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CCQOL

Public participation in planning in the UK

A review of the literature

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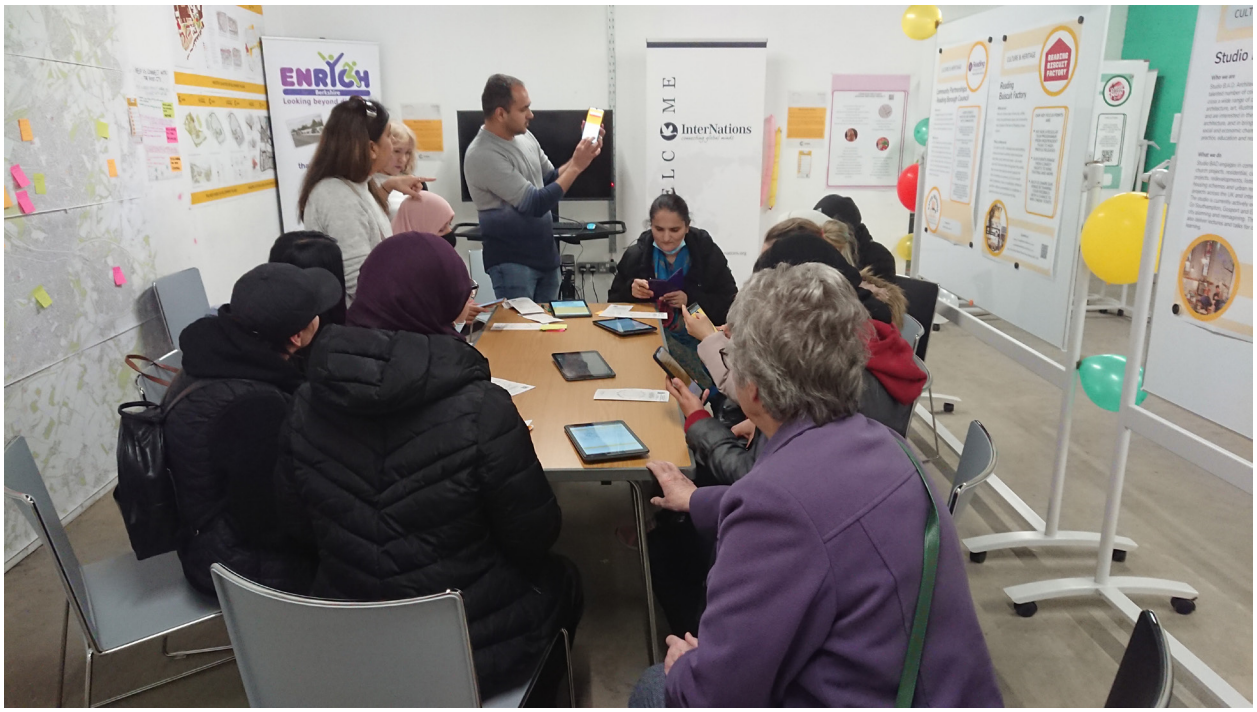

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Executive Summary

Despite the fact that community participation is known to have major benefits in terms of resilience and wellbeing (see for example Lewis et al, 2019) there is a general lack of 'systematic empirical studies on how public participation is practiced' (Uittenbroek et al., 2019, p.16). Community Consultation for Quality of Life (CCQOL) is an Arts and Humanities Research Council funded project that seeks to develop a Code of Conduct for inclusive participatory planning. The first stage of the project is this systematic review of the literature on public participation, focusing on the UK since 2010. The review was guided by questions around how community consultation could: (1) be made more impactful and effective across the diverse policy contexts of the UK; (2) be made more representative and inclusive, including through e-participation; and (3) form a long-term project that fosters ongoing civic debate. While each of the devolved nations has a different approach to planning and participation, summarised in Section 1, the main focus of this account is on England.

Participation here encompasses consultation and engagement. There are moments during planning processes when consultation with the community is a statutory requirement, referred to here as consultation. Engagement is about a more relationship with a community carefully built up over time. We recognise that 'community' itself is a highly contested word, as are many of the words used in this document.

The following seven policy recommendations have been distilled from the fifteen findings of the full report below.

- **Establish a Code of Conduct/Practice**

  There needs to be a Code of Conduct/Practice for those involved in the public participation. Standards are particularly needed to ensure necessary levels of inclusion are achieved. This Code of Conduct needs to build on robust research knowledge of what works.

- **Make the process of determining planning applications more democratic**

  Currently communities have little or no say on the majority of planning decisions going through the planning system, particularly when delegated powers are used. Technical language, hostile settings and information imbalances all serve to increase public disenfranchisement. The planning appeal system itself originates from the post-war reconstruction era and is in need of review. Leadership is needed to improve the democracy of planning.

- **Align participatory processes with governance frameworks**

  Systems are needed to enable innovative participatory processes to feed into the planning process. Feedback loops need to be included in the participation process so the public can see where their input had impact. Real time digital maps could assist with this process.

- **Ensure equality of access to participatory processes**

  Current efforts in participation tend to favour privileged people and communities. Systems are needed that make participation easy and inclusive. Face to face and digital options are needed to help combat digital exclusion. All participatory processes need to be closely monitored in terms of equality and diversity.

- **Improve the quality of participatory processes**

  This requires stewardship. Consultations need to be designed to make engagement as easy and attractive as possible. Consultation should happen regularly across the development process in the form of a constant feedback loop. A blend of tools must be used to access different types of communities, including young people. These should draw on best practice in face to face and digital participation. The limits of what can be changed through the participation exercise must be clearly stated so that expectations remain realistic.

- **Provide a joined up approach to place based participation**

  It is important to recognise that each public consultation, even if intended to be discrete, builds on the communities' experience of consultation in that area and should build on information gathered during previous exercises. An ongoing participation log is needed for every community to check that the loop has been closed on previous consultations, to build on existing knowledge, to reduce consultation fatigue and to check that every community has had adequate opportunity to shape the future of its place.

- **Improve access to knowledge and skills**

  Improved access to well designed and high quality information about places as well as skills in place making, planning and advocacy are needed to enable a diverse cross section of people to participate in planning. This involves improving data gathering on what works for people in the making of places that promote quality of life.

Introduction

Despite the fact that community participation is known to have major benefits in terms of resilience and wellbeing (see for example Lewis et al, 2019) there is a general lack of 'systematic empirical studies on how public participation is practiced' (Uittenbroek et al., 2019, p.16). The aim of this literature review report is to capture what has been written in academic literature about the practice of public participation within UK land use planning and placemaking since 2010, with a view to suggesting areas for further research. While each of the devolved nations has a different approach to planning and participation, summarised in Section 1, the main focus of this account is on practices in England. A comparison of approaches across the four nations is beyond the scope of this review.

The report benefits from the lead author Victoria Lawson's experience of working as a local authority planner. This has been melded with the architectural expertise of the other authors as well as their knowledge of the diverse planning systems of the four nations . The report was written as the first stage of the Community Consultation for Quality of Life (CCQoL), an Arts and Humanities Research Council funded project that is seeking to develop a Code of Conduct for community engagement through pilot consultations in all four countries of the UK. To provide an improved understanding of academic literature on participation is a necessary first step on the journey. Four separate national reports on community participation will be published in 2023 building on the research herein (www.ccqol.org). The language of community consultation can be quite loaded and tarnished by misuse. One of the aims of the Community Consultation for Quality of Life (CCQOL) project is to develop a taxonomy for community consultation. This literature review will explore the lexicon of participation to better understand its meaning and implications.

Participation as a concept within the field of housing, planning and architecture dates back to the middle of the last century (Spatial Agency, 2016). The 1969 Skeffington Report, the UK's first attempt to set out a systematic approach to community involvement in statutory planning, positioned citizen participation as a 'good thing' (Brownill and Parker, 2010; Brownill and Inch, 2019; Cowie, 2017). Loosely speaking participation refers to the process of collaborative decision-making involving planners and people (Fagence, 1977), but it can take many forms and can happen at very different stages in the process. Consultation is used here to refer to the statutory requirements to seek the opinion of the public on proposals. Engagement is more of a long term process of relationship building which readies the community to input into local decision making. The public are already arguably provided with continuous opportunities to become involved in participation, through a process of 'longitudinal engagement' which extends throughout the lifetime of the production of the UK built environment (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020, p.18). Looked at this way, seemingly one-off or stand-alone activities, often conducted within short timeframes and in response to a specific development, are – at the same time – embedded in a general process of 'durational' and continuous (though episodic) engagement (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Brownill and Parker, 2010; Sachs Olsen and Juhlin, 2021).

0.1 Why is public participation important?

In a system of democracy, the public should have the right to be involved in decision making that impact on their life and the world around them (Abbot, 2020, p.275), especially as the affected communities are, after all, those who must live with the consequential impact of change. Public participation aims to allow people to actively engage in decision-making processes, thus offering the opportunity to contribute to a planning/placemaking policy/proposals (Abbot, 2020; Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Parks and Theobald, 2013). In a best case scenario public participation can:

- Expose decision makers to people's everyday lived experiences and their local preferences for an area – leading to better, more informed decisions (Abbot, 2020; Brownill and Inch, 2019; Cowie, 2017).
- Enable communities to give their unique perspectives, observations, comments and suggestions for the future (Wilson and Tewdwr Jones, 2020).

- Encourage more reflective and deliberative planning/placemaking practices, engendering a deeper, collective understanding of the places where interventions are planned, thus offering more than 'informational' approaches (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Alwaer and Cooper, 2019). In short, it allows the opportunity to get 'under the skin' of a place.

- Increase social justice through laying claim to the democratic legitimacy of decision-making processes through involving local people, thus promoting accountability and transparency (Abbot, 2020; Brownill and Parker, 2010; Cowie, 2017).

- Promote interdependency between parties as they share and communicate ideas, thus forming potentially synergistic relationships with outcomes of a combined greater effect (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Chapman, 2011).

- Address power imbalances between developers and the community (Abbot, 2020; Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Alwaer and Cooper, 2020).

- Build trust in an institution (plan making/placemaking/decision making) or a developer (development proposals), foster relationships and engender support, thereby limiting future antagonistic challenges to implementation (Abbot, 2020; Parks and Theobald, 2013; Natarajan et al., 2019).

- Ensure that the public are well informed (Natarajan et al., 2019; Parks and Theobald, 2013).

- Provide a learning space: for the public to learn about planning/placemaking practices and for professionals to learn about local lay knowledge, but also for the development industry to learn about ways to avoid engendering opposition (Parks and Theobald, 2013).

- Be a force for positive change that potentially brings out the best within people (Beebeejaun, 2019), whereby the 'soft' benefits of participation include a greater sense of locality and place, increased community wellbeing, cohesion and capacity, as well as enhanced local democracy and more responsive local governance (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Bishop, 2019; Brownill and Inch, 2019; Gullino et al., 2019; Parker and Street, 2017; Wargent and Parker, 2018). Moreover, a built environment initiative can become a point around which people, ideas and resources cluster, thus generating local enthusiasm, the chance to be involved in innovation, feelings of achievement, as well as improvements to the image of a place (Gullino et al., 2019).

Since the 1960s, however, there has been growing dissatisfaction with the way public participation plays out in practice (Abbot, 2020, p.285). This review will touch on the impacts of poorly conceived, or perfunctory consultation practices (White et al, 2020), an area that is less well documented, presumably because of the danger of reputational damage to the powerful players on the development scene.

0.2 Methodology

In order to better understanding public participation in planning and placemaking a systematic review of a range of the extant literature was conducted, focusing on the UK since 2010 based on a keyword search within Scopus. The start date was determined by the beginnings of the concept of 'localism' and the subsequent Localism Act of 2011. A systematic review consists of mapping and accessing the relevant literature to provide a framework/background in which to appropriately position new research activities. The aim is to produce research objectives which will further develop the extant knowledge base. As one purpose of this review is to promote academic knowledge of public participation it focused on peer-reviewed texts. As they were peer reviewed it was assumed that they were high enough quality to be included in the review. A further review of grey, industry literature, will take place in preparation for the national reports. Compared to a more traditional literature review approach, systematic reviews adopt a scientific, replicable and transparent process which aims to minimise bias through exhaustive searches of the literature and providing an audit trail of the decisions made throughout the review process (Tranfield et al., 2003). This methodology for the review is described in detail in Appendix 1. The occasions when the systematic review has failed to pick up outstanding dimensions of research that we are aware of are highlighted in the text.

