

# Participation and Inclusiveness in Process and Design

A Case Study of the Urban Upgrading of Two Parks in Jaffna, Sri Lanka

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# Abstract

Who is included and has the right to shape public spaces is constantly contested through power struggles and expressions of politics and culture, where conflicting interests shape urban development. The public's right to engage in the decision-making that affects different aspects of their lives has led to that public participation is now often seen as an important part of a democratic society. With the starting point in the Agenda 2030 goal of universal access to safe, inclusive, green public spaces, this case study looks into the inclusiveness in the participation process and design of two parks in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. In the urban upgrading programme funded by the World Bank, we found that in the case of Old Park the participation process included authorities and stakeholders with an economic interest in the project but no public, and in Sankiliyan Park limited to a group of people from an area with the highest socioeconomic status in the city. Through the limited width in the participation process, the imagined 'public' was recreated through the design to largely include the Tamil middle-class. Although local residents were stated as the primary target group in Old Park, features such as restaurants, fees, and shops with local handicrafts; to a larger extent responds to the aspirations from the Tamil middle-class, diaspo-

ra, tourists, and the developmentalism in the urban upgrading of Jaffna's public space. Further, the case of Sankiliyan Park illustrates how the public spaces of Jaffna are subject to the post-conflict tensions between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. As the process of design continuously went through actors connected to the Government, this led to that the links to the LTTE were eliminated, and replaced with a compromised celebration of the Tamil identity in the public space. The sanction of one ethnic group through symbols and design can also lead to the exclusion of other minorities. With a French architect responsible for the design of Old Park, the study also revealed struggles with transnational design and participation processes and the increased need for public participation for the designer to understand the context. On the other hand, we also see an opportunity in the transnational design process to discover and highlight issues of inclusion and dictated norms, which can be beneficiary both ways and can help answer to the Agenda 2030 of universal access to public space.





Figure 1. Jaffna är beläget på Sri Lankas nordspets © 2019 Survey Department of Sri Lanka. All Rights Reserved.

## Inledning

Vem som inkluderas och har rätt att forma våra offentliga platser ifrågasätts ständigt genom maktstrukturer, politiska och sociala kontexter, där den urbana utvecklingen formas av motstridiga intressen. Medborgarnas rätt att själva bestämma över det offentliga rummet har stärkt vikten av medborgardialoger, även om många forskare även visat på svårigheter med dessa. Utifrån FN's Agenda 2030, med målet att tillhandahålla trygga och tillgängliga gröna offentliga platser för alla, undersöker vi i denna studie hur man tagit hänsyn till inkludering i medborgardialoger och design för två parker i Jaffna, Sri Lanka.

Efter 30 år av inbördeskrig mellan Tamilska Tigrarna (LTTE) och singalesiska regeringens armé var mycket av Jaffna förstört efter flygbombningar. Sen kriget slutat 2009 har staden jobbat med att återuppbygga hus, vägar, infrastruktur och avloppssystem. År 2014, skapade regeringen ett program kallat Strategic Cities Development Programme (SCDP) finansierat av World Bank. Som en del av den urbana restaureringen pågår nu designprocessen för de två parkerna som varit föremål för den här studien, Old Park och Sankiliyan Park.

Politiska spänningar, efterlämningar av det nu tabubelagda kastsystemet och Sri Lankas mål att bli ett utvecklat land gör det till en intressant plats för att studera hur maktstrukturer, kultur och politik, har format medborgardialoger och design av parkerna i Jaffna på lokal, nationell och internationell nivå. Genom att i realtid studera inkludering och exkludering i processen av ett World Bank projekt på plats i Jaffna, kan den här studien fungera som ett exempel av vem som anses vara "medborgare" i World Bank projekt.

## Syfte och frågeställningar

Syftet med studien är att studera hur samarbete mellan World Bank, lokala myndigheter och organisationer fungerat för att försäkra medborgardialog och en demokratisk planeringsprocess, samt analysera hur inkludering i medborgardialog och design påverkats av maktstrukturer, ekonomisk marknad, politiska och sociala strukturer.

- Hur påverkar designen inkludering och tillgänglighet?
- Hur såg processen för medborgardialoger ut och hur påverkade den inkludering i projektet?
- Hur har maktstrukturer och strukturer för inkludering/exkludering format hur processen för medborgardialoger påverkat olika aspekter av designen?

# Metod

Fallstudien baseras på semistrukturerade intervjuer, platsbesök och analys av process och design för två parker.

## Datainsamling

För att få inblick i projektet från olika perspektiv, samt hur olika aktörer själva upplevt sin möjlighet till inflytande, gjordes intervjuer med utvalda intressenter som deltagit i medborgardialoger, designers och representanter från World Bank och anställda för SCDP projektgrupp. Intervjuer gjordes även med utsatta grupper i samhället och lokalbor väl insatta i Jaffnas historia och stadsutveckling.

Designförslagen för de två parkerna studerades och analyserades, tillsammans med skriftlig dokumentation av processen och medborgardialogerna, för att få en djupare förståelse för processen.

## Analys av inkludering, tillgänglighet och användning

Baserat på en litteraturoversikt har vi analyserat designen utifrån: hur parkerna är lokaliserade i förhållande till omgivande områdens socioekonomiska status, vilka maktstrukturer som symboler skapar och stärker genom att indikera makt till vissa grupper, hur design relaterar till ekonomiska strukturer, vilka regleringar av allmän plats som de nya designerna kommer tillföra och hur de kan påverka användningen av parkerna och till sist vilka grupper som föreslagna funktioner och aktiviteter riktar sig till.

## Analys av medborgardialog

Processen för medborgardialoger analyserades genom att använda två modeller: IAP2 som utvecklats

av International Association for Public Participation och Stakeholder Circle. Förutom detta, studerades även hur utsatta grupper nämnda i Agenda 2030 mål och andra marginaliserade grupper i Jaffna var representerade i medborgardialogerna.

## Fallstudie

Fallstudien börjar med bakgrundsinformation om Jaffna och Strategic Cities Development Programme och går sen in på analysen av tillgänglighet och inkludering i medborgardialoger och design för Old Park respektive Sankiliyan Park.

## Jaffna

År 1983 utbröt ett inbördeskrig i Sri Lanka mellan de två stora etniska grupperna singaleser och tamiler, till följd av inskränkningar i tamilernas rättigheter. Detta ledde till skapandet av flera militanta grupperingar, där Tamilska Tigrarna, med fäste i Jaffna, var den mest betydande. Kriget slutade 2009 efter en sista offensiv av den Sri Lankesiska armén, där Tamilska Tigrarnas ledare dödades och organisation upphörde att existera. Förtrycket och det långa kriget har stärkt behovet hos befolkningen att bevara den tamilska kulturen.

De stora skadorna på den fysiska strukturen som orsakade av flygbomber under kriget, gjorde att Jaffna kvalificerade som en av de utvalda städerna i SCDP.

## Strategic City Development Program

SCDP grundades av ministeriet för urban utveckling, med målet att utveckla städer för att göra dem mer konkurrenskraftiga (SCDP, n.d.). Projektet finansieras av World Bank med syftet att stärka urban tillväxt för att bidra till ekonomisk tillväxt och fattigdomsbe-

kämpning (The World Bank, 2014). Projektet leds av lokala projektgrupper i respektive stad, och styrs av en central projektgrupp i huvudstaden Colombo.

## Old Park

Old Park är den största parken i staden och en framtida turistattraktion, vilket gör uppgradering av parken till en intressant plats att studera hur maktstrukturer, kultur och politik format medborgardialoger och design. Parken byggdes av brittiska kolonisationer och är idag mestadels igenvuxen. Lokabor berättar att parken förut var som en stadsnära skog med fladdermöss, fjärilar där man kunde höra fåglar sjunga. Den nya designen gjordes av det franska arkitektkontoret Signes.

### *Analys av medborgardialoger*

Inga medborgardialoger gjordes för Old Park, istället hölls en workshop med utvalda representanter från myndigheter och företag med ekonomisk eller politiskt intresse i projektet. De åsikter som lyfts i workshopen är överlag implementerade i designen. Vi kan dock se att genom att visa bilder och exempel som visar på en lösning och på förhand och välja ämnen för diskussion sattes en ram för workshopen, som kan ha påverkat vilka åsikter som lyfts av deltagarna. Att inga medborgare var delaktiga i designprocessen gjorde att positiva effekter som att förstärka demokrati (Luyet, Buttler, Paralangea & Schlaepferb,



Figure 2. Idag är Old Park till största del igenvuxen av klättrväxter och buskar

2012) gick förlorade då det inte var någon omfördelning av makt från myndigheter till folket (Arnstein, 1969).

### *Analys av design*

Designen indikerar att det finns aktiviteter för olika grupper i samhället, och att parken är anpassad för personer med funktionsvariationer. Delar av parken kommer vara avgiftsbelagd vilket både är ett sätt att finansiera skötsel av parken, men också ett uttryck för den ekonomiska statusen på den tänkta besökaren; turister och medelklass, och kan exkludera grupper med lägre socioekonomisk status. Den nya parken kan ses som ett steg i den generella uppgraderingen av allmänna platser i Jaffna och kan demonstrera utvecklingen och ambitionen i staden att stärka ekonomin och bli en turiststad.

## Sankiliyan Park

Sankiliyan Park har stor politisk betydelse, då den är starkt kopplad till Tamilska Tigrarna, och även placerad i Jaffnas religiösa centrum. Detta gör parken till en intressant scen att studera maktstrukturer, kultur och politik, och hur dessa format medborgardialoger och design.

### *Analys av medborgardialoger*

Processen för medborgardialoger bestod av tre möten med identifierade intressenter och två medborgarkonsultationer, där en hög andel kvinnor deltog. Deras representation kan göra att parken blir mer tillgänglig och inkluderande för kvinnor. Medborgarkonsultationerna visar även på en fungerande struktur i Jaffna för medborgardialoger, men eftersom medborgardialogerna endast hölls med ett distrikt i Jaffnas rikaste område fanns troligen en låg representation med människor med låg socioekonomisk status, vilket även syns i designen för parken.

Identifierade intressenter var mestadels myndigheter med politiskt intresse i projektet. De hade större



inflytande över designen än deltagarna i medborgarkonsultationen vilket tyder på låg omfördelning av makt från myndighet till folket (Arnstein, 1969).



Figure 3. Sankiliyan Park är idag ett öppet område med äldre träd, inhägnat av taggtråd.

alogerna hade kunnat hjälpa deltagarna att förstå sina egna åsikter och uttrycka dom, även flera tekniker för dialogen hade kunnat hjälpa (Luyet, 2012). Gestaltningen av parkerna kommer troligtvis leda till inkludering för vissa grupper i samhället och exkludering av andra. Forskning har visat att exkludering av vissa grupper ibland kan vara nödvändig för inkludering av andra (Quian, 2018) och det kan delvis varit fallet i dessa parker. På samma sätt som grupper var exkluderade från medborgardialogerna kommer de bli delvis exkluderade från parkerna, eller åtminstone inte inkluderade, vilket visar på länken mellan inkludering i medborgardialoger och inkludering av allmänna platser. Som designer finns det en möjlighet att trycka på vikten av medborgardialoger och att inkludera ett brett urval av invånare.

### *Analys av design*

Den nya designen innehåller många tamilska och hinduiska symboler, vilket kan vara viktigt för att stärka den tamilska identiteten. Dock, kan det också leda till exkludering av grupper som inte betraktar sig som en del av det tamilska eller hinduiska samhället. Genom symboler förstärker designen existerande strukturer och begränsar inkludering för minoriteter.

Murar, vakter och avgifter kan vara exkluderande för socioekonomiskt svaga grupper men vara positivt för inkludering av socioekonomiskt starka kvinnor, äldre och barn.

## Diskussion och slutsats

Som tidigare fallstudier visat, visar även denna på hur medborgardialoger är påverkade av maktstrukturer som ekonomi, politik och kultur. Genom att involvera ett bredare urval av medborgare i medborgardialogerna hade synen på vem som uppfattas som medborgare kunnat vidgats och inkluderingen i parkerna förbättrats. En friare ram för medborgardi-

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Appendix I: Interview Questions

Appendix II: Representatives Interviewed





# 1. Introduction

Figure 4. The clock tower built during the British colonial time, is a landmark in Jaffna

**With the starting point in Agenda 2030**, the thesis looks at how the World Bank funded urban upgrading programme in Jaffna, Sri Lanka, has ensured universal access to safe and inclusive green public places, through analysis of inclusivity in the participation process and design of two parks in Jaffna, Sri Lanka.

Public space is generally thought of as space which is open and accessible to all and the UN has especially stated the importance of ‘access to green public space for all citizens particularly women, children, and people with disabilities’ as one part in achieving Agenda 2030 goal Sustainable Cities (United Nations, no date). However, researchers have shown that public space as open and accessible to all is seldom the case. Instead, it is a place of power struggles and expressions of politics and culture, where conflicting interests shape urban development (Low & Smith, 2006).

This raises the question of who has the right to shape our common spaces in the city. Public participation is now often seen by researchers as an important part in a democratic society, and thereby the public’s right to engage in the decision-making that affects different aspects of their lives. As functions and design shape who uses and how they use public space, inclusion in the participation process can lead to a more inclusionary public space. Researchers and several case studies have revealed struggles of participation in design processes of public space (Stanfield & Riemsdijk, 2019; Calderon, 2020).

This case study, focused on inclusion and exclusion of participation and public space, is set in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. In interviews and meetings with urban planners and decision-makers, we noticed a difference in the meaning and use of the word ‘public’, that in Jaffna often comes with walls, gates, fees, guards and opening hours. Literature and interviews later helped us problematize the meaning of public beyond a western context, to see who is included in Jaffna public space.

After thirty years of civil war between the Liberation

Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Sinhalese Government army, much of Jaffna was destroyed due to heavy bombings (Kabilan, 2019). Since the war ended in 2009, the city has faced challenges of rebuilding housing, roads infrastructure and sewer system, along with facing the persistent challenges of urbanization, urban sprawl, increased traffic, informal settlements and market flow (ibid.). In 2014 the government formed the Strategic Cities Development Programme (SCDP) funded by the northern-based international financial institution World Bank with the aim to develop urban areas in Sri Lanka, one of them being Jaffna. Part of the programme was an upgrading of the green public space (SCDP, n.d.). By being in Jaffna and in real-time studying the process of inclusion of participation in a World Bank project, this study can serve as an example of how the public is established in World Bank projects, through inclusion and exclusion in participation processes and design of public space.

Apart from the reconstruction of physical structures, the city is also challenged with post-conflict and current tensions between the Tamils and the Sinhalese Sri Lankan government, displacement of people all over the world, and remnants from the now taboo caste system. Along with these challenges, it is the country’s aim to become a ‘developed’ country and the strive of Jaffna to reclaim the former position as the second biggest city in the country as well as an international role model in urban development for cities such as Singapore. This sets an interesting stage on which the public spaces of Jaffna are redesigned.

As our study continued, our interest turned toward the participation process and means by which the citizens are able to form and affect the process and development of the public green space in a context with national and local ambitions of economic development, post-conflict and ethnic tensions, and strong global actors. The World Bank, as an organisation which highlights the importance of participation and partnership in its projects, paired with the Sri Lankan laws demanding participation in large scale development projects (Central Environmental Au-





Figure 5. A cave is one of the few remaining structures from old Kittu Park



Figure 6. There are a few remaining structures from old Kittu Park



Figure 7. Old Park is today mostly overgrown by climbing plants

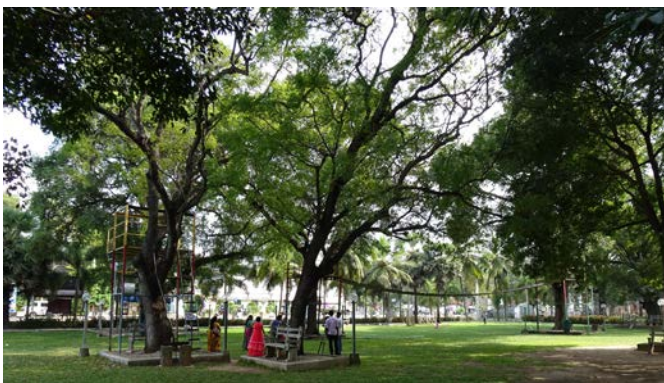


Figure 8. Taking pictures is a popular activity in parks in Sri Lanka

thority, no date) makes Jaffna an interesting site.

Two of the green public spaces chosen for the urban upgrading programme are Old park and Sankiliyan Park. Old Park as the major park in the city and future main tourist attraction, and Sankiliyan Park formerly named after the LTTE leader and martyr Kittu, together provide a scene in which we could look at power struggles, expressions of politics and culture, and how it shapes the context of the design for public space and participation in Jaffna on a local, national and international level.

This study critically looks into the inclusion in the participation process of the two parks, and how the design is part of creating an inclusive or excluding public space. Through interviews on the participation process and analysis of the design, the study of the two parks situates questions of the view of public space, who is considered a stakeholder, as well as the political and social structures which are part in shaping the public space in Jaffna. It also seeks to answer how the residents are considered in the issues of participation and inclusiveness in the process and design, in the process of shaping Sri Lanka and its public space into a ‘developed’ country through economic growth.

## Purpose

The purpose of this study is to look into the participatory process of designing parks in the Global South. By exploring the example of upgrading parks in the city of Jaffna, the focus has been to look into the collaboration between the World Bank and local authorities, organisations and stakeholders to see how they ensured participation and democracy in the planning process. Further, with agenda 2030’s goal to ‘provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces’ (United Nations, n.d.) as a starting point and literature questioning the accessibility and inclusivity of public space as a background, the purpose of the study is to analyse how



the participation in process and design, affected by power structures, market, political and social structures, have had an impact on inclusivity and accessibility in public space.

There are several studies in Sri Lanka of what is important for the users in public space (Efroymsen & Fernando, 2013; Yasendra Bandara, 2013), but studies about the publicness and inclusivity of public space are often done in Europe and in the West (Qian, 2018). With this case study, we seek to add to the literature on how participation processes in the development of public space in Sri Lanka are made, and how the power structures in the processes affect the publicness and inclusivity in both the process and in the design - highlighting those who are not included in the decision-making in the urban upgrading in Jaffna. Further, it can show the inclusion and exclusion in participation processes of World Bank projects.

The study will primarily be of interest to researchers, students, and planning and design practitioners seeking examples of participatory processes in urban planning in the Global South. The analysis of the inclusion and exclusion of participation and design can also reveal knowledge that can be used by the public, proactive groups, and politicians. It could also be of interest as a complimentary evaluation of the upgrading process by World Bank's own department of evaluation, that has not yet been made. Made by a third party without involvement in the project, the result might highlight challenges and shortcomings in the participatory process and thereby help set the agenda for improving democratic city planning in Jaffna.

## Research questions

Based on the Agenda 2030 goal of sustainable cities, and the target to 'By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older

persons and persons with disabilities' (United Nations, n.d.), we seek to answer the following questions through the case study:

- How does the design affect inclusivity and accessibility?
- What did the participation process look like, and how did it affect the inclusivity in the project?
- How have the power structure, inclusionary/exclusionary structure, shaped the way how participation processes curated and impacted different aspects of design?

## Limitations

At the time for the study, the urban upgrading of Old Park and Sankiliyan Park was still an ongoing project. The study, therefore, analyses the process of the project up until the end of April 2020 and the preliminary designs for the two parks at the time for the study. As the project was still ongoing, the study is focused on the process and does not concern the implementation of the design. Social screenings were not yet conducted for the two projects and was not part of the study.

The fieldwork was interrupted earlier than planned due to the Covid-19 pandemic and all the intended interviews were therefore not made. Some interviews were complemented via email and skype. Except for having interviews with the project team, designers and participants of the participation processes, the aim was to talk to representatives from vulnerable groups in the society not involved in the process. Because of the pandemic, it was difficult to reach people and we were not able to reach representatives from all groups via our contact net.

Very little easy accessible written material exists about the history of Jaffna and the two parks before the war, but events during the civil war were largely documented as well as its effects. The background

could therefore only to a limited extent build on other written sources and illustrations/maps and is instead largely based on the interviews with residents, supplemented with subjective written descriptions of the park and secondary sources. This forms the character of the work, but also adds to the documentations of the two parks. Due to the history, the information is coloured by the conflict and post-conflict, where sources differ depending on loyalty to the Sinhalese government or the Tamil community.



Figure 9. Walls made from woven coconut palm fronds enclosing property in fishing district





## 2. Theoretical Framework

Figure 10. Picture taken from the residence of the last Tamil King Sangili



# Public space

Public space can be seen in many ways - the general perception is often that it is a place which is open and accessible to all. However, researchers have often criticised this idea as they have again and again shown how this is an idealised picture and that, in fact, public space is not accessible to all, and never has been. In this section, we wish to point out theories which highlight different aspects and ways to look at public space.

## Power structures forming public space

Low and Smith (2006) show how the meaning and physical character of public space has changed with the political, social and historical context. They introduce researchers that have shown that the public space relates to and is formed by society at large: David Harvey showing how the creation of large boulevards and commercial activities relates to the need for military power and the rise of the middle-class in Napoleon III's France in mid-1800s; Dolores Hayden showing how the rapid growth of suburban areas in the 1920s and 1950s in the USA was a consumers response to the fear of another depression, paired with social structures at the time regarding issues such as discernable class, race/ethnic, and gender contours; Cindi Katz arguing that "terror talk" concerning children has increased with the global challenges from other states of world domination of the USA and the crisis of identity it inflicts on the country, and the cast of children and youth as particularly vulnerable to social terror, leading to rational arguments of increased control in children and youths use of the public space.

Low and Smith (2006:2) further argue that our understanding of public space today is affected by seven-teen- and eighteen century liberalism where liberal ideas enshrined the universal private property for

people with the economic and military power, 'at the expense of the long tradition of common land'. We can see how the profits that can be made from land, have been used to justify the privatization of the commons at the expense of people merely occupying the space. This was also the case when justifying the global land grab by the Europeans during the colonisation. Adam Smith's modern political economy paired with John Locke's legal enlightenment helped dispatch the feudal system of the aristocratic elite and replaced it with property owners and consumers in the marketplace becoming the new citizens. In the capitalist 'war of all against all', public space became the battlefield (Low and Smith, 2006:2). These two philosophies together came to redefine and broaden the view of the who is regarded as the citizen, nevertheless merely created a new privileged class for whom public space is designed for. The focus of public space designed for the aristocratic elite, instead shifted to be created for the 'new citizen': the rising middle-class of property owners and consumers. Qian (2018) also raises the concern of public space historically perceived as 'common land' especially in cities outside the West. For example in India where 'common space' was understood to be non-private spaces where activities such as washing, sleeping and urinating were conducted. In the postcolonial social engineering, these activities were disdained by the reform-minded elite and the public space were instead programmed as a way to cultivate 'order', 'modernity' and 'civilised' life. Therefore, the view of public space as amorphous, instead of fixed, is easier applied to contexts outside the West as it is often a mixture of the western idea of urbanism and the indigenous context, Qian (2018) argues.

Today we still see how power relationships and market form our public space. Research shows that market technological solutions are more likely to be implemented in areas of the city with particular economic interest (for example tourism, commerce, and gentrified central areas) and less likely to affect areas where the poorest part of the population live (Mela, 2014). If implemented in these poorer areas, Mela (2014) argues the reason could be to increase

the control in these areas, which would increase the fragmentation of public spaces.

### Regulating public space

Many researchers question the publicness of public space (Low and Smith, 2006; Mitchell, 2016). Low and Smith (2006) who build their arguments on literature and research concerning public sphere and public space mean that the most common issues raised is that public space is increasingly places for commerce, and for surveillance and regulations (Low and Smith, 2006).

Low and Smith (2006:13) give example from Union Square Park in New York where the public space worked well as a public sphere, where people raised their opinions in the public space and it ended up with regulations, because the truly public space were too honest, too raw and too threatening to be allowed to stand'. Same thing happened in Frank Ogawa Plaza in Oakland, when people where using the site as it was designed for, for cultural performances, festivals, campaign speeches, important public announcements, ceremonies and celebrations including protests and demonstrations, it ended with public space being eliminated by political force, by the police (Mitchell, 2016). The issues in both cases were when the public space worked as a place for the public to gather and together expressing their opinion it became too threatening for the authorities, who want to keep the public calm and in that way keep the control.

Qian (2018) points at the turn from the state's presence in the public space, from the focus on surveillance, regulation and removal of people and activities by force, to instead construct the meanings of being public through preconditions of inclusion (Qian, 2018). Mitchell (2016) gives an example of how these regulations of the public space in the case of Berkeley where the government by regulating sitting and laying in the sidewalks, implicitly forced

away homeless people from the public space. Also Qian (2018) gives examples of how regulations of the public space indirectly exclude certain groups, like by regulating the wearing of niqab in the public space or the recent debate of the acceptance on Islamic call to prayers which the Government opt to solve with regulating volume and time of noise. Instead of regulating who can be in the public space, there are regulations of what you can do in the public space, indirectly excluding certain groups. The state also regulates public space through laws of sexuality, the right to congregate in the public space, and surveillance over private activities (Low and Smith 2006). Low and Smith highlight that the restrictions are often not invisible to us until we break them or are ourselves excluded by them. By regulations, the state shapes what we perceive as public - and can exclude as many groups as they include (Low and Smith 2006).

Although there are regulations, indirectly excluding certain groups, Qian argues that public space can also be seen as the liminal zone between inclusion and exclusion, stating that it is not a binary or fixed state but instead one of transgression. Meaning that certain groups can be both excluded and included, excluded in some aspects, but often not in all aspects.

### Activities and design for inclusion and accessibility

Kärrholm (2016) suggests we look at public space as territory that can be established in a number of ways, i.e. putting up boundaries and setting rules, but there is also territorial appropriation that is not planned or intentionally established but happens when a person or a group of people use an object on a regular basis. Kärrholm (2016) means that by seeing public space as territory we can analyse the inclusion of the space and which groups that can use it. If a place is officially open to all but only has activities aimed at certain categories of users, it indirectly affects which people will use the space (ibid.). Examples often raised con-

cern places with activities that are based on spending money, indirectly excluding groups without those financial means (Kärrholm, 2016; Qian, 2018). In a more obvious way, not providing functions important to certain groups to use of the public space will in a more direct way exclude them. Also Qian (2018) suggests looking at public space as situated and lived, stating different levels of grass-root activism claiming public space or in other word establishing territories - through for example street art, guerilla farming or decor.

According to Kärrholm (2016) territorial complexity is desirable for the space to be accessible to as many as possible. For a place to have territorial complexity there must exist various activities and a subdivision of the place in space or time (ibid.). To achieve an accessible public space with the largest territorial productions, a certain degree of differentiating and superpositioning might be needed (Kärrholm, 2016). When there is just a few territories or territorial appropriation from a dominant group it prevents other groups from establishing territories and the accessibility will decrease. Qian (2018) also argues that it can be necessary to put up regulations to exclude some dominant groups to include more marginalised groups and gives an example of a study in Sydney where women felt it was necessary to exclude men in public baths during certain times. Kärrholm means it would be better for the territorial complexity to find ways for the two groups to co-exist in the public space. Kärrholm gives a theoretical example of a municipality setting up a territorial strategy of a park, as a place for different groups to leisure. If a group of drug users establish a territorial appropriation other groups might stop using the park and the territorial complexity decreases. Authorities often find ways in these cases of displacing the drug users to another place, but if they instead could find a way for the drug users and the other groups like children and families to be co-present it would increase the territorial complexity more and the place would be accessible to a greater number of groups.

Stanfield and Riemsdijk (2019) argue that following two views represent a key debate over the meaning of public space: whether it is a site of interaction and habitation where all can be free from the threat of state violence or a site of leisure and recreation that must be regulated and controlled for the benefit of some (Stanfield and Riemsdijk 2019 see Mitchell 1995).

