participation in Dutch TODs

This chapter first focuses on what Transit-Oriented Developments in the Netherlands are in practice. Then it discusses the general participation process surrounding the key stakeholders and their relations. Furthermore, the plan cycle of projects in TODs is discussed which provides an overview of the phases that are passed through. After these subjects have been set out, the current implementation of public participation in Dutch TODs is discussed.

4.1 Dutch TODs in practice

4.1.1 Integrality of station area projects

Transit-Oriented Developments consist of not just one single project aimed towards designing an area that is compact, mixed-use, pedestrian- and bicycle-friendly, and closely integrated with mass transit (Salat & Ollivier, 2017). TODs exist of multiple projects that, simultaneously and over a length of time, together form an integrated programme. The interviewees confirmed that this too is often the case in the Netherlands. Sometimes projects within station areas are just single-case projects, but it is becoming more common that projects are started separately [PS1; PS5] or are the result of a station area vision that is set up by a municipality [PS2] and are later integrated into one programme [PS1; PS5]. Programme managers are assigned to integrate the different projects [PS1].

PS1 mentions that starting with an investment in mobility, will consequently result in new projects in the surroundings of the train stations. The other way around – investments in the surroundings will result in new projects regarding mobility – is also possible, when there will become bottlenecks in the capacity of train stations through planned housing development nearby [PS9]. There is a strong relation between investments in mobility and investments in urbanisation.

The national government, in the form of ministries, prefer integrated plans over stand-alone projects and stimulate these integrated plans through making national policy [PS5]. This policy is called ‘Toekomstbeeld Openbaar Vervoer 2040’ (Translated: Future vision for public transport in 2040). The policy was then worked out into an instrument called Handelingsperspectief OV-knooppunten [PS5]. This tool will be discussed later in this chapter.

4.1.2 Characterisation of Dutch TODs

Table 8 provides an overview of the types of projects that are present in station areas, that were mentioned during the interviews. Within Dutch TOD, multiple D’s that characterise Transit-Oriented Developments (see paragraph 2.1.2) are present. Density (densification), Diversity (multiple land-uses) and Destination accessibility (upgrading mobility hubs) are included. Distance to transit, relating to the permeability of streets, is not so much present within Dutch TODs. A possible reason could be that the permeability of Dutch cities is already relatively high compared to other cities around the world because of the wide spread use of bicycles.

Whereas Distance to transit is absent, the Design-component is evidently present. Projects related to climate adaptation, housing, public space make-over and social safety all encompass the design-component. Both the ‘node’ (which indicates mobility) and the ‘place’ (which indicates the urban design) side of the node-place model (see Figure 1) and the butterfly model (see Figure 3) are present within the types of projects mentioned during the interviews. Which is an indication that it is

recognized that both the node and the place are to be developed, in order to not get to unbalanced places and unbalanced nodes.

TYPE OF PROJECT	INTERVIEWEE
AREA DEVELOPMENT	PS2; PS5; PS1; PS3; PS9; PS7
AREA VISION	PS1; PS3; PS7
BICYCLE STORAGE	PS4; PS6; PS5; PS9; PS7
CLIMATE ADAPTATION	PS4; PS1; PS2; CS3
EDUCATION	PS1; PS9
EXPANDING OF MOBILITY HUB	PS5; PS9
HOUSING	PS4; PS6; PS2; PS1; PS3 ; PS9; PS7
MOBILITY	PS4; PS6; PS2; PS1; PS3 ; PS9
OFFICES	PS1; PS7
PUBLIC SPACE MAKE-OVER	PS4; PS6; PS7
RELOCATION OF MOBILITY HUB	PS1; PS5
SOCIAL SAFETY	PS4, PS2
TRANSFER WITHIN HUB	PS4; PS6; PS9
TRANSFORMATION OF LAND-USE	PS3; CS3
TRANSFORMATION OF MOBILITY HUB	PS7
URBAN DENSIFICATION	PS2, PS9

Table 8: Type of projects within Dutch TODs

4.1.1 Plan cycle of projects in Dutch TODs

The following plan cycle (Figure 8) is derived from the interviews. A project starts off in the initiative phase, which is followed by the research phase, the design phase and the realisation phase. After going through these phases, this the result is achieved. This result is then followed by maintenance.

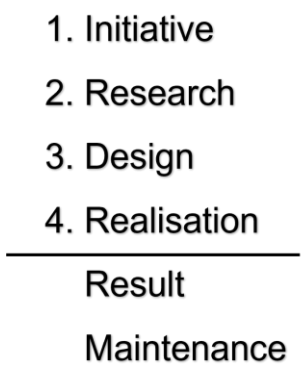

Figure 8: Plancycle of projects in Dutch TODs

The initiative phase consists of forming a general idea for a development by exploratory studies [PS1; PS8; PS9] which results in collective ambitions and a vision [PS1; PS5]. The actors in this phase are solely public sector actors [PS9]. After that in the research phase, various studies are carried out that go more in depth and more refined, as compared to the exploratory studies in the initiative phase [PS5]. The outline of the plan is then set and different variants are devised [PS1; PS2; PS8] the end of this phase is choosing a preferred variant [PS2]. After this, the design phase is started, in which urban design related parties will construct a masterplan [PS1; PS9], which is then cause for starting a zoning procedure ('bestemmingsplanprocedure') and contracting a developer [PS2]. After which the realisation phase can start [PS1; PS8; PS9].

The actors that are involved in the different stages differ. The key stakeholders [municipality, province, NS, ProRail, Transport Region (where applicable)] are often in all stages involved, but in differing intensities [PS5]. Provinces and transport regions are, when the realisation phase starts less closely involved, because their main job is finished, but they remain informed on the progress [PS2; PS5].

The occurrence of developers in this plan cycle can differ. Developers that have a ground position in the project area can, during the initiative phase provide their vision for their owned land. Which will

leave the municipality to listen carefully and then parts ways for a while to think the proposal through [PS9]. Additionally, as PS2 sketched above, independent developers can be attracted to fulfil other parts of the programme. The latter has been the practice for years [D2], in recent years, a new type of contract has emerged, the two-phase contract ('twee-fasen-contract') [D2]. This contract allows for a developer to be present not only in the realisation phase, but also in the design phase. The expertise of both developer and the contracting party, often the municipality, are combined to allow for a better design outcome [D2].

The length of integrated developments such as TOD vary. The complexity of the task is leading in this. For area developments, it can take 5 years to be in the research stage, and another 5 years to see the first impacts of the plan, and yet another 5 to see some real results, the total can easily be 15 to 20 years [PS1; PS2 PS7]. Although, if there is a strong urgency, sometimes the time from design to realisation can be achieved in under 5 years [PS7].

4.1.2 TOD assessment tool: Handelingsperspectief OV-knooppunten

The tool that is used nation-wide for Transit-Oriented Developments assessments in the Netherlands is called the 'Handelingsperspectief OV-knooppunten' (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2019). The tool is aimed towards integrating the different mobility networks [public transport, car, bicycle and walking] to be able to accommodate the increasing demand for mobility of the future. Facilitating a multimodal door-to-door journey and good design of and around public transport nodes are deemed necessary to accomplish this (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2019b).

To anticipate the increased demand, the tool assesses the current functioning of the public transport node and estimates the future functioning of the node in its environment. The tool is intended as an instrument to jointly map out the current and future situation of the public transport node – in the initiative phase of the plan cycle. It is therefore important for all parties involved to sit around the same table, so that the relevant data can be shared. The stakeholders that are always involved are ProRail, NS, the municipality, province and the concessionaire of regional transport. "Depending on the location, additional stakeholders such as the ministry of infrastructure, educational institutions, traveller's associations, local entrepreneurs or large companies may be wished for". (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2019b:6)

The authors' experience [5 hub locations] is that the stakeholders that are present during meetings or field visits is limited to either only key stakeholders and the executing consultancy firm. Sometimes educational institutions and large developers are present too [APPENDIX C]. This experience displays that (for these locations) there is less stakeholder diversity than could be potentially be present according to the tool. In addition to stakeholders that are mentioned being left out, the general public too is not present.

The current and future functioning of the node are assessed by the components provided in Figure 9. The place and node components that have been described within the node-place model (Figure 1) and the butterfly model (Figure 3) recur. Node-related components are found under both the Node and Mobility categories. Furthermore, the D's describing TODs (See 2.1.2) are recurring within the assessment components.

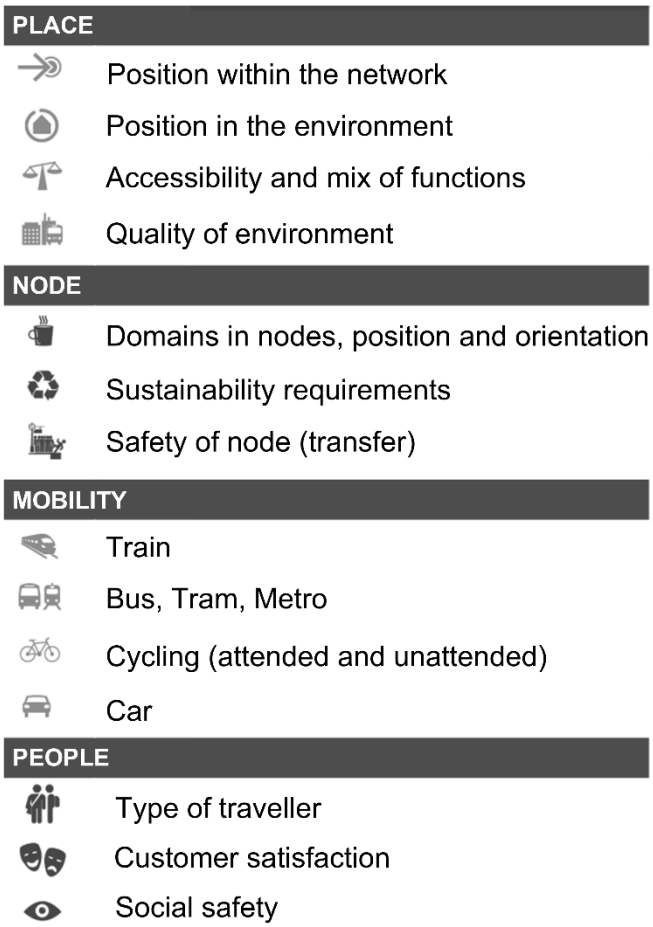

Figure 9: Assessment overview of Handelingsperspectief ov-knooppunten (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2019) Translated by Author

The 'D' characterised for Design, is present within the 'Quality of environment' component. The design of an area, as previously stated and further elaborated upon in Paragraph 5.1, is the most interesting component of TODs in regard to public participation. The quality of the environment is assessed by answering the questions: '*What does the direct environment of the node look like?*' and '*Are the entrances of the node visible from all directions?'.*

This one open and one closed question to be answered are a rather poor assessment point as compared to the large impact this assessment component has on the daily lives of thousands of

inhabitants, employees and visitors that are using the TOD. Especially in regard to the wealth of assessment options that can be derived from placemaking theories.

Furthermore, by assessing the current functioning of the node through the provided components, and establishing what must be upgraded to become future-proof, the tool functions not only as a form of assessment. The tool, in prescribing what components to assess, is also a form of guidance for the what is to be developed. The prescription of different components, or a more elaborate analysis of components, could in turn lead to a major change in the spatial design (on which the public can provide input) of TODs nation-wide.

For background information on the formation of the tool, see APPENDIX A.

4.1.3 Participation process in Dutch TODs

Initiative:

Due to the large quantity of projects that are ongoing simultaneously within TODs [PS9], it is sometimes hard to provide a clear answer on who is the initiator. There are different initiators of projects in station areas according to the interviewees. This also depends on the phase that the integrated project is in. In the beginning, actors are often actively involved in their own projects [PS1]; NS Stations and ProRail are working on the train station and private parties such as developers can be initiators of new developments and redevelopments [PS1; PS2; PS6; PS7; PS9]. Thereupon, the province and municipality can then remark that it is better to look at the bigger picture right away, and in turn create an integral vision for that location and its surroundings. This will increase the size and complexity of the assignment, but will deliver a better result [PS6].

Furthermore, the provinces as regional government can identify the need for redevelopments, often mobility based, and can easily access and mobilize other key stakeholders like municipalities, NS and ProRail [PS2; PS4; PS7; PS9]. The national railway services (NS Stations) could be an initiator, this often occurs when they are redeveloping land that they own [PS6]. Whenever they have little land-position, the NS seems to be taking a more awaiting and passive stance [PS5].