In terms of navigating the literature, from the outset, it is important to acknowledge the fragmentation and proliferation of UK participatory activities, and the variety of governance forms and contexts within which they take place (Brownill and Parker, 2010). The particular form and focus of public participation exercises will be dependent upon who initiates and sponsors them, on their specific purpose and objectives, and on whether the activity is treated as being stand-alone or embedded in a broader process (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020). In light of this, the review distinguishes between 'statutory planning' and 'non-statutory placemaking', which together result in an array of public participation experiences. 'Statutory planning' refers to formal state planning activities across all scales where opportunities – openings – for public participation are laid down legislatively. Beyond formal state planning there are multiple plans and initiatives undertaken by various institutions involved in non-statutory placemaking, such as landowners, private developers and public agencies – for example, the non-governmental National Lottery funded program 'Big Local' which is aimed at place-based, resident-led change. Additionally, matters are further complicated by the fact that statutory consultation takes place within a planning system that is in a state of near permanent reform (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2015 cited in Wargent and Parker, 2018, p.380). This produces changing conditions for those who shape statutory participatory episodes and creates a patchwork of regulatory units (Bogusz, 2018; Brownill and Parker, 2010). Moreover, there is an ever-evolving proliferation of participatory methods which seek new ways to capture lived experience, including innovative techniques and the creative use of digital technology. The net result is that public participation is a wide ranging and ever moving process.

0.3 Report outline

The planning systems of the devolved nations are briefly introduced in Section 1 before a series of themes that emerged through the systematic literature review are introduced in the subsequent sections. First is a theme relating to **'Key opportunities for public participation in the current UK Planning System'**, whereby the UK planning system incorporates, by law, a range of 'spaces' for public participation. A second theme is concerned with **'Why people participate or not'**. A third theme is about new **'Innovative methods of engagement'** which attempt to induce participation and thus capture lived experience. A fourth theme, **'How best to influence'**, focuses on key approaches people use to seek to increase their influence in shaping the delivery of interventions in the built environment. The sixth theme relates to ideas and examples of **'Developing good practice'**. Together, the five themes provide the structure for the following sections.

1. Planning and participation across the devolved nations of the UK

Given the UK is formed of the constituent countries of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, certain aspects of planning, placemaking and public participation vary. This has become particularly relevant since the late 1990s when the constitution of the UK was transformed by devolution. Understanding these differences became increasingly salient in the aftermath of the 2014 Scottish Independence referendum in which voters rejected the proposal for Scotland to become an independent country. However, the wake of the referendum compelled the UK government to initiate a new wave of constitutional reform, through which – in principle – devolution allows public policies to be better matched to citizens' local preferences and conditions. In spite of this, the planning systems across the constituent nations of the UK are broadly similar: each has a 'plan-led system', where local authorities produce development plans which set out planning policies. Beyond this, with a focus on public participation, this section examines how the creation of the devolved administrations in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland has made space for divergences in planning priorities and practices. Although there is some variation across types of election it is worth noting that the age at which people are able to vote is reducing in the devolved nations. People from the age of 16 can vote in Scotland and Wales and people from 17 can vote in Northern Ireland. Investigation is therefore needed on the way in which young people are involved in decisions about planning.

1.1 Wales

Since 2011 the National Assembly for Wales has had competence to pass acts in the general area of planning. While the Planning (Wales) Act 2015 is the first such act, there have been two recent key pieces of legislation which relate to a specifically Welsh approach to public participation in planning/placemaking:

1.1.2 Planning (Wales) Act 2015

The Planning (Wales) Act 2015 aims to encourage greater community involvement in local planning, including the introduction of Place Plans, supplementary planning guidance which seek to improve participatory processes by giving an adequate voice to communities. They may be prepared at the initiation of the local community and are intended to be a powerful tool to promote collaborative action to improve well-being and placemaking. However, Planning Policy Wales 2021 (Welsh Government 2021) states that 'Place Plans are non-statutory documents' (p.10). Instead Place Plans should support the delivery of LDP [local development plan] policies and are adopted as 'supplementary planning guidance'. The fact that Place Plans are non-statutory is important to note especially, in contrast to English neighbourhood plans which have a statutory footing and thus their outputs carry legal weight in land-use planning decisions.

In addition, the Planning (Wales) Act (2015) extended the concept of developer pre-application consultation for large scale developments, with thresholds for a 'large' development as low as 10+ houses. Frontloading opportunities for engagement is believed to increase the likelihood of a local community's views being taken onboard and ultimately reduce the amount of conflict between parties in planning application processes (see section - Nationally Significant Infrastructure Projects).

1.1.3 Well Being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015

Another key piece of recent legislation is the Well Being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 (WBFGA). While lying outside of the planning system, the WBFGA now guides the Welsh planning system, meaning that – unlike other nations – there is a further overarching framework that specifically orients planning policy around wellbeing. As such, Public Services Boards (composed of the local authority, local health board, Welsh Fire and Rescue Service, and the natural resources body for Wales) must demonstrate alignment to the Act's Five Ways of Working: Thinking for the long term; Prevention; Integration; Collaboration; and Involvement. These must be used to develop local well-being

assessments, and through this, Well-being Plans. This marks a move from undertaking public participation in decision making as part of statutory planning duties towards approaching involvement activities as a means to achieve well-being goals. Moreover, *Planning Policy Wales* 2021 sets out the statutory duty of planning authorities to 'have regard to the Well-Being Plans' during development plan preparation/review and, in this vein, requires planning authorities to work collaboratively with developers and local communities in a 'spirit of partnership and inclusiveness' *PPW*, 2021, p.10.

1.2 Scotland

In Scotland, there is a sense of optimism as to how planning is being reframed in a participatory way. This is reflected in recent legislative changes by the Scottish Parliament:

1.2.1 Planning (Scotland) Act 2019

The Planning (Scotland) Act 2019 established a defined statutory purpose for Scottish planning: *to manage the development and use of land in the long term public interest*. Subsequently, this purpose underpins the review of Scotland's National Planning Framework (NPF). The NPF is a long-term strategy for Scotland, which sets out where national developments and infrastructure are needed to support sustainable and inclusive growth. Scotland's third NPF is currently in place (NPF3), while NPF4 is out for consultation. It is important to note that, whilst all national policy frameworks in the UK are significant with regard to development control decisions, it is only in Scotland where the national planning framework now has the same statutory status as a development plan. The Planning (Scotland) Act 2019 elevated the status of the NPF to that of the local development plan. This is a key point to make, as in the 'plan-led' UK planning system, development control decisions usually give primacy to the development plan. This move is significant in its inclusion of multiple dimensions of planning into a single legislative instrument (the NPF), and the subsequent reach of that instrument. However, it is also arguably a centralisation of plan making, though the counter argument is that the NPF carries political significance in having been debated and considered by a whole parliamentary body (Scottish Parliament). While the 2019 Act is still new, and its implementation is being delayed by the Covid-19 pandemic, overall, it will seek to reduce conflict, improve community engagement and build public trust in planning matters (Scottish Governement, 2021). As such, this new arrangement will impact on any local planning policies and national legislation relating to public participation.

The Planning (Scotland) Act 2019 also introduced Local Place Plans. These will set out a community's aspirations for its future development. Prepared by 'Community Bodies', they are community led, but collaborative, plans providing proposals for the development and use of land. Local Place Plans must 'have regard' to both the NPF and any development plan policies. Like Welsh Place Plans, they are also non-statutory. As such, there are concerns about how Local Place Plans could have any real force in terms of influencing decisions, given the joint primacy of the development plan and the NPF (although a local planning authority should take Local Place Plans into account when reviewing their development plan). In light of this, overall, the main potential for Local Place Plans is seen as making a bridge between strategic objectives and enhanced community engagement to co-designed settlements and neighbourhoods, a recurring theme in the literature. Again, this legislation in very new and, the time of writing, consultation on a regulatory framework for LPPs is taking place, and subsequently feeding into definitive guidance for their preparation and use.

Another important strand of the 2019 Act are the amendments to legislation around pre-application consultation with communities on major and national planning applications. The intention is to address concerns that pre-application consultation has become a 'tick box' exercise, with a lack of feedback to communities on their submitted viewpoints. In response, stemming from the 2019 Act, a proposed package of regulations will add to the existing pre-application consultation requirements, including a minimum of two public events rather than one (with the intention being the second event addresses those issues raised in the first), the provision of information about a proposal in online formats and the adoption of a single common format in report writing (Scottish Government, 2021).

1.3 Northern Ireland

Born out of the peace process, devolution in Northern Ireland was a key element of the Good Friday Agreement (1998). The Agreement led to the creation of the devolved Northern Ireland Assembly, which has the power to legislate in a wide range of areas. The Assembly was founded on a cooperative, power-sharing (consociational) model of government involving local political parties. There have been issues, however, with policy disagreements between its power-sharing leadership. As such, more than any other part of the UK, in Northern Ireland devolution remains a process. There have, however, been efforts to create a reformed planning system, which seeks better integration of community planning and land use planning.

1.3.1 Northern Ireland Act (1998)

While Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act (1998) lies outside of the planning system, this transformative legislation aimed to change the practices of public authorities (including planning authorities) by placing a statutory duty on them to address inequalities by considering the potential impact of decision making on protected groups. These are known as the nine Section 75 Groups: persons of different religious belief, political opinion, racial group, age, marital status, sexual orientation, gender, ability, and those with dependents. In this way, planning authorities must demonstrate a measurable positive impact on the lives of people experiencing inequalities (Act of UK Parliament, 1998, Section 75). Aspirationally, the 1998 Act's effective implementation should improve the quality of life for all of the people of Northern Ireland.

1.3.2 Planning Act (Northern Ireland) 2011

From 2015, new reforms were introduced that enacted the Planning Act (Northern Ireland) 2011. The 2011 Act sought to enhance local democratic accountability in the planning system which involved the devolution of planning powers from the Northern Ireland Executive (central government) to a reformed local government system of district councils, where each council is the local planning authority (Northern Ireland Assembly, 2016). This replaced the old system where central government held responsibilities for all planning in Northern Ireland (for context, local authorities were stripped of a wide range of powers in the late 1960s – including planning – and only had a consultative role). Now, central government retains responsibility for only regionally significant planning applications. This shift from central government to local government includes development plan making and development control, as well as area-based urban regeneration and community development. Moreover, in preparing a development plan for their area, each council must work in consultation with the local community, including the setting out of legally binding Statements of Community Involvement.

1.3.3 Local Government Act (Northern Ireland) 2014

Again, the Local Government Act (Northern Ireland) 2014, lies outside of the planning system. However, under the Act, councils must produce a Community Plan: a long-term vision for the social, environmental and economic well-being of their area and its citizens. In turn, when preparing their development plan, the council should consider the Community Plan (and the council's Statement of Community Involvement), thus creating a new land-use planning and community planning interface. In this way, the development plan, in its ideal format, translates the Community Plan into spatial development policies. The is significant because it affords councils the ability to align land-use/physical development with providing quality public services to improve – overall – social, economic and environmental well-being. Ultimately, the aim is that local planning authorities, within the reformed local government system, will work to contribute to the creation of an environment that is: accessible to all communities; socially and religiously mixed; has a high standard of connectivity; and supports shared use of public realm.

2. Key opportunities for public participation in the current UK Planning System

This section sets out the key opportunities for public participation in the current UK planning system. The primary means by which the planner seeks to ascertain the views of the community is through the process of consultation (Cowie, 2017). As such, UK statutory planning incorporates a range of legal 'spaces' – guaranteed in law – within which participatory opportunities for the public must be exercised (Abbot, 2020, Brownill and Inch, 2019; Brownill and Parker, 2010). While time-constrained and state-led, these are invited spaces of participation (Brownill and Inch, 2019; Brownill and Parker, 2010).

Development planning consists of the development plan and development control (whereby development plan is the generic term used for strategic, statutory plans). Examples in at the local scale in England are Local Development Frameworks (which are gradually replacing Local Plans), and in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland are Local Development Plans (which are broadly similar, but not the same, despite sharing the same name). In the planning field, all can be referred to generically as 'development plans'. In the 'plan-led' UK planning system, development plans set out the intended use of land in an area and provide a policy basis for considering planning applications: development control (often called 'development management'). In this way, the development plan and development control are the basic tools of planning. Both carry a duty of consultation, enabling public participation at the strategic level (statutory plan making) and on the case-by-case basis of individual, site-specific planning applications (Abbot, 2020; Beebeejaun, 2012; Bogusz, 2018; Cowie, 2017). In the planning arena, the requirement for public participation can be found in statute: across various UK acts and regulations. A key point to make is that statute will often specify particular procedural requirements which public participation must achieve, the focus of this section.

2.1 Statement of Community Involvement and Statement of Consultation

One relatively recent innovation, since 2004 (2015 in Northern Ireland[1]), is that statutory planning's duty of consultation has been supplemented by the requirement that local planning authorities state their 'promise to consult' in a Statement of Community Involvement (SCI)[2] (Wigley, 2011, p.4). A SCI sets out the processes to be used by the local authority in involving the community when developing/reviewing development plan documents and determining planning applications. Beebeejaun (2012, p.536) refers to the introduction of SCIs as the turn towards a collaborative form of planning, whereby a SCI can summarise the main principles behind community involvement, debate the types of community involvement to be undertaken, discuss the relevant community and stakeholder groups to be involved, state the ways in which representations will achieve a response, and estimate likely resource implications. Essentially, a SCI is a legally binding document which makes promises that can be difficult to deliver especially if they go above the minimum required by statute (Wigley, 2011). Under-resourced Planning Officers are unlikely to commit to anything beyond the most basic, statutorily minimum forms of participation. This can herald a retreat from innovation and any attempts to work with under-represented groups. Although one of the aims of the SCI initiative was to encourage more collaborative forms of planning (Beebeejaun, 2012), but its success in achieving this has been mixed (Parker et al, 2021).