## Conclusion

The framework has shown that public space is not, and has never been, inclusive to all. Mitchell (2016) also adds that public space is a process and that there is always a struggle for groups, which defend their/or others' right to the public space. This makes the role of policies, planning and design practice and research in guarding different groups' rights to the public space more visible. As research in above framework have shown, who is included in public space is shaped by many factors, including power structures, regulations, and how design and planned activities affect the establishment of territories and thereby inclusivity. In this study we have therefore studied these factors to analyse the inclusion and exclusion of the parks.

By studying the power structures, regulations and how the local and national politics has formed the characteristics of public space, we sought to understand the context which affects the inclusivity and exclusion of public space in Jaffna. From studies of where in the city the parks are located, the area, as well as the future design, we could analyse who or which groups in society will benefit from the upgrading of the parks.

We have also analysed the regulations forming the inclusion and exclusion of the two parks. As Qian (2018) argues, inclusion and exclusion is not binary and groups can be excluded in some aspects but still have access to the public space. Also, the issue is complex as the exclusion of some might be necessary to reach inclusion for marginalised groups (Kärrholm, 2016).

Based on the above framework we have also analysed

sed the design and planned activities in the parks to analyse accessibility and inclusiveness in the design. For different groups in the society to be able to use the public space it needs to be free from physical obstacles, but also having activities for all groups in the society (Kärrholm, 2016). Further a subdivision in time and space ease the possibility for establishment of territories from different groups (ibid.).

By analysing the inclusion and accessibility by looking at the factors mentioned and how they affect and create the public space, we seek to understand for whom public space is created for - and who is not included. This can be used as an indicator if the Agenda 2030 goal of providing safe, inclusive and accessible green public space access to all, is being reached. Within the analysis of the inclusion and exclusion of participation and design, we can also reveal knowledge that can be used by public, proactive groups, planning and design practitioners, and politicians.

# Participation in Public Space

Having participation and succeeding to involve all groups in the process can be a start to make the public space more inclusive, if that is the aim. There are several benefits when having participation (Luyet et al., 2012) but researchers mean that genuine participation is seldom the case (Arnstein, 1969; Stanfield and Riemsdijk, 2019; Calderon, 2020). In this chapter, we present reasons for having participation, as well as raise some of the problems in succeeding with participation.

## Defining participation

The definition of participation in urban planning differs in literature. Arnstein (1969) defines citizen participation as a redistribution of power to include

the citizens which are not part of the political and economic processes. The International Association for Public Participation (International Association for Public Participation, 2018). ) have chosen to define participation in seven core values where number one is 'Public participation is based on the belief that those who are affected by a decision have a right to be involved in the decision-making process'. The definitions above both insinuate the involvement of citizens, whereas the World Bank, funding the project which is the case for this study, uses the slightly different word 'stakeholder' when describing participation as 'a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decision and resources which affect them' (Rietbergen-McCracken and World Bank, 1996:7).

## Who is the stakeholder in public space?

A lot of terms are figuring when defining who should be involved in participation, such as *citizen*, *public*, *stakeholder*, and *community*. These terms are not used consistently in literature which can lead to confusion (Luyet et al., 2012). *Citizen* and *public* both refer to members of a state with a shared government. *Community* can be used in the same way but it can also refer to a smaller group of people with more in common like language and culture. *Stakeholder*, on the other hand, is defined as 'a person or group that has an investment, share, or interest in something, as a business or industry' (Dictionary.com, no date) or 'individuals or groups who will be impacted by or can influence the success or failure of an organisation's activities' (Bourne, 2009:30). When *public*, *citizen* and *community* refer to everyone or an unorganised group in a city, country or state, *stakeholder* refers to individuals or groups with a special interest in the project. However, as the public, a citizen or the community can have a special interest in a project they can also be considered a stakeholder.

In the context of planning and designing public spa-



ce, stakeholders can not be restricted to decision-makers. Apart from decision-makers and institutions planning public space, we can agree that changes in the public space will have an impact also on individuals and groups such as users, residents living in the area, persons involved in commerce surrounding the area etc, and as Bourne (2009) points out, these people will also have an impact on the end result. As the ideal picture of public space is a place which is accessible for all, that would mean that everybody will be impacted by changes in the public space. The ones included in public space today, will probably be the ones identified as stakeholders in the public space, which lead to their aspirations being seen in participation processes, enhancing the inclusion of public space for the ones already included. Public space does not only reflect but shape the public by including and excluding groups (Stanfield and Riemsdijk, 2019). There is therefore a need to see them not included in the public space today as stakeholders and by first include them in the participation process strive towards a more inclusive public space.

## Why have participation?

Studies show the benefits of having participation in urban planning (Luyet et al., 2012) as well as its relevance for democracy, justice, complex problem solving, empowerment and sustainability (Calderon & Butler, 2020).

Advantaged that are shown when having participation are eg.:

- *Improving project design using local knowledge*
- *Better understanding of project and issues*
- *Public acceptance of the decisions*
- *Increased sense of ownership of the process*
- *Enhance democracy and democratic processes'*

(Luyet et al., 2012:214)

The first four can be seen as related to improving the

project and its outcome in itself, and by not having participation these advantages could be lost. The last one on the other hand, relates to the belief that citizens have the right to influence and decide about the landscape in which they live - as part of democracy.

We can also see how participation processes are extra important in cross-cultural projects, which is the case in one of the parks in this study. When a designer is not familiar with the country it becomes even more important with participation and to work closely with the local people (Hyland, 2000). Participation and understanding of a different culture and context take time and might therefore not be done to the extent needed. This could lead to an unsuccessful cross-cultural design that on different levels is ill suited for the context (Hyland, 2000). Examples of this can be that the design does not match the water resources or climate, a design style ill suited for the site, a mismatch where the designers idea of how to use the place does not match the users or a misinterpretation of the historic significance or meaning of the place (ibid.).

## Successful participation?

Citizen participation is ultimately the issue of who has the right to shape the city. Even if there is a (official) consensus of the positive effects of participation several researchers mean that genuine participation is seldom the case (Arnstein, 1969, Calderon & Butler, 2020). Participation processes have long been criticised for being merely window dressing and not actual power to the participants. Already in 1969, Arnstein raised the issue in the article 'A ladder of citizen participation' and raised criticism to how the term citizen participation was used in misleading ways as rhetoric contrivances meaning participation processes in reality being actually non-participatory, or just tokenism (Arnstein, 1969).

Calderon and Butler (2020:152) state there are three main principles for genuine participation that are re-

gularly cited: '1) inclusiveness, based on involving all stakeholders; 2) power balance, or giving participants equal say and influence in decision-making processes; and 3) consensus building'. Further, they mean that inclusive, balanced and consensus-building processes are seldom the case. Common mistakes are to not actively involve a wide range of stakeholders, or fail to engage in meaningful deliberation. This leads to a limited influence from the public in decision-making and reinforcement of the interest and values of powerful stakeholders.

Many case studies show that implementing a participatory design process is challenging. Even in projects which are highly renowned for its participatory processes, like the park Superkilen in Copenhagen, interviews with the citizens show that the participation was lacking and the wishes of the residents overruled (Stanfield and Riemsdijk, 2019). The study shows how immigrants in Denmark were part of the participation process but not listened to. The authors mean that through designing public space and thereby shaping who belongs in it, the designer has also shaped who is considered to be 'the public' (ibid.). Meaning, that the 'public' is not static but all the time created and recreated 'through continual acts of creation which affirm or challenge who belongs' (Stanfield and Riemsdijk, 2019:1358). By not acknowledging the participant they were not given the right to shape their public space. Stanfield and Riemsdijk (2019: 1370) state "They may be seen, but perhaps not heard. They may be present in public space, but they may not truly be part of "the public".

Another case study in Brazil shows other difficulties of succeeding with participation, when challenged by differences in opinions among the participants, conflicts, and power dynamics (Calderon, 2020). In this case, the differences ended with the designer choosing the solutions conditioned to the hegemonic social order of what is normal and acceptable in urban design. Areas with a strong focus on economic growth often result in decisions that prioritize designs linked to market rationality, while excluding

proposals focused on social problems and local identity (Calderon, 2020). Further, several case studies show how participation can fail because the designer is not a neutral element (Stanfield and Riemsdijk, 2019; Calderon, 2020). Instead, the designer is another actor with opinions and in a sense becomes a stakeholder with the agenda of implementing his or her design.

How the participation process is designed affects the result of the participation. Researchers show how setting agendas or practices can limit the scope of a decision-making process (Bachrach & Baratz see Calderon & Butler, 2020). Further, using images and information about a specific landscape can affect participants' interest and values (Brunetta & Voghera see Calderon & Butler, 2020). When having participation processes, an agenda or policy has already been made by the authorities. This agenda, whether it is upgrading a park, or building a new residential area can be seen as solutions to a problem that the authorities have chosen. Bacchi (2009) states that it is essential to think deeply about the assumptions and presuppositions that lie behind and shape policies. Bacchi (2009) further means that we have a right to the problem to decide what the problem is and how it is to be understood. In the following case study authorities have been taking decisions in several steps as solutions to different problems they see. These solutions form the participation process and are therefore important to reflect on.

Several researchers have tried to build a conceptual framework for how to better succeed with participation but instead ended up mostly finding the difficulties succeeding with participation and ask for more research (Certomà, Corsini & Dyer, 2017; Calderon & Butler, 2020). Luyet et al (2012) however, proposes a framework for how to work with participation, based on a literature review of participation in environmental projects. He argues that the first step is to identify all stakeholders, and suggests different techniques to identify them. Secondly, that the stakeholders should be characterized, for the project group to understand the stakeholders position and power.

The meaning of the characterization is to structure the identified stakeholders into homogeneous groups and to give each group a specific degree of involvement based on Arnstein's ladder of participation (ibid.). When these first steps are done it is time to choose what technique to use for the participation, the choice should be based on eg. the degree of involvement, the stakeholder and the project, among other factors. Luyet (2012) recommends using two or more techniques in a process to avoid choosing an inadequate technique. The process should end with an evaluation of the participation. Calderon and Butler (2020) on the other hand, do not believe in making a tool-kit for practitioners to make the participation process go smoother. Instead they argue, there is a need for practitioners to be critical in a useful way. They emphasize the importance of understanding the difficulties with power relationship in participation processes and mean that consensus is not always possible and should therefore not be the main goal in participation processes. Instead it is more important to acknowledge and address the differences among the stakeholders. Clarderon and Butler (2020:159) mean that the focus should be 'to help participants better understand (the legitimacy of) their own values and interests and those of their opponents; unpacking the roots and types of differences and conflicts that may exist and finding tailored ways to manage them, without necessary consensus'. Further, they mean the participation process should be open and honest, offer clearance to why it was not possible to involve all stakeholders and when not reaching consensus being transparent about the winners and losers in the situation.

## Conclusion

One of the advantages with participation is enhanced democracy (Luyet et al, 2012). However, for that to be possible, everyone in the society needs to be given the same chance to participate in the participation process and to be acknowledged. When not succeeding with involving a wide range of stakeholders, or failing to engage in meaningful deliberation it often

leads to a limited influence from the public in decision-making and reinforcement of the interest and values of powerful stakeholders (Calderon & Butler, 2020). In this study we have therefore analysed the participation process partly by looking at the representation, to understand if a wide range of stakeholders were invited and to see who were included in the participation and who were excluded.

Power structures working in society at large will also affect the participation process, and create hierarchies in the participation groups which in turn will affect who is able to raise their voice and argue for their opinions, needs and wishes. When consensus is the main goal in the participation group, these power structures are at risk of being enhanced, which often results in the person with most economic interest, or closest to the norm gets the final decision (Calderon & Butler, 2020). In this study we have analysed these power structures by studying whose concerns and aspirations were implemented in the design.

To succeed with a genuine participation it is important to be transparent with the decisions taken and why they were taken. Further when designing the participation process, great care needs to be taken to not affect the participants' opinions, for example by presenting a fixed solution (Bachrach & Baratz see Calderon and Butler, 2020). Using different techniques and involving the participant during a longer time of the process will increase the possibility to succeed with genuine participation (Luyet, 2012). In this study we have looked at how the participation process was designed to understand if the participants were given the chance to understand their own values and interests and those of their opponents throughout the process.

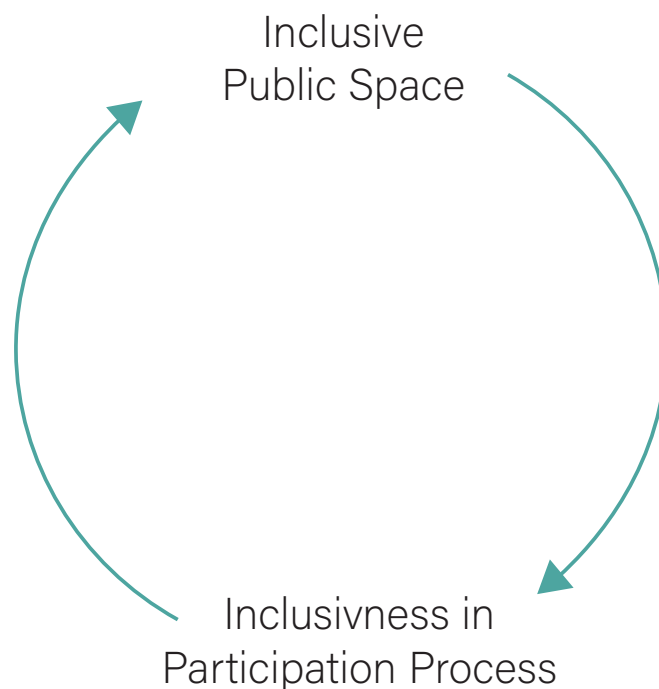
# Synthesis

Public space is shaped by power structures, and political and social contexts (Low and Smith, 2006). We shape public space both through its physical characters, and the symbols in design; but also through the meanings and contexts, we charge them with. Our common spaces will also, in turn, impact us, through regulations and the power structures it enhances. This leads to the question of who has the right to shape our common spaces.

Who is considered 'the public' is created and recreated by designing who belongs in the public space, through planned activities, functions, and regulations. The same public is the one invited, listen to and acknowledge in public participation of the new public space. This emphasizes the need to involve a wide range of stakeholders, as the participation

process in the design of public space can either lead to a reinforcement of already powerful stakeholders (Calderon and Butler, 2020), already included in the 'public' and in public space; or increase the inclusiveness of all, through the process in the design. An inclusive participation process becomes a way to ensure inclusion in public space.

The inclusiveness in the participation processes and the inclusivity in public space are strongly linked to one another, and therefore important to reach the Agenda 2030 goal of providing universal access to green public space.







### 3. Method

Figure 11. Religious festival celebrated in the street

**Our case study** is based on semi-structured interviews, site observations, as well as an analysis of the process and design proposed for two parks, conducted during field studies in Jaffna, Sri Lanka, from February to March 2020. Case studies are relevant to the profession of landscape architecture as they serve as examples, education and together form a collective record of the advancement of landscape architecture (Francis, 2001). This case study constitutes an example of how a participation process can look like in Sri Lanka; the view of who is the stakeholder; and how power structures formed by market, political and social context, shape the design and process of public space.

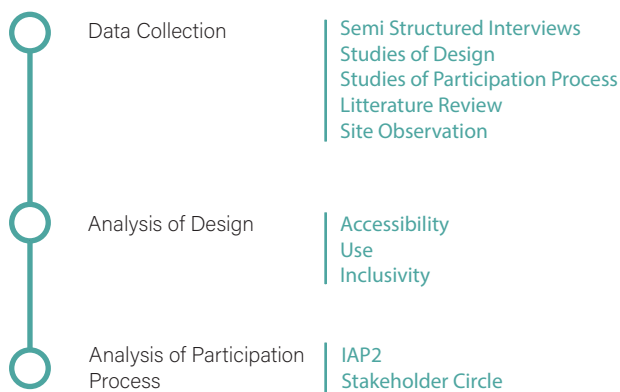


Figure 12. The method is divided into three parts

## Data collection

The material gathered in interviews and from the study of the preliminary design of the two parks as well as written documents, were supplemented with site visits and context-specific literature in order to understand the social and cultural context. It was the initial aim to also be present at several workshops or meetings in the participation process, but due to the outbreak of Covid-19 that imposed curfew in Sri Lanka, this was not possible. Instead, the already conducted meetings and workshops were analysed through the written documentation, and interviews with participants.

## Semi-structured interviews

Interviews were conducted with: identified stakeholders, design team, local residents belonging to vulnerable groups, and local experts with great knowledge about Jaffna and urban development. The questions directed to each group that was the basis for the semi-structured interviews can be found in Appendix I. The aim was to get an insight into how designers, stakeholders and residents perceived the participatory process, and how and in what way different groups had been included in both the participation process and in the design.

As part of initial screening with the aim to identify urban planning projects, the overall urban planning process of implementation, key actors and which role they play in urban planning, unstructured interviews with the Mayor, Divisional Secretary, and the Urban Development Authority (UDA) were conducted. During the unstructured interviews, written notes were taken as a means to remember important passages. From the screening, the focus of the process surrounding the urban upgrading program of Old Park and Sankiliyan Park was chosen, in particular the participation process with community and stakeholders. As the purpose of the project evolved during the initial unstructured interviews, some of the first interviewees have been contacted a posteriori to be informed about the new purpose and to approve that the information given by them can be used in the study.

Following interviews were conducted in a semi-structured way. Semi-structured interviews (SSI) work as a synthesis between close-ended individual surveys and open-ended, free-formed sessions with focus groups, which makes SSIs suitable when the aim is a qualitative in-depth interview (Adams, 2015). The SSI enables follow-up questions on the open-ended questions, as new ideas arise as a result of the answer (ibid.), and was, therefore, suitable for the project. The prepared questions were formed with the aim to understand how the participation process



was conducted in each park and the inclusiveness of the participation process had been considered.

These interviews had two purposes. Initially to understand facts of the procedures and process and hence the inclusion of the urban upgrading of the two parks through close-ended questions. Secondly, to understand the lifeworld of the interviewee and the context in which the parks are situated through open-ended questions. As there are very few written sources about the two parks, interviews were an important part to understand and document the use and history.

At the beginning of each interview, we introduced the purpose with our thesis with an emphasis on understanding the process of the upgrading programme of the two parks, as the issue of participation might be sensitive and could, therefore, be negative to establishing trust between us as the interviewers and the interviewee (Repstad, 2007). The interviews were sound recorded when approved by the interviewee. This gave the opportunity to fully focus on the interview and also was important as literal and unfiltered information to go back to when the information was processed. Written notes were taken, as a supplement to the sound recording, to note passages of importance or particular interest to the study. When sound recording was not approved by the interviewee, detailed notes were taken throughout the interview. The interview concluded with us asking their permission to refer to them and the information given in the interview, in the thesis. The information was processed directly after the interview as a means not to lose or increase the risk of misrepresenting vital information (ibid).

Doing a cross-cultural study raised a lot of challenges in communication. To ease connections and communication between us as interviewer and the interviewees, we first established contact through everyday conversations (Repstad, 2007). All the interviews were conducted in English, with one exception where an interpreter was used. Having a common language, although it is not the first language, is emphasized as

a benefit for good communication in cross-cultural studies (Bull, Boontharm, Parin, Radovic, & Tapie, 2013). However, when the interviewee did not feel comfortable with using English an interpreter was necessary. Using an interpreter might have affected the information as it is filtered through the perception of the interpreter. It might also have had a positive effect as it created a bridge of communication between us and the interviewee, where the interpreter could interpret not only language but also cultural and social differences.

Initially, the interviews were conducted face to face, but due to the outbreak and spread of the Covid-19 pandemic, we were forced to interrupt the fieldwork. The remaining interviews were thereafter conducted via video chat or as written communication.

### *Interviewees*

Interviews were made with designated stakeholders which had been part of the process, as understanding different aspects and opinions about the project process and the levels of participation as perceived by the different stakeholders was an important part of the study. Key figures from respective projects were identified through attendance lists of organisations, authorities and actors that have been a part of the process. The interviews were also an important source of information about the projects, as it is not yet finished and therefore lacks written descriptions, planning documents and reports about the process.

From the attendance lists of stakeholders from the stakeholder meetings of Old Park and Sankiliyan Park, one present representative from each stakeholder institution relevant to the design was chosen. In the case of Sankiliyan Park, public community consultations were held, but no record or contact information of the attending residents was available. We were therefore not able to contact the residents which had been part of the public community consultations. In total, we interviewed four persons representing different authorities, where of one also representing women, and one person representing



residents. For more information on which of the identified stakeholders that were interviewed, see Appendix II.

Interviews were also made with designers and members of the design teams for both parks to understand their view of the participation process, and how they have worked with inclusion and accessibility in design. As well as representatives from the World Bank and four officers working at the SCDP PIU.

To understand how vulnerable groups see the inclusion and accessibility of the participation process and design, interviews were made with representatives from these groups. The aim was to understand if they would have wanted to be part of the participation process, their view of the preliminary design of the parks and if they believe that the design is inclusive to them. The goal was to find persons representing women, children, religious minorities, elderly and low castes. To identify these people the snowball technique was used. The snowball technique starts with one person that adds further persons and so on. A risk with the technique is reproducing a network homogeneity (Luyet et al., 2012). By starting with multiple entry points this can to some extent be avoided (Luyet et al., 2012). However, our limited time in Jaffna and the curfew caused by Covid-19 gave us few opportunities to identify several starting points. The persons interviewed were two women from different religions but with similar high socioeconomic status and age. Three of the interviewees from the other interview groups could also be considered elderly. With our limited connections and the increased challenge of reaching people in curfew, it was not possible to reach representatives from the other groups.

To get an insight on the bigger picture in terms of the conditions of social context affecting access and inclusion of the upgrading of the two parks, interviews were made with locals who have great knowledge in Jaffna history, urban development and its possible effects. These persons were also identified

Designated stakeholders: 4  
Designers: 2  
World Bank: 1  
SCDP PIU: 4  
Women: 2  
Local experts: 6

by using the snowball technique resulting in interviewing six persons with expertise in the history of Jaffna, urban development, Jaffna heritage sites, and the current urban development in Jaffna.

Due to the sensitivity of raising critique of superiors or government, and to protect our interviewees, we have used pseudonyms for all participants in the study.

## Studies of design proposals and written documentations of processes

The design proposals for the two parks were studied and analysed. At the time for the study, the design for Sankiliyan Park was a completed final design proposal, while for Old Park only a preliminary design was made. The preliminary design of Old Park did not have a detailed plan, no sections or pictures showing material, design, details etc, which could affect inclusivity and accessibility of the design in ways which could not be analysed in this study.

Further, written documentation of the process and participation were studied to get a deeper understanding of the process. The documents studied were: Bidding documents made by the design teams, Minutes of Meetings (MoM) from participation meetings, and Environmental Screening reports made by the project group. All the documents were collected from the design teams and project group, which might have led to a filtration of the documents accessed.

## Analysis of Accessibility, Use and Inclusivity

Analyses of accessibility, use and inclusivity in the process and design were made with the starting point in Agenda 2030 target 11.7: “By 2030 provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, particularly for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities.” (United Nations, no date, p. 7); and based on the theories stated in the theoretical framework.

This study especially focuses on the inclusiveness and accessibility of the vulnerable groups stated above, as well as other marginalised groups in Jaffna. We started in the notion that public space has never been open and inclusive to everyone (Low & Smith, 2006), to analyse who will benefit from the urban upgrading - and who will be excluded. The designs of the two parks were analysed based on theories from the theoretical framework, looking at the power structures, regulations, and activities and design. We have looked at the location of the parks in relation to the surrounding areas' socioeconomic status and caste; which power structures the symbols in the design creates and strengthens through the indication of power to certain groups, and who is thereby included/excluded; how the design relates to market structures; what regulations to the public space the new design will bring and how that may affect the use of the parks; and which groups will use and benefit from the functions provided. Except for our own analysis of the park designs, representatives from vulnerable and marginalised groups in Jaffna were interviewed about their thoughts about the design, and how it will affect inclusiveness and accessibility for themselves and for others.


## Analysis of the Participation Process

The participation process of designing Old Park and Sankiliyan Park were analysed using two different models: The IAP2 model developed by the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2); and the Stakeholder Circle. Further, we also looked at how vulnerable groups mentioned in Agenda 2030 target 11.7 and other identified marginalised groups in Jaffna were represented in the participation process.

Scholars have shown many practical advantages with participation (Luyet et al., 2012), and several relates to the belief that those impacted by a decision also have the right to influence it (International Association for Public Participation, no date), which makes participation processes important in the development and design of public space. By analysing who is considered the stakeholder in public space, we can also get knowledge of who is included in the ‘public’. Ultimately, who has the power in the participation process, who is heard and has an influence on the design, is the issue of who is included in the decision-making of public space, and who has the right to shape our common spaces. In the analysis of the inclusiveness in the participation process, we therefore look at who was invited and whose opinions were considered, from the two tools of analysis below: the IAP2 model and the Stakeholder Circle.

### The IAP2 model

The International Association of Participation has formed a model in five levels with increasing stages of public empowerment, stretching from simply informing, to empowerment where the people decide



	Inform	Consult	Involve	Collaborate	Empower
Public Participation Goal	To provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions.	To obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decisions.	To work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered.	To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution.	To place final decision making in the hands of the public.
Promise to the public	We will keep you informed.	We will keep you informed, listen to and acknowledge concerns and aspirations, and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision.	We will work with you to ensure that your concerns and aspirations are directly reflected in the alternatives developed and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision.	We will look to you for advice and innovation in formulating solutions and incorporate your advice and recommendations into the decisions to the maximum extent possible.	We will implement what you decide

Figure 13. The International Association of Participation has done a model with five levels of participation © IAP2 International Federation 2018. All rights reserved. 20181112\_v1

which solutions to be used. The aim is to define the role of the public in a participatory process (International Association for Public Participation, 2018). The IAP2 model derives from the level of public participation created by Arnstein, which has been a leading tool in criticizing participation since its creation in the 1960s. The spectrum stretches through five stages, with increasing impact on the decision: Inform, Consult, Involve, Collaborate, and Empower

(ibid.), and is illustrated in Figure 12.

During the study, it became clear that in Sri Lanka, the word ‘public’ is not used when talking about participation. Instead, the word ‘stakeholder’ is used to describe authorities affected by the project, and citizens were referred to as ‘community’. When analysing the participation process, we have therefore analysed the participation of the participants in each



project, in the case of Old Park meaning the identified stakeholders, and in Sankiliyan Park both the identified stakeholders and the public participating in the participation process.

The level of participation was evaluated by analysing the semi-structured interviews and by comparing opinions expressed by citizens and other stakeholders at participation meetings, with the design proposal of the two parks and to what degree the alternatives presented reflects the concerns and aspirations of the public. The goal was to see which people and ideas had an actual influence.

In this model, it is assumed that the problem definitions represented by the authorities or project group reflect the full reality. As emphasized in the theoretical framework, setting agendas can limit the scope of a decision-making process (Calderon & Butler, 2020). When analysing the level of participation we have therefore also discussed to which extent the stakeholders and public have been part in formulating the problem.

Luyet et al. (2012) argues that it is important to decide before the participation process which level is the goal, indicating that it is not always to reach the highest level. Further, the different levels of participation are not binary and can be reached to different extents. As different levels of knowledge about the problem and solutions can create an uneven balance of power, the first level, to provide the public with balanced and objective information, becomes key to reach the other levels. Balanced and objective information becomes the guarantee that the public is not pacified, bypassed, induced or seduced by other powerful actors' visions; but that their concerns and aspirations are part in shaping the decisions.