But most often, the municipality is the initiator for large scale (re-)developments [PS2; PS4; PS5; PS6; PS7; PS9]. Municipalities are the key actor in their own municipality, they are the actor that have the overview and often a vision for an area and are thus often initiators [PS5]

Actors involved

Deciding what actors are involved in TODs is often decided by the key stakeholders [PS1; PS6; PS7]. This process is often seen as a dynamic process that is enabled by the professionals' networks [PS4]. The stakeholders that are often present from the start are the municipality, province, NS Stations, ProRail [PS4; PS6; PS7]. Subsequently, these key stakeholders are discussing what other stakeholders should be consulted. Developers, landowners, local transport concessionaires and interest representatives then sometimes become involved [PS4; PS6; PS7]. This can be depending on their land-position [PS6; PS7]. Municipalities are in general responsible for inviting other stakeholders [PS2; PS5; PS6; PS8]. They have the overview and knowledge of what local stakeholders to invite [PS6].

Decision making and Investing parties

In regard to the development direction and ambitions in TODs, the key stakeholders [Municipality, Province, NS, ProRail, sometimes the Metropolitan region] are in a partnership and decide what direction they will move towards [PS5].

The municipality has the most power in decision making [PS5; PS6; PS2; PS7]; whenever a municipality is not in agreement, little will be possible, since they will have to change the land-use plan ('bestemmingsplan') [PS6] and give out permits [PS5]. Stakeholders like NS can in principle make changes to and invest in their stations, but changes and extensions will touch on grounds that are the property of municipalities, so a collective vision is needed [PS6]. Municipalities are investing in public spaces [PS1], such as the station square [PS2], parts of these investments and investments for the implementation of plans can be assigned by the national government [PS2].

Provinces in the Netherlands are mostly in control of the outskirts of town [PS6], whereas TODs are often in the middle of cities, therefor provinces will often not be able to stop projects, but they are present in a stimulating role, by investing [PS6]. The regional government can for example invest in the process costs related to TOD-vision development [PS2] and mobility hub related spatial quality improvements (bicycle parking, relocation of busstation) [PS5]. Transport regions, like provinces have budgets related to mobility. By setting requirements to access these funds, they can exert their influence [PS9]. The difference between the municipality and the metropolitan region is that the policy of municipalities and provinces are more aligned with each other and that that has a legally binding character, whereas the metropolitan area can just guide developments by investing [PS9].

Conflicts between the key stakeholders are often prevented ahead of time, by exploring each other's interests, positions and consequently establishing a cooperation agreement in which is stated who is making decisions, who is responsible for what, who is going to invest et cetera [PS6; PS7].

4.2 Public participation in Dutch TODs

After establishing the practice of Dutch Transit-Oriented Developments, the plan cycle of these developments, and the participation process along the key stakeholders, the current implementation of public participation will be discussed in this paragraph.

4.2.1 When is the public included

Multiple different moments exist in which the public could be included in the plans for TODs. There is a distinction to be made between formal and informal moments of public participation [PS4; PS5]. Formal moments of participation is when certain policy and plans are made available for inspection (‘ter inzage legging’), on which the general public is able to provide their feedback or opinions (‘zienswijze’) [PS3; PS4; PS5]. These moments may not always be the best moments to include the public, since the plans are more or less finalized by then [PS3; PS4].

For informal public participation which is positioned earlier in the process, a participation-plan is often set up [PS4]. In this participation-plan, an overview of future steps is provided within a timeframe. Additionally, the participation-plan states what will be communicated, by whom and when feedback can be provided [PS4].

The involvement of the public is not constant, but is more resembling waves [PS1]. For example, in In parts of the project in which the public is directly affected, it is important to take up the amount of participation [PS1]. For example when discussing the outlines of station area developments, the process is more intense, after that, the public sector actors need time to be able to investigate the concerns of the public. Subsequently, in the preparatory stages of the realisation phase, the public is involved more intensively once again [PS1].

Interviewees point out that the relatively high level of abstraction in the early phases of the process (i.e. initiative and research phase) leads to the public not understanding what is being discussed [PS1; PS2; PS3; PS6; PS7; PS9] because it is not yet concrete or tangible enough for them [PS1]. The citizens and businesses that were included are then often dropping out [PS2]. Further along the way, when the abstraction level has decreased (in the design phase), the public can be consulted in a more qualitative manner [PS2; PS7 PS9]. The addition the public can make within TODs is discussed in the next chapter.

The experts in the public sector have the tendency to be informed as much as possible and creating a complete picture before stepping out to the public and asking for feedback [PS3; PS7; PS8]. The reason behind this thought process is that it can be tense to come to the public with an incomplete plan since citizens are becoming increasingly critical and articulate [PS4; PS8]. The downside of the tendency to come with a more or less complete plan, is that a certain route has been chosen by then, disregarding possible input by the public that would lead to a different route [PS3; PS5; PS8]. PS5 mentions that the initiative phase could include public participation. Not from the very start, but when some thoughts are put on paper or maps, in order to discuss the possible directions.

PS4 and PS7 bring up that a solution for the above mentioned problem is to blur out a general shapes on the map that resembles the location, but no final design, of certain parts of the plan. This makes clear that the design is not final and that certain parts of the plan are still work in progress.

In the beginning of a project, the willingness to participate of the public is low, but the impact of input provided is high [PS3]. As the project progresses, the amount that can be done with the input of the public decreases, but the willingness to participate increases [PS3] (see Figure 9).

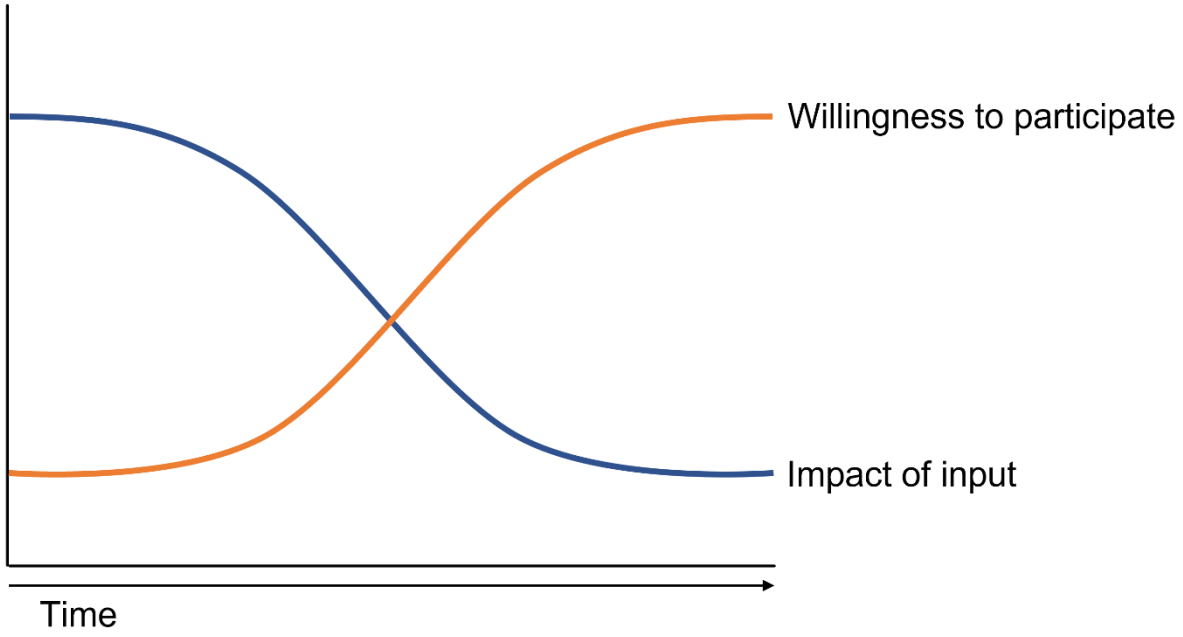

Figure 10: Willingness to participate versus impact of input over time [PS3]

The timing of public participation can be strategically chosen [D1]. Moments when there is a lot of resistance from the public are not considered to be the best moment for public participation by a developer, it could be more favourable for them to postpone [D1]. When there is a large quantity of stakeholders, which is the case in TODs, it is important for developers to stay on top of participation in order to reduce the amount of discussions generated at the end [D1].

Some interest representatives find that they need to invite themselves, often in the absence of a participation-plan [CS2]. They find that it is important to invest in public participation from the beginning [CS2; CS5], in as early a stage as possible, e.g. when a station is redesigned, the moment the municipality is involved, the users should be involved [CS1; CS2]. This provides the added value of user experience and additional ideas that could help in the design process [CS2].

4.2.2 Degree of participation

The degree of participation varies between projects and throughout the project. The different phases of the project can allow for differing degrees of participation. Choosing the right degree of public participation is not an easy task; as Creighton (2005:9) states:

> *An experienced practitioner of public participation will answer the question 'what level of participation is right?' with an authoritative "It depends".*

It is difficult to state what degree of participation is used, as this varies between projects, phases and stakeholders [D2]. From a democratic point of view, one would prefer to have the highest possible degree of participation, although this is often not possible [PS3]. The public is mostly involved in information [PS3; PS8; D2] and consultation [PS3; PS8; D2] as proposed by Luyet et al. (2012). Co-decision does not often occur in large projects [PS3; CS3]. Co-decision and empowerment are degrees of participation that is regarded as too high because of the complexity of TODs as well as that the financial stakes would be too high, which cannot and should not be carried by the public [CS3; CS4]. Sometimes information is the only possible degree of participation because there is no leeway possible due to legislation and regulation [PS3]. Information is always the lowest degree of participation because of the obligation to make plans available for inspection [CS3].

Techniques that are often mentioned in the interviews are newsletters, presentations and public hearings (both online and in-person), surveys and questionnaires, field visits and interactions, scenario analysis and focus groups. These techniques correspond to the information, consultation and collaboration degrees of participation that the interviewees mentioned.

D2 makes a scan of the environment which displays who is situated in that area; then based on their issues and stakes. The higher the stakes and the closer a stakeholder is situated to the project, the higher the degree of participation for said stakeholder. A high level of nuisance means a higher degree of participation. Consultation (sometimes higher) is often the degree that is assigned to these stakeholders by D2. This is also dependent on the type of contract that the developer has; when contracted in the design phase, the degree of participation is higher than when contracted for solely realisation.

The degree of participation is no guarantee for seeing one's input in the final design. The feasibility of the input itself is of importance. Both financial feasibility and feasibility through legislation and regulations [PS2; PS7; PS8; D1]. Moreover, it is important to note that the amount of input that is to be provided can differ between projects. In some projects the amount of input that is possible is limited due to legislation and regulations [PS3; PS8; D2]. Whereas in other projects there is plenty of space for the public to provide input [PS3]. The amount of input possible is one of the factors that are being weighed to determine the degree of participation that is preferred [PS8].

The degree of participation is perceived to be dependent on the project leader (or project manager) [PS2; PS3; PS8; CS1; CS2]. Some project leaders are more environmentally aware and socially adept which can result in a higher degree of participation, where possible [PS3]. This is in line with the literature regarding the subject. Often, based on their own feeling and experience, project leaders define the degree of involvement for each stakeholder. This is not a standardized process and can be extremely subjective (Daniels & Walker, 2001).

4.3 Quality of public participation

The quality of public participation within current TODs has been assessed during the interviews. The structuring and concepts were derived from the literature stated in paragraph 2.2.5. The interviews provided the following perspective on this subject.

4.3.1 Legitimacy

Quality of exchange

Some of the public that is part of public participation processes will be louder than others, therefor it can be challenging to have everybody speak their minds [PS2; PS8; D2]. It is the task of the discussion leader to prevent the loudest people to change the conversation [PS2; PS5]. Being loud is regarded as counter-productive [CS5]. Those who are present, and are willing to provide input, are themselves responsible to speak up [D2].

The separation of large crowds into smaller groups is beneficial for attaining the most feedback [PS1; PS2; PS4; PS5 PS8]. The quality of exchange is also higher when people can come to walk-in meetings or during field visits [PS1; PS2; PS4; PS8]. Being alone or together in small groups helps people being able to speak their minds, without needing to speak in front of large audiences [PS4; PS5]. In smaller groups it is also easier to come to a clear explanation of what the person is trying to say [PS2; PS4; PS8]. Additionally, being easily accessible and open to meeting with the public during the different times of day and hearing their concerns is important to be able to allow the public to find a suitable moment within their schedule [PS1].

It is important to make reports of what is discussed during meetings [PS3; PS5; CS2]. According to PS2, PS3 and PS5, the public sector has nothing to hide [apart from some financial annexes that have to do with competition clauses], and therefor they provide reports of meetings online that can be accessed by the public. When no reports are being made of what is discussed, experiences and knowledge are exchanged, but nothing will come of it [CS2]. CS1 and CS2 claimed that the latter is often the case in their experience.