[1] The Planning Act (Northern Ireland) 2011 places a statutory duty a council to prepare a statement of community involvement, and in 2015 new reforms were introduced which enacted the 2011 Act.

[2] The Planning & Compulsory Purchase Act (2004) relates to England, Wales and Scotland.

Since 2012, in addition to their Statement of Community Involvement, English local authorities must also prepare a Statement of Consultation[3] which sets out how they have undertaken community participation and stakeholder involvement in the production of their local development plan, in line with their SCI. The statement sets out how this engagement has shaped the plan and the main issues raised by consultation/representations and how those issues have been considered.

2.2 Nationally Significant Infrastructure Projects

While most planning applications are determined at the local level (Abbot, 2020), in the literature, public participation is discussed at a range of scales, including the participatory arrangements for the Nationally Significant Infrastructure Project (NSIP) regime[4]. Separate to the development control processes for local planning applications, the relatively new system for NSIPs (major commercial, energy, transport, waste and water infrastructure schemes) is of interest because it was introduced to streamline the decision-making process for these major projects, seeking to make it fairer and faster for communities and applicants alike. NSIP processes allow for a high level of presence of local people (Natarajan et al., 2019) to be achieved via front loading, whereby the developer conducts community pre-application consultation with 'people living in the vicinity of the land'[5] followed by a post-submission statutory examination of the application: a forum where the public are given the opportunity to directly contribute their evidence by making 'relevant representations', ideally in writing.

The pre-application stage seeks to ensure that detailed matters are consulted upon and solutions or mitigation negotiated with the local community prior to an application's submission. In principle, this means many (though not all) issues are resolved before the subsequent post-submission examination (Natarajan et al., 2019). A second key point to make is that the examination is primarily conducted through written representations involving the exchange of documentation. However, this can reduce opportunities for dialogue and prioritises the provision of information over discussions of 'values', such as the public's emotional responses to 'place' or expressions of place attachment (Abbot, 2020; Rydin et al., 2018). As such, the NSIP approach raises questions about the relevant merits of seeking to persuade decision makers through the written word or verbally. While the emphasis may be on written representations, NSIP hearings can also be held, enabling the public to make oral representations. However, it is important to note that there is a general presumption against cross-examination, rather NSIP exchanges with local people are intended to be inquisitorial in nature, not adversarial (Abbot, 2020; Natarajan et al., 2019; Rydin et al., 2018). NSIP hearings are about uncovering 'facts' relevant to making a decision about the application and are not conflictual planning arenas like the public inquiry model[6].

Given the desire to streamline decision-making processes for major projects, the Planning (Wales) Act (2015) extended the concept of developer pre-application consultation for large scale developments, though with lower thresholds than the NSIP regime, for example an application for more than 10 houses. Generally, across the UK, offering early frontloaded opportunities for engagement in planning has been promoted because frontloading is believed to increase the likelihood of a local community's views being taken on board, as the ability to amend proposals to accommodate concerns is more limited during the application process itself. Moreover, it is thought to help increase efficiency by speeding-up decision-making processes and potentially reducing the amount of conflict between

[3] A Statement of Consultation is required in accordance with the Town and Country Planning (Local Planning) (England) Regulations 2012 (as amended).

[4] The Planning Act (2008), and the Planning etc. (Scotland) Act 2006, made pre-application consultation a statutory requirement for developments of a certain size.

[5] An obligation to 'publicise the proposed application in such manner as the person reasonably considers is likely to bring the proposed application to the attention of a majority of the persons who live at, or otherwise occupy, premises in the vicinity of the land' recurs throughout statute relating to the planning field (for example, the 1990 Town and Country Planning Act and the 2011 Localism Act).

[6] The hearing at which a planning inspector (from the Planning Inspectorate, a central government arm's length agency) considers an appeal. Members of the public can attend and also speak at public inquiries, although only usually if they've previously objected to the application.

parties at the application stage, thereby reducing costly and time-consuming opposition to new development (Brownill et al., 2007 cited in Kennedy, 2017, p.114). Planning Officers in Wales interviewed for the CACHE report Delivering Design Value had reservations about the pre-application process because of the amount and type of information that was required for it, resulting in projects that were quite fixed even before the public or planners had a chance to look at them (White et al, 2020).

2.3 EIA: Environmental Impact Assessments

At an NSIP's pre-application stage, an applicant must also conduct an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). However, the requirement for a pre-application EIA is wider than NSIP planning applications. There is a need for an EIA if the proposed development is likely to have significant effects on the environment by virtue of factors such as its size, nature or location. EIAs are of interest as they offer an alternative approach to public participation, whereby EIA processes are framed, instead, around specialist reports, which shape decision-making. An EIA comprises an assessment of technical papers, undertaken by independent experts, covering biophysical impacts such as soils, air, water and noise quality – as well as socio-economic impacts and health/well-being. The latter seek to evidence local social issues and, to achieve this, EIA regulations state the requirement for statutory public consultation exercises. The aspiration is that the impacts of the development are identified and considered in a balanced manner which allow for the formulation of appropriate mitigation measures and thus a better scheme. If done well, they provide a structured framework for developers themselves to consider a range of issues and thus show potential for use in wider spheres, in both assessing/managing the social impacts of projects and in assisting planners and communities in working through the conflict around a proposal (Muthoora and Fischer, 2019).

2.4 Neighbourhood planning

Neighbourhood planning (England only) is arguably the most radical innovation in UK neighbourhood governance in a generation (Wargent and Parker, 2018). Created by the Localism Act (2011), neighbourhood plans (NPs)[7] are one of a number of tools associated with the Localism agenda in England, which seeks: the redistribution of power from the state to citizen; a call for civic activism/active citizens; and the promotion of a volunteering culture (Gullino et al., 2019). While all development plan making is intended to be collaborative, with planners and the community negotiating the terms of the plan (Cowie, 2017, p.404), NPs have created a new dynamic in planning. Neighbourhood planning represents a form of volunteering where communities are invited to develop their own statutory plan (Parker et al., 2020). As such, NPs are produced primarily by local communities, focusing on future land use and development issues in their specific area. They allow communities to say where they think new development should go and what it should look like. A 'made' or adopted NP has the same legal status as the development plans produced by local planning authorities, though NPs are subsidiary to them: they must be in general conformity with existing, higher-tier development plan policies (Beebeejaun, 2019; Bogusz, 2018; Brownill and Inch, 2019; Parker et al., 2020; Wargent and Parker, 2018). In this way, NPs represent the first time that community-led planning has been placed on a statutory footing where their outputs carry legal weight in land-use planning decisions (Parker et al., 2020) and the adopted NP becomes, de facto, part of the development plan.

Because a NP has statutory authority it provides the first opportunity for citizens to have direct power to decide what development they do and do not want in their neighbourhood, albeit in circumscribed ways that are heavily framed by higher-tier policies (Manuel and Vigar, 2021; Parker et al., 2020). NPs also formally recognise the smaller-than-local spatial scale (the neighbourhood level) as a unit of the modern statutory land use planning system in England (Wargent and Parker, 2018). Moreover, NPs provide the necessary mediation between the decidedly pro-growth orientation of top-down priorities and bottom-up community interests (typically securing local infrastructure, protecting green spaces and tailoring housing to local need) (Wargent and Parker, 2018). In this way, it is hoped that NPs form a bridge between top-down and bottom-up planning models, and help address the aspirations for greater

[7] Legislation introducing neighbourhood plans in England (2011), Place Plans in Wales (2015) and Local Place Plans (2019) in Scotland all seek to improve participatory processes by giving an adequate voice to communities at the neighbourhood level.

citizen engagement in urban governance, planning and design (Dyer et al., 2017; Wargent and Parker, 2018).

Neighbourhood planning can help to create a sense of ownership in the decision-making process (Bogusz, 2018) by building on a plurality of views in an individual neighbourhood (Wargent and Parker, 2018). Neighbourhood planning can also divide rather than united individuals/social groups, while fuelling local conflicts, particularly in highly diverse urban areas (Bogusz, 2018; Wargent and Parker, 2018). There is no clear guidance on what constitutes a neighbourhood in this context

Traditionally public participation in planning matters has been limited to consultation with local people who did not assume any form of direct responsibility for the ultimate decision. This was left to elected representatives (advised by professional planners). However, neighbourhood planning has shifted decision-making powers – even in a small, partial way – from a representative democracy and transferred them to local people (Bogusz, 2018; Cowie 2017; Manuel and Vigar, 2021; Wargent and Parker, 2018). This is because, in the creation of a NP, the plan is legitimised through passing a local referendum where the community can vote to show their support, or otherwise. A key point to make is that, through using local community referendums, neighbourhood planning draws its legitimacy from embracing a direct participatory democracy (Bogusz, 2018, p.61). Neighbourhood planning integrates a type of participatory democracy into development planning where it coexists with the established systems of elected representatives and a representative democracy. This is a first for the UK and should be seen in the light of recent developments in participatory budgeting and citizen assemblies, for example in Newham in London.

2.4.1 The necessity for partnership working

Neighbourhood planning has led to the creation of the 'active citizen' or 'citizen planner' (Brownill and Inch, 2019; Gullino et al., 2019) who is capable of undertaking a range of tasks as part of the neighbourhood planning process. For example, neighbourhood planning requires citizens to curate the process: devising a robust analysis of the local area, marshalling funding, gaining input from the wider community to define problems and set agendas, building an evidence base, organising public consultation, developing policies and actions for the neighbourhood and, ultimately, enabling the plan to pass through its local referendum. These were the sorts of roles previously within the domain of local authorities (Bogusz, 2018). That said, neighbourhood planning, which requires major input from unpaid active citizens should not be used to save money in an exploitative way to save money (Gullino et al., 2019).

A key point to make is that making NPs still requires state support in terms of resources and implementation. The burdensome nature of the process and the technical issues confronted have driven the necessity for partnership working with local authority planners, with participating communities often critically dependent on their local authority for sustained support (Wargent and Parker, 2018). Indeed, the argument is still made for top-down systems on the basis that they may be needed to enable bottom-up systems (Campbell, 2018 cited in Alwaer and Cooper, 2019, p.195). Indeed, local authorities have a legal 'duty to cooperate' in the making of NPs (Bogusz, 2018, p.65). Thus, in reality, the work of neighbourhood planning is a co-produced effort with significant levels of influence held by local authorities (Parker et al., 2020; Wargent and Parker, 2018). However, paid consultants are often used to assist the volunteer groups, with more than seven in every ten communities enlisting qualified support in some capacity (Parker et al., 2020; Wargent and Parker, 2018). This raises questions about future deeper co-production between local government and communities in neighbourhood planning processes, including the introduction of co-design programmes for new development.

2.4.2 Neighbourhood planning concerns

Neighbourhood planning has become the flagship policy of the 2011 Localism Act and has subsequently generated a significant field of literature. A particularly significant body of work is Wargent and Parker's 2018 review and critique of 50 neighbourhood planning studies.

2.4.3 Concerns over local empowerment

While NP processes empower communities to pursue their individual neighbourhood developmental priorities (Bogusz, 2018), they have been criticised for limiting the scope of participants to influence decision making (Brownill and Inch, 2019). This is not only via their compliance with higher tier development plan policies, but also the requirement to go through a formal examination, at which the independent, external examiners have notably enforced the norms of the planning system, allowing traditional, technical–rational planning to reassert itself (Bogusz, 2018; Wargent and Parker, 2018). NPs have to go through this technical filter before being put out to the vote resulting in a great deal of conservatism in 'made' NPs (Parker et al., 2015 cited in Manuel and Vigar, 2021, p.1570). Moreover, because NPs are formally assessed and 'examined', unlike other forms of voluntary activity, neighbourhood planning is one in which volunteers can continually and objectively fail the process, as their neighbourhood visions interact with the hard reality of statutory planning regulations at their examination – a situation exacerbated by pressured volunteers who feel accountable to their own communities for a NP's success (Parker et al., 2020). Indeed, it can be a difficult life on the ground for those engaged in the process.

2.4.4 Concerns over representative legitimacy

Where there already exists an elected town or parish council, they oversee NP production. Otherwise, any group of local residents with a minimum of 21 signatories can apply to form a 'neighbourhood forum' (the body that organises the production of a NP). However, due to this self-selecting nature, while it does provide a rudimentary form of representation, it is arguable whether a forum adequately represents its neighbourhood (Bogusz, 2018; Cowie, 2017; Wargent and Parker, 2018). It could be said that a self-selecting neighbourhood forum is politically unaccountable, potentially only representing a fraction of the community, particularly when it relies on unpaid volunteering. Further, the approach taken by elected representatives can impact on this new citizen led form of planning (Sturzaker, Sykes and Dockerill, 2021). We conclude that neighbourhood forums need to ensure good practice in self-governance, widening diversity and intra-community accountability, in order to present a credible voice.