## Stakeholder circle

The Stakeholder circle (Bourne, 2009) was adapted and used as a complement to the IAP2 to visualise which stakeholders that were identified in the partici-

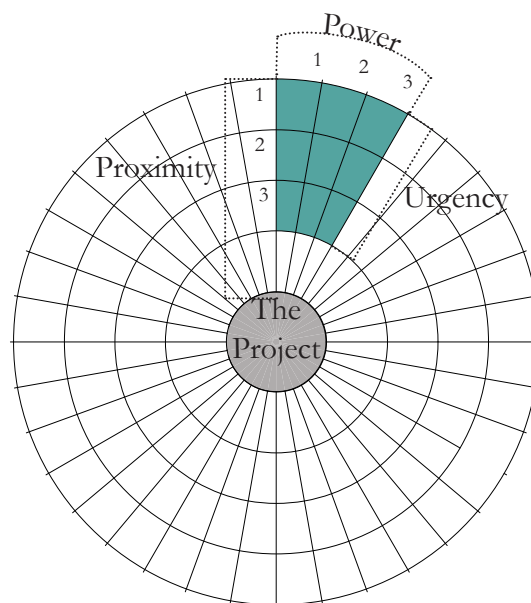


Figure 14. In the Stakeholder Circle each stakeholder is rated based on their proximity, power, and urgency to the project

pation processes of the two parks and what influence they had in the project. Based on the data collected, the influence of each stakeholder was evaluated, from three aspects: power, urgency and proximity in the project (ibid.). Each aspect is ranked 1-4 for each stakeholder and gives the stakeholder a segment in the Stakeholder Circle. The larger segment, the more influence in the project.

The three aspects are defined as (Bourne, 2009):

- **Power:** The power to instruct change in the project, with high capacity and the ability to have the work stopped in the high end, and low capacity in the low end.
- **Proximity:** The proximity to the project with stakeholders directly involved in the project in the high end and those with minimal direct involvement in the low end.
- **Urgency:** The urgency of interaction in the project, with constant interaction in the high end and routine communication only in the low end.

As in the IAP2, the Stakeholder Circle was based on analysis of the collected data in the semi-structured interviews, written documentation and by comparing

opinions expressed by citizens and other stakeholders at participation meetings; with the design proposal of the two parks, and the degree to which the alternatives presented reflects the concerns and aspirations of the public. The aim was to reveal which people and which ideas were accepted as a source of feedback in the processes.

# Methodology discussion

When doing a case study in a new context there are phenomena and structures that are difficult to fully comprehend, which might have affected the result in this study. Communication goes far beyond just language. Even though most of the interviews were in English and we thereby had a common language with the interviewees, communication issues occurred frequently due to different frames of references. This might have affected our understanding of the answers and the questions we asked.

Since caste is taboo in Jaffna and we, new to the culture and context found it difficult to read social structures like caste, it is hard to say which caste people we have talked to in this study belongs to. Seen to the level of education and social context, we believe most of the people we have reached in our interviews have been middle-class from higher Tamil castes. As much of public space is designed for them, which is also reflected in their answers, they mostly experience public space as open and inclusive and they seldom experienced obstacles or limitations in their use of public space. From what we know we did not talk to any Muslims in Jaffna. In Jaffna, we talked to women and elderly; but no children, people with disabilities, or low castes. This was complemented with interviews with local experts with insights into the socioeconomic structures of Jaffna, and how the process and design relates to the conditions of inclusion and exclusion that the urban upgrading will

bring. The lack of interviews with people from other vulnerable groups creates a gap in our study that could be subject to further research.

As it can be in all case studies, we struggled with finding impartial information about the case. Both the Tamil and the Sinhalese sources are biased and tinged by the conflict and the post-conflict tensions. Also, the information from project groups and responsible authorities can also be partial as a means to defend the project, or out of fear of repercussions from superiors or government if highlighting negative aspects of the project.

Researchers within the social sciences have long problematized and raised concerns for the practice of cross-cultural research and the complexity it brings (Twyman et al, 1999). Angotti (2012) emphasizes the problem with most theories and practices in urban form come from the 'developed' world describing the 'un-developed' world in negative terms such as unsanitary and dangerous slums. Further, Angotti argues that orientalism advances a dualist way of seeing the urban world which leads to 'real world policies that blame the other for urban problems' (2012:4), which relates to a spread view that there is a right way to plan cities, originating and associated with 'the West' - and as a contrast, a wrong way, associated with 'the East'. We acknowledge that we are also part of this structure and that our views and references are largely shaped in the West. As much of contemporary urban planning today crosses national borders, it is crucial that we are aware of the mindsets which color our judgement. It is our hope that this study could provide nuances to the view of public space and participatory processes.





## 4. Case Study

Figure 15. One of the children ran home to get the key to the playground when we asked why it is locked



**The following chapters** describe aspects of the surrounding political, social and cultural context in which the projects are set; the creation of the SCDP project which the upgrading of the parks are a part of; and our study of the process and design of Old Park and Sankiliyan Park. The sections of each park is divided into; an analysis of the participation process; and an analysis of accessibility, use, inclusivity and publicness. The analysis and discussions of inclusion in participation and inclusionary public space derive from the theories and thoughts in the theoretical framework.

## Jaffna

The city of Jaffna is situated in the southern tip of the Jaffna peninsula, in north of Sri Lanka. The city is the capital of the Northern Province as well as for ethnic minority Tamils. The historic and well-known conflict between the Tamils and the Sinhalese, which ended up in a civil war in 1983 to 2009, still affects the power structures and political landscape of today's Jaffna and is highly relevant to understanding the Jaffna context. In the following chapter, we seek to understand and present parts of the texture and important processes that could help to explain the power structures in Jaffna, and the issues of inclusion and exclusion we experienced in our study of the participation processes of Old Park and Sankiliyan Park.

## History

The civilization of Sri Lanka can be traced back to the 5th century BCE (Minority Rights Group International, 2018). The island has two major ethnic groups, Sinhalese and Tamils with their two dominant religions Buddhism and Hinduism (Hubert Peiris & Arasaratnam, 2020). In 1963 the Tamils comprised twentytwo percent of the sri lankan population, but had decreased in 2001 to only nine percent due to displacements and the civil war (Department

of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka, 2012). In the latest survey in 2012 the Tamil population had risen to fifteen percent (ibid.). Although they are in clear minority in the country, they comprise the ethnic majority in the northern and eastern parts of the island. The two groups have different languages, religions, and cultures. Further, approximately 8 percent of the population in Sri Lanka are Muslims, who trace their origin back to Arab traders of the 8th century (ibid.).

Sri Lanka was ruled by Sinhalese kings between 1200 to 1505 (ibid.). By the beginning of the 1300 century, a south Indian dynasty had founded a Tamil kingdom in the north of Sri Lanka, with the capital Nallur which is now a district of the city of Jaffna (ibid.), as well as its religious center.



Figure 16. Jaffna Fort built during the colonial time is today a landmark and tourist attraction in Jaffna

Due to Sri Lanka's strategic position on the route between Europe and Southeast Asia, it has been an attractive location for trade with ancient Greek, Arabs, Asian civilisations and later the Europeans who colonised the island to have as a strategic stronghold (Hubert Peiris & Arasaratnam, 2020). Sri Lanka was subject to European colonisation from 1505 to until the independence in 1948, by first the Portuguese, then the Dutch, and lastly the British (ibid.). The Dutch made a big impact on the physical character of Jaffna. They rebuilt the Portuguese Fort to be one of the biggest European forts in Asia (Lonely Planet, 2020). Old maps show how the fort was



linked by road to the historic Tamil city of Nallur. During the Dutch rule, most of the Hindu temples in Jaffna were ruined and instead replaced with churches (Martyn, 2003). The Europeans, especially the Dutch, promoted Christianity and did intense Roman Catholic mission activities. Many coastal cities underwent massive conversion, there among Jaffna (Hubert Peiris & Arasaratnam, 2020). The British held Sri Lanka for 150 years. They implemented the administrative system in Jaffna with a Government Agent living in Old Kachcheri building, situated adjacent to one of the parks, subject for this study. During the British period, several landmarks in Jaffna were built, for example, the clocktower and Jaffna library that once was the biggest library in South-East Asia, before it was burned down during the war. The British also built the railway system in Sri Lanka, connecting Jaffna to Anuradhapura, Vavuniya and Colombo. Except for physical characters, the British left a cultural mark on Sri Lanka, with tea and cricket.

Under British rule, many Indian Tamils were brought to Sri Lanka as labour force in the tea plantations (Minority Rights Group International, 2018). At the time of independence, these were made stateless and deprived of their political rights (ibid.). In 1983 a civil war began in Sri Lanka due to several shortages of Tamil rights initiated by the government (van Horen, 2002). After several non-violent attempts from the Tamils failed to address these matters the conflict escalated (ibid.). A number of militant Tamils groups emerged, with The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) as the most significant (ibid.). As Jaffna was the stronghold for the LTTE, it also became the most war-affected city (Hubert Peiris & Arasaratnam, 2020). The war ended in May 2009 when the Sri Lankan army launched a final offensive where the LTTE leaders were killed in the heavy bombings and the organization ceased to exist (ibid.). The UN estimates that 6'500 civilians were killed between mid-January to mid-April 2009 (Chamberlain & Pallister, 2009), but many believe that the number is much higher.

## Ethnic composition, caste and tensions

The traditional conflict, which was further enhanced by the war, has led to segregation between the Tamils and Sinhalese. Today the ethnic composition of Jaffna includes a majority Tamils and a minority of Muslims, but no Sinhalese. The relations between the Tamils and the Sinhalese are still tense. The tension together with the fact that the Government is funding the upgrading of the parks through a World Bank loan can have affected which issues people in Jaffna are comfortable to raise in the participation process. Ms Cavarai, an economist with origins in Jaffna, that has worked both in the World Bank and with Jaffna urban development, raised the concern that many people in Jaffna are afraid of being perceived as 'noise makers' by the Government (personal conversation, May 7th, 2020). She further emphasized that people in Jaffna feel a sense of resignation, not trusting the Government, which might affect the willingness for people to want to participate in participation processes.

The short time we spent in Jaffna and Sri Lanka limits our understanding of the conflict. During the period in the field however, it became clear to us that there is still a tension between the Tamils and the Sinhalese that affects the political and social structures of Jaffna, and played a role in interviews and everyday conversations with the locals. In Jaffna, we experienced a pride and a need to express the own history and culture. For example, many Tamil women still wear traditional clothing, while in other parts of Sri Lanka the clothing for both men and women is more westernised. Often we also noted a differentiation of the own collective identity, expressed in terms such as 'Tamils are hard-working' or 'Tamils do not know how to relax'. Some expressed a feeling of being supervised by Government through the Sinhalese police force and there is still a wish for Tamil independence. One of our interviewees said that the long suppression from the Government towards the Tamils and the war have made it important to keep

a strong Tamil culture (Cavarai, personal communication, May 7th, 2020) and as this study will show, manifesting it in the public space.

During the LTTE 70000-80000 Muslims were forced away from the northern areas of Sri Lanka, referred to as the 'eviction' (Thiranagama, 2018). After the war, Muslims started to come back to Jaffna after 25 years of absence (ibid.). The limited interactions between Tamils and Muslims that existed before the eviction are now gone and the groups are today even more segregated with very little contact between the groups (ibid.). The segregation between the groups might have affected who are included in the participation process and in public space.

Historically there has been a lot of conflict in Jaffna linked to castes (Thiranagama, 2018). During the LTTE some of these conflicts decreased when LTTE recruited from all castes (ibid.). Partly because of the mingling, resulting from basic living conditions, and also because parents allowed their children to marry young, as married children were not targets for LTTE recruitment; there were more marriages between castes during the time of the civil war (ibid.). Today most people deny there is caste-based oppression in Sri Lanka (Kuganathan, 2014). The discussion about caste is taboo and there are also efforts of caste censorship, for example, the University of Jaffna discourages any research on caste (Kuganathan, 2014). Although the caste is taboo, Thiranagama (2018) means there is still a lot of inequality and suppression in Jaffna against the lower castes of the Tamils and the Muslims, which might have affected those who are included in the participation process and in public space.

The war led to long term inequalities where people from the lower castes did not have the opportunity to migrate, and they were therefore largely subject to military recruitment and also to a larger extent killed in the conflict (Thiranagama, 2018). Over one million people left the Northern Province between 1980s and 2009, with a disproportionate number of them being Vellālars, the highest caste, who had taken

advantage of extended social networks in Colombo and abroad (Kuganathan, 2014). Our interviewee, Ms Cavarai, meant that the displacement has changed the community in Jaffna (personal conversation, May 7th, 2020). Before the war, everyone knew each other and there was a lot of community involvement that she miss today. She also expressed there is a desire among the young people to leave the country (ibid.), which might affect the interest in upgrading public space in Jaffna and participate in a participation process.

Being in Jaffna we observed how this migration has a big impact on the social structures today. Several people told us how displaced Tamils, now returnees, come back with a lot of money from working in Europe or West starting new companies in Jaffna; while those who could not move do not have the same possibility. Displaced Tamils who chose not to move back send money to relatives who stayed, which further increases the gap between those who have relatives abroad and those who do not. There has also impacted to marriages, as women in Jaffna only want to marry men that have moved to Europe or West, leaving men who could not move unmarried. The returnees also bring with them western ideals to Jaffna, which might affect the public space in Jaffna and the inclusion of it.

## Jaffna physical structure and spatial issues

Jaffna has two city centres: one commercial centre close to the Dutch Fort, with the library, food market, and bus station; and one administrative centre with ministry departments, situated around Old Kachcheri where one of the parks for this study is located. Linking the two centres together is Hospital Road, along which the hospital and train station are located. The higher buildings in the city, including a few recently built hotels, can be found in this area. Jaffna is today, as many other cities, dealing with iss-



Figure 17. Old Park is located in the administrative centre and Sankiliyan Park in the historical and religious centre of Jaffna © 2019 Survey Department of Sri Lanka. All Rights Reserved.

ues of urban sprawl. The city's building structure is mostly one-family houses with surrounding gardens. The main industries in Jaffna are small scale fishing and farming which are noticeable in the physical structure in form of fishing neighbourhoods along the coast and big areas of farmland inland.

The aerial bombing during the war left most of Jaffna in ruins (Hubert Peiris and Arasaratnam, 2020). Except for huge damages to buildings and infrastructure the war also indirectly contributed to 35 years of absence of rules, regulations, absence of centralized planned development, and neglect of public space and buildings (Kabilan, 2019). Part of the urban upgrading has been to rebuild infrastructure and the sewer system that was destroyed during the war, which resulted in stormwater and sewage mixed in open canals. The absence of rules and planning together with private ownership and a sudden influence of market in the post-war space have caused spatial issues in Jaffna (ibid.). The huge need of urban upgrading in the city and the fact that Jaffna was one of the biggest cities in Sri Lanka before

the war, qualified Jaffna to be one of the strategic cities in the Strategic Cities Development Program (SCDP).

The war also led to other impacts in the physical structure. Statues that in different ways manifested the Tamil identity were demolished and decapitated by the army during the war (TamilNet, 2007; Perera, 2016; Ms Cavarai personal conversation, May 7th, 2020). The Government also imposed high-security zones, with the purpose to protect military camps from LTTE attacks (Manoharan, 2007). However, the Government still held the land almost ten years after the war and used it for both military and non military purposes like agriculture, tourism and commercial ventures (Human Rights Watch, 2018), resulting in thousands of displaced persons deprived of their homes and for farmer also their livelihood (Manoharan, 2007). One of the parks in this study, Sankiliyan Park, was declared as a high-security zone, indicating the parks political sensitivity.

In Jaffna's built environment, large and important





historical buildings can be seen as symbols of domination of colonial powers. The buildings are today landmarks and part of the identity of Jaffna. In the same way, we can view the newly built hotels in the city as a sign of the emerging tourist market, and their location indicates which areas might be subject of future gentrification. Both of the parks in this study are centrally located, and the surrounding areas will probably see an increased development with densification and gentrification. The ongoing development has already resulted in the construction of the Indian Culture Center in an open public space frequently used by the public for young people playing cricket, vehicle learners, celebrations and exhibitions (Gopal, 2018). The plot was formerly one of the most popular and frequently used public places in Jaffna and is also one of the best plots in the city, looking at its location. Several people expressed confusion about the centre and sadness over the loss of the public space (ibid.). The building of the Indian Culture Center - indicating India being a power holder especially in the culture, and the loss of the popular public place which was there before serve as an example of how the urban space is 'cleaned up' in a way to cultivate order, modernity and 'civilised' life in Jaffna.

## Organisational Structure

Many authorities are involved in the process of the Many authorities are involved in the process of the two parks, both as stakeholders and as partners in the projects. Sri Lanka has a government that are the decision-maker on national level. The country is then divided into nine provinces, where each province has a Urban Development Authority (UDA) office responsible for i.e. making development plans. The Northern Province, where Jaffna is located, is thereafter divided into five districts. Jaffna District headed by the District Secretary is divided into fourteen Divisional Secretariats each headed by a Divisional Secretaries. The parks for this study are located in Jaffna Division and Nallur Division. Each division is thereafter divided into Gramas, with a Grama Nilha-

From the top:

Figure 18. The war left Jaffna in ruins

Figure 19. Only one third of all the plastic are collected in Jaffna

Figure 20. Most houses in Jaffna are one storage

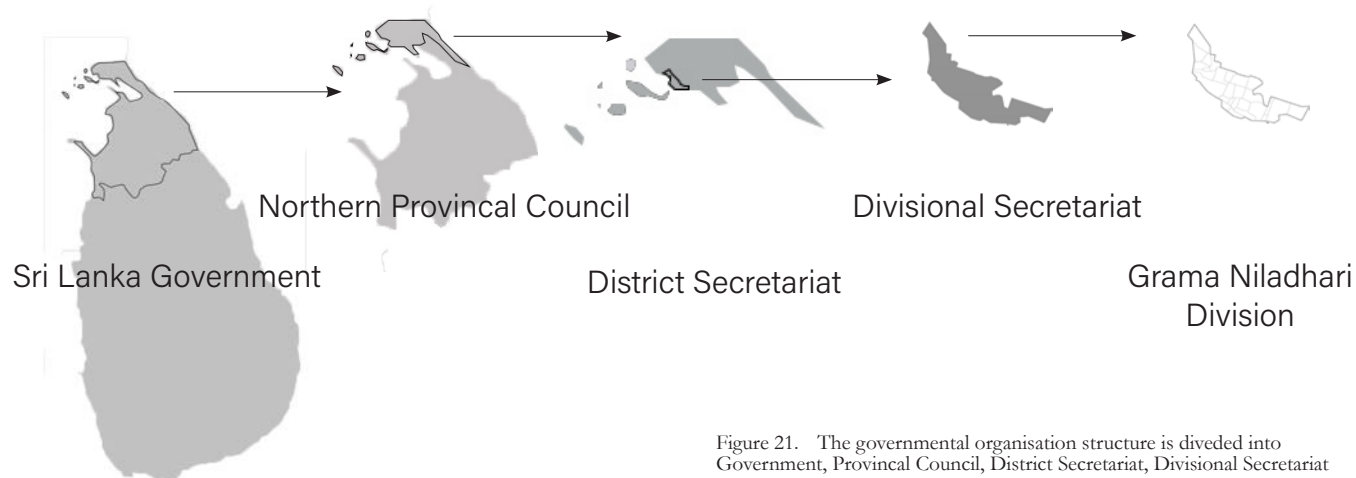


Figure 21. The governmental organisation structure is divided into Government, Provincial Council, District Secretariat, Divisional Secretariat and Grama Niladhari Divisions

dari (village officer). Nallur Division has 40 Gramas and Jaffna Division has 28. Except these governmental authorities, there is the local government, Jaffna Municipal Council (JMC) with its own boundaries, with a locally elected Mayor. The responsibilities of the departments of the national and local governments often overlap.

## The view of participation and stakeholders in Sri Lanka

During and after the war, Sri Lanka has had many developing projects funded by the United Nations and the World Bank. In these projects the international organisations have emphasized on the importance of participation, resulting both in reports of successful participation (UN Habitat, 2017) as well as reports of how to improve participation (Ministry of Housing & Construction, no date). This in a way imposes ideals of participation in developing projects in Sri Lanka. In interviews, politicians and officers working for government authorities often seemed used to talk about the importance of participation and how they had involved the public, 'women and all that', in their development projects.

Both representatives from the municipality and

the authorities expressed the importance of participation, as they need approval from the public (personal conversation, March 12th, 2020; personal communication, March 3rd, 2020). They meant that, if someone would oppose the new design it would not be possible to build. Mr Gopal, a lecturer in the University of Jaffna in Spatial Planning, meant that public community consultation is rarely done in Jaffna, instead, the Municipality nominates people to the consultation meetings to get their acceptance (personal communication February 28th - April 27th, 2020). In the case of the urban upgrading in Jaffna, Mr Balarkrishan was one of these nominees, he felt that the 'meeting was not held to share the ideas and get comments, more information about what they had already planned and decided' and added 'I felt that the authorities almost decided everything and held the meeting only to fulfil the official requirements of conducting a meeting with the local people from various disciplines.' (personal communication, 28th of April, 2020). Also, Mr Padiachy, a local activists, argued that only supportive people are invited to the participation process, because of the strict timeline and there is a political struggle to get everybody to agree (personal communication, February 16th - April 27th, 2020). This indicates that the authorities to a larger extent seek to persuade the public, as opposed to empowering, or distributing the power

from the authorities to the public (Arnstein, 1969). The goal seems to be, not to explore different ideas, but to get the approval and avoid protests further on in the process.

Public participation is regulated in Sri Lanka in large scale development projects or projects which are located in environmentally sensitive areas (Public Participation / Consultation in the EIA Process, no date). Also, the Minister of Megapolis and Western Development in Sri Lanka states that ‘The outcome of urban development projects will not be sustainable and will be a failure in the long run if there was no public participation’ (Zuhair, 2015), thereby to some extent acknowledging the benefits of public participation. However, one of our interviewees, Mr Padiachy, argued, regarding plans and regulations in Sri Lanka that ‘it is fancy words in the books’ but that they are seldom implemented in reality (personal communication, February 16th - April 27th, 2020). Ms Cavarai that worked with urban development in Jaffna, felt that outputs are valued higher by the authorities than the process/participation/‘soft stuff’, that she meant really have an impact (personal communication, May 7th, 2020). She also argued that there is a feeling of needing to finish the project, which can have a negative impact on the participation process.

From our interviews and observations, we understand that stakeholders in development projects in Sri Lanka often are limited to politicians and authorities, and while some we talk to think that is enough many also raise concerns for not involving the “grass-root people” in the planning processes. Mr Gopal meant that there is a structure of not involving all people in the participation processes, instead, there are four political parties with different aspirations and if they accept, everyone has accepted (personal communication February 28th - April 27th, 2020). He further added that the politicians do not represent all groups in the society. Ms Cavarai argued that the local authorities and government are responsible to ensure public participation (personal communication, May 7th, 2020). Further, she meant that they do not

have the training to engage in the process and to get information out of people, that they lack the capacity and resources, and she added ‘a lot can be done if we strengthen them’. The above statements from our interviews show, as in many other parts of the world, there are struggles of ensuring genuine participation processes in Jaffna.

## Green Public Space

The green public space of Jaffna is spread out through the city: a few larger parks with popular children’s playgrounds; smaller children’s playgrounds mainly targeting the neighbourhood; and simpler grounds with grass or sand, and a football or volleyball net. In addition to this, the city has several ponds, often in a rectangular shape. The ponds serve an important part in collecting stormwater, and have historically also been used for washing clothes, and collecting freshwater for humans and animals. Mr Gopal, a lecturer in spatial planning in Jaffna, argued that the need for parks in Sri Lanka is not as big as in developed countries. He meant that they have greens and gardens in their homes. However, he added, that if building density increases the need for parks would also increase, but argued that there is more focus on the environmental impacts rather than the social benefits (personal communication, February 28th - April 27th, 2020).

The larger parks in the city are mainly connected to colonial city structures and buildings, including the Old Kachcheri, the Dutch Fort and the reminiscence of an esplanade in front of the library. Except for leisure, exercising and play, the parks are also popular sites for taking photographs on important occasions such as holidays and celebrations. The public space is often used in the mornings before the sun gets too hot and in the afternoon until the sun sets around 6 pm. Because of the lack of street lightning, most people stay at home after sunset. Ms Lakshmi, a young woman explained that university students and high school women and men are using public space equally, however, she also expressed concern that there a



lot of harassments toward women in the public space (personal communication, April 27th, 2020). Several of the women we interviewed, told us they do not use the public space at night, especially not alone because of the fear of 'drunk men'. Mr Balarkrishnan meant that safety measures should be increased in the public space to include children, elders and physically challenged (personal communication, April 28th, 2020).

As almost all properties in the city the larger parks are surrounded by walls - most also have a stationed guard and an entrance fee. They are often closed and locked at night, and in some cases also during the daytime. Generally the parks open in the afternoon and evenings when the temperature cools and the sun is less hot. Small playgrounds exist in most areas in the city, generally enclosed by fences and, as the large parks, locked during nights and during the hot part of the day. However, when visiting a neighbourhood with one of these locked playgrounds, one of the neighbours had the key. This meant that the neighbours could decide together when the kids could use the playground. Larger parks in the sense of green public space as places that are open and accessible to all is unusual, and fees are generally thought of as positive, as otherwise 'everyone can come to the park'. The smaller grounds are however without fences or walls and accessible at all times.

Several of our interviewees meant that parks in Jaffna are meant for the middle-class people. Mr Gopal described that the middle-class people are the ones working in the Government sector, and that they do not have the time to entertain at home and therefore entertain in the parks. He added that there are no restrictions for poor people to sit in the park 'so they can come, but they do not want to' (personal communication, February 28th - April 27th, 2020). When asked about how poor people use the park our interviewee, Ms Lakshmi, explained they cannot afford fees and that they do not feel it is important in their life to visit the parks (personal communication, April 27th, 2020).

The parks in this case study, Old Park and Sankiliyan



Figure 22. The biggest city park today is Subramaniam Park



Figure 23. The playgrounds are often enclosed by fence or walls and have certain opening hours



Figure 24. The ground are open green spaces with football or volleyball net



Park are two of the largest parks in Jaffna and are both located in central areas of the city, attractive for urban development. The first park, Old Park, is regarded as the major city park, situated in the administrative centre. A large part of the park is left abandoned and overgrown, including the ruin from the Old Kachcheri building, but also partly developed and rebuilt as a popular children's park. The second park, Sankiliyan Park, is located along with one of the major roads and close to the religious centre and temple area of Nallur. The park is today closed off for the public with barbed wire fences.

With Old Park in the administrative centre of Jaffna and Sangiliyan park in the historic centre, by locals described as the heart of Jaffna, both sites will be of interest for development and commercial interest,

such as tourist industry. Sankiliyan Park, because of its history, has a strong political meaning where the development of the park is a sensitive matter for most of the public. This makes the park an interesting place to study the battlefield of domestic politics taking place in public space. While Sankiliyan Park is a place to show off the Tamil culture, Old Park is developing in an international style, with English landscape park as a model, as a way to reconstruct its colonial heritage. The use of international designers and an underlying focus on tourist makes, while the aim at the same time is to focus on the residents, make it interesting to study the inclusiveness of the participation process and the design of the park.

Figure 25. Tree roots taking over walls of Jaffna Fort



# Strategic cities development programme

The Strategic Cities Development Programme The Strategic Cities Development Programme, SCDP, was founded under the Ministry of Urban Development, with the goal to ‘develop the secondary cities as a system of competitive, environmentally sustainable and well-linked cities in a bid to foster economic growth and prosperity’ (SCDP, n.d.). The purpose for World Bank of developing the cities was to enhance urban growth since ‘urbanization can be a powerful force for economic growth and poverty reduction’ if the urban growth is managed in the right way (The World Bank, 2014). By acting now the aim was to ‘take full advantage of the economic benefits of the urban transition while mitigating the problems associated with fast urbanization found elsewhere in South Asia’ (ibid.). Ms Jones, a representative from

the World Bank stated, regarding the project that ‘the public space is to be open and accessible for all people’ (personal communication, April 3rd, 2020). The program started in 2014 and the cities which initially participated were Kandy and Galle (ibid.).