Quality of the process

All public sector and developer interviewees are open for input from the public and are considerate of the concerns of the public. As mentioned before, the amount of input that is to be obtained is sometimes bound by the feasibility of the input [PS1; PS3; D2]. Input that is not realistic can simply not be implemented.

Transparency is one of the most important factors for having a qualitative sound process [PS1; PS2; PS3; PS4; PS5; PS9; CS1; CS2; CS3; CS4; D1; D2]. It is important to state in advance, and afterwards what is being done with the input generated [PS4; PS5; CS4; D1]. Even though it is thought to be important to be transparent, PS2 mentions that behind the scenes, it can unintentionally be easily forgotten to inform the public. The impact of the choices made is important for decisionmakers to keep in mind [PS1].

When the public is asked for input or feedback, it is important to be clear about the amount of input that they have. Moreover, expectation management is important [PS4; PS6; PS7; CS4], not only regarding the amount of input, but also about the level of detail that some maps or pictures portray [PS6; PS7]. Art impressions, for example, can be a good way to making plans more comprehensible and less abstract for the public, yet the downside is that can raise expectations, which may cause

disappointment when the plans change [PS7]. PS2 and PS3 advocate that they find it important to publish the comments and related answers, anonymised, online as a form of transparency.

Sometimes local stakeholders are, in confidentiality, involved from an early stage [PS4]. At those times, not everything should be out in the open, this part of the process is not intended to be distributed along to the constituency [PS4]. The group is involved in good faith and for the quality of the process, it is important that everyone is given the amount of time that is needed to work out what is asked [PS4].

CS1 and CS2 provide the notion that the quality of the process varies. Some civil servants are less open to the input of the public, as compared to other civil servants. Building a good relationship or understanding can help in the quality of the process. Communication that is not hostile is more sustainable, longer lasting, more enjoyable and more binding in the end [CS2]. Sometimes going to the press is the only option to obtain attention of the public sector, with the consequence that a sub-optimal hostile environment has been created [CS1; CS2]. It is deemed more effective to start with clear communication, openness to input of the public and mutual trust in the early stages of a project [CS1].

Communication is key [CS2]. The public sector would do good in understanding that their way of communication can be based on technical jargon that the public does not comprehend [CS2]. PS7 affirms that key stakeholders are talking in technical jargon, but when they are in contact with the public, they try to limit the amount. Furthermore, the communication department can be involved to translate the plans into more understandable language [PS7], which results in a higher quality of the process [PS7; CS2]. Moreover, it is important to be aware of the differing levels of power between stakeholders, this should be addressed and taken into consideration [CS2].

Impartial mediators and process consultants can help with clear communication and deliberation [CS4; D1], help to more efficiently get to the right table [CS3], help the public with how processes work [CS4]. They can be an experienced buddy of the public [CS3]. Additionally, a mediating party can provide feedback on what is fair and unfair, both to the public, as well as the public sector [CS3; CS4]. Managing relations between actors, which can help to straighten out conflicts [CS3]. Concluding, mediating party can help obtain a higher level of acceptability through deliberation and the sense of impartiality [CS3; CS4; D1].

Legitimacy of policy outcomes

When a project complies with legislation and regulations, a project can proceed [D1], but this does not mean that this is the most legitimate result. Legitimate results are achieved, according to the interviewees, when it has been clearly communicated from the start what the participatory process entails, that throughout the process everything is clearly communicated, and that it has been made clear what was done with the input of the public [PS2; PS4; D1; D2].

As stated earlier, not all input can always be used due to monetary constraints, legislation and regulations. It depends on what citizens can provide input on. Some of the design-related input is often included in the final plan[PS6]. Additionally, CS5 mentions that if there are problems with the accessibility of what is designed, this input is taken very seriously and is adapted accordingly.

The legitimacy of policy outcomes is concerned with the accountability of the public sector [CS2]. They are obliged to clearly state what choices are made and provide the reasoning behind the choices as a

form of accountability [CS1]. Civil society actors understand that not all input can make it into a plan, but they want to feel that they are respected and taken seriously [CS1; CS2; CS5; CS6].

The municipality should gather all input from the public, and then make decisions according to the input provided and the other factors that come into play [CS5]. Within cities, and in particular station areas, a lot of stakeholders are present and there is a high complexity to projects [CS5]. As a civil society stakeholder, one can merely provide input, both through public participation as well as lobbying, but it is out of their hands what the results are of that input [CS5]. Making changes after a project has been realised, because a plan is not good enough, comes with higher costs than incorporating these changes in the current plan [CS6].

When the public is not actively involved in a project, the public can raise awareness [CS2]. In a democracy, there is no such thing as a legal minimum [CS2]. It should not come as a surprise at the end of a process if there is resistance by the public [PS6]. One will not get away with a project skipping steps [PS6]. The public knows their way to politics, which will in turn not allow the project to get through[PS2]. Moreover, it is possible for the public to go to court to prove their case. The judge can rule that plans are unfounded or not sufficiently researched [PS6]. This judgement results in delays and problems and in turn displays the importance of using public participation throughout the project [PS6].

Trust

Each stakeholder has their own agenda [D1]. When including (self-acclaimed) spokespersons for a group of people, it is difficult to know whether or not this is the voice on behalf of the group, or from their individual agenda and motives [PS4; D2]. An evaluation by an independent party would be the best way to balance this and in turn can make place for mutual trust [D1]. Civil servants are often believed to seriously take into consideration the interests of the general public [PS2; PS4; PS7].

In order to create trust between the public sector and developers on the one hand, and the public on the other, it is important to only ask the public for input, when input is wished for [PS5; PS7; D2]. If the community will provide input, but nothing will be done with the input, there is no reason for asking the input in the first place [PS5; D2] When certain alternatives are not feasible because of certain reasons, there is no reason for having the public give feedback on those alternatives [PS7]. Mock-participation processes, often called window dressing, are considered to be disgraceful [PS8; D2]

Consensus is not needed [PS2; PS4; PS5; PS8; CS1; CS3; D2]. Not everyone involved can always be agreeing to a final result of a project [PS1; PS3; PS4; PS5; PS8; PS9; CS1; CS3; CS5; D1]. It would be good to have consensus, but it is not mandatory, compromises are to be made [PS1; PS2; PS4; CS2; CS3]. A project can be called successful not only when consensus is reached, but also when the [most important[D2]] stakeholders are feeling to be heard and that it has been clearly communicated what has been done with the input and why [PS2; PS4, PS8; PS9; CS3; D2]. The public is aware and can understand that on a higher level of government, policy debates are being held and decisions are made that determine what is possible on the local level [CS1]. D1 mentions that it is in the best interest of developers that, consensus or not, the process carries on.

In some cases the general interest weighs more than the opinions of individuals [PS3]. Therefore it is important that civil servant clearly map what the stakes are, so that the management can make decisions based on the provided information [PS3; PS9]. It is not only important to be transparent in why something is not included, but also to make explicit what is included [PS9]. This portrays, to both

the public and the decisionmakers, that the public opinion is seriously considered and that some input did make it into the final plan [PS9].

4.3.2 Diversity and inclusion

In some cases, participation-plans are made that describe the future steps, what will be communicated, by whom and when feedback can be provided. As stated earlier in this chapter, municipalities and initiators are generally responsible for inviting the public. The question who to include is discussed by the whole project team, moreover it is discussed if some groups should get some deeper involvement [PS4].

A difference exists between projects in areas that are densely built up such as TODs, and areas that are less dense [PS4; D1; D2]. In the former, the expectation of key stakeholders is that in particular institutions such as the cyclists' association and other interest representatives are involved as compared to individual citizens [PS4]. If there are a lot of inhabitants in a project area, it is not feasible to talk to each of them, one or more representative(s) of the group of inhabitants are therefore often assigned [D1].

Stakeholder analyses can be made that provide an overview of stakeholders concerned [D2]. Not all stakeholders are always willing to participate [PS2; D2]. This can always change throughout the process, therefor it is important to readdress the question whether or not a stakeholder is willing to participate [PS2; D2]. Doing just one stakeholder analysis is sometimes not enough, it should be an ongoing process [PS2; D2]. Developers use software that allows them to select a radius on the map, of which contact information can be obtained [D1]. The stakeholders that are shown from their environmental scan are the stakeholders that are invited and for whom an individual approach is laid down [D2].

Communicating with the public and how to approach them is also a question of diversity and inclusion. Not all people will read newspapers or the municipality's website [PS5; D2]. Moreover, not everyone uses social media or is digitally literate, therefor a mix of communication tools is necessary to attain a wide audience [PS5; PS8; PS9; D2]. The use of influencers may, by making public participation more approachable, help in acquiring the attention of a younger crowd [PS9].

Language is another factor that can make a difference in who is included and who is excluded. Meetings are most often held in Dutch and information is mostly provided in Dutch [PS3; PS8]. Writing in language level B1 is sometimes practiced by the public sector to allow for a broader range of people to understand the information [PS3]. Furthermore, it could be interesting to create short videos that go along with more technical information [PS3]. Some municipalities provide a service for multi-lingual information distribution [PS3]. The question remains what languages should then be included and which should be excluded [PS3; PS8]. Furthermore, the results are dependent on the capacity of the organisation because of the multitude of projects that are developed simultaneously [PS3].

There is a differing point of view between stakeholders regarding what a good representation of the public entails. PS8 mentions that they have read that as long as public participation uses a multitude of instruments to obtain input, this can be more valuable than striving towards a representative group of stakeholders. Contrarily, PS5 explains that a large socio-economic diversity of stakeholders is of great value and that this contributes to a more representative selection. Furthermore, the future users of an TOD are not always already present. Large amounts of inhabitants that will live in the high-rise buildings that are yet to be constructed are not present for public participation [PS9]. Additionally,

inhabitants of TODs are often taken into consideration for public participation, whereas the users [employees, visitors] of these developments are forgotten or regarded as less important relative to inhabitants [PS9]. It is often not possible to have everyone involved in public participation, but it is important that everyone has been provided a fair chance to be involved [CS3].

Usual suspects are often present [PS2; PS3; PS6; PS7; PS8; PS9; CS3; CS4], these usual suspects are often highly educated, white and elderly, those who have time to go to these meetings. Some usual suspects can be upset because of previous projects that were not completed to their satisfaction [PS6]. It can be a form of art to include the right people [PS6], but one cannot force people who are not willing to participate [PS2].

The organization of online meetings during the Covid-19 pandemic showed a larger audience and a broader mix of ethnicities and ages of people who attend public meetings [PS3; PS7; PS8]. The difference is ascribed because online meetings can take up less time, and it is easier for people to tune-in online at home, as compared to physically going to a meeting [PS3]. Online meetings have some disadvantages too regarding inclusion, as some of the public are not sufficiently digitally literate or do not have computers at their disposal [PS3].

4.3.3 Design of participation process

Participation processes are always different, it is always custom made[PS3; PS8, D1]. The most suitable form of a participation process depends on the kind of project, the location of the project, the target group, the goal and the information that is shared [PS3].

As mentioned above, the quality of exchange is associated with the group size and thus with the design of the participation process. A large group can be more easily informed, but for input generation by the public, the creation small groups is often favoured over large groups [PS4; PS8]. This is easily achieved by the application of a different participation process design. Instead of having people listen to a presentation for an hour, a walk-in moment can be set up or the crowd is divided into smaller groups [PS3; PS4].

Online meetings allowed for a larger public to be present during public participation [PS8]. Online meetings attract people who just want to tune in quickly [PS7; PS8]. Additionally, digital meetings bring technological advantages. They allow for quick polls to be held, 3D visualisations to be shown and interactive maps to be used for topics that require choosing specific locations [PS8]. Furthermore, in line with a better quality of exchange, it is possible to regulate a meeting when it is possible to mute all attendees or mute the chat [PS8]. Apart from the advantages that online meetings bring, there clearly is added value in physical meetings [PS8]. It can be important to be able to truly look people in the eye for some discussions [PS3; PS8].

The society is ever changing and evolving, this also brings changes to the participation processes. Information is readily available and it is easy to spread opinions through social media. This is linked to administrative and political interests of the public sector [D2]. Politicians and aldermen are spending more time in image creation and the uprise of social media allowed for more vulnerability within politics [CS2].

4.3.4 Expertise and participation

The last subject that is related to the quality of public participation, as proposed by Quick and Bryson (2016), the subject of expertise and participation, as described in paragraph 2.2.5, will be elaborated upon in the next chapter (see paragraph 5.4).

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has first looked at what Dutch TODs and their key stakeholders are in practice. Then it provided the current implementation of public participation within Dutch TODs. The chapter was structured to provide information related to answering sub question 1. The following conclusion provides the answer to the question:

SQ1: 'How is public participation currently implemented in station areas in the Netherlands?'