2.4.5 Inequities of geographical take-up

It is unsurprising that there has been a higher take-up of NPs in affluent and rural/semi-rural areas with stable communities and active local government bodies (Parish or Town Councils) (Manuel and Vigar, 2021; Wargent and Parker, 2018). It is less likely that under-represented communities will engage in the process unless sufficient support is provided (Bogusz, 2018). Moreover, there are concerns that the uneven patchwork of NPs may cause the displacement of unwanted development into poorly mobilised and less defensive communities (Wargent and Parker, 2018). Therefore we conclude that mechanisms are needed to ensure that all communities are able to benefit from opportunities to take more control of planning and decision making in their neighbourhoods.

2.4.6 Closing comments on neighbourhood planning

By Autumn 2019 around 2,600 NPs were in production in England and around 850 had been completed, with a typical period of 3 years or more to complete the process (Parker et al., 2020, p.648). Since 2011, a range of incremental modifications made to existing regulations and support structures have been largely welcomed by communities and local authority planning officers (Wargent and Parker, 2018) and will no doubt continue to develop. The neighbourhood planning model – while flawed – appears to hold potential as a way forward in giving a greater voice to communities.

2.5 Statutory and judicial review (alleged procedural failure)

The courts are the forum where the legality of development planning decisions can be challenged by the public via statutory or judicial review processes[8] (Abbot, 2020). Neither is an opportunity to have the merits of a statutory planning document or a planning decision reconsidered. This would involve an appeal, and only an applicant can appeal for a public inquiry on the grounds of planning merit (and make subsequent appeals to the High Court). Aggrieved members of the public/objectors who are not happy with a development plan decision or development control decision have no right of appeal, other than mounting a challenge based on an alleged procedural failure (Bogusz, 2018; Samuels, 2018). The reason there is no third-party right of appeal for the public dates to the huge pressure, post WWII, to rebuild and to reconstruct Britain. Public administration had to be trusted to act efficiently and in the public interest. As such, objectors could not be allowed to appeal because they would delay the planning process and necessary/desirable development (Samuels, 2018). Instead, the elected representatives of the local authority represent the local community to make decisions on their behalf, both in statutory plan making and in determining planning applications[9] (Bogusz, 2018; Brownill and Inch, 2019).

In terms of procedural failures, while a local planning authority can be challenged for not meeting consultation requirements, it is for the courts to assess the adequacy or otherwise of their consultation. Planning case law demonstrates that the courts allow a fairly broad discretion in terms of how public consultation is carried out but they take a particular interest in fairness of procedure (Wigley, 2011). There is some discretion as to how a consultation exercise should be carried out and as to how local planning development decisions are made because a representative democracy has to operate at both national and local levels to ensure that decisions are ultimately accountable to the whole electorate (Samuels, 2018). This is why the national planning frameworks[10] relating to development planning practices allow for some manoeuvrability at the local level. If national legislation and guidance were too prescriptive, this could impact on the interpretative approach at the local level (Bogusz, 2018, p.59), though Scotland is now arguably more centralised.

While Abbot (2020) emphasizes that statutory and judicial review challenges are relatively rare, Muthoora and Fischer (2019) highlight the ramifications whereby, in these situations, strong feelings of injustice can morph into a lack of trust in the local planning system. On this note, it is important to mention that the reforms proposed in the Planning White Paper 2020 (*Planning for the Future*) would have meant that residents (and elected representatives) would only have one opportunity to challenge development proposals (at the strategic development plan making stage), as opposed to the two opportunities at both the plan making and planning application stages (Boland et al., 2021). This was an approach that 'would give maximum benefit to the developer and minimum benefit to communities' (Ellis, 2020 cited in Boland et al., 2021, p.9), and thus presents a ferocious attack on democracy (Macfarlane, 2020 cited in Boland et al., 2021, p.10). However, due to public outcry, in September 2021 news outlets reported that the government had backed down on its proposals, while, at the time of writing, the planned Bill (related the White Paper) is due to be announced (and rumoured to be abandoned in favour of delivering many of the white paper proposals via a more incremental approach to changing the planning system).

[8] Across the UK (England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland). Statutory and judicial review processes both only relate to procedural injustices that have occurred during the formulation of a development plan or in processing a planning application.

[9] Approaching councillors is theoretically another avenue for the general public to seek to influence decision making. While planning committee councillors are required preserve their impartiality until the statutory decision-making point at the committee meeting, a ward councillor can speak freely and can address the planning committee in their capacity as a local expert.

[10] The English National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) (2012), the Welsh Planning Policy Wales (PPW) (2002), Scotland's National Planning Framework (NPF) (2004) and Northern Ireland's Strategic Planning Policy Statement (SPPS) (2011, but enacted in 2015).

2.6 Closing comments

To finish this section, it is important to note that there is no right for members of the public to be heard regarding individual planning applications. Apparently such a right might be abused with 'endless irrelevant, trivial, repetitive oral objections, tediously lengthening the [planning committee] meeting and adding no value' (Samuels, 2018, p.1). However, the opportunity for oral representation can be granted, but it may take the receipt of of a petition with signatures of over fifty objectors affected by the proposal to get a hearing. A strict time limit is proposed with no room for discussion. Unless the petition is framed in the technical language of planning and can be shown to fit the local Development Plan it is unlikely to have any impact on the Planning Committee's decision. It can be an intimidating and hostile arena for a non-expert. If the planning committee were to deny oral representations, this could be interpreted as acting unfairly, thus enabling an objector to seek judicial review on the grounds of a procedural complaint (Samuels, 2018). This very basic right to be heard was removed in some parts of the UK during the pandemic.

Under Section 20(6) of the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 there is a right to be heard in local development plan making (land allocations and policy formation), whereby 'any person who makes representations seeking to change a development plan document must (if he so requests) be given the opportunity to appear before and be heard by the person carrying out the examination' This allows an individual to appear in front of a planning inspector[11] to seek to verbally persuade decision making and to ask questions of any witness present (UK General Acts, 2004). The right to be heard under the 2004 Act is the only clear civil right that exists in the planning process for the individual citizen (TCPA, 2020).

[11] A local development plan must be submitted for an independent examination before it can be adopted, whereby the examination process is dealt with by an examiner from the Planning Inspectorate, a central government arm's length agency.

3. Why people participate or not

Traditionally it is the planner's role is to combine a plurality of views and then co-opt this knowledge into the planning system (Beebeejaun, 2012; Cowie, 2017; Sachs Olsen and Juhlin, 2021), but this route to representation doesn't appear to be working very well at the moment, in part due to lack of resources (White et al, 2021). Further, people do not trust the planning system to deliver what they need (Grosvenor, 2019). While there may be a procedural right to participation, there is nothing in place to ensure that the experience is a good one or that it reaps results in terms of representative democracy (Abbot, 2020; Natarajan et al., 2020). There is therefore a need to look beyond the existence of rights to understand who is or, more to the point, who is not participating in planning and the underlying patterns of inclusion and exclusion (Brownill and Inch, 2019). This section focuses on reasons why people choose to participate or not.

3.1 What motivates people to participate

In seeking to better understand public engagement, the literature says more about why people don't participate than do. However, some reasons why people feel sufficiently motivated to become involved are identified:

- **Hope:** whereby, through action in the present, individuals seek to debate and shape the long-term future of an area (Inch et al., 2020; Parker et al., 2020; Wilson and Tewdwr, 2020). This approach was presented as, 'it's not about being angry, it's about being hopeful' (Gullino et al., 2019, p.260).

- **Place attachment:** involves individuals trying to positively inform development planning, motivated by a sense of place and concerns towards that place (ethically good NIMBYism) (Bogusz, 2018; Muthoora and Fischer, 2019; Wargent and Parker, 2018). In short, they're seeking way to achieve a better physical environment.

- **Place protection (bad NIMBYism):** a 'place protector' is more a personally motivated NIMBY, caught up in self-interest (although the NIMBYist framing is recognised an oversimplification of place protective action) (Muthoora and Fischer, 2019; Natarajan et al., 2019; Parks and Theobald, 2013; Rydin et al., 2018; Samuels, 2018).

- **Civic activism:** is involvement by individuals with an ideological commitment in some way, such as protecting heritage or promoting sustainable transport or (via neighbourhood planning) promoting models of affordable/accessible housing (Manuel and Vigar, 2021; Wargent and Parker, 2018).

- **Perceived penalties:** some people participate due to a perception of penalties for non-participation, such as unwanted development or poorer quality design/environment (Parker et al., 2020).

- **Threat:** the mobilising of resistance around a threat to individual members and their immediate locality. In these situations, the stakes are high, encouraging 'one shot' style participation which seeks to de-rail a specific planning application/proposal, although this approach also attracts the 'repeat player'. Rejection is the desirable outcome and the ultimate measure of success. Ways of seeking to block proposals/development include trying to pick away or undermine the planning process or steer it in the wrong direction by raising detracting, peripheral issues (Abbot, 2020; Muthoora and Fischer, 2019; Parks and Theobald, 2013; Samuels, 2018).

- **Control:** whereby the focus is not a desire to contribute to decision making, but to wrest back some degree of control over local planning/placemaking decisions. Here public participation becomes a political act (Parker et al., 2020).

- **To air fundamental differences:** whereby state actions/programmes operate in a certain direction and people react, taking a clear oppositional stance. This may result in an impasse or stalemate, but also explorations of alternative ways of influencing outcomes, including direct action and protest (Abbot, 2020; Brownill and Inch, 2019; Gullino et al, 2019). This can lead to rupturings like the urban environmental justice movement Occupy[12], as people look for new spaces where their discontent can be expressed/staged through protest groups. In this way, new self-organising political groups are called into being through issue formation (Cowie, 2017; Rydin et al., 2018) and disagreements are displaced, as oppositional debate is shifted into arenas outside formal planning apparatus.

- **Honeypot effect:** whereby public participation exercises are so appealing people want to engage with the activity (Wilson and Tewdwr, 2020) (see section - Innovative Methods of Engagement).

3.2 What stops people from participating?

Public participation has been criticized for failing to access the diversity of voices and multiple knowledges in the communities it seeks to engage. There is an overrepresentation from the 'usual suspects' – more educated, affluent, older, often white and male sections of the population – and under representation of excluded groups which seems to include the vast majority of the UK population (Beebeejaun, 2019; Brownill and Inch, 2019). The groups at particular risk of exclusion include children and young people, people with disabilities, ethnic minorities, minority faith groups, people with physical disabilities or mental health problems, the elderly, gypsy or traveller communities, those on low incomes and those with young families (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Wargent and Parker, 2018). In the literature, these groups are the 'silent citizens', whereby they're 'unheard', 'seldom heard', 'hard to reach' and 'marginalized' (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Boland et al., 2021). As such, there needs to be both general and targeted consultation, where participation is extended both in numbers and composition to those not typically involved in the planning process (Beebeejaun, 2012; Boland et al., 2021; Dyer et al., 2017; Wargent and Parker, 2018).

However, in terms of proactively 'targeting', Beebeejaun (2012) highlights a conundrum relating to the ways in which the planning system categorises and represents certain individuals or groups as ethnic minorities. This can reflect and reproduce contested ways of viewing the British nation, presenting ethnic minorities as an 'unnatural problem rather than as part of the fabric and culture of an area … [and] not properly integrated into their 'host' communities (Beebeejaun, 2012, p.545). In this way, the identification of ethnic groups is not a neutral process, but an exertion of power with potentially problematic consequences (Beebeejaun, 2012). As an alternative to focusing on ethnic groups as a specific target, Beebeejaun points to more hope-filled planning processes based on a shared set of priorities around themes such as environment, housing, economy, minerals, transport. Deal et al. (2017 cited in Boland et al., 2021, p.5) define this type of approach as 'sentient planning': the collecting, processing, learning, contextualising and presenting of locally significant information. It's an approach sensitized to the needs of the local population. However, such 'colour-blind' approaches have also been criticised for allowing racial discrimination to persist (Beebeejaun, 2019, p. 746). Thus, the conundrum.

Nonetheless, there is a desire to make the planning process more inclusive (fair) by empowering greater numbers of people to have more involvement in influencing planning decisions for their local communities, and by embracing both the quantity and quality of public participation processes (Boland et al., 2021; Brownill and Inch, 2019; Dyer et al., 2017). However, this type of more meaningful engagement requires substantial effort, especially in terms of procedural detail, intensive cooperation, awareness and attentional labour (Abbot, 2020; Boland et al., 2021; Natarajan et al., 2019; Sachs Olsen and Juhlin, 2021). Moreover, the caveat must be added that the planning system defines what 'we could term 'civic rights'' (Beebeejaun, 2019, p.746) through confining people's comment on their immediate quality of life to those matters relevant to the legal and planning policy context.