Jaffna was added in the project in 2016 after, at the time Asst. District Secretary showed a representative from the World Bank places in Jaffna that was in crucial need of upgrading after the war (Mr Seelan personal communication, March 10th, 2020). The loan was extended with an extra 55 million US\$ (The World Bank, 2014). According to Mr Ramanathan, representative of Divisional Secretariat, the authorities and departments involved in urban planning in Jaffna were then invited to discuss the future development of Jaffna (personal communication, March 3rd, 2020). Four main themes were defined: Traffic, drainage, cultural heritage, and urban upgrading (ibid.). As part of the upgrading programme, ten parks were chosen by the UDA, among them the Old Park and Sankiliyan Park (ibid.). Mr Ramanathan further explained that for each park project, participation was held, with the intention to ensure that the

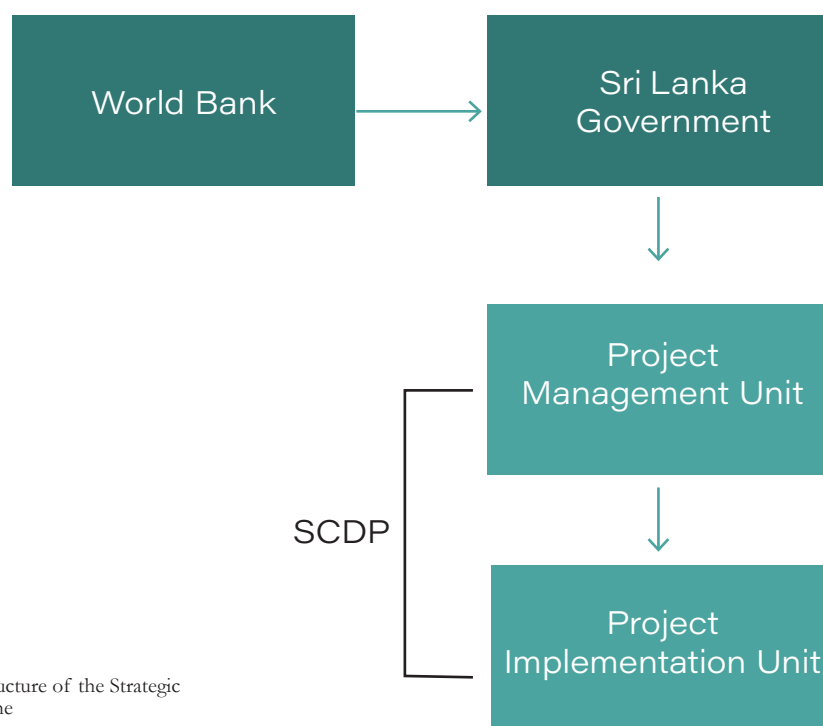


Figure 26. Organisational structure of the Strategic Cities Development Programme



project would be received without rejections from the public. The SCDP ends the 31st of December 2021, at which point all projects in the programme should be constructed and completed (The World Bank, 2014). Mr Padiachy, a local activists was worried that the development in Jaffna is often pushed at national or international level and not requested by the local people (personal communication, February 16th - April 27th, 2020). Also Mr Balarkrishan meant that there is a problem with the politics surrounding fundings. He meant that if someone wants to fund development in Sri Lanka, the authorities only say yes without consider the own politics (personal communication, April 28th, 2020).

The borrower of the World Bank loan is the Ministry of Finance and Planning (The World Bank, 2014). A Project Management Unit (PMU) was set up by the Government in Colombo, with the role to coordinate all agencies involved in project implementation and ensure overall quality (Jones, personal communication, April 3rd, 2020). According to Ms Jones, the World Bank controls that the projects resonate with Agenda 2030 through working with the PMU to deliver quality public parks and places for the people in Jaffna (ibid.). In each city, a Project Implementation Unit (PIU) was then established (ibid.). The PIU office in Jaffna is staffed with core technical staff, as well as officers responsible social and environmental aspects of the project. The staff in the PIU are the implementers, and responsible for producing social and environmental screenings and reports that then need to be approved by the PMU in Colombo, who are responsible for making the final decision. According to Ms Cavarai this dislocation of decision making from the implementation leads to a loss in the sense of ownership of the project in Jaffna (personal communication, May 7th, 2020). She argued that Jaffna only becomes a post office, while decisions is cleared elsewhere.

# Old Park

Situated in the administrative centre, Old Park is one of the largest and most centrally located parks in Jaffna. The park is the remaining adjacent grounds to the ruins of the former district secretariat building, Old Kachcheri (Lanka Excursions Holidays, no date). In the area, there are several government buildings such as the new Kachcheri (District Secretariat), Divisional Secretariat and Survey department. The park is enclosed by roads on two sides. On one of the roads are the main entry to the city. In the east and south is the park separated from a residence area with one-story buildings, with a high wall without entrance in between.

Old Park is today largely overgrown, but has one part, which was recently reconstructed as a children's

park. The Children's Park is one of the major playgrounds in the city and is enclosed by a low fence, has a guard, and is subject to a small entrance fee.

The overgrown area which is hard to access because of shrubs and invasive creepers, has similarities to an English landscape park with a lot of grown trees and some remains of winding paths. The Old Kachcheri building is today a ruin without a roof and most of the walls are destroyed.

According to Ms Angevine, the designer of the new park was Old Park and the old Kachcheri building considered more difficult than the other parks chosen for the urban upgrading programme, due to the size of the project and the declaration of the building as a cultural heritage (personal communication, March 8th, 2020). It was therefore the only park considered in need of an expert consultant team with international experience (Contract Between Ministry

Figure 27. Structures left from Old Kachcheri in Old Park





of Megapolis and Western Development and Signes Architecture and Landscape Design Consultancy , 2019). The french-based consultancy architectural firm Signes was chosen for the design of the park, among several applicants. The designer has worked with projects in Sri Lanka before and therefore have some knowledge of the country and context. Signes created a project group for Old Kachcheri and Old Park that consisted of 16 persons, from Jaffna, Colombo and France with expertise in Landscape architecture, architecture, engineering and cultural heritage (ibid.).

This chapter starts with history about Old Park, followed by an analysis of the participation process and an analysis of the accessibility and inclusiveness of the process and design.

## History

Old Kachcheri was built during the British colonial time in the first half of the 19th century (Japan Consortium for International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage, 2014). The building was bought by the British Government Agent Percival Acland Dyke (Shanie, 2011). The old park was earlier the resident garden. The site is located centrally in Jaffna next to Kandy road, the main entrance to Jaffna town. Kachcheri and Old Park was from the beginning 27 acres but through encroachment on the land has several buildings been constructed in the area so there are only 10 acres left of the Old Park. In the 1970s the park had a lot of old trees in the park, like Mahogany, Ironwood, Mango, Tamarind and Baobub (Amarasekera, 2008). Mr Oddai, participating in the workshop for Old Park designated as representing local residents, meant that the park was open for the public to collect fruit from the fruit trees during the british rule (personal communication, March 11th, 2020).

In interviews and everyday conversation with locals, several, stated Old Park before was being used by schoolchildren and scout groups and told stories



Figure 28. Old Kachcheri was built during the British colonial time



Figure 29. Climbing plants and trees are taking over the Old Kachcheri

of how they watched the bats at night in Old Park, saying it was a good nature park with a lot of birds singing. When doing a visit to the park we saw that the bats are still present in the park along with a lot of butterflies and other insects. Ms Lakshmi, a young women living in Jaffna, meant that during the war it was not safe to go along the road passing Old Park because of harassments from men (personal communication, April 27th, 2020). According to a Sri Lankan travel agency, the Old Park has also been a place for demonstration, for example in 1961 when the Sinhala Only Act was brought in and long sit ins and protests were conducted (Lanka Excursions Holidays, no date). This indicate the symbolic value of the park for the locals. This indicate the symbolic value of the park for the locals.

During the war, the building was being used by





Figure 30. Old Park is largely overgrown

the LTTE police as a training base and no one was allowed inside the building (Japan Consortium for International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage, 2014). The building got destroyed in the war together with Old Park and the site was left abandoned. Tamilnet.com, an online newspaper that provides news with a Tamil perspective, states that the government in 2011 demolished part of the heritage building and old trees in Old Park overnight to build a new mansion for the governor despite the Archaeological Department declaring it a heritage site (TamilNet, 2011). Also Mr Balarkrishan, Senior Lecturer in Art History, stated that trees had been ordered to be cut and cleared by the at the time Governor to build government offices. Mr Balarkrichan meant that the local public and the media agitated and protested against this ‘vanishing’ Old Park but the public opinion did not carry any further because of fear of militarized

state machinery. Neither the Tamil political parties and leaders did voice against any activities on demolishing the heritage site of their own region (personal communication, April 28th, 2020). During 2015 the Government Agent had initiated action to make the Old Park as a botanical garden but it never happened (Rajeswaran, n.d.).

## Analysis of the participation process

The participation process for Old Park consisted of: initial individual meetings with some of the stakeholders; a workshop with identified stakeholders and; a perception survey with six different groups. One more stakeholder workshop will be held to present the final design (Contract Between Ministry of Megapolis and Western Development and Signes Architecture and Landscape Design Consultancy, 2019), but had not been held at the time of the study.

According to the contract between the Ministry of Megapolis and Western Development and Signes Architecture and Landscape Design Consultancy (2019), the project should include a consultation with relevant stakeholders and interest groups. The purpose of the workshop was to do a proposal as a result of the workshop’s outcomes. The contract also shows the ambition to include stakeholders representing different groups in the two workshops. Although ‘workshop’ is a term that can be used broadly, and the form of the workshop was created by the design team, this to some extent limits the designers’ possibility to shape the participation process. They were partly brought to a structure, with the conditions already set by the client. The clause in the contract, to some extent both, ensures and limits the participation process by setting the structure, and creates a frame to which the designer must relate to.

In this chapter, the representation in the participation processed is analysed, followed by a table comparing the opinions raised in the meetings with the prelimi-



Figure 31. The participation process for Old Park consisted of meetings with stakeholders, a workshop and a perception survey. One more workshop will be held

nary design to see which opinions have been considered in the design. The comparison is then together with information from the interviews, used to discuss the level of participation according to the IAP2 model and the Stakeholder Circle.

### *Representation*

Several meetings were held between Signes and different authorities. According to Ms Angevine, the designer of the park, the purpose of these meetings was to learn about the needs from respective stakeholder before the workshop (personal conversation, March 8th, 2020). The individual meetings were with District Secretary, Department of Evaluation, UDA, Archeology Department, and Tourism Bureau (Final inception report Old Kachcheri and Old Park, 2020). All these are authorities and companies with a political or economic interest in the development of the park.

After the initial meetings was a workshop held by Signes the 5th of November 2019 with stakeholder where the PIU was responsible for inviting stakeholders so that all groups were represented (Contract, 2019). Attending the meeting were representatives from JMC, UDA, Northern Provincial Council, Department of Police, Local residents representative, SCDP PIU, Apec, Signes, Road Development Authority, Tourism Bureau, Department of Industries Northern Province, District Secretariat, Archaeology Department, and the Central Cultural Fund (Stakeholder Workshop Attendance Sheet, 2019). As we can see, almost all of the stakeholders invited to the workshop have a commercial or political interest in the project. Lacking from the attendance lists are the

end-users, vulnerable groups and ordinary citizens. When looking at how different groups in society were represented in the workshop, and comparing it to the vulnerable groups highlighted in Agenda 2030 (women, children, elderly and people with disabilities), we see few were a part of the workshop. Out of these vulnerable groups, only women had a representative designated by the project team present. According to this representative, Ms Mahadevan a district secretary officer, the focus of the discussions regarding the access and inclusivity was limited to the female entrepreneurs' possibility to have a place in the planned sell centre (personal communication, March 20th, 2020). The issues of women's need to feel safe or included were not discussed (ibid.). Ms Mahadevan also meant that it would have been essential to have representation from other NGOs and groups in society, such as Woman forum, Woman rural development societies, and grassroot people who in different ways are involved in surrounding activities.

Although no representatives for children were present in the workshop, it is clear that the aim was to involve representatives from local schools and educational establishments (Stakeholder Workshop Attendance Sheet, 2019). Representatives from Principal St John's College, Principal Chundikull Girls high school, and the University of Jaffna were invited to the workshop but did not attend (ibid.). Only two people were listed as representing local residents in the initial workshop (ibid.). One of them, Mr Oddai, working as a librarian, was according to himself, invited to the workshop because of his knowledge about the history of Kachcheri and the place. He said that

he was one of the main presenters in the workshop (personal communication, March 11th, 2020). The other one was a former SLAS officer which is the administrative centre of the Government of Sri Lanka.

A perception survey was conducted by Signes, to understand local people's needs and expectations. In the survey 180 people divided into six groups participated: 1. business people working by the site 2. community groups, 3. tourists, 4. tourism-related business operators, 5. micro-business people, 6. local performing artists (Signes Architecture and Landscape Design Consultancy, n.d.). The majority of these groups are linked to an economic interest in the development, apart from the community groups and the local performing artist. The only information available from the perception survey shows how many of the participants considering opening a business within the site perimeter and what the participants thought were the main tourist attractions in Jaffna. This too indicate that there was a big focus on tourism and commercial activities in the design process of the park.

Both in the initial meetings and in the workshop, almost all the stakeholders had an economic or

political interest in the development of the project. This, together with the focus on the questions in the perception survey indicate a focus for the project in economy, commerce and politics - whereas little focus was given to the potential social and cultural values the park could provide to the citizens. This agrees with Calderon (2020) stating that projects in areas with a strong focus on economic growth often result in decisions that prioritize designs linked to market rationality while excluding proposals focused on social problems and local identity.

### *Comparison of opinions and design*

Following are a table with the opinions raised in the workshop and stakeholder meetings compared to the design. By comparing opinions raised by stakeholders with the actual design implementation, we can see if the participation was actually a redistribution of power or just tokenism. In Table 1, we can see that many of the opinions raised were implemented in the design. This could be seen as a redistribution of power, as seen by Arnstein (1969). It could on the other hand also imply that the form in which the workshop was held affected which opinions were raised, and perhaps were implemented as they already agreed with the designers view of the problems and solutions.

Table 1 shows the opinions raised in the workshop compared to what was implemented in the design.

<i>Opinions raised by stakeholders</i>	<i>Design implementation</i>
Herbal garden	No herbal garden, but a butterfly garden which might include herbs
Selling food, products etc	Market plaza with the possibility for small companies to sell food, products etc.
Botanical garden	No botanical garden
Jogging track	Jogging track
Vehicle park	Vehicle park



<i>Opinions raised by stakeholders</i>	<i>Design implementation</i>
Lighting	Energy-efficient lighting contributing to a safe atmosphere
Cafeteria	Cafeteria
Snack spots	Picnic area and cafeteria
Open-air fitness area	Green gym
Relocate basketball court	Basketball court in the same place
Camping center (scouting, girl guiding, nature club)	No specific site for scouting but according to locals we talk to, they believe the new design will fit scouting activities and girl guiding
City park	Programed area with city park characters
Nature park	Biodiversity park
Relaxing area	picnic area, “eastern part more recreation”
Disable access	There are adaptations for accessibility for people with disabilities.
Old trees to preserve in the park	Most of the old trees will be preserved but since their will be a debushing and an addition of lot of new features some trees might be taken down
A statue of late Dyke, the land’s donator, to showcase in the park	There is no statue in the preliminary design

### *Level of participation*

This chapter includes the analysis of how well the different levels of participation, as defined by the IAP2 model, was achieved. Based on the description of the participation processes in written documents and from interviews with stakeholders.

No public in the sense of private citizens was invited to the stakeholder workshop for Old Park. Instead, we here discuss the participation of the stakeholders identified within the project. The stakeholders

identified within the project, and which attended the workshop, were representatives from local authorities connected to the urban upgrading of Jaffna.

Following are the five different levels of the IAP2 model of participation: Inform, Consult, Involve, Collaborate, and Empower; which are used as the basis for our discussion about to what degree each level has been accomplished in the project.

The first level of participation according to the IAP2 model is Inform

'Goal: To provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions

Promise to the public: We will keep you informed' (International Association for Public Participation 2018)

According to Mr Balarkrishan, there has been information about the whole urban upgrading in the local newspaper (personal communication, May 28th, 2020). Showing the public was informed about the project to some extent. However, Mr Padiachy, argued that few reads the newspaper (personal communication, February 16th - April 27th, 2020) and Ms Cavarai meant that there is very little knowledge among the people that the project is going on (personal communication, May 27th, 2020).

In the workshop, the team presented the project and the schedule for the workshop. Stakeholders were then divided into working groups with five themes: Cultural Heritage, Tourism, Reconstruction of Old Kachcheri Building, The Old Park and Activities Proposed, Values and benefits of the new project (Signes Architecture and Landscape Design Consultancy, 2020). The participants were thereafter free to discuss under each subject.

Before the discussions, the participants were shown some example of reuse projects from Europe and South Asia. This could be an attempt to assist the participants with alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions. However, by deciding the subjects for discussion in advance, one could argue that the design team set the agenda and a frame for the workshop which could have formed the answers from the stakeholders. As shown in the theoretical framework, using images and information about a specific lands-

cape can affect participants interest and values (Brunetta & Voghera, 2008 see Calderon & Butler, 2020). The designated themes also indicate the opinion of certain aspects such as tourism, cultural heritage, and reconstruction - prioritised over others, potentially: social aspects, recreation, safety, and access for all. As most of the showed examples from Europe and South Asia pictured reuse projects where commercial activities were a big part of the design, this in a way was presented as the solution to the problem/design. By deciding topics in advance and showing inspirations photos, a solution is already presented and thus also presents what the problem is today. This way of forming a workshop does not give the possibility for the participants to define what the problem is. The material from the workshop shows no sign of a discussion of possible negative aspects of the development, which indicate that the information was one-sided and focused on the positive aspects of the upgrading.

Ms Mahadevan, the District Secretary Officer representing Women, mentioned that there are no good parks for adults and elderly people in Jaffna. Parks in Jaffna today are mainly for kids to play and for parents that can bring their kids to play (personal communication, March 20th, 2020). Further, she thought that there is a need for a place where elderlies can go and relax and listen to music and play games. When we asked if she mentioned this in the workshop she said: 'The workshop had a structure and her group did only discuss women entrepreneurs, so I did not have the opportunity to tell these things'. Further, she said, 'The workshop was mainly about what was the facilities that need to be established in Old Park, not about how to involve the community' Her answer expresses that the frame for the workshop limited her in which opinions she was able to raise.

Using more than one participation technique, as emphasized as important by Luyet (2012), might have helped the participant to raise more opinions and could have compensated for the strict frame in the workshop. Ms Cavarai meant that putting up billboards has been used successfully before where eve-

ryone can raise their opinion more freely (personal communication, May 7th, 2020).

There are no notes about what information was shared in connection to the perception survey. However, the information was given on one occasion to all participants in both the perception survey and the stakeholder workshop, except for District Secretary and Archeological Department who received the Preliminary Design for approval. This makes us question to what degree the project group managed to keep the participants informed about the process and design, as stated in the goal of this level of participation.

The second level of participation according to the IAP2 model is Consult

'Goal: To obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives, and/or decisions  
Promise to the public: We will keep you informed, listen to and acknowledge concerns and aspirations, and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision'  
(International Association for Public Participation 2018)

As we can see from the comparison of the opinions raised by the stakeholders and the design implementations in the previous chapter, most of the concerns that were raised are implemented in the design. This indicates that the participants were listened to and that their concerns and aspirations were acknowledged. However, as we argued above, this also links to the presentation of the problem and the forming of the frame for the workshop. By having a strict frame for the workshop not all concerns and aspirations were heard in the workshop, only the ones linked to the topics that were chosen by the design team - as in the case with the participant which felt there was no room for her to express her concerns about the place for elderly in the public space.

One of the things that were raised as an opinion in the workshop which was not implemented in the design was a botanical garden. Mr Deva, Mr Balarkrishan and Mr Oddai, all with expertise in Jaffna history and urban development meant that there have been a botanical garden in Old Park during the British period (personal communication, April 7th - May 6th, 2020; personal communication, April 28th, 2020; personal communication, March 11th, 2020). However, Ms Angevine, the designer of the park, meant that there has not been a botanical garden stating the park was never open to the public (personal communication, March 8th, 2020). This indicates, there was a cross-cultural problem where the designer did not perceive it as a botanical garden in the European sense and did not understand that in the Jaffna context it was a botanical garden. The different frames of references made it difficult for the designer to read the landscape in the same way as a local designer could have done. This example might testify in an orientalism structure, where the designer thought that her view of a botanical garden is the right one and the Jaffna view the wrong.

Out of the stakeholders in the workshop, only the District Secretary and the Department of Archeology received the preliminary design as feedback to how the opinions raised in the workshop influenced the design told Mr Seelan, PIU officers (personal communication, March 10th, 2020). The remaining stakeholders that participated in the workshop that we have interviewed did not receive any information after the workshop. One more workshop will be held after the end of the design process where the design will be presented and the stakeholder can leave their comments.



The third level of participation according to the IAP2 model is Involve

'Goal: To work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered.

Promise to the public: We will work with you to ensure that your concerns and aspiration are directly reflected in alternatives developed and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision.' (International Association for Public Participation, 2018)

The only stakeholders that been involved in several stages of the process are the District Secretary and the Archaeological Department, as they have reviewed the design in several stages. Although few stakeholders have been part of the process beyond the stakeholder workshop, most of the concerns and aspirations raised in the workshop are directly reflected in the design. The second workshop at end of the design process will provide another occasion for the stakeholders to be part of the process.

The fourth level of participation according to the IAP2 model is Collaborate

'Goal: To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution.

Promise to the public: We will look to you for advice and innovation in formulating solutions and incorporate your advice and recommendations into the decisions to the maximum extent possible.' (International Association for Public Participation, 2018)

You might say the design team collaborated with the participants to develop alternatives in the

workshop but as emphasized earlier, the frame for the workshop only allowed different alternatives to a limited extent. Since the majority of the participants have not received any information after the workshop they have not had the chance to identify the preferred solution. The District Secretary and the Archaeological Department had the possibility to approve or give feedback to the solution.

The fifth level of participation according to the IAP2 model is Empower

'Goal: To place final decision making in the hands of the public

Promise to the public: "We will implement what you decide.' (International Association for Public Participation, 2018)

The final decisions are in the hands of Archeological Department, District Secretary, World Bank, and SCDP PMU, as these authorities need to approve the design. Apart from that, there was no promise to implement the suggestions from the stakeholder workshop. The workshop might be seen as more advisory than decisive.

**To summarise,** we see that the project has to some degree managed to keep the participants informed about the process and design through the initial separate meeting with stakeholders, the stakeholder workshop, the perception survey, and with the stakeholder workshop to be held at the end of the design process. They have to some degree also consulted with the designated stakeholders, as many of the opinions raised in the stakeholder meetings are part of the proposed preliminary design. The communication with stakeholders occurred primarily during the initial phases of the design process, and to claim that the stakeholders have been part of the project throughout the process, or that they have been given feedback on their concerns and aspirations, we consider an overstatement.

As for the three last levels of participation, Involve, Collaborate and Empower, it is our assessment that the project team have directly implemented most of the concerns and aspirations raised by the stakeholders. We question, however, if the form of the workshop and the few occasions of communication allowed the stakeholders to be part in shaping the solutions and if their concerns and aspirations were consistently understood and considered throughout the process. For the same reason, we also find it questionable if the implementation of suggestions from the stakeholders was due to that the stakeholders' ideas agree with the designers, if the frame of

the workshop shaped the opinions of the stakeholders - or if it was a redistribution of power from the designer to the stakeholders (Bacchi, 2009; Calderon and Butler, 2020).

Most notable in this case is of course that the stakeholders replaced the public in the participation process. The model is shaped to evaluating the redistribution of power from authorities and decision-makers, such as the designated stakeholders which were part of this process, to the public. After the study of the process, we see very small possibilities for the public to influence the design of Old Park.

Figure 32. Ruins of Old Kachcheri building





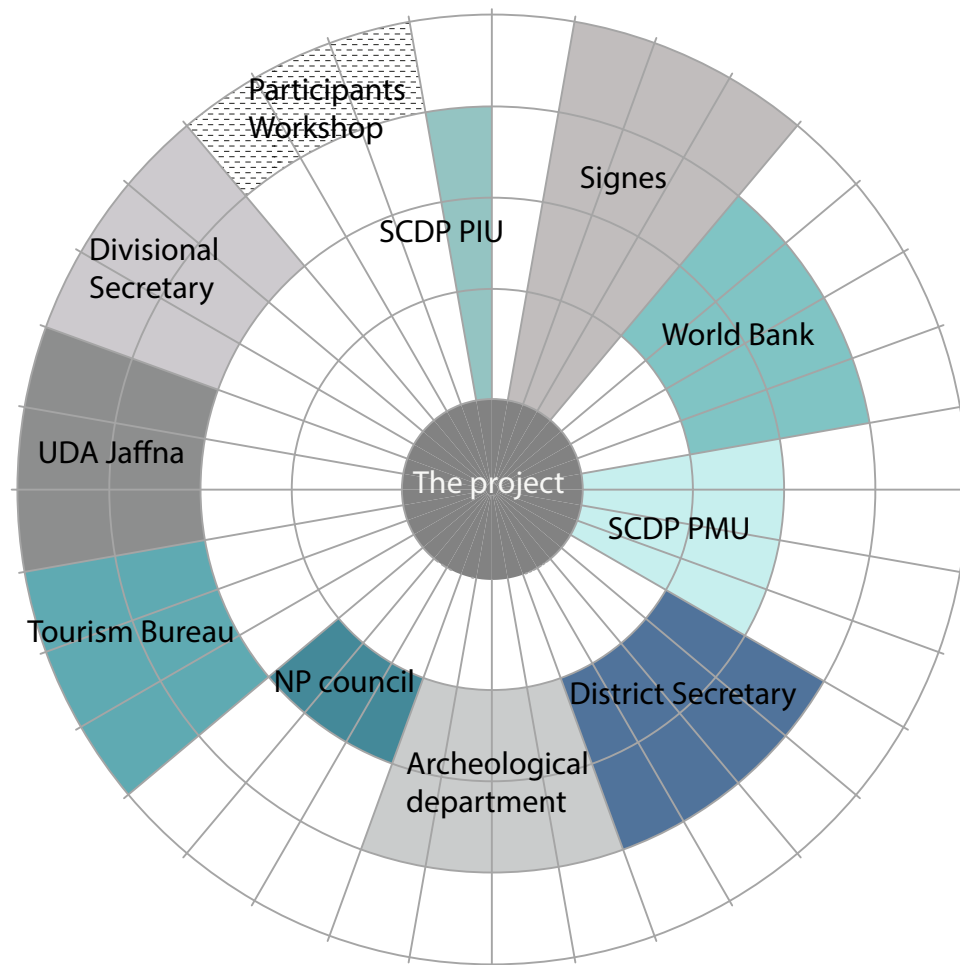


Figure 33. In the stakeholder circle the identified stakeholders and their influence is visualised, the larger the segment, the larger the influence on the project.