Handelingsperspectief OV-knooppunten

The TOD assessment tool currently used in the Netherlands (Handelingsperspectief OV-knooppunten) does not only assess the transport node and its surroundings, but does also provide – by deciding what components to assess, a direction into what developments are to be done to make the area future-proof. Furthermore, the tool does not actively promote the involvement of the public, or civil society stakeholders. In not including the public in the initiative phase, in which the tool is used, the amount of impact that the input of the public could have had, is reduced, indicating the direction of a more expert-centred design of TODs.

Timing and degree of participation

The timing of including the public within Transit-Oriented Developments is deliberated between the key stakeholders [municipality, province, ProRail, NS, (Transport Region)]. This timing, as well as the degree of participation is thought to be related to the project leader's perception on public participation. Furthermore, the timing of including the public is dependent on the tendency of professionals to bring out a more or less complete plan, the level of abstraction, and the stage of the plan cycle the project is in. Developers provided the notion that the timing of public participation can be used strategically. Sometimes a participation-plan is developed that structures the public participation process from the beginning. Stakeholders from civil society have addressed that participation-plans are not always present and would allow for a better process between the key stakeholders and the public.

The degree of participation within station area developments is currently mostly at the level of Information and consultation, although this highly varies between projects (i.e. amount of input possible and project leader dependent). The levels co-decision and empowerment are not included in TODs (according to the interviewees) because of the high complexity of the project and the financial stakes.

Quality of public participation

The quality of public participation is deemed highly dependent on communication. The interviewees posed that transparency, clear communication of the feasibility of the input, expectation management, making reports and deliberation between the public and the organizing parties throughout the process is of great importance for the quality of public participation. Furthermore, communication in the form of language supports the inclusion or exclusion of population groups.

Stakeholder analyses are made to provide an overview of stakeholders within a certain area. Not all stakeholders are interested in participating, but this interest can change over time, and thus it is important to keep communicating with all stakeholders. What constitutes a good representation of the public was debated. Some interviewees assign a good representation through large socio-economic diversity, whereas other stakeholders are less concerned with a good representation, and are satisfied when they have used a mix of communication tools, that has allowed the public to respond. Furthermore, in case of public participation, citizens that live near developments are often invited, whereas the future inhabitants as well as the users of the environment frequently are not invited and regarded as less important.

Within densely built areas, interest representatives are found to be more present, as compared to individual citizens. Furthermore, the interviewees pointed out that the public should only be asked for input when input is wished for, in order to prevent diminishing trust. Consensus between all stakeholders is often not feasible, frequently concessions will have to be made.

Participation processes are always custom-made, depending on a multitude of factors. Furthermore, the group size of physical meetings is often depending on whether or not the public can provide input. If this is the case, the group is divided into smaller groups and walk-in moments can be organized.

Although the usual suspects are often present during public participation meetings, the covid-19 pandemic allowed for advantages in the form of attracting a broader demographic. Another advantage of online meetings is related to information sharing. At the same time, disadvantages are also prevalent, by the exclusion of certain individuals in addition to the reduced personal connection with the public.

5. The added value of including citizens in TODs

The previous chapter displayed the current context of Dutch TODs and the public participation within Dutch TODs. This chapter elaborates upon the perceived added value of including the public in Dutch TODs. First, the perspective of the three types of stakeholders that were interviewed [public sector, civil society and developers] is discussed on what topics they think public participation could provide additional value. Second, the overview of advantages and disadvantages, as mentioned in paragraph 2.2.1, is supplemented with the input from the interviewees. Furthermore, the difference between experts and public opinion is addressed. Concluding, this chapter provides a discussion of direct versus indirect participation.

5.1 What domains of TOD could public participation add to?

As mentioned in the theory chapter, public participation is found to mostly be useful for urban design-related objectives. These objectives are more easily grasped by a larger public and directly contribute to their social and mental well-being. The perspectives of what the public can add through public participation have been assessed during the interviews. The collective perspectives of three types of stakeholders, as provided in the methodology chapter, were distinguished; the public sector, developers and civil society. The overview of perspectives of the interviewees is displayed in Table 9 below.

5.1.1 Public Sector

The 'look and feel' of a location are the things that matter to the user, the public can provide their input on this spatial design subject [PS7]. PS4 mentions that accessibility and social safety – which are also related to the spatial design of a location – are important factors that the public can talk about. Moreover, the public can make additions to making a space a place by re-assigning the public space from a place of mobility, to one of meeting and staying [PS4]. Furthermore, it is possible to discuss with the public what type of green infrastructure is wished for [PS4]. PS6 notes that the amount of input provided by the public should be kept realistic. This is related to expectation management and financial considerations related to the spatial design [PS4; PS6].

PS2 depicted that the public can sometimes think about the function of a certain building, related to their wishes and needs. This function adds to the experience of an environment and can entice people to come to this specific area [PS9]. The public can also notice errors in the plan [PS5] that are overlooked by professionals.

The large amount of location specific knowledge that the public holds is of value and should be used [PS5]. This is knowledge that external parties do not have, but which can be used to create a better living environment [PS7]. It is not only key to gather information on the current state and the current user experience of a location, but it is also important to know what will entice someone to come to a certain location in the future [PS9]. Both in regard to the spatial design, but also in regard to changing the habits of citizens around the subject of aiming towards more sustainable mobility.

Practical problems can be solved by someone in the community [PS5]. An example that is mentioned is regarding social safety, an entrepreneur was willing to recalibrate the position a camera at a certain point.

5.1.2 Civil Society

One can, in principle, discuss anything in a project with citizens [CS1]. Anything that is related to spatial design that is [CS1; CS2]. CS2 mentions the 'wisdom of the crowd', they point out that by including the public in thinking about station areas, they provide local knowledge and location specific needs and wishes. This knowledge and needs can in turn result in a better design outcomes on a functional, creative and cultural manner that allow the place to flourish [CS2]. A station area is a location that everyone in a city will visit once or even regularly, it is a place for everyone, therefore all contributions, however small, should be taken into consideration from the beginning of the plan formation (Initiative phase) [CS2].

CS6 explains that user experience, from disabled people, can aid in creating a space that is designed for all. Both for creating a more accessible hub (stairs versus ramps, design of entry gates) as well as the surrounding public space (width of the streets, crosswalks).

Project teams should not underestimate the public [CS3, CS4]. Their experience is that the very public that wishes to be involved in such projects, often has the same profession, but in a different municipality, or has a network of comparable experts on their own that they can use to add value to the project.

5.1.3 Developer

Citizens can get involved with design-choices [D1; D2]. How much input they can provide depends on the level of completion of the project and the amount of leeway that is possible [D2]. When the developer is not just realising a plan made by others, but is developing their own project, citizens can provide input on their needs and wishes [D1]. An example of their wishes is what type of retail they would appreciate at the ground level of the developed apartment building [D1].

Additionally, the public can be of help in guiding how to phase out the realisation, whether the works will be short with a lot of nuisance, or during a long time with less nuisance [D2]. D2 elaborates that even when the design is complete and there seems to be no leeway, and the realisation is phased out, public participation can always be implemented. There is always a buffer in the plan, this buffer can be used to discuss a better implementation [D2]. D1 explains that the public can for example provide input for the logistics of building materials. For safety reasons, developers can choose not to include freight traffic during hours that children travel to and from their schools [D1].

There are three pillars that are important to feel good in your own skin: 1) work, 2) family and friends and 3) home [D2]. When there are developments in the trusted environment of one's home, the home-pillar is affected, which can be an unpleasant experience. Developers should thus always make people feel that they can provide input and that they are informed [D2]. It is crucial for a good implementation, that the public provides input on their wishes and needs, since they are the people who will live there when the construction is finished [D1].

The added value of public participation according to the interviewees is summarised in Table 9 below. The distinction of the categories was devised by structuring the provided perspectives.

ADDITIONS OF THE PUBLIC	INTERVIEWEES
Spatial design	PS2; PS4; PS6; PS7; CS2;CS3; CS6; CS5; D1; D2
Location-specific knowledge	PS1; PS2; PS5; PS7 PS9 ; CS2; D1; D2;
Local needs and wishes	PS1; PS2; PS4; PS5; PS6; PS7; PS8; PS9 ; CS2; D1;
User experience	PS7; PS8; PS9; CS2; CS6;
Making use of their own network	CS3; CS4
How to phase out the realisation	D2
Logistics of the project	D1
Function of certain building	PS2; PS9; D1
Notice errors	PS5;
Solving practical problems	PS5; D1

Table 9: Additions that the public can provide

5.1.4 Placemaking

The spatial design additions that were described by the interviewees are related to the in Figure 4 provided placemaking aspects. The public can help with the design of public spaces in TODs by sharing their views on a myriad of aspects. The general public can provide their perspective on the walkability, convenience, attractiveness, safety, history, sustainability and green infrastructure that are situated in the section related to 'comfort and image'. Furthermore, interest representatives such as travellers' association and the bicycle association can provide input on the 'access and linkages' section of the figure, pertaining to the continuity, walkability, (cyclability,) convenience and the accessibility of the node and the surrounding infrastructure. Concluding, by inviting interest representatives for people with a disability, the accessibility of public spaces can be assessed in how walkable, sittable, convenient, readable and thus safe they are.

Within placemaking, there are four possible interventions [hardware, software, mindware and orgware] (Verheul, 2017), as elaborated upon in paragraph 2.1.2. The role of public participation in hardware interventions [physical interventions] is apparent from the spatial design component that the public can add to. Furthermore, the mindware [looking at spaces in a different way] interventions are represented by the collection of the public's location-specific knowledge, local needs and wishes, user experience and ascribing a function to a building. Concludingly, orgware interventions [involved actors and their collaboration] are present in public participation bringing together stakeholders, using the public's network and practical problem solving.

5.2 Advantages of public participation

The literature discussed in Chapter 2 provided an overview of the advantages (see Table 1) and disadvantages (see Table 2) of public participation according to international literature. During the interviews with stakeholders from the public sector, civil society and developers, questions regarding their perceived advantages and disadvantages of public participation were inquired. This provided a second overview according to the following (Dutch) perspective on public participation in TODs. This overview is displayed and elaborated upon below (see Table 10 and Table 11).

The interviews acted as a confirmation on both the advantages and disadvantages mentioned in the literature. The opinion of the interviewees corresponds to the international literature. It is interesting to notice that there is a difference between the opinions of the different types of stakeholders. Where the public sector and civil society often mention alternative solutions that were provided by the public, as well as the potential for a better result through local knowledge, needs and wishes.

The public sector interviewees are the only one who elaborate upon the creation of ownership by the community, the increased understanding of the issue and the project, the integration of various interests and opinions and increasing the project's legitimacy. As the public sector's target should be to provide services to the general public, and keeping the needs and wishes of the public at hearth, this can be seen as the natural stance of the sector.

Civil society interviewees elaborate upon advantages that have not been mentioned by the two other types of stakeholders. The educational aspect of public participation, increasing the projects' credibility and the building of trust and respect between government and community are not acknowledged by the public sector and developer interviewees. Civil society actors have an interest in creating a committed, educated constituency and trust between them and the implementing parties, because they are very much interested in maintaining good communication that they find will aid in having a more polished collaboration for future projects [CS2]. The general reason for the other two types of stakeholders for including public participation are, as the table displays, mainly geared towards creating better outcomes and a smooth process.

The developers focus on the potential for a bigger support base and thus less opposition. Although the developers are not very prevalent in the overview of advantages, both interviewees were supporting and made use of public participation from an early stage of the process. As D1 mentioned, favourable experiences with public participation will persuade developers to use public participation in all future projects.

Not only the developers, but also the public sector and civil society stakeholders agree upon the potential that public participation can lead to a reduction of opposition – by generating a larger support base, and creating more public acceptance.

Interestingly, the notion that public participation increases transparency is not specifically mentioned by the interviewees as an advantage, even though, as has been further elaborated upon in this thesis, all three types of stakeholders mention that transparency and openness to decision making is found to be important. No new advantages (i.e. advantages that were not in the literature overview) were mentioned in the interviews.