[12] It is acknowledged that Occupy is a movement with many different scopes (wider than opposition to state actions/programmes), since local groups often have different focuses, but Occupy primarily aims to advance social and economic justice (in the face of the global financial system) and new forms of democracy.

3.2.1 Oratory, literacy and English language skills

Depending on the process, there are times when public participation requires skills in public speaking in English (or Welsh in Wales), for example at facilitated events with element of community input/debate or in formal, statutory settings such as public inquiries, for instance. For this the public need oratory skills, especially as there will be an audience (Abbot, 2020; Manuel and Vigar, 2021; Rydin et al., 2018). This can be off-putting. Their awareness that they're not 'experts' can make it difficult to speak, with people fearing they'll appear ignorant or be told that it's not the appropriate forum for certain questions to be asked (Rydin et al., 2018; Parks and Theobald, 2013, Wilson and Tewdwr-Jones, 2020). Furthermore, the formality of some forums can be overwhelming to participants, a situation potentially further exacerbated by professional manners reducing participants' confidence in verbally engaging (Natarajan, 2019 cited in Abbot, 2020, p.270). In short, public speaking requires oratory skills, but given the formal environments also demands a measure of fearlessness. It therefore seems very likely that those who have limited skills in literacy and spoken English are also ruled out of the process.

3.2.3 Technical knowledge

An ability to understand and talk in technical language is also necessary to be credible in a formal setting. This in turn – involves a willingness and commitment to learn about planning (Abbot, 2020; Bogusz, 2018; Brownill and Inch, 2019; Cowie et al., 2015; Gullino et al., 2019). There are also information asymmetries at play. Although not mentioned in the documents reviewed it is apparent that getting access to technical information about a place can be difficult, time consuming and even expensive to access (Mulholland et al, 2022). Without a credible voice, there is a tendency to not only privilege experts and to discount local/lay knowledge, but also to problematise the participation of lay people, which – in itself – reveals the relative position of citizen input in the formal planning system (Natarajan et al., 2019; Parker et al., 2020; Wargent and Parker, 2018). Indeed, Curry (2012 cited in Parker et al., 2020, p.648) argues that the complexity of the issues involved, and the technical nature of the planning system, results in the participation of 'lay people' in planning being problematic from the outset. It is of course possible to hire a planning consultant to assist in the process, but this requires funds. The charity Planning Aid can help with advice if there is a clear community benefit.[13]

From the public's perspective, a frequent criticism of the UK participation process is that it's 'hard to understand' and 'engage with' (Abbot, 2020; Boland et al, 2021; Brownill and Inch, 2019; Parker et al., 2020). This is especially an issue given the swathes of detailed information and evidence pertaining to plan making and to planning applications. Several studies highlight the difficult process of translating community aspirations into technical 'planning speak': the highly specialized language of planning (Brownill and Inch, 2019; Wargent and Parker, 2018; Wilson and Tewdwr, 2020) – noting failed attempts to discover a 'lingua franca' (Erickson, 2000 cited in Dyer et al., 2017, p.181). This points to a need to demystify planning jargon, with an emphasis on ensuring that all relevant information is available to participants in a format that is accessible and understandable.

3.2.4 Adversarial settings

There are also questions about how, in participatory processes, local people communicate and deliberate with each other: 'citizen-to-citizen communication'. Such communication is set against a context where is no unitary community voice, but rather a multiplicity of local views where each view is correct, but partial (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Chapman, 2011; Manuel and Vigar, 2021; Parks and Theobald, 2013; Wargent and Parker, 2018; Wilson and Tewdwr-Jones, 2020). Despite the existence of plural communities made up of multiple knowledges, there is a risk that the loudest voices can dominate at participatory activities, resulting in a view that is skewed or even wholly unrepresentative of group interests (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Beebeejaun, 2019; Boland et al., 2021; Manuel and Vigar, 2021). This dynamic can add to the adversarial nature of planning events and feelings of powerlessness experienced

[13] Planning Aid England (founded in 1973), Planning Aid London, Planning Aid Scotland and Planning Aid Wales.

by some involved (Cowie, 2017, p.403-404). Such unsettling power relations within public participation processes can be a deterrent to participation. Debates can become antagonistic, and this risks each party retreating into an adversarial and entrenched position, which is often much more of a challenge than issues of representation (Cowie, 2017, p.418).

3.2.5 Social capacity

There is an argument that successful community consultation processes must build social 'capacity' and strengthen local relationships, in addition to uncovering local issues (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Bishop, 2019; Brownill and Inch, 2019; Gullino et al., 2019; Parker and Street, 2017). However, building social capacity is not an easy option when people are more concerned with the challenges of day-to-day survival (Abbot, 2020; Inch et al., 2020). In this vein, there are a number of assumptions made by the government, for example, in localism/neighbourhood planning, that people have 'latent reservoirs of time available across society', as well as a willingness to engage, when in reality there are issues around both (Parker et al., 2020, p.647). People who are facing poverty are unlikely to find expression for their hopes through plans (Inch et al., 2020, p.11). This raises questions around whether it is socially and morally appropriate to base a policy which can affect lived environments, such as neighbourhood planning, on agency which is highly uneven in depth and geography (Parker et al., 2020, p.654). This an example of the 'democratic deficit' (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Bogusz, 2018; Boland et al., 2021): an insufficient level of democracy in political procedures in comparison with a theoretical ideal.

Building social capacity should therefore be about providing equal and fair access to participatory activities, and about accommodating differences, while minimizing power distortions, through providing technical assistance for under-represented groups, education and other means of support (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Brownill and Inch, 2019; Parker and Street, 2017). Meaningful engagement from the community is key. Bishop (2019, p.744), commenting on communities who have used planning consultants to produce their NPs, notes how this results in 'no learning, no sense of ownership, no idea of how to use their plan … no capacity built'. It seems that funding is not the answer to capacity building. The option of funding local representatives for their time is not really discussed.

3.2.6 Why bother when developers will win

The participating public face something of a double blow. Firstly, if they lack a credible voice, this can lead to a subsequent tendency to privilege experts (those assisting developers), who are already more articulate and powerful, and in a position to mobilise significant skills/resources in order to influence an outcome – both in planning applications and in seeking to shape development plans to serve their own interests (Parker and Street, 2017; Abbot, 2020). Secondly, public participation is context specific, whereby the current UK planning regime operates in a manner dominated by capitalist realism which makes neutral deliberation impossible (Brownill and Inch, 2019, p.14). Despite this, there is an expectation placed on public participation that it will help reassert the social and redistributive purposes of UK planning which have been undermined by its move towards facilitating the market (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Brownill and Inch, 2019; Brownill and Parker, 2010). This can seem all rather futile, however, as it is argued that a world dominated by capitalist realism cannot be made substantially more just or democratic (Inch et al., 2020, p.1). As such, regardless of participatory exercises, the resultant decision will reflect the influence of entrenched and powerful interests. This raises questions around why bother with participatory activities when the developers will win. It seems that more care needs to be taken in letting communities know realistically where and how they can influence the process.

3.2.7 Systemic feelings of unfairness

That a 'systemic feelings of 'unfairness' is endemic is reflected in the literature (Abbot, 2020, p.278). A lack of faith in the planning process is common (Tait, 2012 cited in Natarajan et al., 2019, p.121) specifically during participation (Laurian, 2009 cited in Natarajan et al., 2019, p.121). This can be experienced in numerous forms, but the quality, presentation and credibility of information imparted from developers, local government and other actors is key for the building of trust (Parks and Theobald, 2013, p.57). Frustration over one procedural element can lead to a lack of trust in the entire process, and subsequently the outcome, on the basis that an unfair process will produce an illegitimate outcome (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Cowie, 2017; Muthoora and Fischer, 2019; Rydin et al., 2018, Wargent and Parker, 2018). There can be a cynicism about the timing and location of participation events: 'typically described as inconvenient, and sometimes intentionally so' (Natarajan et al., 2019, p.126). Rydin et al. (2018, p.577) highlighted an instance where 'trolls' erupted and triggered further opposition to a poorly conceived project. It can be particularly bad if local people witness the discounting of lay knowledge by experts as part of the process (Natarajan et al., 2019). Another result of perceived injustice can also be blanket refusal to have anything else to do with the process (Cowie, 2017). If people feel that they lack sufficient information to make a decision they may deem it wisest to block a proposal (Parks and Theobald, 2013). The choreography of the planning process can have serious impacts on trust, resulting in losses on all sides.

While the length of time needed to build trust can be significant (Tait, 2012 cited in Natarajan et al., 2019, p.121), the longer the processes go on without results, the greater the chance of people losing trust in the engagement process (Aitken, 2010 cited in Alwaer and Cooper, 2019, p.199). If expectations are not met, communities can be left feeling distanced and powerless (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Cowie, 2017; Wilson and Tewdwr-Jones, 2020). Undermined relationships can lead to subsequent antagonism and a residual anger towards the planning system in general, while feelings of powerlessness can overwhelm previously rational and open perspectives (Cowie, 2017; Natarajan et al., 2019; Wargent and Parker, 2018). As such, it is important to consider these 'hangover' effects of consultation (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019, p.203), where fairness is not just about outcomes, but about people's desire for procedural legitimacy and transparency.

3.2.8 Digital divide

Planning and placemaking processes have long aimed to make relevant information available in formats that are accessible and understandable, and to give people an opportunity to get involved. Traditional 'awareness' approaches – relating to public participation opportunities – include distributing leaflets, newspaper inserts and articles, public notices on lamp posts and printed in newspapers, policy documents posted in libraries, public meetings and informal open discussions, and posting to properties (Boland et al., 2021; Kennedy, 2017; Natarajan et al., 2019). However, post-2000 has ushered in a digital turn, whereby the use of internet-enabled digital technologies can open up new spaces of participation (Boland et al., 2021; Brownill and Parker, 2010).

This move towards virtual public participation has led to several issues. One problem lies in the complexity of participatory planning/placemaking technologies. These may inhibit lay user engagement for those with low levels of digital literacy/skills (Natarajan et al., 2019; Wilson and Tewdwr-Jones, 2020). Internet supply is another problem. For example, there can be lower levels of download capacity in rural areas (Natarajan et al., 2019). Meanwhile, in 2019, over 5 million people in Great Britain did not use the internet at all (Caine, 2020, p.83). Moreover, there is potentially a demographic bias, with online digital participation potentially skewed towards the young/technologically savvy and against the aged/less educated (Boland et al., 2021). In short, access to/usability of digital technologies are not equal.

These variabilities again bring into focus the democratic deficit, this time together with the digital divide (Boland et al., 2021; Gullino et al., 2019; Natarajan et al., 2019). With echoes of the patchwork coverage of neighbourhood plans, access issues relating to technology are important because any democratic model is problematic if it is predicated on access to something that not everyone has access to (Brabham, 2009 cited Wilson and Tewdwr-Jones, 2020, p.1591). There are, therefore, 'real dangers in the uncritical use of technology' (Chapman et al., 2020 cited in Boland et al., 2021, p.11). Yet, in spite of this, recently there has been a growing emphasis on the potential for digital methods to fix 'the participation deficit' (Brownill and Inch, 2019, p.19): the gap between the principle of participation and the delivery of participation in practice. As such, the Planning White Paper 2020 proposed that virtual public participation would broaden audiences and, in this way, digitalisation will enable democratisation by increasing public participation (whereby, as previously highlighted, the planned Bill related to the White Paper is due to be announced).

However, while digital tools may help make planning more accessible for some people, the increased use of internet-enabled digital technologies may exacerbate forms of societal exclusion, marginalization and disengagement for others (Boland et al., 2021). This was evidenced during the rolling Covid-19 lockdowns of 2020/21. The pandemic fully forced public participation online, rather than being an 'add-on', and delivered a double blow for people who did not have internet access at home and required library access to make representations, as libraries were closed (Caine, 2020). In these ways, the pandemic made the digital divide more salient, as well as revealing a blind spot in our knowledge about the impact of digital technologies on participatory planning processes (Milz and Gervich, 2021 cited in Boland et al., 2021, p.5 and p.9). The intermingling of online and offline activities could help balance power by ensuring people are not excluded (Gullino et al., 2019; Wilson and Tewdwr-Jones, 2020). For example, using social media like Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and dedicated websites to increase the reach of a project, alongside offline events such as local community gatherings, festivals, design workshops and meetings. Moreover, the combined online/offline approach is key as it consolidates relationships developed online (Gullino et al., 2019), while also potentially including and engaging people who are not so keen to participate digitally, and who find technology to be a barrier to participation.