### Legend:

#### Power (radial with)

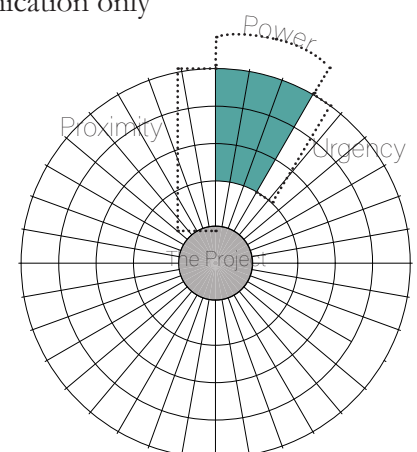
4. High capacity to formally instruct change: can have the work stopped.
3. Some capacity to formally instruct change: must be consulted or has to approve.
2. Informal capacity to cause change.
1. Low capacity to cause change

#### Proximity (axial distance)

4. Directly involved in the work
3. Routinely involved in the work
2. Detached, but with regular contact/input
1. Minimal direct involvement

#### Urgency of interaction (axial with)

4. Urgent and constant interaction
3. Immediate and regular interaction
2. Planned and medium-term interaction
1. Routine communication only





### *Stakeholder Circle*

Based on the factors capacity to evoke change, involvement, and interaction, we see that the consultancy firm Signes, responsible for the design, was the actor with the largest influence on the result. Several scholars have shown that the designers' opinions often affect the result of participation processes (Stanfield and Riemsdijk, 2019; Calderon, 2020). Analysing the process we see that Signes did a business plan for the park before the initial meetings with stakeholders and the workshop, indicating the designer already had a clear idea of the design and the solutions for the park, and we can see how that formed the workshop. By setting the frame for the workshop, by presenting reference pictures and choosing the main themes of discussion, the designer also had, intentionally or unintentionally, the power to direct the outcome of the workshop. In this way, the designer had the opportunity to involve her observations and ideas. Still, there are structures and praxis in Sri Lanka and Jaffna that the designer needed to relate to. For example, having a fee is needed to manage maintenance. According to the Preliminary Design, certain areas will be subjected to a fee, however, according to the designer the park will not be surrounded with walls (Ms Angevine, personal communication, March 8th, 2020).

In terms of influence, Signes is then followed by the World Bank and authorities (SCDP PMU, District Secretary, Archeological Department) which reviewed the bidding documents and were offered to leave feedback on the preliminary design. The District Secretary, Archeological Department and Northern Provincial Council were appointed as main responsible to run and operate the park after construction ('Preliminary Design Old Kachcheri', no date) which enhances their proximity to the project, and thereby their influence on the project.

According to the designer, she has had most contact with PMU, as it is her client (personal communication, March 8th, 2020). This means that the PMU

had both the proximity and power to influence the project to a higher degree than several other stakeholders that were part of the process.

The stakeholders that both had an initiating meeting and participated in the workshop had somewhat more urgency of interaction to the project than the ones just participating in the workshop, as they on two separate occasions had the opportunity to stress their opinions.

Participating in the workshop can be seen as some rate of power to instruct change in the project, however as shown in the previous chapter level of participation, participating most meant the possibility to give feedback in an early stage of the project. With this said, the participants invited to the stakeholder workshop had more power and influence on the design of the project than other groups which were not part of the stakeholder workshop - such as residents living close to the site, end-users, or the vulnerable groups emphasised in the Agenda 2030 goals. As the Stakeholder Circle also visualises, the public had no power to inflict change in the design, was not involved in, nor interacted with the project or the project group, except for those participating in the perception survey - locating them far away from the project and the possibility to inflict ideas, concerns or aspirations into the design.

### *Conclusion*

Firstly, when looking into the participation process of Old Park, we note that no public was part of the participation process, but instead, the designated stakeholders which were part of the design process were authorities linked to the urban development of Jaffna. Several of the positive effects linked to participation processes, such as improving project design using local knowledge, a better understanding of project and issues, public acceptance of the decisions, and an increased sense of ownership of the process (Luyet et al., 2012), can perhaps be achieved through this way of participation too as the representatives from the authorities are also familiar with the

context. To understand the context is especially important in this project as the designer were not part of the context. Perhaps these positive effects of the participation process could be considered sufficient in a context where the decisions of the politicians are widely accepted by the public. Certain comments indicate that this is also the view of stakeholder participation and the stakeholder in Sri Lanka, as Mr Gopal puts it: 'If the politicians accept then the people will accept' (personal communication, February 28th - April 27th, 2020).

It is also important to note, that although the collaboration and connection to the authorities help to understand certain aspects of the context, in this case, it offered little connection to vulnerable groups in society and their needs. From meeting with representatives from the authorities we understand from their educational level and their current employment, that they themselves largely belong to the middle-class. Apart from losing the perspective of vulnerable groups as they are not represented, the participation process also does not address the positive effect with participation processes as a way to 'enhance democracy and democratic processes' (Luyet et al., 2012:214), as the process offered no redistribution of power from the authorities to the public (Arnstein, 1969).

From the Level of Participation-model and the Stakeholder Circle, we also note that the few occasions at which the designated stakeholders had the opportunity to raise their concerns and aspirations, limits the stakeholders influence on the design.

The opinions raised by the stakeholders during the stakeholder workshop is overall directly implemented in the preliminary design. However, in the need to create an efficient workshop and perhaps also as an attempt to provide the participants with inspiration as a starting point for the discussion, the frame for the workshop likely had a large impact on the opinions raised. Or could perhaps also be seen as, intentionally or unintentionally, controlling the outcome. To provide pictures of examples and beforehand

deciding the themes for discussion set the agenda for the workshop (Brunetta & Voghera, 2008 see Calderon & Butler, 2020) to mostly focus on issues related to tourism, cultural heritage, and reconstruction. Issues related to social aspects, and to the Agenda 2030 goal of providing universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible green public spaces, were not part of the workshop. The form of the workshop also largely presented both the problem and the solution, as opposed to together in the workshop forming the two. However, the workshop might have led to the participants feeling of being part of the process and the decision-making which is psychologically important, leading to acceptance for the solution and the design.

## Analysis of Accessibility, Use, Inclusivity and Publicness

The preliminary design shows a proposal of a design. The preliminary design shows a proposal of a design with 4 different areas; children park, recreational area, heritage park and biodiversity park. The children park is the same as the newly renovated park which is there today. The recreational area will consist of the existing basketball court, a new jogging lane and an outdoor gym. In the centre of the park as an axis from the Old Kachcheri building is a heritage park located with i.a. market plaza, parade avenue and amphitheatre. Almost half of the park is designated to the biodiversity park with have i.a. wetland garden, indigenous plant trail, bird feeding spots and a butterfly garden. The park will have three entrances, parking spots, washrooms, several picnic areas and a restaurant.

The ambition of the design of the park concerning accessibility is stated in the Preliminary Design report as 'Old park will be easy to access to anybody, irrespective of their ability, to enter and get around the site, where practicable' (Signes Architecture and Landscape Design Consultancy, n.d.). The goal is also to provide equality of access, including disabled access (ibid.). In the Preliminary Design Programme

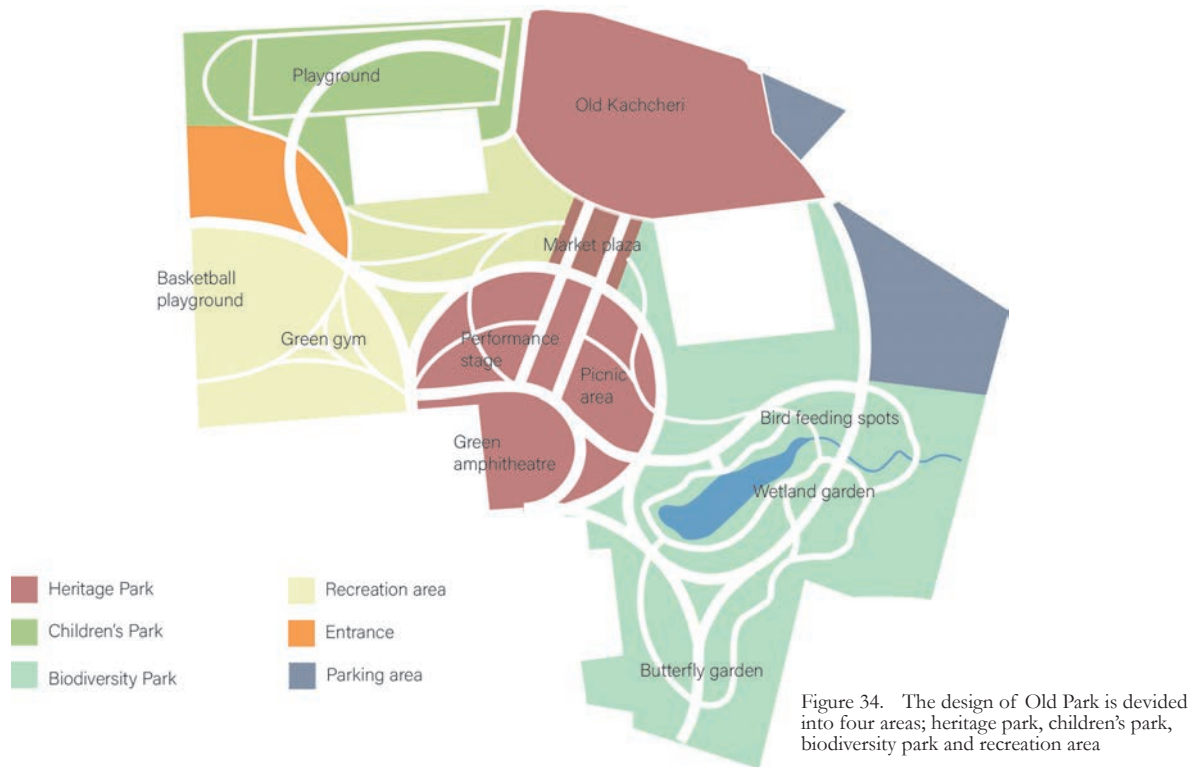


Figure 35. The existing basketball court will be incorporated in the new design of Old Park



Figure 36. The existing children's park will be incorporated in the new design of Old Park

it is further stated that: 'Old Park design solutions should include: 1) public access to the green space, 2) a myriad of pedestrian scale site amenities, trees, and cultural activities in the park, 3) a high priority placed on providing a quality environment of the neighbourhood as an asset to the community'. The project is also seen as an opportunity to create large public green spaces for the recreation of citizens, where families, students, and administrative staff are mentioned in particular (ibid.).

The publicness, inclusiveness and accessibility of the design are discussed from the theoretical framework and from target 11.7 universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces.

### *Power structures*

The Old Kachcheri building is a landmark and a cultural heritage in Jaffna. Old Park which is owned by the District Secretary is situated in an area with several government buildings. To create a new excessive urban park could be seen as a way to demonstrate the power of the District Secretary.



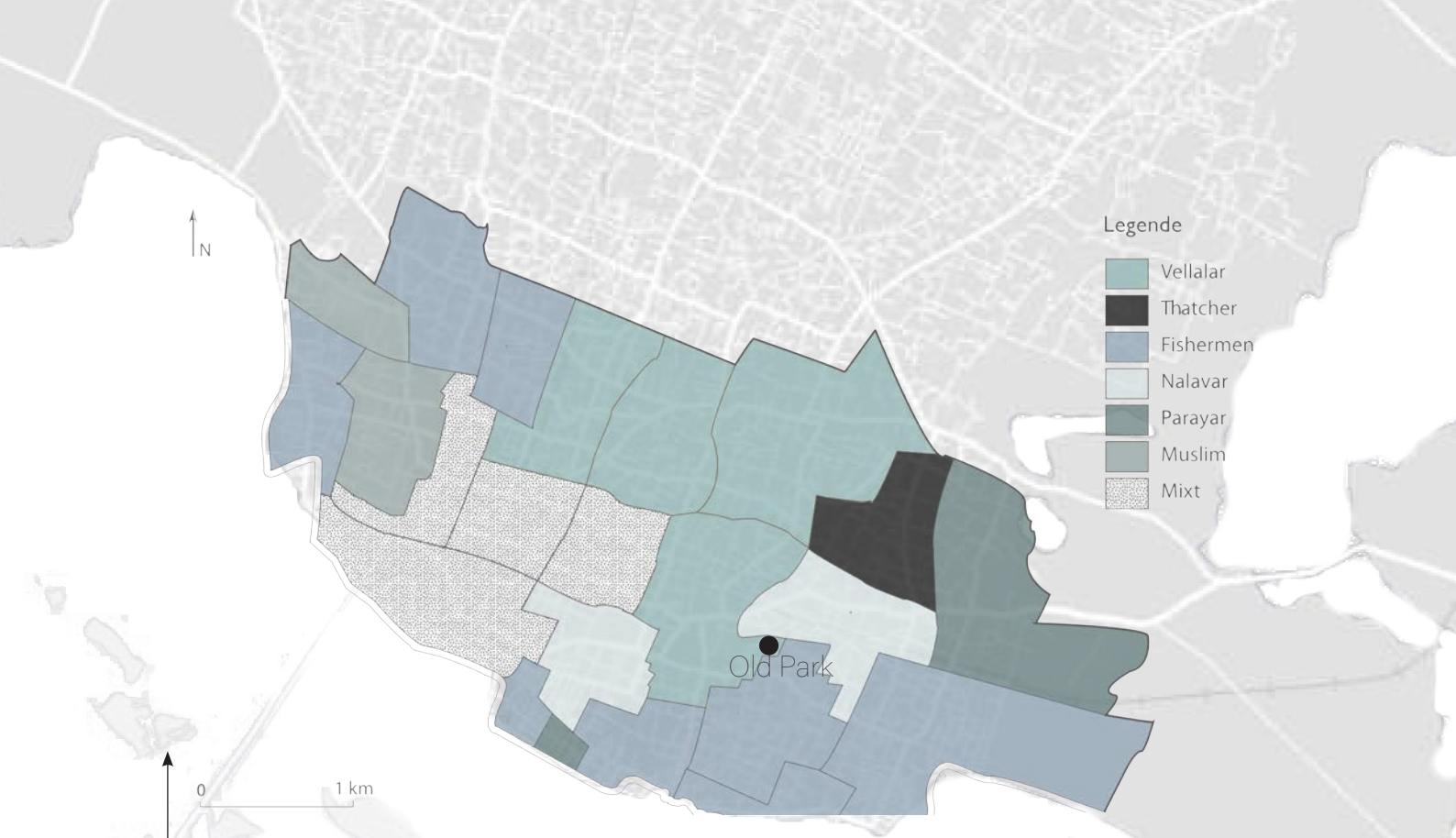


Figure 37. Old Park is located in an area where the majority of the people in the area belong to the highest cast.  
© 2019 Survey Department of Sri Lanka. All Rights Reserved.  
Madavan, 2011

The choice of an international designer and the relatively international design in the largest park in the city can be seen as a step in an adaptation toward a more western view of public space, and closer to the image of Jaffna as a ‘developed’ city. According to the designer, the inspiration for the park comes from the traces of the historical English landscape park at the site. However, Mr Balarkrishan, a local resident and expert of Jaffna heritage, meant that the character of the park is gone and raises a question if the changes made are in fact ‘a part of cultural genocide in the Sri Lankan ethnic-nationalistic context’ (personal communication, 28th of April, 2020). Also Mr Deva, an expert in cultural heritage in Jaffna meant that the development of the new children’s park and the basketball court in the site, have destroyed the character in the park and do not which to see a similar development in the rest of the park, as he felt that ‘Too much of a modern recreational and business character should be avoided’ (personal communication, April 7th - May 6th, 2020). Contrarily to this, the designer expressed that Sri Lanka does not have any national references in landscape architecture except for the architect Geoffery Bawa, and he

did not do any public spaces. She further meant that Sri Lanka has only implemented British standards (personal communication, 8th of March, 2020). So on one hand we have the designer, who believes that there is little to consider and adapt to in Sri Lankan landscape architecture; and on the other hand, two local residents with knowledge about the Jaffna context and heritage, who believes that the essence or genius loci of the place is already partly lost with the development of the children’s park and the basketball court and that there is a risk that the new design will continue in the same modern spirit with the activities proposed. This also links back to the right or wrong view of what a botanical garden is, raised in earlier in chapter Level of participation.

Mr Balarkrishan explained that there is a local mentality in Jaffna meaning that ‘if someone comes from the first world we do not question it’ (personal communication, 28th of April, 2020). Furthermore, much of the literature on public spaces originates from the West (Qian, 2018). The same theories also largely constitute the theoretical base studied by the urban planners and landscape architects in the universities

of Sri Lanka, or obtained in studies abroad. For design ideas to travel internationally with designers is in itself neither bad nor directly westernization, as ideas created in different parts of the world can be successfully adapted to other local contexts. Even so, the statements above testify to an orientalism structure (Angotti, 2012) affecting the design of Old Park.

When comparing the location of the park with a map from a research of different castes in the city (Madavan, 2011) we can see that Old Park is located in an area where the majority of the people who live there are from the upper caste. Adjacent are areas where the majority are people from the middle castes. According to Mr Gopal, the area south of the park is a fishing neighbourhood where people do not have so high socioeconomic status while the north side of the park is joining with Nallur temple which is the richest area of Jaffna (personal communication, February 28th - April 27th, 2020). Today are the no entrances to the south but the new design comes with a new entrance in that direction which might lead to the people living there will benefit from the new design.

By highlighting the heritage of the site, making Old Kachcheri building to a museum and adding commercial activities in the park where you can buy local products the site will be a tourist attraction. Several people we talk to in interviews and everyday conversations in Jaffna think that tourism is important for the future development of the city. They believe that with tourists come more money to the city. However, this agrees with Mela (2014), saying market technological solutions are more likely to be implemented in areas of the city with particular economic interest for example tourism. Mr Deva, writer of the Development of Jaffna city planning through the ages, means that the new design will spoil the historical character (personal communication, 7th - May 6th, 2020). This together agrees with Calderon (2020) stating, in areas with a strong focus on economic growth, the design can be more linked to market rationality while excluding proposals focused on social problems and local identity.

The fees and commercial activities will most likely lead to what is being perceived as public and accessible decreases for the ones with lower socioeconomic position, while the majority and the norm will still perceive the park as public since their accessibility is not affected by commercial activities.

### *Regulations*

Today Old Park is described from people we talk to as jungle or forest. The new design will mean a big change to the place character. From open and wild to more closed and strict. The site will, on one hand, be more accessible in the sense that it will be easier to physically access for many people and the usage will increase, with paths adapted for disability access, increased sense of security with lighting. To some extent it will also be less accessible because with new regulation of what you can and cannot do there, which is not the same things as you can do now on the site.

The new design means that guards and fees are applied to the park. This change will probably make the park more accessible for some, one officer representing women in the District Secretariat said it makes women feel safer, but it could also lead to exclusion for some that might have felt included in the site before. The protests that have been held in Old Park might not be acceptable in the new park. The upgrading will, except for guards and fees, also come with a demand of proper behaviour.

The wish to firstly target residents is raised both from the stakeholder meetings and in several parts of the Preliminary Design ('Workmaterial Workshop - 01', 2019; 'Preliminary Design Old Kachcheri', no date). Notes from the workshop with stakeholders show ideas of locals paying a minimal fee, and no fees for students ('Workmaterial Workshop - 01', 2019). The Preliminary design suggests a mixed pricing strategy with free-access zones and areas requiring a ticket ('Preliminary Design Old Kachcheri', no date). This could be an obstacle for people and families with a low income, in interference with providing access for

all to the public green space. Depending on which parts of the park are subjected to the fee, different groups will be affected to various extent. Mr Deva meant that an entry fee will discourage poor classes, he also emphasized the safety of women and children (personal communication, April 7th - May 6th, 2020).

### *Activities and design*

The theoretical framework showed that activities and functions for different groups are necessary for the public space to increase the inclusivity for different groups (Kärrholm, 2016). In the preliminary design it is pointed out that balancing the requirement of different ages, cultures and social groups can be difficult and will be developed further on in the process (Signes Architecture and Landscape Design Consultancy n.d.). Succeeding with this is essential to provide access and inclusivity to all. The division in

different areas in the parks and the different activities proposed can lead to a subdivision in space with the establishment of different territories, which is emphasized as an important factor for inclusiveness by Kärrholm (2016).

A large part of the plan is dedicated to the New Children Park with playground, children garden and sand pool (Signes Architecture and Landscape Design Consultancy n.d.). The design also includes the refurbishment of the existing basketball playground, which is now popular among young men, and sports club and facilities such as changing rooms, sanitary and gym are added (ibid.). Further, it is suggested that the park can be used for outdoor educational purposes in collaboration with local schools and groups for people with disabilities, with signage and interpretation boards on themes such as health and nature (ibid.). This show the ambition to include people with disabilities in the design. However spe-

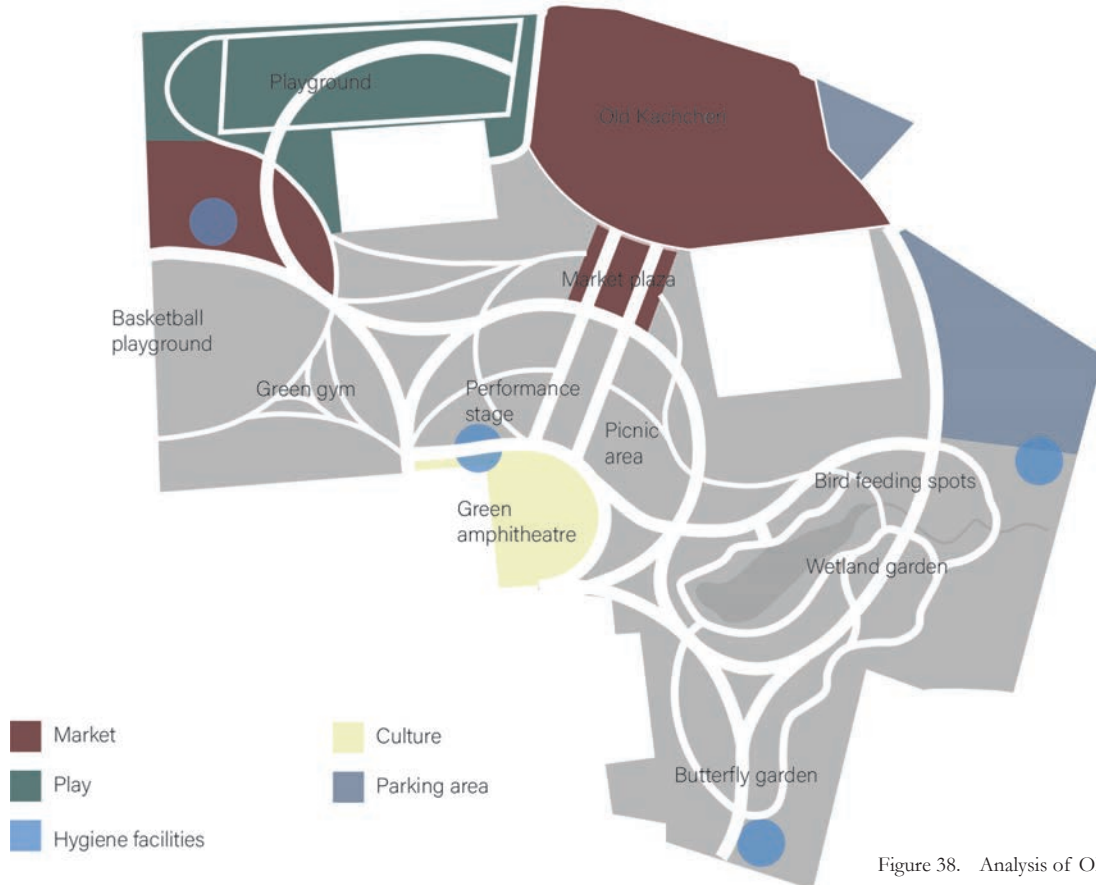


Figure 38. Analysis of Old Park design



cial adjustments in the playground for children with disabilities is not mentioned.

One part of the park, described as the ornamental garden, will be designed with resting and walking as the main programmed activity (Signes Architecture and Landscape Design Consultancy n.d.) which can be seen as an area focused on elderly. In the preliminary design, the narrow elevated pavement in the current park is noted as an obstacle for mobility and points out the opportunity to broaden it to adapt it to a larger number of visitors and different groups of people (ibid.). The benches placed around the park will be of importance for older people or others with problems of walking longer stretches. The preliminary design also shows features which will lower the temperature in the park, primarily through the use of ecosystem services and porous materials, which could ease usage for especially elderly and children.

There are also planned functions that are not specifically linked or programmed for certain groups; such as the green amphitheatre, picnic area, and biodiversity park. One of our interviewees, Mr Deva, believes that facilities for performing arts will bring different groups together and thereby improve inclusiveness, but added that providing facilities will not be enough, the management should arrange performances to ensure diversity (personal communication, April 7th - May 6th, 2020). This shows how groups can be partly excluded but still have access to public space (Qian 2018). To be able to attend an event can be one level of inclusion, whereas being part of, be able to influence, or to be represented in the performances can be another.

The restaurant and café at the northern and western entrances, as well as the market plaza, is primarily activities and areas for those who have the financial means to spend money. It will most likely be an important part in the financing of the maintenance of the park, through rent or income. However, the establishments will also come with a limitation in who has access to the place - the areas of the restaurants will be accessible to the people who pay for the

commodities or services. Mr Deva thought that the activities proposed were not attractive to the poor classes, particularly not for poor adults. He further believed that the facilities proposed in the design will make middle-class more dominant (personal communication, April 7th - May 6th, 2020).

Almost all of the women we interviewed mentioned that they felt less safe during night time, as it is darker and drunk men are more common. The preliminary design show how lighting will be used in the whole park, which might ease the access for women when it is dark. Further, the interviews showed cleanness is important. A perceived feeling of safety is not seldom attached to cues of care, i.e. management and cleanness. Part of the objective, as stated in the Preliminary Design, is to develop a business plan and also a robust operation and management plan, with the aim to reassure upkeep (Signes Architecture and Landscape Design Consultancy n.d.), which will affect the access to the park long term. Design guidelines point at the need to handle litter, maintaining equipment and grounds in overall good condition, and locating trash bins at strategic places in the park (ibid.). The Preliminary Design also points at the importance of choosing facilities and equipment with perceived high quality as they are less a subject of vandalism and more looked after - which also affects the cues of care. Further access to washrooms and water fountains can ease the usage for women, children, elderly and people with disabilities and enable them to use it for a longer period of time.

## *Conclusion*

The activities and design of the park indicate there are activities for different groups in the society with physical accessibility to vulnerable groups like elderly and people with disabilities. The large park with different areas can lead to a subdivision in space with more establishment of territories and thereby a more inclusive public space (Kärrholm, 2016).

The tourists (national, international and the Tamil diaspora) are regarded almost as important as the locals

in the prioritised target groups. The fee on certain areas is both a mean to finance the park, but also an expression of the economic status of the imagined visitor. The park will be most beneficial to people with the time, money and physical signals or social capital which fits the upgraded public space. On the other hand, it is important to keep the park well maintained and it seems like the only way to afford that is to have a fee for the ones who use the park. Seen to the political and social flows in Jaffna, the park can be seen as a step in a general upgrading of the public space from something that can be seen as common space to something demonstrating the development and the ambitions of Jaffna to strengthen the economy and the increased statement as an important tourist city, reclaiming the status as one of the most important cities in Sri Lanka, and the former status as a role model for cities such as Singapore. In the long term, this area will likely be a central part of the city. And in the future gentrified, central, middle-class area, the design seems more adapted to the future context.

## Synthesis

From studying the participation process and the design we can draw a conclusion on how power structures and inclusion and exclusion in the participation process have impacted the different aspects of the design. The focus in the participation process was on economic and commercial interest, both in how the workshop was formed with pre-decided themes and solutions and by inviting actors with mainly this interest. The same focus is highly reflected in the design, leading to a market-oriented solution for the park designed as a tourist attraction with several commercial activities. As shown in earlier case studies (Calderon, 2020), areas with a strong focus on economic growth, such as Jaffna, often result in decisions that prioritize designs linked to market rationality, while excluding proposals focused on social problems and local identity.

We can see that the people who were part of the participation process, is reflected in the target group for the design of the park. The working titles of the participants indicate they were mostly from the middle of upper-middle-class and from features like fees, guards, and commercial activities we can draw the conclusion that the new design of the Old Park largely aims for the same group, with the money and time to spend in the park. This agrees with (Stanfield and Riemsdijk, 2019) stating, by shaping public space also shaping who is considered the public, in this case reinforcing the middle-class as the public and thereby the ones included in the public space.