ADVANTAGES OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION	AUTHOR(S)	INTERVIEWEES
Increasing a project's legitimacy	Koch & Sanchez, 2017; Roberts, 2004; Nared, 2020	PS6
Increasing transparency	Irazábal, 2009; Roberts, 2004; Stein, 2017	
Increasing democratic values in urban development	Irazábal, 2009; CBT, s.d.; Roberts, 2004; Feldman & Quick, 2009	D1
Providing alternative solutions to complex problems	Koch & Sanchez, 2017; Roberts, 2004; CBT, s.d.; Feldman & Quick, 2009; Quick & Bryson, 2016	PS2; PS3; PS4; PS5; PS6; PS7; CS1; CS2
Increasing design outcomes by including local knowledge, needs, and wishes	Koch & Sanchez, 2017; Irazábal, 2009; Stein, 2017; Nared, 2020; Quick & Bryson, 2016; Innes & Booher, 2010; Thomas & Bertolini, 2020; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004; Habron, 2003; Beierle and Cayford, 2002	PS2; PS3; PS4; PS5; PS6; PS9; CS1; CS2; CS3; CS4
Generates less opposition through community input, public acceptance of decisions made	Irazábal, 2009; Berry et al., 1993; Potapchuk, 1996; Roberts, 2004; Stein, 2017; Irivin and Stansbury, 2004; Konisky and Beierle, 2001; Reed, 2008; Junker et al., 2007	PS2; PS5; PS7; PS9; CS4; CS3; D2; D1
Educates citizens, teaches skills, fostering and developing social learning	Irazábal, 2009; Berry et al., 1993; CBT, s.d.; Roberts, 2004; Blackstock et al., 2007; Junker et al., 2007; Pahl-Wostl, 2002; Beierle and Cayford, 2002	CS2;
Creating human and social capital and a sense of community	CBT, s.d.; Potapchuk & Crocker, 1999; Roberts, 2004; Stein, 2017; Feldman & Quick, 2009; Quick & Bryson, 2016	PS1; CS3
Creation of ownership by the community	CBT, s.d.; Nared, 2020	PS4; PS5
Increases a project's credibility	CBT, s.d.	CS6
Builds trust and respect between government and community	CBT, s.d.; Roberts, 2004; Feldman & Quick, 2009; Quick & Bryson, 2016; Richards et al., 2004; OECD, 2001; Beirle, 2000	CS3; CS4;
Provides the basis to include all who wish to participate (inclusion)	CBT, s.d.; Feldman & Quick, 2009	PS7; CS6
Increases understanding of the issue and thus project	Duram and Brown, 1999	PS2; PS5; PS7; PS9
Integration of various interests and opinions	Griffin, 1999; Creighton, 1986	PS2; PS5; PS9

Table 10: Advantages of Public participation. Literature overview and addition of interviews

5.3 Disadvantages of public participation

Regarding the disadvantages, all three types of stakeholder agree on the most referenced disadvantage, the consumption of more time, money and other resources. As is mentioned in the second chapter, this consumption of resources is seen as both a disadvantage and an advantage. The advantage that less opposition is likely to be generated, is in line with said disadvantage.

The public sector regularly brought up that citizens can often not comprehend the complexity of the processes going on in Transit-Oriented Developments. This concerns the amount of projects, as well as the different stages and multi-year length of projects. This topic goes hand in hand with the perception of key-stakeholders to wait until some concrete choices are ready to be made. Controversially, civil society interviewees mention not to underestimate the knowledge, expertise that the public – or their network – possesses.

Furthermore the public sector mentions that the length of projects can cause the public to lose interest, leads to frustration and losing commitment. This is one of the complexities in deciding when to include public participation. Apart from the investment of time and resources that the public will need to spend in such projects, the public sector is aware that this could lead to not-representative stakeholders. Lower social-economical classes will not be able to invest the resources needed for long projects.

Civil society interviewees were not too concerned with disadvantages of public participation. When asked to elaborate on the possible disadvantages, the interviewees pointed out the positive sides and advantages of public participation, as would be expected of advocates for society. Interviewee CS4 mentioned that in striving towards an inclusive public participation, it can be challenging to make sure that all the right people are involved and that the stakeholders are representative for that location. In line with this inclusivity issue, another disadvantage mentioned is that some members of the public are aiming to gain self-serving outcomes during public participation.

Developers focus on how polished a development is. They both agree that direct participation is regarded as inefficient. This is mostly related to the general notion that most developers have had in the past. Increasingly often public participation is regarded as aiding in smoothening out the project. The developers prefer to know at the start what the surrounding actors want and feel so that the end of the process brings fewer surprises. They aim to mitigate the unpleasant factors that any development bring such as noise nuisance and increased heavy traffic, by thinking along with the few factors that can change; the planning of phases and the logistics.

Just as in the case of the advantages of public participation, few disadvantages that were mentioned in the literature were not listed by the interviewees. These two non-listed items are concerned with the disagreement between the public and experts. None of the interviewees regard this as a disadvantage. A reason for this is, as will be elaborated on further in this chapter, the apparent distinction between the rational opinion of experts versus the sometimes emotion-led opinions of the public.

Additional disadvantages – not mentioned in the literature – were elaborated upon during the interviews. The first one is that by including the public in developments, one could create their own opposition [PS1; PS7; CS4]. This is regarded as a possible outcome of public participation that could lead to the consumption of more resources and a prolonged duration of the project. The second disadvantage is that CS3 mentioned that there is a fear of setting precedents. By spending more time with one particular stakeholder than another, the public sector feels that this can lead to other stakeholders feeling treated unequally. Furthermore CS3 noted that political differences between an

action committee and municipality can lead to friction and that this could be regarded a disadvantage for including the public for some developments. Developer D2 poses that by including public participation in their projects, developers get an increased uncertainty about the length of the project, which could lead to financial penalties dictated by their client.

DISADVANTAGES OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION	AUTHOR(S)	INTERVIEWEES
Uninformed public opinion may distract from the main issue	Roberts, 2004	PS4
Consumes more resources (money, staff, time)	Roberts, 2004; Feldman & Quick, 2009; Irazábal, 2009; Nared, 2020; Mostert, 2003; Lawrence and Deangen, 2001; Vroom, 2000; Luyet, 2005; Smith Korfmachter, 2001	PS1; PS9; CS1; D1; D2
Allows for selfish/opportunistic/self-serving opinions that may not serve the greater good	Roberts, 2004; Stivers, 1990; Hart, 1992	PS5; PS9; CS4
Direct citizen participation is inefficient (costly, slow, cumbersome)	Roberts, 2004; Stivers, 1990; Krumholz et al., 1975	PS1; PS4; PS8; D1; D2
The average citizen does not have the ability to comprehend complex problems	Roberts, 2004; Hart 1992; Stein, 2017	PS1; PS2; PS3; PS6; PS8; CS1
Negation of the expertise built up by specialists	Kaufman, 1969	
Requires skill, resources, money, and time that most citizens do not have	Roberts, 2004; King et al., 1998; Nared, 2020	PS5; PS6; PS8
Not all citizens may want to participate, which raises questions of inequality	Roberts, 2004	PS5
Difficult to assure all the right people are involved (inclusion)	CBT, s.d.; Feldman & Quick, 2009; Irazábal, 2009; Koch & Sanchez, 2017	PS5; PS9; CS4
Involvement of stakeholders who are not representative Difficult to ensure a level-playing field between citizens (The higher their socioeconomic status, the more likely they are to possess resources and skills)	Feldman & Quick, 2009; Reed, 2008; Junker et al., 2007; Smith Korfmacher, 2001	PS5; PS9; CS4
May cause disagreement and tension between (a member of) the community and experts	CBT, s.d.	
The longer the process, the more people lose interest, which may result in participants losing commitment. Potential Stakeholder frustration	CBT, s.d.; Reed, 2008; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004; Germain et al., 2001	PS2; PS6; PS8
Identification of new conflicts	Kangas and Store, 2003; Germain et al., 2001; Cooke and Kothari, 2001	PS1
Creating your own opposition		PS1; PS7; CS4

Table 11: Disadvantages of Public participation. Literature overview and addition of interviews

Concluding, interviewees point out that the perceived advantages and disadvantages, and in turn the willingness to make use of public participation, since this has not yet been mandatory, depends on the project leader [CS1, CS2, PS3]. Project leaders that have had poor experiences with public participation are less inclined to use this in a future project, as well as those who have, out of habit, never tried public participation in their projects. Whereas those that have positive experiences, are often re-introducing public participation in future projects. As CS4 and D1 portray, if one has no experience, one cannot truly see the advantages.

5.4 Expert opinion versus public opinion

Experiential and local knowledge that the public possesses is seen as the most important advantage of the public opinion (as mentioned in paragraph 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3). Citizens can aid in providing input that is related to how they experience certain things and what will be the impact on their living environment [D2]. Citizens can be led by emotion, because there will be changes in their close environment and may affect their own interests. Citizens nowadays have access to a wealth of information that can be of help [CS3].

Whereas the public possesses local knowledge, experts use knowledge based from their education, previous experience and their routines, which leads to the prevention of errors [PS7]. Experts know a lot about the feasibility of certain outcomes through legislation and regulations, planning and the related financial aspects [PS6; PS7], yet this way of thinking can be restrictive [PS7]. Citizens are not limited in their thinking, which could provide wild, open-minded and creative ideas. The majority of the results of these ideas may prove to be unfeasible, yet the 10 percent that are vital can be of great value [PS7].

The local knowledge too can influence the feasibility of the project [PS6], sometimes the citizens know whether some specific design will or will not work, and they can bring up extra information that professionals have not thought of. PS5 mentions that an outcome can be technically feasible as judged by the expert, but citizens can provide input that is location specific and motivational that show that said technically feasible outcome, is not the best outcome for those living there [CS2].

Citizens have user experience, they can provide useful information about what they encounter in practice [CS5]. CS1 figures that experts appropriate that they are the experts, but that their overarching goal should be to create the best outcome possible. The citizens are the real experts, their input should be taken seriously and be carefully considered [CS2]. CS5 pleads that experts and citizens should find each other and not be seen as competitors. Explaining to each other what will and will not work will lead to a mutual understanding. D1 elaborates that because of the difference in type of knowledge, conversing with citizens is sometimes more complex. Moreover, to help to create more trust in between developer and citizens, hiring independent experts and mediators can be of support [D1].

It is important to weigh different outcomes [PS3]. Some outcomes that citizens wish, may not serve the general interests of the whole community. PS3 portrayed that the civil servants aim to serve the general interest. Therefore all outcomes should be collected, and then the board should decide what choice they make. PS9 remarks that public servants are citizens too. The following paragraph will elaborate on how indirect participation, such as letting the municipal council make choices, is regarded by the interviewees.

EXPERTS INPUT VERSUS PUBLIC INPUT	INTERVIEWEES
Public: Emotional	PS1; PS2; PS5; CS3; D1; D2
Public: Experiential and location specific knowledge	PS2; PS5; PS6; PS8; PS9;CS1; CS2; CS3; CS5; D2
Public: Motivational opinions [Self-interest]	PS1; PS3; PS5; PS9; CS3
Expert: Rational	PS2; PS3; PS4; PS5; PS7; PS9; CS3; CS5; D1; D2
Expert: Technical knowledge	PS4; PS5; PS6; PS7; PS9; CS3; CS5; D2
Expert: Legislation and Regulation	PS3; PS4; PS6; PS7; CS5; CS6; D1; D2
Expert: Experience from previous projects	PS4; PS6; PS7; PS9; CS5; D1
Expert: Financial feasibility	PS4; PS6; PS7; CS2; CS5; D2

Table 12: Expert input versus input of the public

An overview of the results of the interviews is displayed in Table 12. The categories in the table were derived from the literature on difference between expert and lay knowledge (see paragraph 2.2.5). Two additions were made to this, through categorizing the responses provided in the interviews. These are the previous experience of experts and their knowledge on the financial feasibility.

5.5 Indirect participation

Indirect participation in the form of representative democracy, the representation of the public through public officials is always present within TODs. Apart from representative democracy, a different form of indirect participation was questioned during the interview. Role-playing is closer to direct participation (as compared to representative democracy) in which the key stakeholders are trying to look through the lens – or perspective, of a certain stakeholder.

5.5.1 Role-playing

Direct public participation is preferred over indirect participation by all interviewees. Most interviewees see value in roleplaying; it forces experts to look at a location from a different perspective, that could lead to new perspectives [PS1; PS6; PS7; D2]. Civil servants are in a way always trying to envision what the problem is for the general public [PS4]. Some interviewees question whether a professional is really able to immerse themselves into a new role, to let go their preconceptions [PS7; D1; CS3; CS5]. Not everyone will be capable of that [PS7]. Alongside this, the difference between emotion and ratio is readdressed [D1]. For some more technical aspects of a project (e.g. traffic flows) indirect participation will provide useful information, but direct participation will be of more help and provides a more pure input [PS7]. PS3 questions why not to include the public directly, as this will provide more valuable input.

After doing a roleplay session with experts, it will be of added valuable to include real users [PS3; PS4; CS5; CS6]. CS5 adds that there is a difference between trying to see a certain perspective for a short time, and real-life user experience. Real users should be consulted [CS5]. Consulting one user of a group is not sufficient, because there are differences between users (e.g. differing disabilities) [CS6].