There are inherent complexities around integrating technological innovations into planning processes, involving the actual devices themselves. For example, the Planning White Paper 2020 seeks to make planning more accessible by making it radically easier to raise views, and visualise emerging proposals, whilst 'on-the-go' on a smart phone (Boland et al., 2021). However, even the IT-literate have reported that digital modes can be challenging, given the great volumes of documentation and changing information involved in planning and placemaking (Natarajan et al., 2019). In these ways, placing planning/placemaking at the fingertips of people, on a smart phone, isn't straightforward. Moreover, the debate isn't just about how many people are involved in the planning process, how speedily they are involved, or even how easy they find it to become involved – even whilst on-the-go – rather it should also be about the quality of engagement and the level of empowerment to shape planning decisions that lead to outcomes which are more equitable (Boland et al., 2021).

3.3 Closing comments

Despite its manifold benefits there are multiple disincentives to get involved in planning participation most notably the requirement for a measure of technical expertise, knowledge and resources, including the ability to speak/write the highly specialized language of planning. Not only must local people have the right-skill set, they must also have access to resources such as time, the internet and – if they are going to enlist qualified support (legal or planning consultancy assistance) – they also need funding (Abbot, 2020; Gullino et al., 2019; Kennedy, 2017; Parker et al., 2020). There are also costs in terms of participants' time, effort and preparation (Abbot, 2020; Kennedy, 2017; Wilson and Tewdwr-Jones, 2020). Individuals need to feel they are likely to have a sufficient influence on the decision-making process to make up for the high costs of engagement. In other words, they need to feel a 'return'. In the face of a perceived lack of return, frustration can lead to high drop-off rates, as participatory activities become regarded as a burden (Parker et al., 2020). In this respect, the need for a 'return' is particularly important to neighbourhood planning, given that it relies upon volunteer input/enthusiasm.

4. Innovative Methods of Engagement

So what can be done to encourage people to participate in planning? A wide variety of handbooks, toolkits and techniques have been developed for engagement which aim to enable more active, hands-on involvement by all participants (Brownill and Inch, 2019). This section highlights five recent, innovative engagement initiatives: audio walking; participatory film making; theatre, e-participation and social value mapping. While all five initiatives involve more imaginative working than traditional participatory processes, a key point to make is that they share two core features. Firstly, they are trying to find ways to ensure all local voices are represented, as opposed to the most vociferous. Secondly, they seek to achieve a certain 'honeypot' appeal, whereby people are drawn to the participatory experience in some way. The section finishes with a reflection on the integration of innovative methods of engagement into mainstream planning procedure. The development of 'boutique' participation methods is also open to critique as they use extensive resources, raising questions about whether they offer value for money (Manuel and Vigar, 2021).

4.1 Audio Walking

Sachs Olsen and Juhlin's (2021) analysis of the British Academy-funded public engagement initiative Urban Voices (2018/2019) focuses on projects involving local communities in a series of workshops, which ultimately resulted in multiple recorded audio narratives. The recordings were then used as a basis for audio walks through an urban area, offering open-ended local insights into a place. A key point to make is that the audio walks differed from audio-guided walking routes in that there were three channels of recorded narratives, meaning that the listener would not necessarily 'get it all'. Rather, there were 'always hundreds of other stories going on', which is actually how the city works (Sachs Olsen and Juhlin, 2021, p.605). The approach builds on the planning tradition whereby the planner's role is to combine multiple viewpoints and co-opt this knowledge into the planning system. For local authority planners, who were a primary focus of the project, the audio narratives invited them to become absorbed in a place and the futures envisioned, hoped for or feared by its citizens, while demanding that they literally keep one foot in the 'real' situation of the present as they physically walk through the urban environment onto which these futures were projected and imagined. The project sought to foster reflexive engagement, whereby audio walking could assist planners by strengthening their ability to see places and issues through local perspectives, and to better equip them in engaging with the messiness of existing social conditions: 'the ethnographic present' (Holston, 1998 cited in Sachs Olsen and Juhlin, 2021, p.596). Importantly, rather than the future being seen as something coaxed into being through, say, masterplans, the audio walks sought to highlight the futures already inscribed into the present through the hopes and dissatisfactions of local voices.

The project highlighted the planner's influence and responsibility as an active generator of specific projections of the future, thus their key role in bringing the future into being (for example, through development planning). Crucial to the project was seeking to encourage reflexive engagement on the part of local authority planners. Indeed, the onus of the work lay with planners, requiring effort on their part to move on from the idea of local knowledge as something already given, and instead emphasize that they, personally, have to take part in its 'construction process' as they co-opt this deeper qualitative knowledge form into the statutory planning system – while seeking to retain its meaning. This was the audio walk's potential as a planning tool.

4.2 Participatory film making

Latterly, film-making has become much more accessible, particularly through smartphones and their ability to produce cheap, high-quality film in a way that was inconceivable a decade ago. In light of this, Manuel and Vigar's (2021) study examined the use of participatory film making to augment the process of neighbourhood planning. Like the audio walking initiative, the film-making approach also sought to both capture a multiplicity of citizen stories and encourage reflexive thinking – this time on the part of community members themselves. Content creation, through the process of storyboarding/film making, forced people to think about the narrative they wanted to create for their neighbourhood (in this instance, a case study town of 12,000 people) and thus highlighted existing absences in their local knowledge base. Storyboarding activities and the process of filming also served to moderate the loudest citizen voices who tended to dominate conversations, by allowing the stories of others to be heard and considered in the process. In this way, film making created a more open space for storytelling to take place with other citizens, including young people, who were observed to be comfortable with this method of participation. Indeed, the principal finding of the study was that film making elicited issues that would have been missed in the neighbourhood planning process, in part by reordering the power relations within the plan-making process. Ultimately, the approach helped citizens to imagine a new future with a fresh story for their town.

Overall, film making enabled the case-study town to be considered through different lenses, thus contributing to a re-imagination of the future of spaces and places. The value of this approach lay in bonding stories together to create a shared community narrative that could communicate complex messages, while – at the same time – enabling people to see that their own stories were often based on individual bias and assumptions, and not necessarily shared among the group or supported by good evidence. In this way, participatory film making was useful in capturing multiple citizen stories in neighbourhood planning processes which subsequently created a reflexively constructed repository of local conditions and lived experiences. Moreover, compared to traditional participatory processes, the creativity of the film-making approach ignited people's imaginations and encouraged them to communicate issues in more animated and interesting ways. However, while participants were positive about the experience, given the highly legalised form of the UK planning system and the subsequent conservatism of 'made' NPs, ultimately – for this case study – the film-making process had little influence on the actual plan beyond broadly shaping the attitudes of key participants. In this way, the initiative served as a ''sense-making' step' which enabled groups to self-reflect and develop pragmatic actions stemming from their views (Wilson and Tewdwr, 2020, p.1601). Views could then be formalised with the aim of reducing the misinterpretation of people's comments by decision-makers and allowing the comments to more easily fit into existing planning frameworks.

4.3 Theatre

Cowie's (2017) study of a performance-based project – a play called *The Town Meeting*, set in a fictitious town faced with a significant planning decision – sought to engage a community in a process of discovery the UK planning system. The play starts with the community (the audience) receiving the details of the planning proposal and being asked to formulate a response. The play then moves on to explore how the community, through its representatives, seeks to communicate its views to those who will make the ultimate decision. In this way, the play was specifically designed to prompt the audience into thinking about how – by necessity – a community must self-organise when engaging in the planning system. In this way, the audience were directed to consider issues of representation and legitimacy, and how this is derived from their representatives' claims to speak for that community. The scenario aimed to have enough drama to capture an audience's attention and provide an entertaining evening, while the audience – as citizens of the fictitious town – fully participated in determining the direction the play would take during the performance. Afterwards, the audience were invited to stay for a post-show discussion facilitated by an actor (also a trained facilitator).

In this way, theatre offered the opportunity to manipulate time and create a scenario which allowed communities, over the space of a few hours, to experience a planning issue which may unfold over a significant period of time. The immersive nature of theatre aimed to foster transformative thinking about planning issues, as the problems around the application were framed by both planners and the community. Thus, theatre can help work through planning issues in a safe and inconsequential environment, with the overall aim that the audience would leave afterwards with a revised perspective on the planning system generally. Moreover, while the use of theatre to investigate participatory planning was seen as a tool to help spark enthusiasm, interest and imagination, on a more serious note, theatre could help guide communities into a deeper understanding of the planning process and encourage them to start to engage in planning at a more strategic level.

4.4 e-participation

In civic contexts, digital technologies are increasingly being used to assist people in engaging with consultations. Such technologies include, but are not limited to:

- Participatory GIS, internet-based map technologies and other interactive tools,
- CGIs (computer-generated imagery of future, completed schemes),
- Dedicated websites, online discussion forums, pod casts and social media,
- Online payments/digital platforms for civic fundraising,
- Gamification: 'serious games' to promote deliberation and engagement.

Using these tools, computers are embedded into the very fabric of society itself (Boland et al., 2021). However, despite this, the Planning White Paper 2020 contended that the planning system is archaic due to an over-reliance on documents, not data (Boland et al., 2021), and proposed that it should be democratized, digitized, and digitalized. However, there are concerns that the move towards more digitized/digitalized 'smart city' approaches (for example, algorithmic technology for calculating housing need, as the White Paper proposed) reflects a technocratic planning culture, and could further reduce the role of experiential accounts in placemaking and possibly replace public participation (Boland et al., 2021; Dyer et al; 2017; Wilson and Tewdwr, 2020). With this in mind, Wilson and Tewdwr's (2020) paper studies using a digital device, JigsAudio, to encourage people to express their feelings about where they live and their visions for its future.

Like the audio walking initiative, JigsAudio was also seeking alternatives to approaches like masterplanning, which was felt to 'always run out of steam' due to lack of resourcing and the impact of incremental changes (Batty, 2018 cited in Wilson and Tewdwr, 2020, p.1590). Moreover, as a planning tool, JigsAudio sought to help bridge top-down and bottom-up approaches to planning and placemaking – a recurring theme throughout the literature. JigsAudio encouraged people to express themselves creatively through drawing and talking. At placemaking events, participants drew on a large card or wooden jigsaw piece (on the reverse of which was an electronic tag) and then placed it on the JigsAudio device to make a simultaneous audio recording that was attached to the drawing. The two components – drawn jigsaw piece and audio representation – were then brought together and displayed on a bespoke website. As the audio was stored on the jigsaw piece, other participants could 'add' their comment and see how their thoughts contributed to the group's vision, and listen to other people's responses, thus aiding citizen-to-citizen communication within a group and creating chains of connection between what bothers people and what can be done about it (Healey, 1996 cited in Wilson and Tewdwr, 2020, p.1600). Responding to other people's stored audios in this way also helped overcome the self-consciousness associated with public participation and allowed groups to congregate spontaneously without specific coordination efforts by a facilitator, while also helping to overcome the issue of the loudest voices dominating discussions.

Moreover, JigsAudio was intended to be an accessible, user-friendly tool, in order to reduce barriers to technology's use and encourage public participation amongst people who would not normally choose to use digital technology. To achieve this, JigsAudio used (1) a low-tech appearance, (2) easy to use, unsupervised technology (which gave the respondent the time they needed to develop, reflect on and communicate their thoughts) and (3) a combination of digital and non-digital innovation, whereby JigsAudio coupled digital information (website) and physical objects (the resulting jigsaw) – which also sought a 'honeypot effect' by enticing people to become engaged with the activity. However, while JigsAudio aimed to encourage creativity and expressiveness in placemaking, it was acknowledged that moulding people's abstracted visions into the existing framework of formal planning would require more work (Wilson and Tewdwr, 2020). As such, like participatory film making, the initiative served as a 'sense-making' step. However, given the rich responses which were elicited, JigsAudio was felt to demonstrate how creative digital technologies could uncover perspectives that digitised (data driven/encoded) 'traditional' technologies struggled to capture.

4.5 Social value mapping

Social value mapping is such a new area of research that it did not come up through the literature review. It is the foundation of the Community Consultation for Quality of Life's project and is therefore pertinent to the discussion. Map base digital data has the potential to make planning speedier, easier, more effective in delivering better places, more transparent and more engaging for the community. Being spatialised it can be layered up onto other maps to offer a rich and targeted understanding of what is happening in a particular place. Building on the work of Hatleskog and Samuel on mapping social assets (2021) Mulholland et al (2022) argue that a standardised format for digital maps which bring together real time data on social, environmental and economic value – the commonly used triple bottom line of sustainability – should be the basis of any future digital planning system. Indeed 'levelling up', the stated aim of government, cannot be achieved without first knowing what is in a place. Planning codes could then be used to help address any shortfalls.

Mullholland et al (2022) suggest that there are two kinds of data involved in the making of social value maps. The first is the data that exists already, often in large datasets through the Census, loyalty cards and other quasi forms of consultation that happen without people really knowing about them (implied rather than expressed preferences). The second form of data is that which can be collected through engagement processes – for example the use of the digital consultation interface Commonplace. Both sources of data together will produce richer data and can sense check how social value has been interpreted spatially. If they are made readily available to the community they could be an important tool for transparency and accountability. The maps also offer potential for operationalising participation within the planning system.