Although the local residents are emphasised as the main prioritized target group in the Preliminary Design, they have not been part of the process, and therefore there is no input of what they wish for in a city park. The aim of the workshop was to include representatives for women and children, however, only a small number of representatives were invited and few came. This means that the opinions of these vulnerable groups, as well as other marginalised groups such as low caste and minorities, were largely not included in the process. The overall lack of representation from the public and especially the inclusion of the vulnerable groups of women, children, elderly and people with disabilities, have resulted in the needs, wishes, aspirations and concerns of these groups, to only partly be reflected in the design. To not include vulnerable groups on the edge of 'public' in the participation process lead to solutions in design which will continue to shut these people out of the public space - and the participants recreated themselves as the public and, the public space for people as themselves. The perception survey could have had the focus to collect ideas from a wide range of people to help ensure their inclusion in the participation process and in the design, but did not.

# Sankiliyan Park

Sankiliyan Park today is largely referred to by its former name, Kittu Park - named after a former LTTE leader. The park is located close to the Hindu temple are Nallur, which is the city's religious centre; as well as other important historic sites. Situated in a junction along one of the city's main roads, the Jaffna-Point Pedro Road, the park is surrounded by relatively trafficked roads on two sides. In the north it instead meets walls, often made from sheet metal, belonging to private property with entrances directly out into the park.

Today the park looks abandoned and mostly consist of flat ground and a few remaining grown trees. There are remainings of a man-made cave and some

huts without walls. The park is enclosed by barbed wire on three sides to the public roads, and on the fourth side meets the walls of residential plots. There are no open entrances but holes in the barbed wire, indicating that people still use the park. According to an old lady living next to the park, there were a lot of children playing in the park before the war, but not anymore. Both Ms Narayanan, a young woman living close to the park (personal conversation, April 10th, 2020), and Mr Thondan, the designer of the park (personal conversation, March 27th - April 26th, 2020), tell that the site is still used for political speeches, exhibitions and cultural events.

The new design for Sankiliyan Park is created by a design team working in UDA in Colombo, since, according to an officer at SCDP PIU, there is no capacity to do the design in UDA in Jaffna (Mr Seelan personal conversation, March 10th, 2020). The pro-

Figure 39. Infront of Sankiliyan Park is a statue of King Sangili (photo taken by உமாபதி (2011))





ject started in 2016 when Jaffna was added to the list of cities included in the SCDP, but during two years there was no success in the project due to various reasons. In 2018 the UDA took over the project as consultants. The designer at the UDA in Colombo, Mr Thondan, is originally from Jaffna and was chosen as a designer due to his local knowledge.

This chapter starts with a historical background about Sankiliyan Park, followed by an analysis of the participation process and an analysis of the inclusiveness, accessibility and publicness that will follow with the new design.

## History

Sankiliyan Park is today known as Kittu Park, named after a famous leader in the LTTE. In front of the park is a statue of Sangili, the last king of the Tamil kingdom (1519-1564) who is considered Jaffna's hero, as he held out against the Portuguese rule of northern Sri Lanka until the very end, and for ordering the massacre of Christian converts and priests (Japan Consortium for International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage, 2014).

The park is located close to Nallur temple, a large Hindu temple and one of the most important landmarks in Jaffna. The original temple was founded in 948 AD, but have been rebuilt several times in some different places after destruction in colonial time, where the current temple was built in 1734 AD (Lakpura, no date). Other important sites close to Sankiliyan Park is Sangili Topu, an old arch considered a gate of the palace of Sangili, stated as a heritage monument (Japan Consortium for International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage, 2014). Yamuna Eri, an ancient pond protected as an archaeological monument, is also located close to the park.

The park was established in memory of Sathasivam Krishnakumar, better known as Colonel Kittu (Perrera, 2016). The park also memorialized nine other LTTE members (ibid.). The memorial park was crea-

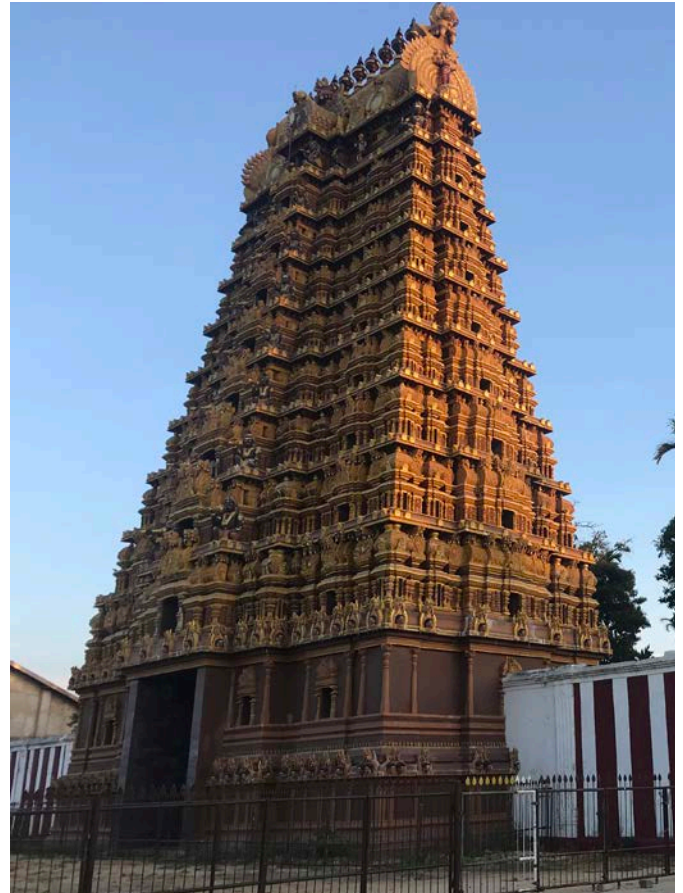


Figure 40. Nallur temple is a landmark in Jaffna and located close to Sankiliyan Park



Figure 41. Sankiliyan Park is today mostly open space with grown trees

ted in an already existing park, at that time managed by Jaffna Municipality. According to Mr Balarkrishan, the pre-existing park was a beautiful site with big colonial period trees with deep shadows, that was called Muthirai Santhi. He further explained that the site functioned as a free open site for people gathering, but that the LTTE converted the open space to a closed park with two entrances (personal communication, April 28th, 2020).

Kittu was seen as a hero especially by some Tamils and a terrorist by especially some Sinhalese (Perera, 2016). The park earlier had a zoo, a huge rock or cave which could be reached by a bridge, many statues and paintings of Kittu and a Sri Lankan army tank captured by the LTTE (Samaranayake, 2002). Many people we talk to tell us how they as children went inside the cave in which there was a beautiful aquarium with colourful fishes. Ms Narayanan stated she had her best childhood memories in the park (personal communication, April 10th, 2020) and Mr Gopal meant that

the park was the only place for entertainment during the war (personal communication, February 28th - April 27th, 2020). The good memories from the site might be one reason for people's strong opinions about the development of the site.

According to Mr Gopal, the army people demolished the area, and with that all relics of the LTTE, and declared it as a high-security zone at the end of the war (personal communication, February 28th - April 27th, 2020). People think it is important to upgrade the park; partly due to the location of the park, in the heart of Jaffna where there is no other green public space; and as it is an important part of the collective memory, with many people carrying nostalgic associations to the park from childhood memories. Upgrading the park have even been on the political agenda when candidates were going for election (Thondan, personal conversation, March 27th - April 26th,



Figure 42. The participation process for Sankiliyan Park consisted of two public community consultations and three stakeholder meetings

2020).

## Analysis of the participation process

In the participation process for Sankiliyan Park meetings were held with identified stakeholders, and public community consultations with one district adjacent to the park. From the time when the project was taken over by the UDA up until the time for the study, two public community consultations and three

stakeholder meetings were held.

In this chapter, the representation of the participants is discussed, followed by a table with the opinions raised in the participation meetings compared with the preliminary design, to see which opinions have been considered in the design. The comparison is then together with information from the interviews used to discuss the level of participation according to

IAP2 model and the stakeholder circles.

### *Representation*

The two public community consultations were held with one district, Grama J/109. The attendance sheet from one of the consultations shows that 20 women and 6 men attended. According to Mr Uppara, the SCDP officer responsible for social screenings at the time, the Grama Nilhadari (Village officer) inform the citizens in the grama that there will be a public community consultation and those who are interested will join (personal communication, March 10th 2020). He explained that it is difficult to get people to come to these meetings and that it is often a majority of women. He meant that women need places to relax and are therefore more interested in the development of the parks, whereas the men only work.

Out of the districts adjacent to the park, only the Grama J/109 was subject to the public community consultations. Ms Narayanan, living in another district adjacent to the park, said she was not invited to the consultation meeting but would have liked to be (personal communication, April 10th, 2020). Because of the central location of the park, more people than the ones just living close to it can have an interest in the development.

We do not know which castes, religions and ages were represented among the participants in the public community consultation, but the invited district is located in one of the richest areas in Jaffna where the majority belongs to the highest caste. We can therefore assume that the representation of people with a low socioeconomic status was lacking.

The stakeholder meetings regarded the upgrading of nine parks in the city, and had attending representatives from several authorities and organisations. Authorities and organisations represented in both meetings were SCDP, Jaffna Municipal Council, District Secretariat, Divisional Secretary Jaffna, Division Secretary Nallur, UDA, since they all are important political and governmental institutions it indica-

tes they were also represented in the third meeting. Apart from those above, the following were represented in the initial meeting: Consultant from World Bank, North Provincial Council, Survey Department, Grama Niladari (Village officers) for grama J/77&74, J/109, J/69, J/65, J/81, J/85, President J.D.P. Bus Owner Association, Jaffna Bishop's House, Road Development Authority, Development Officer Tourism Board NP. As in the case of Old Park, we see that a majority of the identified stakeholders which was represented in the stakeholder meetings were actors with a commercial or political interest in the project, or people working with the urban planning of Jaffna.



Figure 43. Many women attended the public community consultation, (Neighbouring society 2020 SCDP)

### *Comparison of opinions and design*

Following are a table with the opinions raised in the public community consultations and stakeholder meetings compared with what is implemented in the design. By comparing opinions raised by stakeholders with the actual design implementation, we can see if the participation was actually a redistribution of power or just tokenism. In Table 2, we can see, as in Old Park, most of the opinions raised were implemented in the design.



Table 2 shows the opinions raised in the participation process compared with what was implemented in the design.

<i>Opinions raised by stakeholders</i>	<i>Who raised the concern</i>	<i>Design implementation</i>
Not to cut the existing trees	public	According to ERS 'No any removal of trees due to the project activities in these project locations. More tree species will be planted.'
More seating arrangements under the trees	public	Since we do not have access to the design that was shown, we can not answer if there are more seating under the trees. But there are several seating under trees.
A park in a traditional Tamil style	public	A lot of elements in the design show Tamil culture eg.: Crown shaped pillars Sankiliyan Tamil King Nandhi Statue (Hindu symbol) Nataraj Statue (Hindu symbol)
A historical monument like king Sankiliyan's palace entrance arch, Manthirimanai and Jamuna Aeri to be included in the park development plan and to be connected by paving access from the park and with other beautifications.	Mayor	The plan only show the boundary for the park and does not show any connection to Sankiliyan's palace entrance arch
No need to relocate the king Sankiliyan's statue in front of the main entrance of the proposed park.	Ass. District Secretary	The statue is not relocated
As in the western country make the park open	Ass. District Secretary	The park is enclosed by medium-high walls.
The entrance design as compatible with Nallur historical sites.	Ass. District Secretary	Both the crown shaped pillars and the Jaffna harp in the entrance are indications to Jaffna history and culture
Change it as a holistic plan for Nallur kingdom.	Ass. District Secretary	The plan does not show any physical connections to other heritage sites in Nallur
Connectivity to other Archeological sites at surrounding of the park to be included in this plan as already pointed out, otherwise those will be neglected.	World Bank	The plan only show the boundary for the park and does not show any physical connections to other heritage sites in Nallur
The entrance's design should be changed to match with Tamil Culture		Yes

<i>Opinions raised by stakeholders</i>	<i>Who raised the concern</i>	<i>Design implementation</i>
The entrance and the pillars with flat shape is not reflecting Jaffna culture. Therefore, requested to go for the previous plan which was accepted by the stakeholders earlier with crown shape at the top		The pillars have crown-shaped top
The play items included in this design to entertain the children are inadequate. Enough items like hanging bridge and other general play equipment like Ferris wheel, swing and slides need to be incorporated.	public	The design does not show general play equipment like ferris wheel, swing and slides, however according to the designer there will be swings and slides
The existing transformer at the corner of south west direction should be relocated to some other locations.	public	Transformer not visible in the design
The area the vehicle park been proposed in the design can be incorporated with two story building. The open ground floor of the building can be used as vehicle park and other floors can be used for indoor games play area and other amusement games entertainment to children as well as adults. It will ensure more visitors to visit and spend their leisure time in this park.	public	There is no second floor with indoor games, play area, amusement games, entertainment for children and adults
The level of the interlock paving at the entrance need to be higher than the level of the road to prevent access of vehicles into the park through the main entrance accidentally or purposefully.	public	The level of the interlock is higher than the level of the road, however, a ramp is designed to make the elevations accessible
The existing structure of cave / mountain needs to be preserved and recovered.	public	Does not show in the design. According to the designer, it was not possible to keep the cave of security reasons. The structure has become very weak from tree roots and trees growing in the cave.

### *Level participation*

The information collected about the participation process was used to analyse the level of participation. Following are the different levels according to the IAP2 model presented followed by our analyse into what degree it has been accomplished in the project.

Since the project team have divided the participation meetings into public community consultation meetings with the public, which in this case means people from grama J/109, and stakeholders, we have done the same division when discussing the level of participation. In this chapter is, therefore, public refers to the people from grama J/109, and stake-

holders refers to the authorities and organisations invited to the stakeholder meetings.

As in Old Park, the participation is discussed under each of the different levels of the IAP2 model of participation: Inform, Consult, Involve, Collaborate, and Empower.

The first level of participation according to the IAP2 model is Inform

'Goal: To provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions

Promise to the public: We will keep you informed' (International Association for Public Participation, 2018)

As mentioned in the Old Park chapter, there has been information in the local newspaper about the general urban upgrading (Balarkrishan, personal communication, May 28th, 2020). Regarding Sankiliyan park, one of our interviewees, Ms Narayanan, had also seen private Facebook posts from politicians, informing about the upgrading of Sankiliyan park (personal communication, April 10th, 2020).

In the first public community consultation, the participants were shown initial ideas for the project. According to Mr Uppara, an SCDP officer, it is easier for the public to give opinions if they are shown some idea for the site (personal conversation March 10th, 2020). As shown in the theoretical framework, however, by presenting a solution, the project group thereby also have decided the character of the problem (Bacchi, 2009), which can limit the scope of decision-making and can affect participants interest and values (Calderon & Butler, 2020). Further, as emphasized by Luyet et al. (2012) using more than one participation technique can be important. In this case, it might have helped the public to raise concerns that were not direct feedback in the proposed

solution. Ms Cavarai meant that proposing several alternatives and having the public voting for the best one could have been one way of involving the public more (personal communication, May 7th, 2020). Two separate public community consultation on two different occasions means that the participants were to some extent kept informed.

However, many of the identified stakeholders, were part of the decision-making of which parks to upgrade, and thereby part of identifying the problem. Although the designer has a large influence in forming solutions through the design, the stakeholders have had continuous opportunities to shape the process. As they were part in the initial stage of formulating the problem, they also had the opportunity to early on in the process understand the issues, alternatives, opportunities and have a part in formulating and shaping the solutions. The stakeholders participating in all three meetings were kept informed and updated about the process and design through several meetings, while the ones participating in just one meeting had less access to information about the project.

Once the construction of the park starts, a social screening will be made. Mr Prem, SCDP PIU officer, described the process as a social officer from SCDP PIU talking separately to each household adjacent to the project area about the expectations of the renovation (personal conversation, March 10th, 2020). In every project, the officer leaves his contact details if there are any grievances during the construction, all grievances must be solved (ibid.). Mr Prem explained that this is done through personal contact with the person that left the grievance, understanding the problem, and the problem is then solved by talking to the construction staff to find another solution, or if necessary make the person who left the grievance understand why there is no other way of doing the project. This will keep the public informed during the construction phase, however, it is in a very late stage of the process and the residents will not likely have the possibility to afflict changes in the design.



The second level of participation according to the IAP2 model is Consult

'Goal: To obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives, and/or decisions

Promise to the public: We will keep you informed, listen to and acknowledge concerns and aspirations, and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision' (International Association for Public Participation, 2018)

From the comparison of opinions raised and the implementation in design in the previous chapter, we see that most of the concerns and aspirations from the public and the stakeholders were acknowledged and implemented. Two aspirations raised by the public which were not implemented in the design were: 'an indoor area for entertainment and amusement game' and 'the existing structure of cave/mountain needs to be preserved and recovered'.

Since the designer thought it was important to keep the park in a traditional Tamil style, an indoor area for entertainment and amusement games might have conflicted with the designer's opinion. The implementation of the indoor area might have been considered too expensive and difficult to maintain. Mr Thondan, the designer, claims that the existing structure of the cave was not possible to keep because of security reasons, as it has become weak from tree roots and trees growing in the cave (personal conversation, March 27th - April 26th, 2020). He also claims that it would become a visual barrier from the main entrance, and hence in conflict with the new park design. One might argue that as the cave was one of the main features in the old Kittu Park, is the only structure still remaining in the park today, and is raised in the public community consultations, there are strong incentives to reconstruct the cave. However, we know that Sankiliyan Park is a sensitive site from a political perspective, and to recreate such a feature so strongly associated with Kittu Park could have been controversial. This strongly relates to the

political battle of the public space, further discussed under Power Structures in Chapter 4.4.3.

To have two public community consultations provided the opportunity to keep the public informed and to provide feedback as to how they influenced the decision and design. However, after the second public community consultation, the public did not receive feedback or insight into how their aspirations were considered or why certain aspirations were not possible to implement. The stakeholders, participating in three meetings, were to a greater extent receive feedback on how their input influenced the decisions in the design process.

The third level of participation according to the IAP2 model is Involve

'Goal: "To work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered.

Promise to the public: We will work with you to ensure that your concerns and aspiration are directly reflected in alternatives developed and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision.' (International Association for Public Participation, 2018)

The design process was approximately between November 2018 to March 2020, during which the public was consulted two times and the stakeholders three times. The last public community consultation was held before the final design was created, meaning that the public did not have the possibility to raise their concerns and aspirations on the design that will now be implemented. However, many of the concerns and aspirations from both the public and the stakeholders are directly reflected in the design. The design team worked more directly with the stakeholders throughout the process since they had more meetings.

The fourth level of participation according to the

## IAP2 model is Collaborate

'Goal: To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution.'

Promise to the public: We will look to you for advice and innovation in formulating solutions and incorporate your advice and recommendations into the decisions to the maximum extent possible.' (International Association for Public Participation, 2018)

In the public community consultation, the public had some possibility to be part of developing alternatives, even though the frame for the public community consultation was to show one alternative and obtain feedback, as opposed to developing alternatives and identify a solution preferred by the public.

From the MoM's with the stakeholders, we understand there was an ongoing discussion between the stakeholders, particularly the Mayor and Divisional Secretary, and the design team about the design. This discussion indicates a collaboration between the stakeholders and the design team.

The fifth level of participation according to the IAP2 model is Empower

'Goal: To place final decision making in the hands of the public

Promise to the public: "We will implement what you decide.' (International Association for Public Participation, 2018)

The MoM's clearly indicates that the Mayor has the final word, the Mayor is also partly funding the project. Since the project is under the SCDP the design must also be approved by World Bank and SCDP PMU, which means the final decision are in their hands and not in the hands of the public.

To summarise, by having several meetings both the participants in the public community consultation and the identified stakeholders have been kept informed to some extent - although, the stakeholder to a greater extent than the public. They have all been consulted about the design and been able to give feedback on the suggested solutions. Many of the opinions and aspirations from both the stakeholders and the participants in the public community consultation are imposed in the design. One more meeting with the public, showing the final design would have enhanced the participation throughout the process and given the project group the possibility to give feedback on how the public's concerns and aspirations were considered and implemented. Some of the identified stakeholders that participated in all three meetings, were part of the project throughout the process. MoM's showing there was a discussion about design elements were the Mayor got the final word indicates he was involved in the project and empowered. However, with the Major partly funding the project, it is questionable if he should be seen as a stakeholder or actually considered a client.

The model is shaped for the purpose of evaluating the redistribution of power from authorities and decision-makers. Part of the public was consulted and had some impact on the decisions through their feedback on suggested solutions. However, the stakeholders that had the most impact on the decisions were authorities and decision-makers, showing a low redistribution of power from authorities to the public. Further, only a small part of the public was invited to the participation process, while upgrading of a park in such a central location could be of interest to a bigger part of the public. Mr Gopal argued that all people in the Northern Province know about the park, so the authorities would need to get the approval from all the people (personal communication, February 28th - April 27th, 2020).

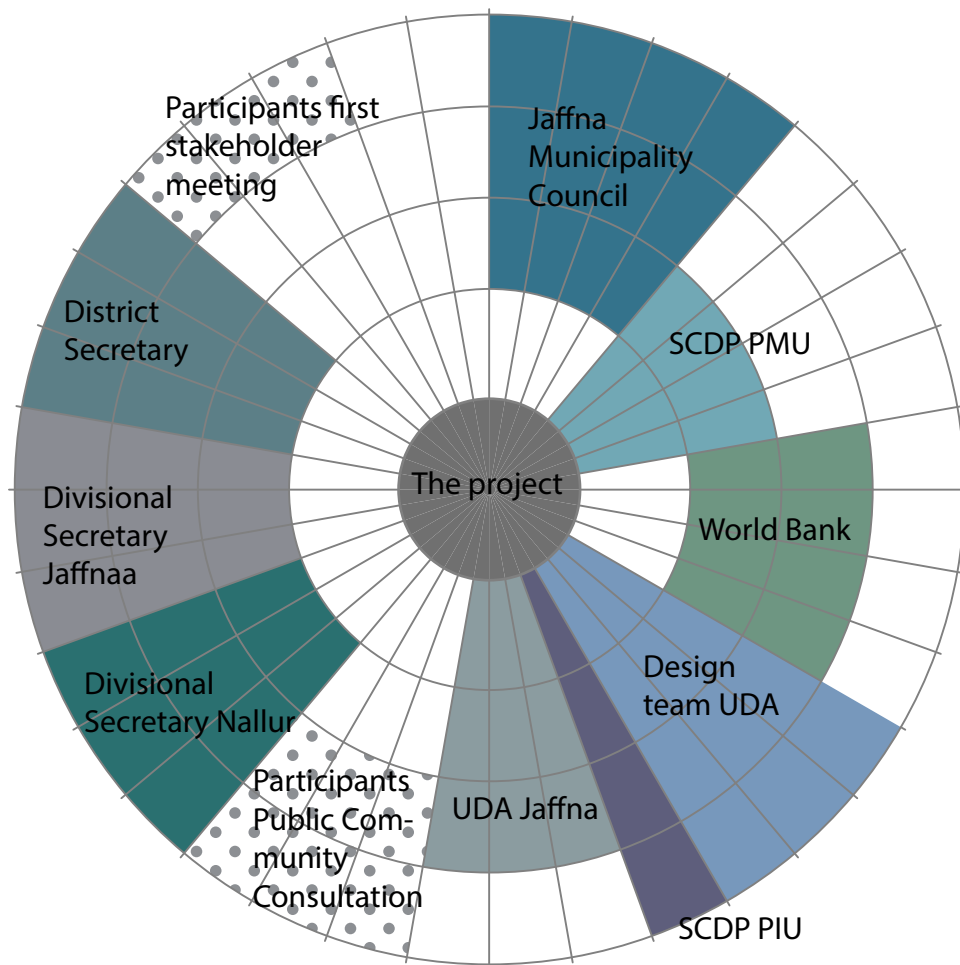


Figure 44. In the stakeholder circle the identified stakeholders and their influence is visualised, the larger the segment, the larger the influence on the project.

*Legend:*

Power (radial with)

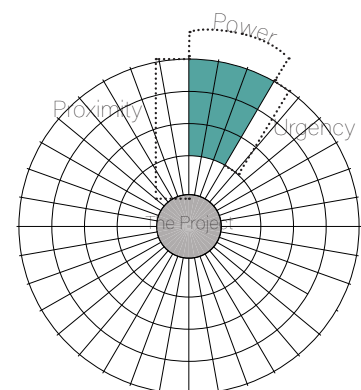
- 4. High capacity to formally instruct change: can have the work stopped.
- 3. Some capacity to formally instruct change: must be consulted or has to approve.
- 2. Informal capacity to cause change.
- 1. Low capacity to cause change

Proximity (axial distance)

- 4. Directly involved in the work
- 3. Routinely involved in the work
- 2. Detached, but with regular contact/input
- 1. Minimal direct involvement

Urgency of interaction (axial with)

- 4. Urgent and constant interaction
- 3. Immediate and regular interaction
- 2. Planned and medium-term interaction
- 1. Routine communication only





### *Stakeholder Circle*

The stakeholder circle visualizes the identified stakeholders and how much influence they had in the project, where a larger segment equals more influence. As Jaffna Municipal Council and the design team have had the most interaction and involvement with the project, and as shown when considering how their feedback resonances in the design and in the process, we consider them the stakeholders with the largest influence on the result. The MoMs several times showed that the Mayor had the final word when discussing the design, indicating that the Mayor had more power than the design team. However, the design team worked closely to the project, which according to this model resulted in the two actors having the same influence on the project.

The UDA in Jaffna had the second-largest influence, as they shaped and held the Public Community Consultation and thereby was working close to the project, and at the same time attended all of the stakeholder meetings and there had the possibility to give feedback on the design. The District Secretary and the Divisional Secretary attended the same stakeholder meetings as UDA Jaffna, which indicates that they had the same power and urgency, but not the same proximity to the project.

SCDP PMU and World Bank had much power to evoke change, as they have the power to review and approve the bidding documents as well as the design. They did however only take part in one stakeholder meeting, giving them less urgency of interaction with the project, fewer occasions to raise aspirations and concerns, which gives them less influence on the project compared to other stakeholders.

The public community consultations enabled the public to raise their concerns and feedback on two different occasions. They, however, were mostly given the opportunity to instruct some change on the project by giving feedback on an already suggested design solution. As they had more occasions to raise their feedback than the stakeholders which did only

attend one stakeholder meeting, they had more urgency of interaction - in this model giving the public more influence on the project than some of the identified stakeholders. However, as we have shown in the section Participation, this public was a group of residents from one of the richest areas of Jaffna.

### *Conclusion*

In the participation process for Sankiliyan Park, there was some redistribution of power from decision-makers to the public in the form of public community consultation. The public community consultation had a high representation from women which are highlighted as a vulnerable group in Agenda 2030. Their representation in the participation process can contribute to making the design of the public space more inclusive and accessible for them. Although the social officer points at the struggle of getting people to attend participation meetings, this could still be considered a good turn out. More importantly, there is an existing structure for public participation through the public community consultations and the small districts, that creates a close connection between the public and the authorities.

However, by only inviting one district to the public community consultation, the information, consultation, and empowerment of the public were limited to the public in that district. As the district is located in an area with high socioeconomic status, this indicates a low representation from people with a lower socioeconomic status. Missing these persons in the participation process will probably lead to that their concerns and aspiration of the public space is not heard. Instead, as we have also seen in Old Park, the participants - largely belonging to the middle-class, enforce themselves in the role as the public.

The form and aim of the public community consultation could be described as informative, in order to get approval from the public, rather than empowerment. The information and opportunity to raise concerns increases the public's sense of ownership of the process and design. Public participation is

especially important here, as Sankiliyan Park is one of the more contested public spaces of Jaffna, or as one of the designer puts it: “[We could] not move a single rock in that place without the approval of the public” (personal conversation, March 27th - April 26th, 2020).