Roleplaying during location visits can provide additional benefits. There is a chance of interaction with the public during these visits, which can provide first-hand experiences [PS2]. Additionally, meeting with a project group for roleplaying is not only good for getting to know the projects' environment, it helps stakeholders to create a bond and being able to find each other in the future [PS6].

Roleplaying could be used best in the early stages of a project, more specifically the research phase [PS1; PS5] as it can provide useful input. PS9 elaborates that roleplaying can be useful in thinking of needs and wishes of future inhabitants or users, as opposed to current inhabitants. These groups are not yet present, so professionals, being citizens themselves, can provide the same input for these groups as others would [PS9]. The overall conclusion is that indirect participation in the form of roleplaying cannot replace direct participation [PS1; PS3; PS9; CS3].

5.5.2 Representative democracy

A second form of indirect participation is that of representative democracy (Roberts, 2004). Representative democracy is the representation of the public through public officials. In the Netherlands a project within a municipality needs approval from the municipal council ('gemeenteraad'). This acts as a go or no-go moment. The perception on representative democracy of the interviewees is provided below.

Representatives are chosen by the public and should therefore be representing the public [PS5; CS1; CS2]. The representatives are in principle acting out of the interest of the general public [PS2]. Even though they ought to be acting out of the general interest, representatives are affiliated with a political party [PS3]. Voting for a during elections is important, but the outcome of this vote is always uncertain [PS4]. The political reality is that not everything that is promised during elections will be (able to be)

implemented [PS2; PS4; PS5]. An important reason for this can be the financial aspects regarding projects, many projects can be started, but the final implementation is a question of dividing the available budget [PS4; D2]. Furthermore, there are always deals and bargains as well as compromises [PS5]. In the end, the representatives are able to vote yes or no, no matter what the aldermen and other stakeholders think [PS5].

Elected representatives should carefully take into consideration the input from public participation [CS1]. Regularly projects that have been worked on for a long time are not passed by the council due to political interests and political preferences [PS2; D2]. The council can always, disregarding the participation trajectory of a project, decide to make adaptations that they would think helps their constituency [PS3].Whenever a public participation trajectory is included in projects that are voted against by the council, the council will have to be held accountable [CS2] and should elaborate on their choices [D2].

Furthermore, CS3 provides the notion that it is important to understand that in the Netherlands, there is a trias politica. Stakeholders can always go to court, when they deem the outcome to be unfair[CS3]. There is a theoretical optimal outcome of a project, but the result is often sub-optimal. There are additional instruments being created that can lead to better outcomes, such as the 'burgerpanel' [CS3]. Moreover, The municipality of PS3 is in a pilot, trying to mitigate these outcomes by getting the decisionmakers involved from the beginning of the project, just like the citizens. PS3 believes that by involving the decisionmakers, the public and the other stakeholders and showing that the project team takes public participation seriously, that there is room for improvement in passing the vote.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has first looked at the domains that public participation can add to. After that, the perceived advantages and disadvantages of public participation were addressed. Then, the difference between the input of experts and the public was elaborated upon in order to gain insight into how the input of the public is regarded by the interviewees. The chapter ended by providing insights related to the indirect participation of the public.

The chapter was structured to provide information related to answering sub question 2. The following conclusion provides the answer to the question:

SQ2: 'What are the perceived advantages and disadvantages for including public participation in TODs?

What domains can public participation add to

The public can make additions in projects regarding the spatial design by incorporating their location-specific knowledge, user experience and addressing their needs and wishes. Furthermore, in some cases the function of a building can be elaborated upon by the public, the public can notice errors and aid in solving practical problems in the project. Lastly, for developers, the public can provide input on the logistics and the phasing of the realisation phase.

In making additions to the above mentioned subjects, the public can contribute to the hardware, mindware and orgware interventions within a location. The spatial design that the general public can provide additions to is described in the 'comfort and image' category of placemaking (see Figure 4), whereas interest representatives are able to provide input on the design related to the 'access and linkages' category of said figure.

Expert input versus input of the public

The input from the public differs in that from experts in the sense that the public provides input that contains has experiential an location-specific knowledge, can be led by emotions and can contain motivational opinions. The expert's input is considered to be more rational and comprises of experiential (previous projects) and technical knowledge, as well as knowledge on legislation, regulations and financial feasibility. By seeing both the project team and the public as partners, combining the input of the public and experts can lead to a better project result.

Indirect participation

Indirect participation is ever present in the form of representative democracy. The elected officials in the municipal council are the last go or no-go moment in deciding whether a project can be implemented. The representatives ought to act out of the interest of the general public, but not all project can be implemented due to budgetary decisions, compromises and bargains are made. The council is to be held accountable for their decisions and pilots are held to involve decisionmakers throughout the process, in order to decrease the negative votes.

The indirect participation form of role-playing is regarded as both useful, in the sense that forces civil servants to look at the problem through a different perspective. But at the same time, role-playing is lacking the real-life experience that is provided as one of the main advantages of public participation.

Advantages and disadvantages.

The advantages and disadvantages provided in the international literature hold up against the answers provided by the interviewees regarding Dutch TODs. The advantages and disadvantages mentioned by the three types of interviewees displayed the collective, but also differing stances between the types of stakeholders. In which the public sector elaborated on the increased understanding of the project and the comprehensibility of long and complex projects. Developers were concerned with creating a streamlined process, and civil society provided answers regarding trust, credibility and creating social capital.

The most mentioned advantages are the provision of alternative solutions, increasing design outcome through the inclusion of local knowledge, needs and wishes and the generation of a support base, reducing public opposition.

The consumption of resources, inefficiency of public participation and the inability to comprehend complex problems are often mentioned disadvantages. Furthermore, disadvantages of public participation in Dutch TODs are related to the difficulty to assure a representative sample of the population and that of stakeholders losing commitment in long processes. The interviewees identified additional disadvantages of which the most commonly mentioned is that by using public participation, one can create their own opposition.

6. The potential for public participation in Dutch TODs

After discussing the current practice of Dutch Transit-Oriented Developments, the public participation within TODs, the subjects that the public can provide input on, and the advantages and disadvantages of public participation in TOD processes. This chapter is dedicated to reviewing the potential of public participation in Dutch TODs by incorporating the lessons learned from previous chapters.

6.1 The goal and potential of public participation

The goal of public participation is enhancing the quality of the plan [PS2; PS3; PS4; PS6; PS7; PS8; D2; CS1; CS2; CS3; CS4; CS5], creating a larger support base [PS2; PS3; PS5; PS6; D1; D2], create a public space that takes into account the needs and wishes of the public [PS4; PS6; PS8; D1; CS4] and a more democratic end result [PS3; CS2; CS4; CS5]. Furthermore PS8 and CS3 note that public participation should not be about creating a larger support base for a project that the project team has worked out, but that public participation should be about collectively forming that plan. The former is currently often the case [PS8].

The largest potential for public participation is to attain the benefits and make these benefits clear to the organizing parties as well as to inform on and try to reduce the number of disadvantages. Furthermore, the stakeholders involved in public participation can learn from each other's perspectives and motives. This will bring them closer together and can allow for a more fruitful and harmonious participation process.

Interviewees provided that the degree of participation should not per se change in the future [D2; CS3], but the timing should. Including the public from an early stage is regarded as an important future direction for increasing the outcomes and transparency of public participation within Dutch TODs [PS5; D2; CS1; CS2; CS3; CS5]. As stated in chapter 4, the right level of participation is depending on the project. All public participation trajectories are custom-made to fit to the specific project and the related environment.

Furthermore, interviewees mention that the public sector should, when hiring new civil servants and in particular project leaders, look at their openness for input of the public [CS1; CS2]. Additionally, those who are hired should be generalists that are capable of looking outside of their own discipline and look at the opportunities that public participation can bring to the diverse range of projects of a municipality [CS1].

Currently, most developers do not make enough use of public participation [D1; D2]. The potential lies in having all developers proceed to slowly gaining confidence in the advantages that public participation can bring to the projects [D2] and step-by-step upgrading their public participation [D1]. The Environment and Planning Act will provide the initial push [D2]. Additional potential is to be found in the quality of the public participation process and the Environment and Planning Act.

6.1.1 Quality of public participation

The first step for increasing the quality of public participation is systematically starting with the creation of a participation-plan. This plan serves as an overview of future steps, and states what will be communicated, by whom and when feedback can be provided. By drafting such plan, the key stakeholders are required to think about public participation from the start of their process. Furthermore, the plan can be seen as a form of transparency that is provided to the public.

The interviewees informed that transparency about what input is asked of them at the start, during the project and what has been done with the input upon completion is regarded as an important part of the quality of public participation processes. Transparency in the form of making reports is also deemed important, both for learning from the meetings and for the inclusion of those that were not (able to be) present.

By involving the public from an early moment of the project, their location specific knowledge and user experience can be taken into consideration, as well as their needs and wishes. The involvement at an early stage will provide the possibility to create a more public-centred design, as opposed to the current potentially expert-centred design of TODs.

Currently, the public that is located near the development is often consulted. Taking into consideration the current users and the potential future inhabitants of the area can result in a more holistic perspective on what the needs and wishes of the public are.

The combination of techniques for inviting the public for public participation processes [digitally, newspapers, letters, etc.], as well as a mix of types [physical and online] and techniques for the implementation of public participation meetings, allows for an increased quality of the public participation in future trajectories.

As stated in chapter 4, the right level of participation is depending on the project. All public participation trajectories are custom-made to fit to the specific project and the related environment.

6.1.2 Participation in Environment and Planning Act:

During the interviews, the Environment and Planning Act is often mentioned in relation to the future of public participation in the Netherlands. Through the implementation of the Environment and Planning Act, public participation is regarded to become more common [PS6; CS4]. Furthermore, the act is seen as an opportunity for organisations to expand their views on public participation [PS8] and for developers to start incorporating public participation within their plans [D2; CS3]. Whereas the transition can be a little bumpy, provinces are willing to look into helping municipalities in case of problems with their capacity [PS6]. The next paragraph examines the Environment an Planning Act.

6.2 Environment and Planning Act

The newly constructed Environment and Planning Act of the Netherlands ('Omgevingswet'), which is due to take effect from the start of 2023, aims towards focusing more on the physical living environment, as compared to the focus on regulations from the past (VNG, 2019). The act wants to contribute to restore the confidence in government by, among other things, facilitating public participation. A professional and open attitude is seen as the guarantee for a good participation process (VNG, 2019). The Environment and Planning Act states that it is important that all interest and consideration are put on the table in order to make an integral assessment possible (Ministerie BZK, 2021; VNG, 2019). Furthermore, the act presupposes that by involving stakeholders at an early stage in developments, a larger support base will be generated that may prevent delays through legal proceedings during the implementation of developments (Ministerie BZK, 2021). (VNG, 2019)

The Environment and Planning Act states that public participation is mandatory, but does not state how to design the public participation process. Because of the importance of custom-made processes, the participation process has only been included in the law in general terms (Ministerie BZK, 2021). In addition, municipalities often have their own participation regulations or frameworks under the Municipalities Act (Gemeentewet), which specifies how the local community is to be involved in decision-making on plans, how they are to be informed and how the process is to be accounted for (VNG, 2019).

There are three types of participation according to the Act; notification ('kennisgeving'), obligation to state the grounds ('motiveringsplicht') and application requirement ('aanvraagvereiste'). The latter will not be further described in this thesis as it relates to bottom-up projects that are not prevalent in TODs. The textbox on the right provides the difference between both forms of participation. The obligation to state the grounds is mandatory for Environmental Visions ('Omgevingsvisie'), which describes and elaborates on the quality and intention for the physical living environment, the identity and the trends of the municipality. Moreover, the environmental vision is binding for the municipality itself. The Association of Netherlands Municipalities (Vereniging Nederlandse Gemeenten, 2019) states that for these reasons it is only logical that the vision is developed in dialogue with residents, businesses, social partners and chain partners and that the results of the participation process are incorporated. The successive stage, the Environmental Plan ('Omgevingsplan') uses notification in advance and obligation to state the grounds during the decision making stage (VNG, 2019).

<u>Notification:</u>
In the notification, the competent authority describes who will be involved, what the issue is and when; what the role of the competent authority and the initiator is and where more information will be available.

<u>Obligation to state the grounds:</u>
In their decision, the competent authority indicates how citizens, companies, social organisations and administrative bodies were involved in the preparation and the results thereof.

(VNG, 2019)

The underlying thoughts of the Environment and Planning Act in relation to public participation are in line with the advantages and the quality of the process of public participation that have been described in the international literature and retrieved from the interviews. In terms of a larger support base that reduces opposition and the need of an open attitude of civil servants. Furthermore, in applying public participation from the beginning of the process and the transparency of the participation process, that is related to when and how the public is consulted and what the results of the participation process are.