4.6 Integration of innovative forms of engagement into the planning system

This brief section focuses on the integration of innovative forms of engagement into the planning system, what is called 'bridge building' in the Scottish Local Place Plan (2019). It can be a real struggle to ensure that local opinions, values, knowledge claims, oppositional views and emotional responses to 'place' – expressed in what might be considered personal, individual or anecdotal terms – can be understood and reconciled with the formalities of planning: be accepted as valid (Abbot, 2020; Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Bogusz, 2018; Cowie, 2017; Dyer et al., 2017; Manuel and Vigar, 2021; Muthoora and Fischer, 2019; Natarajan et al., 2019; Rydin et al., 2018; Wargent and Parker, 2018, Wilson and Tewdwr-Jones, 2020). It continues despite the concept of 'local' adopting a politically and legally significant meaning expressed through Localism (Bogusz, 2018, p.56), and the government's stated desire to utilise local knowledge in the planning system (Stanier, 2014 cited in Wargent and Parker, 2018, p.394). Regardless of this, there remains a culture of devaluing local, non-expert ways of knowing as 'lay opinion' (Muthoora and Fischer, 2019, p.15) and 'anecdotal observation' (Rydin et al., 2018, p.572).

For Parker and Street (2015, cited in Cowie, 2017, p.403) this is an example of how the strength of a voice can be varied, in this case through the delegitimising effect of the 'local' label. For them, varying the strength of a voice is one of two ways in which public participation outcomes are 'politically modulated'. The second way is through limiting the breadth of admissible topics to be debated, whereby discussions must be relevant to the law and policy framework within which statutory planning decisions are made, or otherwise be 'material' (significant). The undertaking of a high quality public participation exercise is not a material consideration in a planning sense.[14] The process isn't of relevance, only the outputs of that process. It is the content of any comments/objections which are judged on whether they are material (significant) or not. In these ways, statutory development planning provides a narrow set of grounds upon which the public can make representations. This, in conjunction with varying the strength of the local voice through the delegitimising effect of the 'local' label, means a community's place-based knowledge can find itself subordinated (Bradley, 2018 cited in Wargent and Parker, 2018, p.393).

Nonetheless, the local residential voice inevitably goes beyond statutory planning considerations to reflect wider community concerns (Abbot, 2020; Parks and Theobald, 2013; Rydin et al., 2018; Wargent and Parker, 2018). It keeps seeking a achieve a broader dialogue, particularly when there is anger with local political representatives and a wide sense of powerlessness. However, planning processes cannot adapt to accommodate this (Natarajan et al., 2019), whereby the problem partly lies in statutory planning's legal status and the need to be watertight in relation to potentially complex future legal scenarios. Set in this context, public participation outputs struggle to challenge planning's long-established prevailing order. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that, while participants may have much to say, by not distinguishing central issues from peripheral ones, the public are only engaging in statutory planning processes in a limited manner (Parks and Theobald, 2013; Rydin et al., 2018). This subsequently justifies only limited responses to public participation.

In the invited spaces of state-led planning (highlighted earlier), no equivalent 'space' is provided for these different frames to be aired (Abbot, 2020). There is no forum in which local, non-expert ways of knowing that lie outside of land use planning policy/material considerations can be made credible. Yet it is these wider contextual issues about place that usually concern citizens in the first place and motivate them to participate, whereby they potentially enter a participatory process with raised expectations that are impossible to satisfy (Cowie, 2017; Gullino et al., 2019; Manuel and Vigar, 2021). As such, there exists a gap between a community's enthusiasm, energy and creativity on the one hand and the constraints imposed by the statutory planning process on the other. Until a workable solution is found, there needs to be a realistic perspective on the possibilities and limitations of public participation (Brownill and Inch, 2019). In this light, by way of conclusion to this section, there are hopes that – again – neighbourhood planning processes might offer an opportunity to synthesize local, context-aware (bottom-up) thinking, to feed into established political structures (Bogusz, 2018; Wargent and Parker, 2018). As Neighbourhood Planning processes evolve over time, they might push the boundaries of authoritative knowledge in planning, offering a way to firstly promote wider community concerns, and secondly reconcile 'lay' and 'expert' knowledge. In the absence of this, plans are ending-up 'unrecognisable and alien' to residents (Bradley, 2018 cited in Wargent and Parker, 2018, p.385). This may be despite the fact residents have – in their eyes – produced environment-altering information through participatory activities.

[14] For a consideration to be 'material', it must have a planning purpose (it must relate to the character or the use of land, and not be solely for some other purpose no matter how well intentioned and desirable that purpose may be), and it must fairly and reasonably relate to the proposed development (there must be a real – as opposed to a fanciful, remote, trivial or minor – connection with the development). It is therefore open to interpretation. A change in brick type to save money might for example look like a trivial change but can radically impact on the appearance of a development. For an example of a list of material considerations see https://www.rochford.gov.uk/sites/default/files/Material%20Planning%20Considerations.pdf. For recent case law in this area see https://www.landmarkchambers.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/JW-Material-Consideration.pdf

4.7 Closing comments

This section includes a very small selection of methods that are available for promoting engagement, including film and theatre, suggesting an important role for the arts and humanities in attracting people to participation events and interpreting new proposals in creative and inspiring ways. A range of digital methods are emerging for the collating of public opinion about planning. These can be a simple way of attracting engagement at low cost, and for bringing new audiences to the table. Digital tools always need to be used in combination with face to face methods to ensure inclusion. Innovative forms of engagement have the potential to disrupt the way in which participation is conceived and accounted for. There is much talk of the digital transformation of planning holds a great deal of potential for innovative forms of engagement (Batty and Wang, 2022), however a great deal of work is needed to integrate innovative forms of engagement into the system as it stands. Recurring throughout the literature was the need for mechanisms which not only deliver local solutions, but through which to challenge existing decision-making orthodoxies (which is a more ambitious agenda than achieving successful structured cooperation – bridge building – between community ideas/initiatives and local authorities). In this vein, evolving neighbourhood planning processes and the work of Planning Aid were highlighted as potentially playing a key role in mounting 'challenge'.

5. How best to influence

This section examines recent, key developments in citizen activism as people seek to increase their influence in shaping the delivery of interventions in the built environment, with a focus on: grassroots campaigns; strategies to form a bridge between top-down and bottom-up approaches to planning and placemaking; ways of joint working from the outset (co-design), structured volunteer involvement; and via elected representatives.

5.1 Grassroots approaches

While grassroots community urban planning/placemaking endeavours are not new, civic crowdfunding platforms – whereby projects receive funds 'from the crowd' – have recently emerged and have been used in built environment projects. They have taken the form of oppositional campaigns and proactive placemaking, and both approaches have been welcomed as positive citizen-led developments (Abbot, 2020; Gullino et al., 2019). Launched in 2015, CrowdJustice is an example of a platform to fund oppositional campaigns. It relies predominantly on individuals donating small amounts in support of a particular case, including those in the area of planning law. The platform can be used to fund litigation, legal advice and/or representation (both written and oral) during the planning consultation process or as part of a plan examination or public inquiry (Abbot, 2020). Meanwhile, an example of a platform to fund/promote proactive, grassroots placemaking is Spacehive. Launched in 2012, it supports projects aimed at improving local civic and community spaces. It maximises funding by allowing cash raised locally to be combined with grant funding streams, such as the Big Lottery Fund. Together a co-financed 'hive' is created.

Generally, the types of micro-regeneration projects that have been crowdfunded include new green spaces, creating art hubs/community centres, reusing derelict buildings and establishing shared community food growing spaces (Gullino et al., 2019). Of particular interest, however, is the Mayor of London's 'Crowdfund London' programme which helps develop and support self-help, grassroots, civic crowdfunding by offering match funding. The Mayor's public endorsement of a project can lead to more financial backing by the 'crowd', as well as giving a general confidence boost to those involved (Gullino et al., 2019). More than this, a further positive about the crowdfunding approach is that it can create 'holding environments', whereby – in the processes of seeking to fund a public asset – a social network of relationships is secured (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Gullino et al., 2019). A crowdfunding initiative can become a point around which people, ideas and resources cluster, which can bring about the 'soft' benefits to well-being highlighted earlier, including a greater sense of locality/place and feelings of achievement (Gullino et al., 2019). From this perspective, involvement can have a positive effect on community experience.

However, when a bottom-up crowdfunding initiative receives match funding it basically becomes 'state-enabled'. This may trigger more rigid and bureaucratic processes, as the use of public resources (both financial and human) brings requirements for public money to be used fairly (Gullino et al., 2019). Through entering this type of administrative 'pact', the initial project may have to adapt, to ensure it meets wider community needs. This means local authorities (such as the Mayor's Greater London Authority) need to operate on the very thin line between real empowerment, which implies a very high degree of flexibility, and the need for transparency and accountability, whereby the challenge is retaining the ingenuity, spontaneity and creativity associated with local activism, while making sure local governmental guidelines are not compromised (Gullino et al., 2019).

5.2 Strategies to form a bridge

The receipt of public funds may force crowdfunding initiatives to become less radical in their ambitions. While initiatives are at risk of becoming institutionalised, the efforts of individuals on the ground are arguably sustained and taken to the next level because of the support from local authorities. Top-down systems are still needed on the basis that they enable bottom-up systems (Campbell, 2018 cited in Alwaer and Cooper, 2019, p.195). In this way, the Neighbourhood Plan examination and crowd/match-funding administrative pacts are at the interface where new forms of civic activism and local government meet and interact, and – if co-operation takes place – where a bridge can be formed between top-down and bottom-up approaches to planning and placemaking. In this way they both offer explicit mechanisms for coordination between community initiatives and local authorities. Both neighbourhood planning and match-funded crowdfunding can potentially showcase the positive potential of active citizenship as they continue to evolve over time. They are both potentially successful models of structured cooperation between top down and bottom-up placemaking.

5.3 Co-design

Whereas the Crowdfund London initiative is an example of a grassroots approach which can morph into joint working, other approaches involve joint working from the outset, such as 'co-design'. These collaborative, community-based, design-led approaches to planning/placemaking are delivered through events known under a range of different titles, such as 'participatory placemaking' 'enquiry by design' and 'charrettes' (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019). Such approaches seek to distance planning/placemaking from the formal, bureaucratic modes of working associated with state-led planning (Degen, 2018 cited in Inch et al., 2020, p.3). Instead, 'co-design' involves members of a community working alongside local authorities and other civic actors to jointly design programmes or projects, with a focus on producing visual outputs, usually in a design studio setting. A charrette, a term with its roots in architectural education, is the most common type of co-design event in Western countries (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019, p.193). In the UK, charrettes have become accepted practice in Scotland where, since 2010, they have been promoted by the Scottish Government to seek to combat 'mediocre or indifferent' new development (Kennedy, 2017, p.103), as well as to enhance engagement. This includes the use of charrettes to inform an area's emerging local development plans (Kennedy, 2017). As such, through Scotland's Charrette Mainstreaming Programme (2010-2018), 78 collaborative design events were facilitated at a cost of £1.4 million (Scottish Government, 2019).

One characteristic of a charrette is its interactive, interactive and open dialogue which seeks to engender a collective understanding of a place and enable those present to work collaboratively to co-create/co-design future programmes and plans (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019). A key point to make is that knowledge is something co-constructed (Kennedy, 2017, p.102). As such, aspirationally, charrettes are about acknowledging different perspectives, building shared meanings through reasoning and deliberative exchange. Drawing, models and other modes of visual representation are used to facilitate the process. Like neighbourhood planning and match-funded crowdfunding initiatives, charrettes' collaborative co-creating/co-designing is seen as being well-placed to help synthesize local, context-aware (bottom-up) thinking with national and regional (top-down) 'planning' guidance, legislation and regulation (Rogers and Leach, 2014 cited in Alwaer and Cooper, 2019, p.196). In this way, charrettes also potentially offer a successful model of a structured bottom-up and top-down approach to placemaking. However, Kennedy's 2017 study of 46 Scottish charrettes suggests that planning authorities are not obliged to incorporate a charrette's findings in any development plan. Again, this demonstrates the struggle of how the outputs arising from participatory activities can be operationalized in practice (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Kennedy, 2017). It raises questions about how they be accepted as valid, whereby – given the difficulty of integrating actions in practice at present – there is some speculation into the efficacy of the charrette model's practical application. In some local authorities 'design review' is an expert led process which aims to drive up the quality of design proposals going through planning (Richardson and White, 2021). A phenomenon that the literature failed to pick up was that Community Review panels, for example in Ealing in London, are increasingly being called upon to enter into the process.