From the comparison of feedback raised in public community consultation and during the stakeholder meetings, and the implemented design, we see that much of the questions were directly implemented - with one notable exception: the cave. This is discussed further under Power Structures in Chapter 4.4.3.

The identified stakeholders and the ones with the most power in the participation process were people with an economic and political interest in the project. The large influence of JMC means that the design is largely established at a local governmental level, even though it is not a redistribution of power from the authorities to the public. We also see that although the Jaffna Municipal Council is one of the most influential stakeholders; the SCDP PMU, World Bank, and UDA Colombo holds control over the project as the design and process continuously goes through them and needs their approval. This means

that the power of the process and design, although established at a local level, is in fact located far away from end-users and the local government - indicating a planning process which is very much top-down oriented.

## Analysis of Accessibility, Use, Inclusivity, and Publicness

The design proposal for Sankiliyan Park shows a park, largely covered with grass, big trees and a winding path going through the park. The park has several features like i.a. a hanging bridge between the big trees, a maze, a fountain with seatings and a tunnel of memory. Statues, curtains, weapons, and items of furniture, representing the history of Jaffna Kingdom as well as statues picturing Hindu symbols, will be displayed in the tunnel. In the new design, the park is surrounded by a low wall with three entrances, where the main entrance faces the existing statue of the old Tamil king Sangili Segarajasekaram, which the new name of the park originates from. The park also has parking spots, washrooms, a restaurant and a cafe.

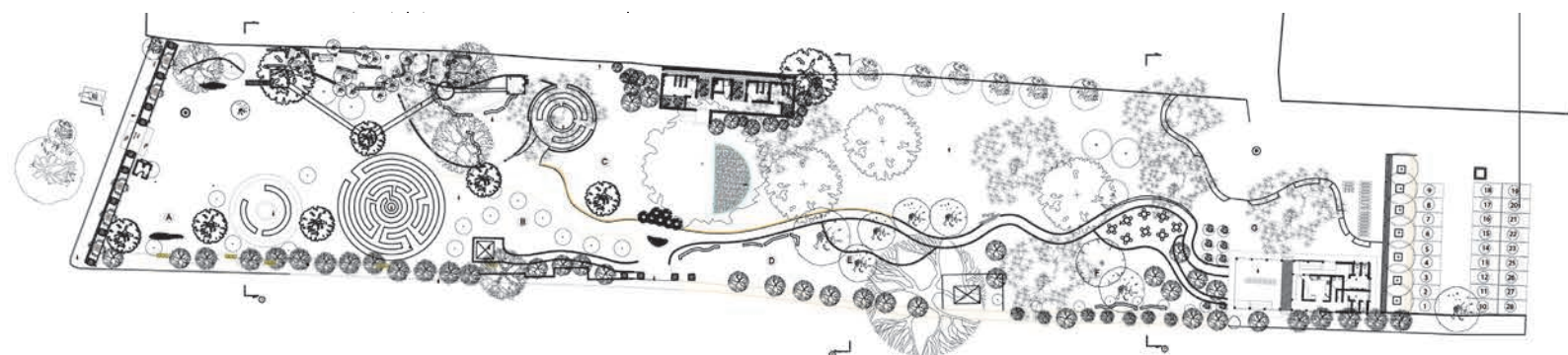


Figure 45. The new design of Sankiliyan Park has a lot of Tamil symbols. Scale 1:100 A4 (UDA 2019 *Proposed Design Layout*)

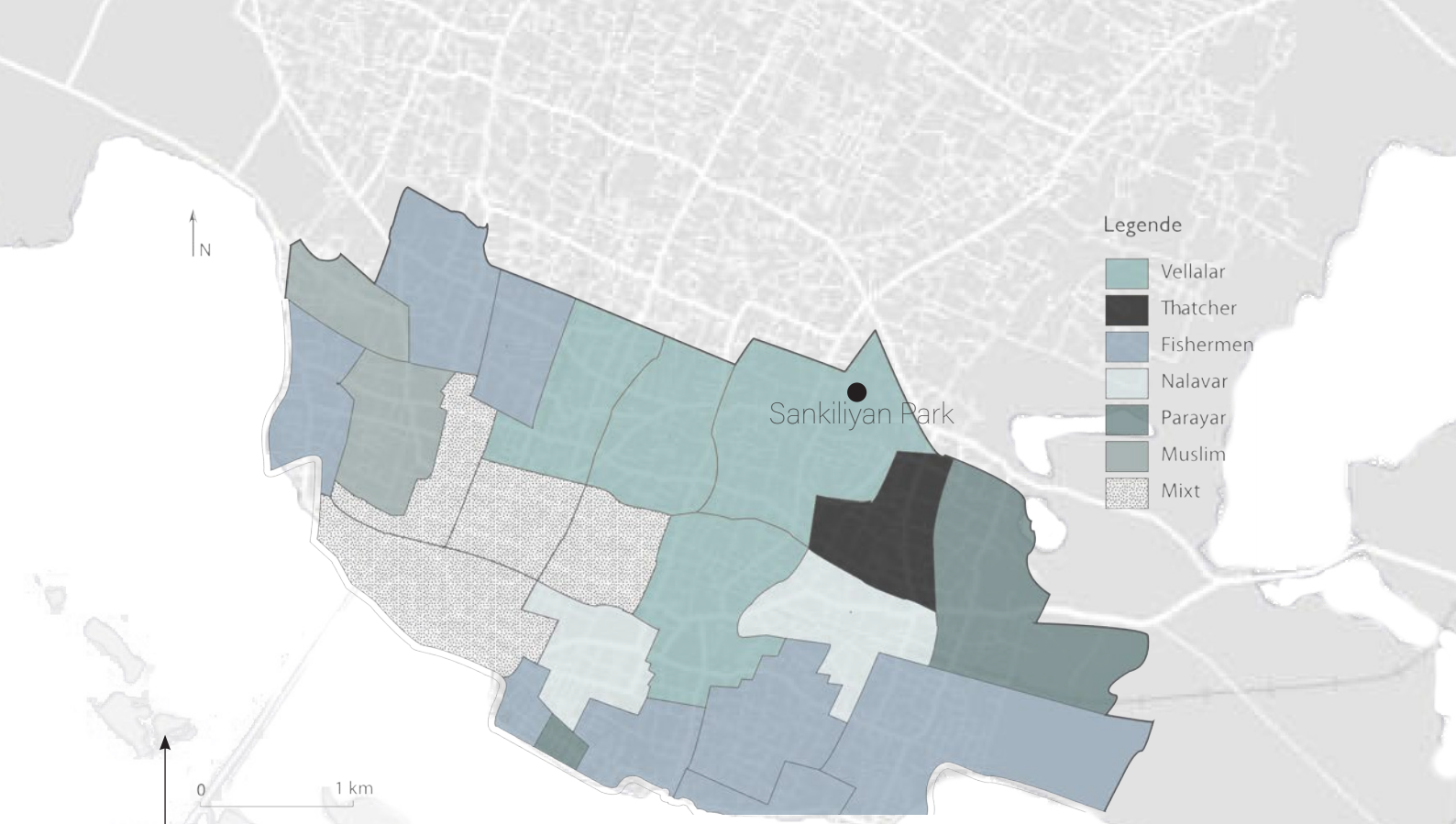


Figure 46. Sankiliyan Park is located in an area where the majority of the people in the area belong to the highest cast. (© 2019 Survey Department of Sri Lanka. All Rights Reserved. Madavan, 2011)

As the site is sensitive from a historical and political point of view, the designer says that it was of great importance that the design is accepted by the public (personal conversation March 27th - April 26th, 2020). The publicness, inclusiveness and accessibility of the design are discussed from the theoretical framework and from the Agenda 2030 target to provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces.

### Power structures

When comparing the location of Sankiliyan Park with research mapping where people from different castes live in Jaffna, we note that the park is located in an area where most people from the highest caste live. This indicates that most of the participants that were invited to the public community consultation, living in Grama J/109 which is located next to the park, are from the highest caste. As mentioned before, the area around Nallur where the park is located is also one of the richest in the city and where many re-

sidents have a high socioeconomic status (Mr Gopal personal communication, February 28th - April 27th, 2020). Geographically, this upgraded park will primarily benefit those living in the gentrified central area.

Sankiliyan Park, today known as Kittu Park, has a history as a political site. By doing the park to a memorial park for LTTE soldiers and naming it after one of the leaders, the park got a political character. Also, the declaring of the site as a high-security zone by the Government after the war show how the park is an important political site. By the declaring the park a high-security zone, the Government laid a dead hand on the site and prevented all reconstruction of the park.

In conversations with the designer and residents in the area, we understand that the political history and associations still remain and that many have a strong opinion about its development. According to local resident and writer Mr Balarkrishan, lots of invisible power politics played negative roles in its progress of



the park (personal communication, April 28th, 2020). Mr Thondan, the designer of the park, says that they can not make changes to the park without the approval of the public (personal communication, March 27th - April 26th, 2020). The only structure left in the park from the LTTE period is a cave. According to the designer the preservation of the cave has been a sensitive issue, where the Jaffna politicians told the public the Government will destroy the cave when they upgrade the park, and that to win votes, the politicians have told the public that they will fight to preserve the cave. The aim to keep structures from the old Kittu Park can be seen as a strive to keep a part of the collective memory. However, as the question is politically charged with the links to the LTTE and the Tamil fight for independence from the Sinhalese government this also plays on the Tamil identity and nationalistic ideas. Here, we see how the design of public space, as many scholars have shown before (see for example Low and Smith, 2006), becomes a subject to the political contest.



Figure 47. The existing structure of the cave will not be a part of the new design

In the same way, the change of the name of the park from Kittu Park to Sankiliyan Park must be seen in its political context, and it is clear that the name and the historical associations to the LTTE is sensitive. For example, in the Environmental Screening Report (ESR), that is reviewed by SCDP PMU and World Bank, it is mentioned that there was a park there in the 1990s with a canopy walk, an aquarium, and a

cave. Left out from the report are the associations to the LTTE: the description of the former monuments of LTTE leaders and that the park is known as Kittu Park is not mentioned in the report. Who initiated the name change is unclear. It could perhaps be seen as a distancing from the history and politics of the LTTE, a strategic concession from local politicians in a healing process in the post-conflict situation after the civil war, or as a demand from the Government.

However, the two remaining features from Kittu Park - the name and the cave - are wiped, and instead, a park is recreated which through symbols and name speaks to the Tamil identity and heritage. Instead of showing an LTTE leader, it shows off the great Sankiliyan king, the last Tamil king. We also see that manifesting the Tamil culture in the park was very important for the stakeholders in the participation process, not least for the Mayor. The creation of a Tamil theme park can be an important part of the healing process after the war as well as a way to celebrate the identity and pride through the Sinhalese oppression from the Government. The new way in which the Tamil identity is shaped is importantly less associated with the uprising and civil war, and therefore perhaps less threatening to the Sinhalese government. However, as one resident, Ms Narayanan, says, many people still want to call the park Kittu Park and will continue to do so (personal communication, April 10th, 2020).

### *Regulations*

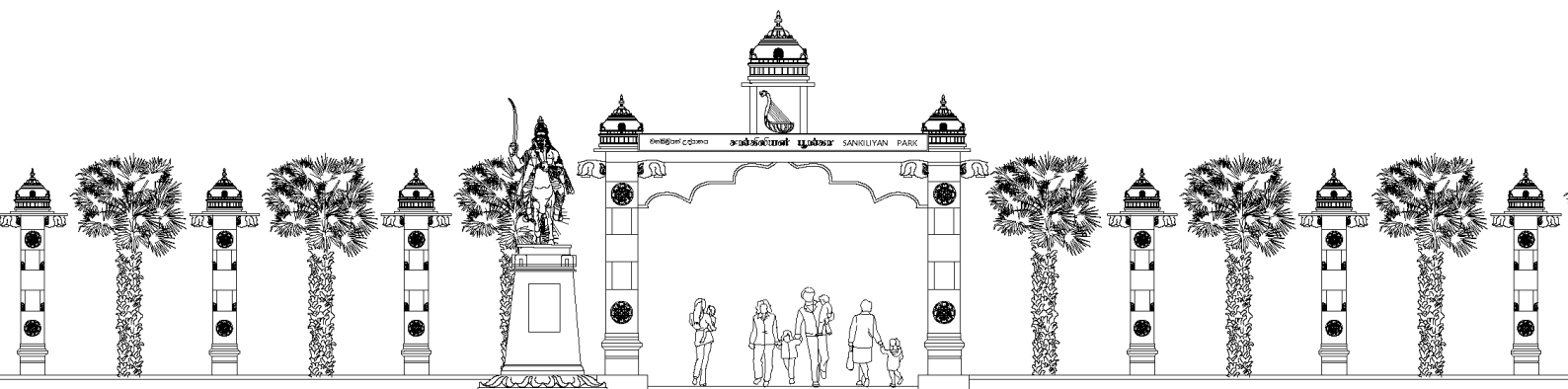
We see many similarities between Old Park and Sankiliyan Park in the new design and the regulations it will bring to behaviour, who can use the public space, and how. As in Old Park, the fees, walls and guards will also here likely lead to exclusion of people and families who can not afford the entrance fee, a demand for proper behaviour, and also women feeling safer.

When comparing the new design of Sankiliyan Park with how it looks today, it is clear that the overall perception of the park will change. From what today is

an open unprogrammed space surrounded by barbed wired, to have a mainly programmed space, enclosed by walls and a guard at the entrance. This new design with walls and guards can make the park more accessible for some: almost all women we interviewed said they feel safer when there is surveillance by guards and cameras; but it can also exclude some groups who might have access to the place today. Having a fee might also restrict who can access the park. Mr Deva argued that poor classes will be discouraged if the entry is charged, however, he also emphasized the safety for women and children (personal communication, April 7th - May 6th, 2020). However, Ms Narayanan did not think the fee will exclude anyone since it is only around 20 rupees. Instead, one resident said that the fee is very important to finance the maintenance (Ms Narayanan, personal communication, April 10th, 2020). This was also shown in a study in Colombo, where the fee was used to ensure continuous upkeep (Yasendra Bandara, 2013). Important to note here though, is that the interviewees themselves likely belongs to the middle-class and not to the group with low socioeconomic status which the fee could exclude. As they themselves are not excluded by the regulation, it can be hard to perceive it as a limitation on the public space, as it is often first when we break the rules that we are aware of their existence (Low and Smith, 2006). Mr Deva on the other hand

Two other notable changes that the upgrading process will bring, and that will regulate the use and behaviour in Sankiliyan Park is the current use of the park as a meeting point for large groups of people, and the strong Tamil and Hindu symbols in the new design. To have an entrance fee in the park could become a way to implicitly regulate the use of the park for large gatherings. Paired with the surrounding walls it will also ease the control of the activities that take place in the park. Mr Balarkrishan meant that the site functioned best before the constructions made by the LTTE, when the place was free and open and functioned as a site for people gathering - according to him the purpose of the site is failing when having a closed park with walls and fees (personal communication, April 28th, 2020). When it comes to the religious symbols, one of our interviewees, a young resident, Ms Lakshmi, says that she believes that the park should be kept non-religious. She explains that Hindu symbols and design of the park will come with certain rules and restrictions in dress code which will affect both men and women (personal communication, April 27th, 2020). These two aspects are further discussed in the next chapter about the activities and design of the park.

Figure 48. The entrance and crown shaped pillars are linked to the Tamil history and culture (UDA 2019 *Proposed Entrance for the Sankiliyan Park*)



### *Activities and design*

With the urban upgrading, much of the park will change. From the large, open, neglected area that it is today, to a clearly designed park with programmed functions. Mr Balarkrishan, a local resident, is critical to the new design and argues that they have crammed too many functions and activities into the small park and that the use of the park will change (personal communication, April 28th, 2020). Today the park is enclosed by barbed wire, but is used by the community for events such as music programs, drama performances functions, election campaigns, and exhibitions. According to the designer, these activities will still be possible in the multifunctional space planned in the design (personal conversation, March 27th - April 26th, 2020). Ms Narayanan, who lives next to the park, on the other hand, thinks it will be difficult to have enough space for these activities in the new design, as there can be as many as 300 people in these events (personal communication, April 10th 2020). In the same way that regulations of activities can exclude certain groups in society (Qian, 2018), the design of public space to a large extent regulate activities. Compared to the whole park, the multifunctional space is small and perhaps not sufficient for a gathering of 300 people. By shrinking the area for large gatherings, the current functions and activities of the public space will change.

Features such as the tunnel of memory, displaying statues, curtains, weapons, and items of furniture, representing the history of Jaffna Kingdom and statues picturing Hindu symbols, are important in the new design of Sankiliyan Park as a Tamil theme park. However, there is also proposed to be a Moon Stone which according to Mr Deva does not have any connection with the history or heritage of the place, and is generally seen as a symbol of Sinhala, Buddhist architecture. He meant that this may send the wrong message to the Jaffna community (personal communication, April 7th - May 6th, 2020). Apart from the moonstone, there are several Tamil symbols in the design. This could attract tourists, especially since it is located close to the Nallur temple, and school clas-

ses to the park. As much as the new design can be important for the unity and be strengthening to the Tamil community, the design and the symbols can also be excluding to other groups in the city, as the creation of the park as a museum of Tamil history and culture will affect who comes there. Mr Balarkrishan meant that the design does not relate to the local scene, the social and religious issues and that it is only considered the Hindu (personal communication, April 28th, 2020).

There is, therefore, a risk that groups in the society which do not identify themselves as part of the Tamil community does not feel included in the park as it is coded to belong to a certain religious group. Ms Narayanan, on the other hand, does not see any problems with the Tamil Hindu symbols in the design, despite herself being Christian and thought that everybody in Jaffna will think that it is a positive thing with the Tamil symbol (personal communication, April 10th, 2020). However, as one of our interviewees argues in the previous chapter, the use of religious symbols can impose regulations on behaviour and dress code. A young female resident says that the features and functions risk making the park a place of worship (personal communication Ms Lakshmi, April 27th, 2020). Scholars have shown before how it is increasingly common for the governments to control public space not by physical force, but implicitly through preconditions of inclusion (Mitchell, 2016; Qian, 2018). To code the public space with religious symbols or symbols of one ethnic group, could lead to the exclusion of other minorities in Jaffna.

A restaurant has a central place in the new design. It will most likely be an important part in the financing of the maintenance of the park through rent, or through income if it is run by the municipality. However, like in Old Park, the establishments will also come with a limitation in who has access to the place - the areas of the restaurants will be accessible to the people which pay for the commodities or services. Mr Deva argued that the activities envisioned in the park are not attractive to the poor classes, particularly for poor adults and meant that function-



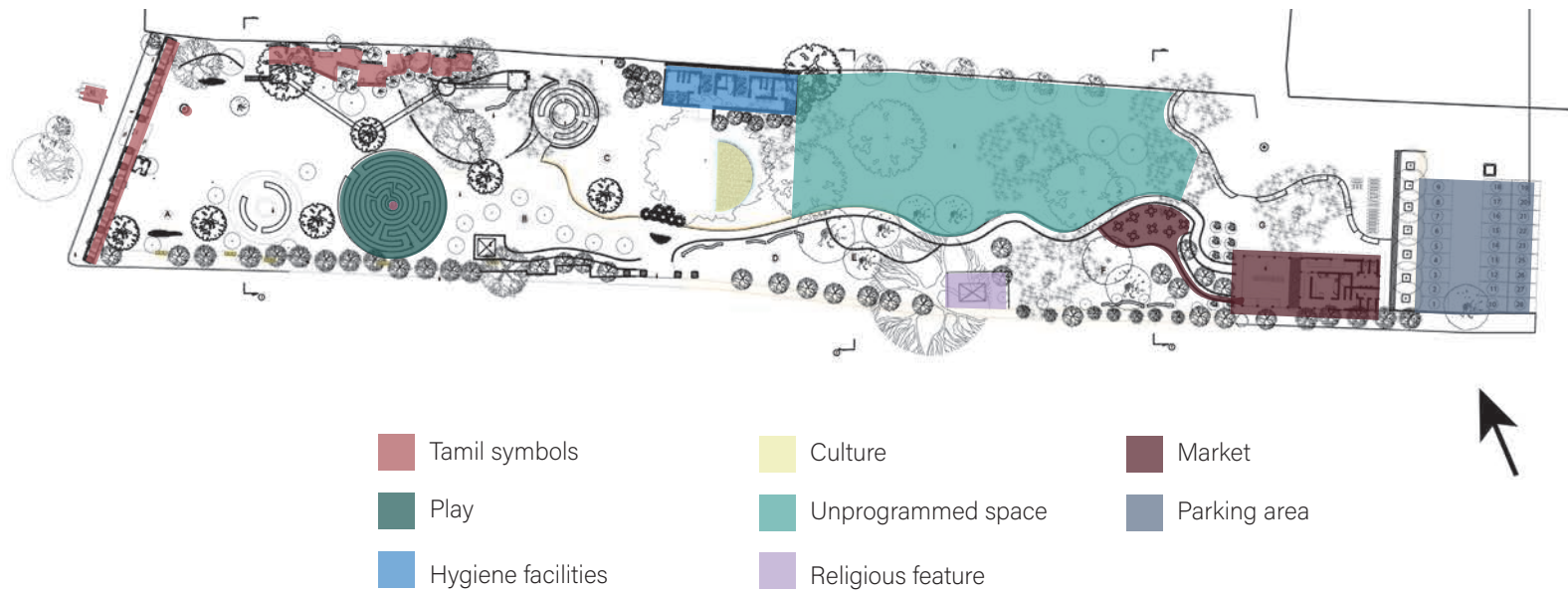


Figure 49. Analysis of the new design for Sankiliyan Park

nally the facilities included in the projects will make middle-class more dominant in the park (personal communication, April 7th - May 6th, 2020).

Apart from limiting who has access, the walls, guards and fees also come with opening hours. Like in Old Park, opening hours decreases the number of the establishment of territories when there is less division in time (Kärholm, 2016). The park, however, has many functions and different areas, which could instead increase the number of territories (ibid.).

By keeping the big trees there is good access to shade, which enables the park to be used throughout the day. The shade is especially important for children and elderly, sensitive to heat and direct sunlight. In the design, there is a lot of seatings in the shade which were asked for from the public community consultation, and which is also important for the accessibility of elderly or others who can not walk or stand for a longer period of time. Through personal communication with the designer, Mr Thondan, it is clear that the design strives to enable access to people with disabilities in the park, through ramps and designated washrooms (March 27th-April 26th, 2020). There is also a washroom designated for wo-

men which both Ms Mahadevan representing women in the stakeholder workshop for Old Park (personal communication, March 20th, 2020) and Ms Narayanan (personal communication, April 10th 2020) mean is very important for the general usage of the park.

The design shows improved lighting throughout the whole park, as well as security fences and guards, which can have a positive effect on the perceived safety of vulnerable groups like women, according to an officer at the District Secretariat representing women, Ms Mahadevan (personal communication, March 20th, 2020). The design also shows features aimed specifically at children: a maze and a canopy walk. Especially the canopy walk might be hard to access for children with disabilities. In the current design, we see no playground, but according to the designer, there will be swings and a slide in the park (personal communication Mr Thondan, March 27th-April 26th, 2020).

### Conclusion

The new park design, with the strong Tamil and Hindu symbols, could serve as an important sign of unity

and pride, and strengthen the Tamil community. It could however at the same time have the opposite effect on other groups in the city, which do not consider themselves a part of the Tamil or Hindu community. Especially since scholars have pointed out that there is still a lot of inequality against Muslims in Jaffna (Thiranagama, 2018), the design of a Tamil theme park might further increase the segregation between the groups and lead to a partial exclusion of Muslims in the park. It might also, as one resident pointed out, come with regulations on how to use the park, or even become a place of worship (Lakshmi, personal communication, April 27th, 2020). Through symbols, activities and design, the park strengthens existing power structures, while limiting the inclusion of minorities.

The park will transform from a large, open, unprogrammed, largely unregulated public space, to a public space with opening hours, guards, fees, and highly programmed functions. The fees, the relatively small multifunctional area, combined with the increased ease to impose control of the area, limits the possibility to use the public space as it is used today. The features will probably also come with a certain expected behaviour for the users. Intentionally or unintentionally, the new design of the park aggravates the use for large gatherings and political meetings.

As in Old Park we also here see market encroachments in the public space. Features in Sankiliyan Park, such as the restaurant, fees, as well as the surrounding walls and a guard indicate an intended or unintended target group which belongs to the middle-class. With the location of the park, in one of the richest areas in Jaffna, and the playgrounds, this indicates that the park is mostly to be used by middle-class women and their children.

The new design largely sees to the basic needs of vulnerable groups highlighted in the Agenda 2030. Improved lighting, walls and guards, will increase the perceived security of the park for women (personal communication Ms Mahadevan, March 20th, 2020), and likely also for all citizens, including other vulnerable groups. Features such as seatings, playgrounds, and access to shade and bathrooms will also increase the accessibility and space for elderly, children, and people with disabilities.

Figure 50. The new design of Sankiliyan Park will have a fountain with Sankiliyan statue and a canopy walk



## Synthesis

Through interviews and the study of the participation process, it is clear that the design of Sankilian Park is a politically sensitive issue. With the former name, Kittu Park, and the historical and political associations to the LTTE, made the participation process especially important as a way to get the approval of the public - although it was only a small part of the public. The political sensitivity also formed much of the opinions raised in the public community consultations and in the stakeholder meetings, focused on the idea of creating a Tamil theme park, which is clearly visible in the design.

Interesting here is the contest of the cave, as it is the only feature still left in the park today, after the demolition of Kittu Park during the civil war. Although the opinion to keep the cave was raised by participants in public community consultation, and we know that it has also been a symbolically important issue among the local politicians, the cave is not part of the new design. Perhaps we can see the creation of the new park as a compromise of the manifestation of a Tamil identity related to the history of the park, and the Government's suspected unwillingness to reconstruct a feature in the park associated with a LTTE leader. The Tamil theme park is instead recreated in a form and symbolism less threatening to the Government sovereignty.

As the representatives in the stakeholder meetings are largely middle-class, and the public community consultation was held with residents in a district with the highest socioeconomic status in Jaffna, means that little to no opinions were received from people with low socioeconomic status. A majority of the people who participated in the public community consultation were women, which is an important sign of their possibility to raise concerns and aspirations from their point of view in the process. Same as in Old Park we see a reproduction of the middle-class as the public, in both the participation process and in the design. Features such as the restaurant and the entrance fees demand to spend money to use parts of the park. The money will be an important part in the financing of the maintenance for the park, which is a crucial part of the sustainability.

Important is also that the structure for a more inclusive participation process exists in Jaffna in the form of public community consultations, and a wider public participation could help to create a more inclusive public space for minorities and other vulnerable groups.





## 5. Discussion

Figure 51. One of the main industries in Jaffna is small scale fishing

**With the Agenda 2030's goal** to 'provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces' as a starting point, the purpose of this study was to analyse how the participation in process and design, affected by power structures, market, political and social structures, have had an impact on inclusivity and accessibility of public space. One of the power structures, in this case, was the funding of the World Bank which impacts are further discussed in this chapter.

In Old Park, the public was not part of the participation process, instead of designated authorities were considered the 'stakeholders'. A process which focused on market and economical representations of problem and solution resulted in a design with a focus on economic growth through tourism. Despite local residents being stated as the main target group, they were not part of the process. Instead, the stakeholders representing authorities, recreated themselves as the public, in a design with the middle-class as user of public space.

In Sankiliyan Park, public participation was held through public community consultations, but only in a segregated area with the highest socioeconomic status and with the aim to get approval from the public. The participation process in Sankiliyan Park shows an existing structure for public participation, a structure which enables closeness between the authorities and the public.

The process of Sankiliyan park show how public space can be a place for a political struggle where the Government's funding of the urban upgrading of Jaffna could be seen as a healing process between Jaffna and the Government that for long has oppressed the people of the city; or as a way to increase the control of over the public space in Jaffna. The creation of a Tamil theme park might have been a way to recreate the community and heal the social structure caused by war. Instead, it resulted in a healing of the physical structure and a celebration of a compromised and less threatening version of the Tamil identity,

with the sanction of one ethnic group and the middle-class at the cost of others.