The General Administrative Law Act (Algemene wet bestuursrecht) imposes obligations to take the interests of stakeholders into account during decision-making, in this case views, objections and appeals. In the Environment and Planning Act, it is added that 'everyone' must be able to respond to and participate in plans, instead of only those with a direct interest. (VNG, 2019)

This notion presupposes that not only those with a direct interest, such as local inhabitants, but also the wider public, users and future inhabitants can provide their views, objections and appeals as a form of participation in the late stages of a project. This can be seen as an improvement on the current public participation in terms of inclusion and diversity. Nevertheless, as depicted before, the impact of the input provided in a late stage of the process, is much lower as compared to the impact of input in the early stages of the process. Which in turn reduces the level of impact that non-local inhabitants can make.

6.3 Handelingsperspectief OV-knooppunten

The Handelingsperspectief OV-knooppunten is the tool that is used to assess TODs nation-wide and thus provides a strong guidance into what aspects of TODs are to be reviewed. Additionally, the tool provides a guide into what stakeholders should be involved in using the tool. Changing to the tool in what is to be assessed regarding the design of public places, as well as providing the notion that the public too could be asked to help can make large changes in TODs. The public can help in assessing the TOD on design principles in regard to their experience and location specific knowledge, as well as providing input on their needs and wishes for the future (see Paragraph 5.1).

As has been analysed in the previous chapter, the public is able to provide a myriad of design-related feedback for developments. Additionally, as Figure 10 displays, the amount of impact that input can have in the beginning of the process is far greater compared to the amount of impact that the public can have when consulted in a later stage. Including the public in the initiative phase, and thus during the assessment of TODs, can allow for a more public-centred design as opposed to the current expert-centred design.

The design of the proposed public participation process does not necessarily need to include key stakeholders other than the municipality. The municipality can use the provided feedback and input of the public to create a more complete assessment of the current state of the TOD (apart from their own assessment), as well as provide directions into what the public thinks could be the future state of the TOD. As we have learned, the public is not always able to grasp the abstraction level of the plans, but they are able to physically assess the area by walking in it; the step of providing wishes for the future may be a little harder for some participants, as the level of abstraction rises.

Subsequently, the key stakeholders can combine their views within the tool and continue to make plans, that incorporate the input of the public from the early stage. After that, the research phase starts, the phase in which the interviewees provided that the public sector needs time to research the possibilities. Upon completion of the research phase, the public can be consulted again in order to provide design-related feedback.

Some municipalities are already engaged in participation from an early stage in the plan cycle, but it is still useful to state the possibilities, for those municipalities that are not currently implementing public participation from an early stage. The interviewees noted that there is an increased urgency to apply public participation from an earlier stage, this proposition offers that possibility.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has first looked at the goal and potential of public participation within Dutch TODs. After that, the role of the Environment and Planning Act was addressed. Lastly, the potential for the TOD assessment tool was elaborated upon. The chapter was structured to provide information related to answering sub question 3. The following conclusion provides the answer to the question:

SQ3: 'What is the potential for public participation in Dutch TODs?'

The potential for public participation in TODs is to attain the benefits of public participation. Next to this, the degree of public participation in TODs should not per se change, but the timing, which allows for a move from an expert-centred design towards a more public-centred design of Dutch TODs. Creating a participation-plan and increasing the transparency to the public are regarded important changes towards a better and more structured public participation process. Taking into account the (current and future) users would allow for an even more inclusive design.

Developers should, through the incentive of the Environment and Planning Act, increase their practice of public participation. The Environment and Planning Act was created keeping in mind that public participation adds in a larger support base, and that involving the public from the beginning allows for a more transparent process. Which will influence the practice of municipalities nationwide towards better public participation. Furthermore the Environment and Planning Act allows for a more inclusive participation process because 'everyone' should be able to respond and participate in plans, as opposed to only those with direct interests.

Concluding, updating the TOD assessment tool – which not only assesses, but also guides towards a certain direction – would allow for including the public into TODs from an earlier stage that will enable to attain the benefits of public participation, such as their location-specific knowledge and the assessment of their needs and wishes. Which leads towards a public-elaborated assessment, as opposed to the current expert-centred assessment of TODs.

7. Conclusion

This chapter briefly elaborates on the steps taken within this research and summarizes the answers of the sub-research questions. Subsequently, it then aims to answer the main research question.

7.1 Summary of the research steps

This qualitative research assessed the current practice of public participation within Dutch Transit-Oriented Development. The main research method were semi-structured interviews, which were conducted with various key stakeholders from (semi-) governmental institutions, developers and civil society stakeholders that have been active within TODs in The Netherlands. The research was devised by collecting information on the current practice of public participation within Dutch TODs (Chapter 4). Subsequently, the added value of including the public within TODs was elaborated upon. Concluding, the potential of public participation within Dutch TODs was discussed.

The current practice of public participation within Dutch TODs

The tool that assesses - and thereby guides developments of - station areas in the Netherlands ('Handelingsperspectief OV-Knooppunten') does not actively promote the involvement of the public. Which can in turn result in a more expert-centred design of TODs. The timing of including the public depends on the project leader, the level of abstraction and the stage of the plan cycle. The degree of public participation is currently mostly at the degrees of information and consultation. Strict consensus is not necessary and often considered to not be feasible within TOD projects. A project can be called successful not only when consensus is reached, but also when all important stakeholders are feeling to be heard.

In terms of the quality of public participation, open and transparent communication is deemed of high importance by the interviewees, especially for expectation management and how the input provided by the public has been handled. In order to retain the trust of the public, the public should only be consulted when their input is to be used. Stakeholder analyses are performed in all projects, but what constitutes a good representation of the public and whether a good representation is necessary was debated. Within densely built up areas, interest representatives are found to be more present, as compared to individual citizens. Usual suspects are often present during public participation meetings, but the covid-19 pandemic allowed for advantages in the form of attracting a broader demographic through online meetings.

The added value of public participation within TODs

The added value of public participation is in part found in the additions that the public can make. The interviewees pointed out that they are especially able to make additions to the spatial design of a TOD. The spatial design of TODs can be linked with the concept of placemaking, which provides a guide into what aspects a place consists of, making a space a place. By including their location-specific knowledge, user experience and local needs and wishes, the project can be designed in a more tailor-made manner.

The advantages of public participation in TODs that were found in the interviews are in full consistent with the advantages of public participation found in the international literature. Each type of stakeholder [public sector, civil society, developer] roughly mentioned different advantages, coherent with their function in society. The most frequent mentioned advantages are that the public can

increase the design outcomes by including local knowledge. Further advantages include that the public can provide alternative solutions to complex problems and that less opposition is generated by including the public during the project.

The disadvantages of public participation too mostly hold up to the disadvantages mentioned in the international literature, with the addition of the possibility of creating one's own opposition. The most frequent mentioned disadvantages were the consumption of more resources and the inability of the average citizen to comprehend the complex problems.

The difference between input provided by the public and input provided by the experts is that the public includes emotion, location specific knowledge and can include self-interest. The experts are found to provide input that is rational, consists of technical knowledge, previous experience, legislation and regulation, and financial feasibility. Indirect participation through role-playing is sometimes regarded as a good method in the early stages, although most interviewees mention that including the public directly adds more valuable input. Indirect participation cannot replace direct participation.

7.2 Answering the main research question

This paragraph answers the following main research question:

> *'WHAT IS THE POTENTIAL FOR STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION WITHIN DUTCH TRANSIT-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT?'*

The overarching goals of public participation are found to be enhancing the outcomes of a project and to create a larger support base. The potential for public participation in TODs, to accomplish these goals, is to attain the benefits of public participation, and to reduce the perceived disadvantages. The advantages of including the public seem to weigh more, since project leaders that have made use of public participation, are often in favour of using public participation in their next projects.

Furthermore, the degree of public participation in TODs should not per se change, but the timing. More specifically, by including the public from an early stage, which allows for a move from an expert-centred design towards a more public-centred design of Dutch TODs through the inclusion of location-specific knowledge and needs. Furthermore, participation-plans should be made in the beginning of the project that in turn allows for a more structured public participation process, as well as an increased transparency of the project.

A second part of strengthening the role of public participation within Dutch TODs is found in the Environment and Planning Act. Developers and the public sector alike should, through the incentive of the Environment and Planning Act, increase their practice of public participation. The Environment and Planning Act was created keeping in mind that public participation adds in a larger support base, and that involving the public from the beginning allows for a more transparent process. Which will influence the practice of municipalities and developers nationwide towards better public participation practices. Furthermore the Environment and Planning Act allows for a more inclusive participation process because 'everyone' should be able to respond and participate in plans, as opposed to only those with direct interests. Taking into account the (current and future) users throughout the project would allow for an even more inclusive design of TODs.

Concludingly, the potential for strengthening the role of public participation within Dutch TODs is found in including the public in earlier stages. Within Dutch TODs, this can be accomplished by updating the TOD assessment tool – Handelingsperspectief OV Knooppunten – which shapes TODs by assessing specific aspects of TODs. This can be accomplished by expanding the assessment of the urban

design, the subject that the public is found to contribute the most useful input on. Furthermore, by including the public in the assessment, their location-specific knowledge in addition to their needs and wishes can be mapped out and included in the future processes. The result will be a more public-elaborated design of TODs in the Netherlands, allowing for a better living environment for inhabitants and users.

8. Discussion

This chapter discusses the limitations of this research and provides directions for future research.

8.1 Limitations

Although the research was focused on providing a first perspective on the subject of TOD and public participation, the selection of interviewees was based on the availability. Apart from the interviewed stakeholders, more stakeholders concerned with and active in TODs are present. To provide an even more holistic perspective on the matter, other organisations could had been asked to elaborate their perspective on the subject. Furthermore, because of the qualitative nature of the research, the results cannot be said to be statistically significant. Through conducting the interviews in Dutch and translating the statements, some nuances may have been lost in translation.

The interpretative approach that this thesis has followed, comes with general limitations. These limitations in turn hold true for this research. Because reality is perceived to be subjective, the researcher can do no more than giving their representation of this reality. Additionally, there is the case of double hermeneutics. The researcher studied the perception of people included in a study, which makes it difficult to determine whether the knowledge acquired is generally valid (van Thiel, 2014).

Case studies generally have a limited external validity because of the results often only apply to the particular context that has been examined (Flyvbjerg, 2006 IN Van Thiel, 2014). The internal validity of case studies, in turn, is regarded as high due to the wealth of information collected (Van Thiel, 2014). A case study research makes it difficult to generalize findings to other situations, as it aims for depth instead of breadth (Van Thiel, 2014). Although this study was focused on the Netherlands, the research design and the international literature on which this thesis is based, can be applied in other countries to examine the specific cultural context to enhance their potential for public participation within TODs. For more limitations regarding the research methods, see paragraph 3.6.

8.2 Future Research

Future research is recommended for TOD-specific public participation-design. Even though, as elaborated upon in this thesis, public participation design is tailor-made per case, there is likely to be a difference between ‘normal’ public participation design and TOD public participation as stakeholders pointed out that within TODs, more interest representatives are present. Their specific role and timing within public participation can differ from that of the general public.

Furthermore, in order to verify this study and to form a holistic perspective on public participation processes within Dutch TODs, focus group-research is a natural next step to expand on the general first look that this thesis has provided. Additionally, this focus group can be used to provide a more grounded perspective of what is to change in the future as well as deliberating on how to get to a more inclusive future design of TODs. Apart from research specific to the Netherlands, it would be interesting to see inter-cultural differences on the subject of public participation within Transit-Oriented Developments.

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Appendices

A. Background information on Handelingsperspectief OV-knooppunten
B. Interview guide
C. Present stakeholders during location visits and TOD projects

A. Background information current practice in The Netherlands (Handelingsperspectief ov-knooppunten)

Vision on Public Transport 2040 in the Netherlands [Toekomstbeeld OV 2040]

In 2019, a policy-document called 'Toekomstbeeld OV 2040' (TBOV2040) was released. The Dutch national government, decentralized government institutions, and the public transport sector worked on a joint ambition for the future of public transport – formulated in administrative terms. In order to substantiate the importance of public transport and the choices to be made, research has been carried out in three workgroups: National Rail Network Development ['Landelijke Netwerkuitwerking Spoor], Bus/Tram/Metro, and Nodes and Networks [Ketens en Knopen].

Together with the network, nodes form the network over which travellers travel. They connect (inter)national, regional and local transport flows. And they play a key role in the mobility network and the (urban) environment in realizing the TBOV ambitions. The workgroup Nodes and Networks formed a core team including the national government, ProRail [Dutch rail manager], NS Stations [Dutch rail operator], provinces, municipalities, public transport companies, Bureau Spoorbouwmeester [independent advisory body] and the Board for Government Advisors.

The research on Nodes and Networks provided 4 insights. Nodes become more prominent locations with urgency; on Slow traffic domains; Increasing the quality of stay and traveler experience; Integrated and joint approach.

Nodes become more prominent places with urgency.
Nodes are becoming increasingly connected to their environment, and at the same time, the impact of developments in the public transport network on nodes is increasing. Due to increasing urbanization and urban densification, nodes are becoming increasingly prominent places, namely the central and most accessible places in their surroundings. This also increases the importance of the connection between a node and its surroundings. The number of travellers at these nodes is growing. Developments in the network, such as changes in frequencies or new connections, also have major influence on the function and usage of a node. In addition, initiatives such as speed increases on certain corridors or a change in the routing of freight trains often lead to significant interventions on nodes. At a number of nodes, the pressure from the network and the environment is already so large that measures are needed in the short term to facilitate further passenger growth. The development of BRT also creates completely new nodes.

Slow traffic domains.
Nodes are increasingly becoming the domain of the pedestrian and at the same time, bicycle, and shared mobility demand more and more space. In addition to the spatial challenges, this provides opportunities for increasing the urban quality. Every traveller who uses public transport is automatically a pedestrian. In addition, an increasing proportion of the users of a transit node come to or leave by bicycle or (other) shared mobility resources. It is often a challenge to provide sufficient space for pedestrians and cyclists especially in combination with an increase in bus traffic. Additionally, it is still uncertain what is needed to move along for shared mobility. At the same time, it is clear that a focus on slow traffic will improve spatial quality and better connections between nodes and their environment.

Increasing the quality of stay and traveller experience.
Increasing attention is needed for traveller experience, sustainability, and climate adaptivity. For example, there are challenges in the networks' capacity, and in adapting to developments within the network and its surroundings. Additionally, there are spatial-programmatic aspects [e.g., efficient layout, transferability, accessibility] at nodes that deserve more attention. To strengthen public transport, we need to improve the passenger experience. By focusing on a transition to more sustainable nodes, whilst simultaneously achieving climate objectives, and creating nodes with a higher quality of stay.

Integrated and joint approach.
Within nodes, everything comes together. That is why all developments, challenges and opportunities of nodes require an integral and joint analysis and approach. The reason can be one specific assignment. However, an integral and joint analysis and approach are crucial in order to get a picture of the tasks over a longer period and in their full breadth, to coordinate them and to achieve sustainable results of the required quality level. Application of the 'Action perspective for public transport nodes' [Handelingsperspectief OV-Knooppunten] as a working method is a crucial key to a successful approach. Both functional and qualitative challenges are present. While functionality can largely be formulated and secured in a more generic way, the nature of the qualitative assignments means by definition that specific local customization is needed.

(Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2019) [Translated from Dutch]

B. Interview Guide

Introductie

Allereerst welkom, bedankt voor het vrijmaken van tijd in uw agenda. Heeft u er bezwaar tegen als ik dit interview opneem? Deze opname wordt gebruikt voor het uitwerken van de gegeven informatie.

Achtergrondinformatie over het onderzoek en mijzelf

Masterstudent Planologie aan de Radboud Universiteit. Met daarbinnen de specialisatie in mobiliteit. Dit interview wordt als databron gezien binnen mijn afstudeeronderzoek/master thesis.

Mijn onderzoek zet het begrip Transit-Oriented Development centraal. Dit is een gebied van ongeveer 10 minuten (fietsafstand 3km) rondom een station(trein/bus) waarin het extra aantrekkelijk is om een mix van functies (wonen/werken/shoppen/recreëren) te vervullen. In het Nederlands vaak Knooppuntontwikkeling genoemd. Tijdens mijn stage bij een ingenieurs/adviesbureau viel het mij op dat burgers niet altijd worden betrokken bij gebiedsontwikkelingen van stations en daarom doe ik nu onderzoek naar wat hiervoor de reden is en of dit legitiem/eerlijk is.

De opbouw van dit interview is tweedelig: we beginnen met de processen bij ontwikkelingen in stationsomgevingen (straal 3km rondom station) en gaan vervolgens door met vragen over participatie binnen dergelijke processen.

Korte achtergrond van de geïnterviewde:

- Achtergrond
- Huidige functie
- Taken in functie

Verdere zaken

De antwoorden worden verwerkt om te gebruiken als databron voor mijn master thesis. Naast u spreek ik nog andere partijen om vanuit verschillende kanten informatie op te halen om een goed beeld te krijgen van de praktijk. Denk aan andere gemeenten, provincies, ProRail, NS, vervoersregio's, burgerplatforms en overige stakeholders.

Het is mogelijk om u anoniem te maken, wilt u hier gebruik van maken?

Als u een vraag niet begrijpt, geef het vooral aan, dan zal ik deze proberen te verduidelijken.

U bent niet verplicht om antwoorden te geven op een vraag.

Vragen

Processen bij ontwikkelingen in stationsomgevingen

---------- algemeen ontwikkelingen binnen straal 3km vanaf station ----------

1. Welk type projecten en ontwikkelingen vinden plaats in stationsomgevingen?
- Visies (structuurvisie), plannen (bestemmingsplan), projecten

   Worden dergelijke projecten gekoppeld aan het station en een eventuele stations-vernieuwing? Om tot een integraal plan te komen [zoals dat nu bij de Hubsafari [experimenteren met mobiliteithubs (EMH)] wordt gedaan.]

---------- integrale stations-ontwikkelingen ----------

2. Welke partijen zijn initiatiefnemers van integrale stations ontwikkelingen?

3. Welke partij of partijen maken (harde) keuzes binnen het project en over de goedkeuring van projecten?

4. Welke partij of partijen betalen/ investeren?

5. Welke partij of partijen bepalen welke actoren worden betrokken/uitgenodigd?

6. Welk tijdsverloop hebben integrale stations-ontwikkelingen?
    a. Kunt u een lijn schetsen vanaf begin tot het eind beginnend bij een initiatief en eindigend bij het uiteindelijke fysieke resultaat?

7. Welke actoren zijn vaak aanwezig bij elke fase? [Nadruk op stappen initiatief/ onderzoeksfase/ ontwerpfase]
    a. Zijn er actoren die hier ontbreken, maar wel betrokken zouden kunnen worden volgens u?
        i. Hoe kan dat / waarom is dat zo?

Burgerparticipatie

8. Welke onderwerpen worden besproken in deze fases?
    a. Over welke onderwerpen kunnen burgers meepraten/meedenken?

9. Wanneer het gaat over participatie van burgers (burgerpartijen?), op welke momenten kunnen zij betrokken worden in het proces?
- Initiatief?
- Onderzoeksfase? (waarom hier nog niet?)

- Ontwerpfase?

    a. En worden burgers ook altijd betrokken in deze fasen?
        i. Waarom wel/niet?
        ii. Zou dat wel gewenst zijn?
    b. Op het moment dat burgers niet betrokken zijn, worden hun wensen dan toch meegenomen/ wordt er rekening gehouden met deze doelgroepen?

10. Welke toevoegingen (toegevoegde waarde) kunnen burgers bieden aan knooppuntontwikkelingen?

11. Wat kan worden gezien als barrière om burgers te betrekken bij deze ontwikkelingen?
    a. Verschilt dat per fase van het proces?

12. In hoeverre worden toevoegingen van burgers meegenomen in het uiteindelijke ontwerp?

---------- Quality of public participation ----------

13. Zouden burgers volgens u/uw organisatie in alle toekomstige trajecten meegenomen moeten worden?
    a. Meer dan het wettelijk minimum?

14. Wat is volgens u het doel van participatie?

15. Hoe gaat uw organisatie om met participatie?

    a. Wat wordt er met de input van burgers gedaan? (legitimacy)
        i. Wordt er gebruik van gemaakt om beleid te maken/ beleid aan te passen?
    b. In hoeverre zijn jullie als organisatie transparant/open naar burgers?
    c. Zoals we hierboven al kort hebben aangestipt: hoe wordt er een selectie aan stakeholders gemaakt voor een project? Wordt hiervoor telkens een stakeholder analyse gedaan? Gaat deze analyse verder dan de 'usual suspects'? In hoeverre is het belangrijk dat burgers worden betrokken die niet altijd zijn betrokken? ('inclusion of those often excluded')
    d. Hoe zorgen jullie ervoor dat iedereen aan het woord komt (managing of power/ experts versus leken)

16. Hoe zorgt uw organisatie voor eerlijke/legitieme uitkomsten binnen participatie?
    a. In hoeverre zijn de uitkomsten vanuit participatie eerlijk;
        i. krijgen de mensen met de grootste mond/geld het meest bereikt, of bereiken ze even veel als diegenen die hun mond niet zelf open doen?

17. Hoe belangrijk is het voor u en uw organisatie dat de uitkomsten van een overleg breed worden gedragen door alle aanwezigen? (consensus)

Expertise versus burgers

18. Wat is volgens u het verschil tussen uitingen van experts en uitingen van burgers?

Directe versus indirecte participatie

19. Tijdens een locatiebezoek was het de bedoeling om, als expert, jezelf in te leven in de rol van een bepaalde burger/gebruiker van de stationsomgeving. Hoe kijkt u hier tegenaan?
    a. Wordt deze techniek vaker toegepast, zo ja, wanneer?
    b. Wat zijn volgens u de voor- en nadelen van deze techniek? ('By Proxy')

20. In hoeverre vindt u dat een door het volk gekozen vertegenwoordiger in staat is de wens van de kiezers te vervullen?

Aanpassingen Communicatieadviseurs

- Onderdeel 'Processen bij ontwikkelingen in stationsomgevingen' inkorten
- Toevoegen vraag 'Hoe ziet een participatieproces/bijeenkomst eruit?'
- Toevoegen vraag 'Welke vorm van inspraak hebben burgers?' [Bijhouden van schema 'Degree of participation']
- Toevoegen vraag 'Zit er verschil tussen huidige participatietrajecten en die in het verleden?'
- Toevoegen vraag 'Op welke manier kunnen participatietrajecten volgens u worden verbeterd?' a. Is er verbetering nodig? b. Welke aspecten zijn daarin belangrijk?

Aanpassingen Civil Society stakeholders

- Onderdeel 'Processen bij ontwikkelingen in stationsomgevingen' inkorten
- Toevoegen vraag 'Wat is uw ervaring met burgerparticipatie?'
- Toevoegen vraag 'Hoe wordt u betrokken bij integrale gebiedsontwikkelingen?'
- Veranderen vraag 6. → 'Projecten vanuit de overheid volgen ongeveer een algemene doorloop van fasen, in welke fase(n) wordt uw organisatie betrokken?'
- Toevoegen vraag 'Wat is volgens u de potentie van burgerparticipatie?'
- Toevoegen vraag 'Waar zou participatie heen moeten ten opzichte van de huidige aanpak? a. Welke verbeteringen zou u willen toevoegen?'

Aanpassingen Developers

- Toevoegen vraag 'Wat is uw ervaring met burgerparticipatie?'
- Toevoegen vraag 'Hoe wordt u betrokken bij integrale gebiedsontwikkelingen?'
- Veranderen vraag 6. → 'Projecten vanuit de overheid volgen ongeveer een algemene doorloop van fasen, welke fasen doorloopt uw organisatie?'
- Toevoegen vraag 'Wat is volgens u de potentie van burgerparticipatie?'
- Toevoegen vraag 'Waar zou participatie heen moeten ten opzichte van de huidige aanpak? a. Welke verbeteringen zou u willen toevoegen?'

Afsluiting

Bedankt voor uw antwoorden en uw tijd.

Heeft u nog aanvullende vragen of opmerkingen?

Zoals in het begin aangegeven, de resultaten kunnen eventueel geanonimiseerd worden. Wilt u hier gebruik van maken?

Heeft u wellicht collega's of andere contacten met wie ik hier ook over zou kunnen praten?

Mocht ik onverhoopt nog vragen hebben na afloop, zou ik deze dan via een email kunnen sturen?

Nogmaals bedankt en een fijne dag gewenst.

C. Present stakeholders during location visits and TOD projects

Stakeholders present location A [14-9-2021]

Municipality
Province
NS
ProRail
Developer
Educational institution
Researcher
Consultancy [organizer]

Stakeholders present location B [21-9-2021]

Municipality
Province
NS
ProRail
Transport Region
Developer
Educational institution
Researcher
Process supervisor
Consultancy [organizer]

Stakeholders present location C [20-9-2021]

Municipality
Province
NS
ProRail
Developer
Educational institution
Researcher
Consultancy [organizer]

Stakeholders present location D [28-6-2021]

Municipality
Province
NS
ProRail
Local transport concessionaire
Consultancy

Stakeholders present location E [20-5-2021]

Municipality
Province
NS
ProRail
Local transport concessionaire
Consultancy