Our case study forms the basis for a discussion of the inclusivity in participation, and how power structures, market, as well as political and social structures, shape the process and design of green public space. In the creation of a new design for Old Park and Sankiliyan Park, there was a little redistribution of power from authorities to the public. The following discussion and conclusion can hopefully help to set the agenda for improving democratic city planning in Jaffna.

## Market and the strive to become a 'developed' country

This study shows that the strive to become a developed country and increase economic growth are forming the physical character in Jaffna, as well as who is considered the stakeholder in a participation process of the public space. The meaning and physical character of public space are reflected and changed with the political, social and historical context (Low and Smith, 2006) which is also visible in Jaffna. Where we before could see public space in Jaffna as largely situated and lived, for example in the usage of ponds for washing clothes, we now see the new upgraded public space in the form of urban city parks. As some activities were disdained by the reform-minded elite, the public space were instead programmed as a way to cultivate order, modernity and 'civilised' life (Qian, 2018). By doing an urban upgrading of the public spaces, the municipality and Jaffna can show that Jaffna is on the way to once again become a cultural centre and one of the largest cities in Sri Lanka. In the big developmentalistic picture of Jaffna and the country as a whole, park development becomes a place to position itself and show off as a 'developed' city. The construction of the Indian Culture Center on the place for the ground, which used to be a popular public green space, was one example of this 'clean up'. The upgrading of Old Park and Sankiliyan

Park can be seen as further examples of the same process. To fit the created image of the developed public space, this new image has also partly formed the idea of who is 'the public', which in turn shaped the process and design of the two parks.

The involvement of the World Bank affects the result of the participation process and inclusiveness in design. Mr Balarkrishan, a local resident who participated in the first meetings about the urban upgrading in Jaffna, argued that the local mentality of the third world is to not question something coming from the first world. This could mean that as the participation process was a demand from the World Bank, the decision-makers of Jaffna did not question it or sought to adapt it to the national and local context. Mr Balarkrishan also argued that there is a problem with funding politics since the authorities only say yes to organisations or companies who want to fund development without considering the city's own politics (personal communication, April 28th, 2020). The study has shown how the funding of the World Bank comes with demands on the process and outcome. One can argue if and in what way this has resulted in the export of western ideals to the Global South. It is, however, safe to say that the involvement of the World Bank has affected the process and design of the two parks.

While both the World Bank, national and local authorities officially recognise the importance of public participation, our results make us question the implementation. In the protocols, we can see how the World Bank has pushed the importance of participation through the voice of the SCDP and how participation is thereby requested top-down. The intention of the urban upgrading from the World Bank point of view is to reduce poverty through urbanization in a sustainable way (The World Bank, 2014). Reducing poverty can be a way of including vulnerable groups. However, this study has shown that the outcome of market-oriented solutions in the green public spaces has not led to an including participation process and design. Our results instead suggest that participation was a box to tick, as a way to legitimise and window

dress the upgrading of public spaces in Jaffna, not a response to the essence of the Agenda 2030 goal to ensure universal access to green public space.

In its aim to form a developed city with a developed, upgraded public space to fit the future image of Jaffna, the decision-makers have also formed the idea of who is the public - linked to the goals of economic development - as the rising Tamil middle-class. This context has affected how the public space is designed and the inclusiveness of the process. In the case of Old Park, we could also see how the aspiration of creating a modern city park stood in conflict with keeping the heritage and identity of the park, which agrees with Calderon (2020) stating that market-oriented solutions are often prioritized over local identity in areas with a strong focus on economic growth. By upgrading the two parks, from big open spaces used for events to strictly formed city parks with a focus on attracting tourists and manifestation of the Tamil culture, some groups in the society will be excluded.

## Nuancing public space

With a classical Western perspective of public space as open and accessible to all, some of the public spaces of Jaffna might seem restricted with its opening hours and fees. Many studies of public space are conducted in the West but we need other and broader ways to view public space in order to understand public space beyond the West - its limitations and struggles (Qian, 2018). The practice in Sri Lanka of enclosing parks with walls and to have opening hours might signal restrictions. However, in a small playground locked during the hot days, one of the neighbours had the key, indicating it was not that inaccessible as it first appeared to us. Further, many women interviewees told us of the increased perceived feeling of safety when having gates, fees and guards. Ms Lakshmi argued that there is a need for guards and more security, for elderlies to be able to use public space in the evenings, she further meant that there are gangs and groups that harass ladies



(personal communication, April 27th, 2020). This agrees with earlier studies that have shown that the exclusion of some groups is sometimes necessary for the inclusion of others (Qian, 2018).

In more 'open' green public spaces in Jaffna, such as the grounds, territories are often established by groups of young men, and these spaces are thereby not as accessible to vulnerable groups, like women and elderly. Interviewed women also said these areas are littered due to the lack of the restrictions, and that they experienced it as unpleasant. As scholars have shown, some restrictions might lead to a more inclusive public space, as it increases the complexity (Kärrholm, 2016). The walls, fees and guards would help to ensure a cleaner and safer park and are therefore restrictions that could lead to a more inclusive public space. At the same time, it will also bring an exclusion for people who do not fit in the 'developed' and 'civil' public space - both in refusal of entry or in an experience of not feeling welcome.

From an ethical perspective this is of course troublesome, especially when the exclusion of one vulnerable group becomes the prerequisite for the inclusion of another. If the exclusion of 'drunk men' (one might assume also often poor) is crucial for the inclusion of another vulnerable group - women, the restrictions might be seen as an important for women's inclusion in the public space of Jaffna. As Kärrholm (*ibid.*) argues, it would be preferable for the groups to co-exist. This would require the restrictions to, to some degree, regulate behaviours and the establishment of territories from strong groups, that would generate a partial, but not total, exclusion of the said group.

## Ethnic conflict affecting public space

This study has shown how public space is affected by ethnic composition and conflict. The fact that Jaffna from the beginning was not part of the SCDP

project, though Jaffna could be considered one of the best qualified due to the destruction after the civil war, illustrates the tensions between the Tamil and the Sinhalese and shows the reluctance from the Government's side to provide aid to rebuild Jaffna. However, the Government now funding urban upgrading in Jaffna can be seen as part in a healing process between the Sinhalese government and the Tamils. In another way, it could also be seen as a way for the Government to increase control of Jaffna. With the SCDP PMU located in Colombo, which has the mandate to approve the design and other documents in the project, the Government have the opportunity to control and approve the process and design of the urban upgrading. From studies of the participation process we see that the PMU is one of the most powerful actors in the projects; the designer for Old Park even considered them her client. This indicates the power inflicted by the Government, through the PMU, on the public spaces of Jaffna.

The ethnic conflict and the politics it brings become most clear in Sankiliyan Park, where the name change from Kittu Park indicates a need to create a distance from the associations to the former LTTE leader. It is unclear who initiated the name change, perhaps the result indicates a successful compromise. In the symbol of the old Tamil king Sangili, they found an actor still strongly associated with the Tamil identity, but not as intimidating to the current rule and power of the Sinhalese. A compromise to celebrate and manifest the Tamil identity in a less threatening way, which will also hopefully appease the Tamil public enough, to not challenge or provoke another uprising or strengthen the conflict. Seen to that aspect, and depending on the outcome and reactions on the park once the new design is implemented, this may or may not become a successful project.

The former open conflict and the continuous oppression by the Sinhalese government might have strengthened the Tamil identity. Ms Cavarai explained that the civil war has made it more important to keep a strong Tamil culture. She further meant that the people of Jaffna have not had the time to heal yet from

the war (private communication, May 7th, 2020). For the Tamils to manifest their own culture and identity can be a way to recreate the community and heal from war damages. However, it could also be seen as sanctions of one group, Tamils - the vast majority in Jaffna; at the expense of others. The study has shown how the public space becomes the battlefield for the conflict, through the need for manifesting identity and culture, resulting in the inclusion of some. It has however through strong symbols, resulted in the partial exclusion of other ethnic groups and Muslims, and could bring regulations on behaviour and dress code.

## Shaping public space, shaping the public

We are both shaped by our public space and shaping it. The ones included in the public space, largely constitutes 'the public' in the processes of public participation. In this case, this meant the ones with an economic or political interest in the development and residents from a high socio-economic area. Although our interviewees, mostly middle-class themselves, pointed out that walls, fees, and guards could exclude poor people, they did not consider this a problem since poor people do not use parks. Ms Lakshmi stated that poor people do not think parks are important in their life (personal communication, April 27th, 2020) and Mr Gopal argued that there is no restriction for poor people to sit in the park so they can come but they do not want to (personal communication, February 28th - April 27th, 2020). This demonstrates that the perception of who uses the public spaces today also impacted their view of who will and/or should be the user in the future - indicating who is perceived as the public. Groups in society can be, as in this case, partially both included and excluded in the public space (Qian 2018). Even if there are no restrictions for poor people to come, and they are therefore not officially excluded, they are still not using public space - meaning they

are not fully included either. Even with the fees, the interviewees still considered the public space accessible, which likely relates to the fact that the public space did not exclude them, as we seldom notice that public space is highly restricted before we break the regulations (Low and Smith, 2006).

The ones included in public space have a double power as they are both the envisioned end-users, and as in Old Park heard in the participation process and able to co-create the public space for themselves. This leads to a reinforcement of the power and inclusion of those already included. In this case study, reproducing the public through the design of the public space for Tamil middle-class, leaving out other groups of the community in the process and design of the public space.

The view on participation in Sri Lanka and Jaffna, also form who is considered a stakeholder. Although some of our interviewees raised the concern for groups that were not part of the participation process, many thought it is enough with representatives from authorities and politicians, and that if the politicians accept the design, so will the people (Gopal, personal communication February 28th - April 27th, 2020). Many of these decision-makers, representatives from the authorities and politicians emphasized the importance to have public participation to get the approval from the public. The designer of Sankiliyan Park said that if they do not have the approval from the public, they could not "move a single rock in that place" (personal conversation, March 27th - April 26th, 2020). The statement indicates that the goal is to make people feel included and accept changes, rather than actually give power to the people to make decisions. You could also argue that the politicians have their own agendas that might differ from the people's, and not all groups in the society are represented through the politicians.

The ones not included in the participation process were groups with low income, people with disabilities, children, most probably religious minorities like Muslims, and to a limited extent elderly. One might

wonder what would happen in the design if the interest of marginalised people would be included in the imaginary of the public space? Which functions, material and physical spatial elements, solutions, and symbolic meanings would come? By including these groups in the participation process the design of public space can in a long term change our society and how we interact with each other.

### Reaching a more genuine participation and inclusive design

In the analysis of the urban upgrading, we have shown how the inclusivity in participation processes and the inclusiveness of public space, among other things, relates to the power structures, market, politics of culture, and regulations in Jaffna. Luyet (2012) means that empowering the public might not always be the aim in participation processes and one might argue that genuine participation in the process of urban upgrading in a city in a post-conflict situation, still recovering from civil war, might be too much to ask. Even more so as it is seldom achieved in other more stable regions or cities. However, democracy is a demand from the UN and a way to achieve human rights (United Nations, 2015). This study has shown that there are factors in Jaffna, Sri Lanka and in World Bank projects that can be changed to improve the inclusiveness in participation processes and design, which in the long run can lead to reaching Agenda 2030's goal of inclusive public space.

To involve a broader range of citizens and thinkers in the participation process could help broaden the view of the public and of public space to consider other aspects of inclusion. The development of Jaffna would most likely still focus on economic growth and tourism, but with a more inclusive participation process, economic growth could be achieved simultaneously as including other groups in the public space - or perhaps at least not further exclude them. The system in Jaffna with a Village Officer that lives and

works close to the people should be seen as an asset that can be used to a much greater extent in public participation. In the case of Sankiliyan Park, the public was reached and by including more districts, a wider range of public could have been involved. The fact that the Village Officers were not used in the case of Old Park might depend on the usage of an international designer not being aware of the system, which highlights the need for designers in international design processes to be aware of the existing participatory structures.

The study has shown how the design of the participation process might have affected the participant and which opinions that were raised. Butler and Clarderon (2020) argue that the focus in participation processes should be to help the participant to better understand their own and their opponents' interest and values. To achieve this a more free frame for the participation process would have helped. As Luyet (2012) argues, using more than one technique for participation could also help to avoid mistakes of forming the opinions and participants.

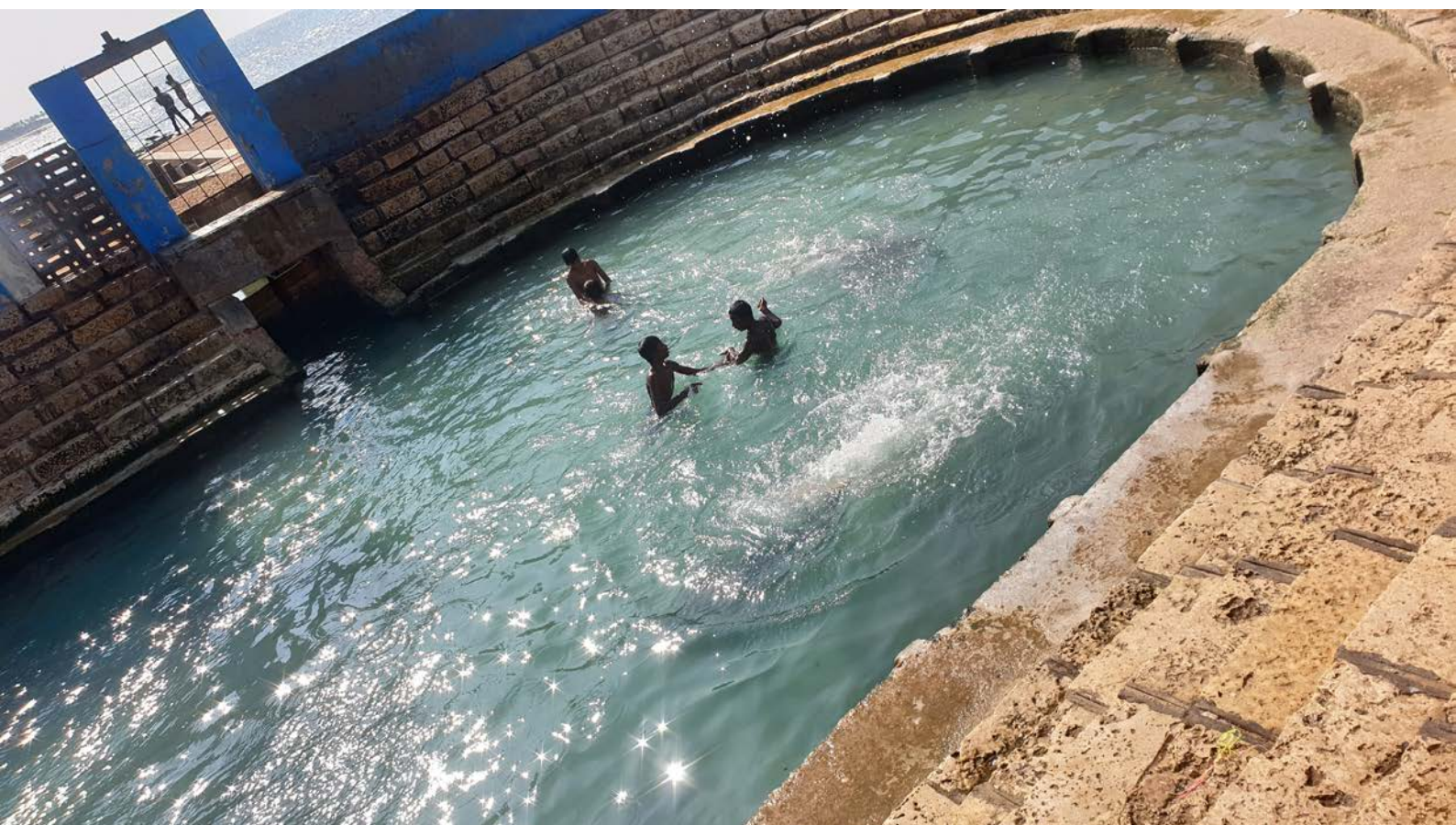
The design of the two parks will lead to the inclusion of some groups and exclusion of others. This has been emphasized by several researchers to sometimes be necessary for the inclusion of vulnerable groups (Kärrholm, 2016; Qian, 2018), and as argued above in Nuancing public space this could partly be the case in these examples. However, if all groups in the society could co-exist in the same sites it would lead to an even more inclusive public space. By succeeding with having these different sites for different groups in the society closer to each other and interacting with each other it could lead to normalization of the other groups' presence.

Another factor that has affected the process of the whole urban upgrading is the gap between the Government and the local project group and the need for approval from the capital. Several actors in the study have raised the concern that this has made the process slow. Further, being controlled by the Government which earlier have been the enemy in the



conflict might have affected who wants to raise their voice, as well as the trust in the project. Ms Cavarai argued that there is a sense of fear in the community for being perceived as a noisemaker by the Government. She also meant that the sense of ownership of the project by the Municipality in Jaffna can be affected when all decisions are taken in Colombo, which can lead to a failure of the project in the long run (personal communication, May 7th, 2020). If the project had instead been created with the power in the process and design placed locally, with the decisions taken close to the end users; this could have led to more people feeling comfortable raising their voice, and a bigger sense of ownership of the project in Jaffna.

Figure 52. Public bath in Jaffna District







## 6. Conclusion

Figure 53. The streets in Jaffna are lined by walls



**Research has shown that public space is shaped by social and political flows** (Low and Smith, 2006). In the strive to become a 'developed' city and reclaim their place as the second-largest city in Sri Lanka and a cultural centre for the Tamils, the authorities in Jaffna have a strong focus on economic growth, which resulted in market-oriented solutions and solutions strengthening the Tamil identity for the public space. The binary and largely used categorization of 'developed' and 'developing' countries creates a strong developmentalistic mentality, which leads to a creation of the public space, and consequently also the 'public', to fit the future context. This leads to a limited opportunity for a wide range of citizens to raise their voice in participation processes, as they do not (yet) fit in the created and idealised image of the future citizen.

In the case of Sankiliyan Park, the post-conflict situation likely led to a limitation in the expression of the Tamil identity and collective memories connected to physical features in the public space was eliminated and recreated in other forms - and a compromise was reached. In the compromise to sanction one ethnic group, others were further pushed from inclusion in the public space.

With a focus on development, economic growth and a limited time frame, the participation process in Old Park almost exclusively included authorities; and in Sankiliyan Park was complemented with a public community consultation with a group from one of the richest areas in Jaffna, that seems to have had the primary purpose to get acceptance for the solutions, as opposed empower and listen to the public. To not involve a wide range of stakeholders, or to not engage in meaningful debate is a common mistake in participation processes that leads to a limited influence from the public in decision-making and reinforcement of the interest and values of powerful stakeholders (Calderon & Butler, 2020).

The inclusion in the participation process is also reflected in the design: the Tamil middle-class which largely constituted the core of the participation pro-

cess, is also mainly the target group and the imagined 'public' and end-user of the new design of the parks. In the same way, groups that were excluded from the participation process is likely to also be partially excluded from the green public space - or can at least not be considered to completely fit in the created image of the future user. Even though they are not fully or physically excluded, the symbolism, activities and design, only partly consider their needs, identity and prerequisites. Especially here the minorities and people with a low income, which does not fit the image of the 'ideal' citizens of a developed city. The public is instead reproduced, through the design of the public space, as Tamil middle-class.

To work in cross-cultural projects brings new complicated dimensions to the process and design of public spaces. The case study reveals the need for designers and landscape architects working in transnational projects to understand the structures and systems in the country they are working in, to better understand how it can inflict on or be reinforced with the design and process. In an unfamiliar context where the designer can only partly read the landscape (Hyland, 2000), there is an increased need for participation processes and a close collaboration with designers and locals. As we revealed in Old Park, struggles in communication and differences in references and meanings of words can otherwise unintentionally result in wishes from the public being discarded. There is also a need to be aware of how prejudice and structures affect the relationship between both oneself and within the context on site. Here case-studies on other cross-cultural projects can help to prepare for the challenges and to learn from other mistakes.

As a designer, there is an opportunity to press for participation processes with a wide range of public. More so, there is an even greater need to understand the already existing systems used in the context to reach out to the public. As the participation process of Sankiliyan Park showed, there is a structure close to the community which was well adapted to provide the public with information and gather opinions, needs and wishes - a structure which was not used in



the participation process of Old Park.

A designer is limited to work within frames of practice set by authorities. In the same way, as we can not perceive regulations to public space before we break the rules (Low and Smith), it is also hard to perceive limitations to a design practise where you are part of and shaped by the context. Here, trans-national research and design practices can help reveal such structures and practices, as well as in discussion between parties highlight issues of inclusion and dictated norms, which can be beneficiary both ways and can help answer to the Agenda 2030 of universal access to public space.

Figure 54. Sun sets over the prawn fishing in Jaffna



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### *Personal communication*

Ms Angevine - Designer SIGNES, August 3rd, 2020

Mr Balarkrishnan - Local resident, Writer Jaffna Heritage Senior Lecturer In Art History, April 28th, 2020

Ms Cavarai - Economist from Jaffna that worked in the World Bank and Jaffna urban development, May 27th, 2020

Mr Deva - Writer Development of Jaffna city planning through the ages, April 7th - May 6th, 2020

Mr Gopal - Lecturer in University of Jaffna in Spatial Planning, February 28th - April 27th, 2020

Ms Jones - Representative World Bank, working with SCDP PIU Jaffna, April 3rd, 2020

Ms Lakshmi - Young woman, entrepreneur, living in Jaffna, April 27th, 2020

Ms Mahadevan - District Secretary officer representing Women i Old Park workshop, March 20th, 2020

Ms Narayanan - Young woman, living close to Sankiliyan Park, April 10th, 2020

Mr Oddai - Participant in Old Park workshop representing local residence, March 11th, 2020



Mr Padiachy - Local activists, February 16th - April 27th, 2020  
Mr Prem - SCDP Officer, March 10th, 2020  
Ms Ramachandran - SCDP Officer, March 10th, 2020  
Mr Ramanathan - Representative Divisional Secretariat, March 3rd, 2020  
Mr Seelan- SCDP Officer, March 10th, 2020  
Mr Srinivasan- Representative JMC March 12th, 2020  
Mr Thondan - Designer of Sankiliyan Park, doing internship at UDA Colombo, March 27th - April 26th, 2020  
Mr Uppara - SCDP Officer, March 10th, 2020

# Appendix I: Interview Questions

Following are lists of question used as the basis for the semi-structured interviews. Interviewees can be divided into four groups: identified stakeholders, design team/project group, local residents belonging to vulnerable groups, and local experts with great knowledge about Jaffna and urban development. Questions were formed for respective group. The interviewees which had not taken part of the process were shown pictures of the design and lists of functions.

## Identified stakeholders (Authorities, and representatives from invited organisations)

What information were you given?

How was the participation meeting structured?

Did you miss any persons or representatives in the participation process?

What did you think about the participation process? Anything that did not fit within the frame of the workshop?

Have you/your authority had any part in the process after the project was decided?

How often have you interacted with the project? Urgent and constant, Immediate and regular, Planned and medium-term, or Routine communications only

How was the vulnerable groups taken into consideration in the participation process?

## Design team/project group

To the designers of the parks, the following questions were asked:

How was the design adapted to provide access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public places for women, children, older persons and persons with disabilities?

What did the process look like - from the start of the project until now?

What did the participation process look like, who was invited and who came?

Who need to approve the primarily design?

Which problems did you face and what were the solutions?

Any problems you could not solve?

Which compromises did you have to do? Anything that came up in the participation that you could not solve?

How would you describe your collaboration with the World Bank/Municipality/District/Division?

Have you had any participation from community/citizens? Are you gonna have any?

What demands for participation does the World Bank have in their projects?

## Local residents belonging to vulnerable groups

Have you heard about the urban upgrading programme for Jaffna, and that the Municipality is creating new parks or doing park upgrading in Jaffna? If yes, what have you heard and how did you get the information?

Have you been part of any discussions about new parks in Jaffna? If yes: How did you get the invitation?

What information did you get during the participation occasion? If no, would you have liked to been part of the discussions?

Could you describe if and how you have used Old Park/Sankiliyan Park, from when you were a child until

today? (When you were a child, youngster, before the war, after the war, today)

When you look at the list of functions in Old Park/Sankiliyan Park

Which of the functions will interest you?

Do you wish to add other functions to the list from your own interest in the design?

Any objects or elements you would like to see in the park?

Can you access, use, socialize, feel accepted and cared for in this parks?

When you look at the list of functions for the parks and the list of functions in the tunnel of memory in Sankiliyan Park and the pictures of the proposed park

What do you think about this design?

Do you think there are any symbols in the design?

If yes what kind of social message do you think these symbols send?

## Local experts

How are these parks located in the city in terms of socio-economic geography of the city? (which social classes, political or ethnic groups live nearby?)

What kinds of consequences the projects might bring to the surrounding area? Gentrification? Displacement of certain groups? Domination of certain groups?

Who are the winners in these projects? Which groups do most benefit? (with envisioned functions, social and political messages, symbolic elements, spatial organization, aesthetics, particular objects...)?

Who could be empowered and who could be disqualified? (excluded)

What is the imagined dominant culture in the projects? (consumption based? Middle-upper classist? Overwhelming ethnic orientation? ...)

Are there any elements that might create cohesive publicness (inclusion) that will bring different social/economic groups together and have meaningful social contact and communication?



# Appendix II: Representatives Interviewed

The following appendix describes in detail which authorities were part of the participation processes of Old Park and Sankiliyan Park, which representatives we deemed relevant for the design of the park, which representatives we interviewed and which ones we could not reach for comments about the participation process and design of the two parks.

## Representatives interviewed, Old Park

In the case of Old Park, one representative was chosen from each stakeholder institution relevant to the design of the parks and present at the initial stakeholder workshop. Attending the meeting were representatives from JMC, UDA, Northern Provincial Council, Department of Police, Local residents representative, former SLAS officer, SCDP, Apec, Signes, Road Development Authority, Tourism Bureau, Department of Industries Northern Province, Governor Secretariat, Women Secretariat Development Officer, Environmental officer, Archaeology, and the Central Cultural Fund (“Stakeholder workshop -01, Jaffna, 05th November - 2019 Attendance sheet,” 2020). Chosen as relevant to the design of the parks was: JMC, UDA, Northern Provincial Council, Local residents representative, SCDP, Apec, Signes, Tourism Bureau, Governor Secretariat, Women Secretariat Development Officer, Environmental officer and the Central Cultural Fund. Due to shortened time to conduct the study, we did not have the time to interview Tourism Bureau, Governor Secretariat, Northern Provincial Council, and the Central Cultural Fund.

## Representatives interviewed, Sankiliyan Park

In the case of Sankiliyan Park, representatives from the participating organisations and authorities were chosen in the same way as with the Old Park. There were several stakeholder meetings about Sankiliyan Park, where some stakeholders were attending to all meetings and some were attending only one meeting. There were also a community consultation meeting where no contact information to the participant was available. Attending the meeting were representatives from: JMC, District Secretary, World Bank, SCDP, Divisional Secretary Jaffna, Division Secretary Nallur, Survey department, R/ACLG Jaffna, UDA, Grama Niladari (Village officers) for district J/77&74, J/1109, J/69, J/65, J/81, J/85, Bus Owner Association, Jaffna Bishop’s House, Road Development Department, Road Development Authority, Planning Assistant CCD, Tourism Board NP.

Chosen as relevant to the design of the parks was: JMC, District Secretary, World Bank, SCDP, Divisional Secretary Jaffna, Division Secretary Nallur, UDA, Grama Niladari (Village officers) for district J/109, Tourism Board NP. Due to shortened time to conduct the study, we did not have the time to interview Division Secretary Nallur, Grama Niladari (Village officers) or Tourism Board NP.