5.4 The citizen planner (structured volunteer involvement)

The notion of the 'citizen planner' introduced by Brownhill (2019, p.33) is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly it suggests the idea that the right sort of citizen can finally resolve the problems of public participation (Brownhill and Inch, 2019, p.22). It also demonstrates the state acceptance of volunteering as a key way to influence strategic (development) plan making and – subsequently – built environment interventions. In the literature, the 'citizen planner' is depicted as a certain 'type' of individual. Highly productive and articulate, they are capable of educating and preparing themselves to play their part in participatory processes. This involves processing information in an organised and targeted fashion, while grasping the complexity of the issues involved and the technical nature of the planning system (Bishop, 2019; Parker et al., 2020; Parks and Theobald, 2013). They have access to time and other resources, possess pre-existing skills – as they're probably from the professional classes – and live in wealthier, established communities (Bogusz, 2018; Manuel and Vigar, 2021; Natarajan et al., 2019; Parker et al., 2020; Wargent and Parker, 2018). While middle-class activism is not new, the current political climate is, and it is through neighbourhood planning that volunteering now occupies an enhanced position in influencing development planning decisions.

5.5 Via elected representatives

Local authorities exist in order to provide a democratic local voice for the collective community in their area, whereby in the planning arena they must provide development plans and policies that encapsulate local views in some aggregate way (Rydin et al., 2018). Legitimacy is critical to this process and has traditionally been based on consent through a system of elected representatives, who are given authority to act on behalf of their communities (through their electoral support: their votes), both in strategic (development) plan-making and in development control (Brownill and Inch, 2019; Cowie, 2017). This traditionally meant development control decisions were made at planning committee meetings by elected representatives, on the advice of professional planners. However, work practices have changed due to the requirement for local authority planners – through time-based performance targets – to come to faster planning consent decisions[15]. Time-based targets were introduced as part of managerialist reforms to speed-up the system, which was seen as too slow at processing applications, thus causing delays which could then threaten economic competitiveness.

The key point to make is that, in this new, speedier, market-supportive planning system, time-based targets have led to the increased use of delegated powers[16], which enable faster working because planning officers determine applications themselves without needing a decision from the planning committee (elected representatives). Once a decision has been made changes to the original planning consent can be made by a developer in negotiation with planning officers out of sight of councillors and the public. These small changes, considered not to be of 'material' importance can have a major impact on the character of the development. The use of delegated powers is widespread. For example, Cardiff Council aims for 70% of applications to be dealt with under delegated powers (2002) while the delegation rates in the London Boroughs are around 97% or 98% of planning applications (Haringey, n.d.). At Edinburgh City Council they are around 95% (2018) and at Belfast City Council they are around 90% (2022). As such, in UK contemporary planning there are two sets of authorised decision makers: elected representatives and planning officers. The CACHE report Delivering Design Value revealed a range of reasons why this can be problematic (White et al, 2020), not least a lack of design training on planning teams.

[15] These targets set out the percentage of 'minor' planning applications processed in 8 weeks and 'major' applications processed in 13 weeks (England, Scotland and Wales). In Northern Ireland the targets are based around 15 weeks for minor applications, and 30 weeks for major applications.

[16] There have been different forms of delegation in UK local authorities for decades, whereby powers are conferred to local authority officers by locally elected representatives so that the officers may take decisions on specified matters behalf of the council (as set out in a local authority's Constitution). The current use of delegated powers in planning has developed from this practice.

Usually the local planning authority has a protocol for deciding whether an application should be decided by the elected representatives in the planning committee or decided by the officers under delegated powers (Samuels, 2018). Factors in favour of decision by the planning committee would include, for example, a large or controversial application; a complex application, perhaps involving conflicting or uncertain policies; an application very likely to go to appeal or judicial review; an application involving a departure from the development plan; a request by a councillor, particularly a local ward councillor; or a specified minimum number of local objectors.

Any tightening of the time taken to determine planning applications seems to reduce the capacity for local authority planners to negotiate, consult, mediate and conduct the activities which allow them to add value to the development control process (Clifford, 2016, p.385). However, for the surveyed planners in Clifford's (2016) study of how local authority planners were responding to time-based targets, 71.9% did not feel the targets had restricted their scope for professional expertise in making decisions for the 'wider public interest' (Clifford, 2016, pp.395-396). Indeed, it was highlighted that, for the contemporary local authority planner, working for the 'wider public interest' could mean increased efficiency and professional autonomy (particularly making their own discretionary judgements via delegated decisions), creating a more business-like culture and removing all perceived 'blockages' to economic growth. Working for the wider public interest does not necessarily relate to traditional ideas of the 'folklore' planner who is centred around serving the public, for example, by encompassing public consultation and working towards community benefits (Clifford, 2016, p.393 and p.397). This is a key point to make and raises questions about what it means in planning/placemaking to serve the public (Richardson and White, 2022).

For the public, the use of delegated powers does not affect a person's ability to object, it affects how the council deals with those objections. In terms of public comment, a planning application is advertised in the normal way. If there are no objections or a low number of objections that were not considered to be significant by the planning officers, the application is dealt with at officer level. The planning officer would make the decision and any objectors would not have the ability to go to the planning committee with their objections. If an objector is worried that a proposal won't be put before a planning committee, they may contact elected representatives and ask for the application to be 'called-in' from the delegated list and referred to the planning committee for a full debate – though there is no guarantee this will happen. The extensive use of delegated powers can have extreme impact on people's participation in development control decision making.

5.6 Closing comments

This section set out some of the ways in which the public can seek to influence the direction of development planning. Whilst a range of promising new initiatives have been discussed in this paper the fact remains that underfunded planning departments in local authorities are keeping a tight hold on the decision making processes in order to try to process applications in a timely manner. Even elected representatives such as councillors have limited impact on their processes. It can only be concluded that opportunities for the public to influence the planning process are extremely limited. Ultimately this raises questions as to whether the planning system is truly democratic and whether indeed planners are really working for the public good.

6. Developing good practice

From the literature, this section defines what is known about the key elements of good practice needed to help ensure that the involvement of the public in planning/placemaking would lead to real and tangible benefits. The section highlights improvements which are primarily based around the need for (1) stewards of the process, (2) the expansion of advocacy planning and (3) the establishment of a Code of Conduct for Practice.

6.1 Stewardship

Alwaer and Cooper's research indicates that participatory planning processes lack stewardship. The need for long-term stewardship is particularly important when the broad view of longitudinal engagement is taken, where seemingly one-off participatory activities around a specific issue at a single point in time are actually embedded in a wider process of continuous (though episodic) engagement, a continual intelligence gathering exercise on what people want from their places. Participation in the processes of visioning, planning and designing is reiterative. As such, longitudinal engagement cannot be viewed as simple or linear, from start to finish, but rather as parallel strands, with disconnected actors/processes and carried out over extended timescales (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Chapman, 2011). Stewardship of the process cannnot be left to an individual. To be more inclusive a network of contributors is needed (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020, p.20). Stewardship requires a range of aptitudes including: working for the public good, promoting collaborating working; communication and feedback; evaluation and sharing of good practice; community capacity building and lastly the combatting of consultation fatigue. The type of stewardship that is needed needs to align to its context. There is no one-size-fits-all solution (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020).

6.1.1 Working for the public good

Stewardship requires an ability to act impartially and to share knowledge (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019). It requires an ethical commitment to goals such as equity, democracy deliberation and social justice. Stewardship also has to be efficient with resources. Stewardship would seek to achieve more participatory planning/placemaking systems, whereby success should be measured from what is actually built/happens on the ground - and subsequent social, environmental and economic impacts – more than the time taken to complete a process (Clifford, 2016). Similarly, when measuring success, participatory activities should be judged on their subsequent impact on quality of life for affected communities, whereby a connection should be evident between participatory deliberations and the plan/policy/built environment outcome (Abbot, 2020; Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Cowie, 2017; Dyer et al., 2017; Wilson and Tewdwr-Jones, 2020).

6.1.2 Promoting collaboration

Stewardship is needed to create collaborations across public (e.g. health services), private and third sector agencies (e.g. charities, community organisations and social enterprises) to promote quality of life outcomes in an area (Dyer et al., 2017). This requires integration across professional silos and a recognition of the impact of the built environment on health and wellbeing.

The literature suggests a need to overcome communication struggles, a situation exacerbated by a reliance on abstracted notions of space, such as 'expert' maps/data and the use of abstract concepts such as 'urban form' – which can also form barriers of communication between professionals (and the public) (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Chapman, 2011; Dyer et al., 2017, Wilson and Tewdwr, 2020). Collaborative working, a theme within the Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015, should be aided by creating 'safe spaces' which can support conflict-free working relationships, within which people can freely share their ideas, aspirations and concerns by jointly working through potentially difficult issues (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020).

6.1.3 Communication and feedback

Stewardship is needed to ensure that the public has ready access to well designed and intelligible information pertaining to their places. For the public, there is a need to ensure that everyone is clear about what they are trying to achieve through participation, including an understanding of the purpose of the outcomes resulting from the participatory process, with explicit articulation of where contributions can/cannot lead (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Brownill and Parker, 2010; Cowie, 2017). The public should understand how their participation 'follows through' into the next stage and what outcomes are eventually manifested across a longer time horizon. As such, stewardship would involve reporting back on the use made of community input, keeping people informed and engaged, and demonstrating how their contributions are making a difference (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Gullino et al., 2019). As well as communicating progress, 'follow-up' is essential to build on any trust that participatory activities may have generated. To miss out this step may lose the public's goodwill (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020). Moreover, stewards of the process should work to ensure that meaningful actions actually arise from participatory activities, otherwise events would just be about open-ended conversations, which – in effect – means participation becomes more about therapy (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Bishop, 2019; Brownill and Inch, 2019). Finally – aspirationally – stewardship would involve seeking to ensure transparency concerning the incorporation of public views in decision-making as represented in final outputs (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019).

6.1.4 Evaluation and sharing of good practice

Stewardship also involves recording and publicising workable solutions that have come about through public participation, with a focus on those projects which were able to harness local enthusiasm and support, and had a positive effect on community experience and sense of place (Dyer et al., 2017; Gullino et al., 2019). The reporting of successful case studies would include neighbourhood planning initiatives, which Wargent and Parker (2018, p.398) argue has lacked an 'image of success' against which others can assess their own efforts. More generally there is a need for shared learning on good practice in this area as well as formats to collect data on initiatives and compare their outcomes.

6.1.5 Community capacity building

Building capacity in communities for effective participation is a long term project. Having a history of voluntary/community action can help build capacity/leadership within a community and the skills to make public participation more effective. A 'holding environment' is created for social capacity, helping people to be better equipped. This is especially important because the longer timeframes of the longitudinal engagement model should enable capacity building at the local level.

While reiterative, longitudinal engagement should not only sustain energy (Gullino et al., 2019), but gather more energy over time and extend towards interactivity between the community and public, private and third sector agencies, working together to identify problems and develop solutions through the co-creation, co-ownership and co-evolution of plans and proposals – rather than the community being mere users or clients of services (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Wilson and Tewdwr, 2020; Natarajan et al., 2019). In this way, not only can participatory processes help in building trust and common purpose, but can become 'synergistic' (Alwaer and Cooper, 2020, p.208).

6.1.6 Combatting consultation fatigue

Stewardship is important to help minimise the consultation fatigue that can set in when too many consultations take place seemingly with very little result (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Gullino et al., 2019; Inch et al., 2020; Natarajan et al., 2019; Wargent and Parker, 2018). Communities can be weighed down by the sense that 'there is so much to do and there will always be more to do' (Gullino et al., 2019, p.263). Fatigue is as particular problem when the same people are consulted repeatedly, when the scale of an initiative feels overwhelming, when local groups have to keep returning to their members to liaise, when updated information has to be regularly read and where pre-existing feelings of disappointment are present, due to a previous non-delivery of expectations. The problem is, as participatory activities grow, the work involved can be onerous to all involved, and often emotionally draining and personally challenging (Brownill and Inch, 2019; Natarajan et al., 2019). In this light, ensuring people feel a return for their efforts is another facet of stewardship of participatory processes.

6.2 Advocacy Planning

The last fifty years has seen the growth of advocacy planning in the UK. This was initially prompted by widespread concerns about inequalities of access to decision-making processes and the seemingly unjust outcomes wrought by urban renewal schemes in the 1950s and 1960s (Parker and Street, 2017). To this day, the movement's aim is to represent and support those people whose viewpoints cannot be brought to the table without support or direct advocacy (Parker and Street, 2017). In this vein, an 'advocacy planner' builds the capacity of participants and provides technical support/advocacy for under-represented groups (Brownill and Inch, 2019) – in helping to navigate the production of a development plan and in development control processes, as well as other initiatives. However, widespread advocacy and effective support are so far largely unattained, despite the best efforts of largely voluntary NGOs such as Planning Aid, which is championed by professional planners, but remains constrained by resources, support and reach (Parker and Street, 2017). Likewise, groups such as Friends of the Earth provide advocacy services which seek to address the immediate needs of those who may suffer spatial and environmental injustices. This includes help (legal empowerment) in the development planning processes, as Friends of the Earth can not only draw upon their expertise and experience, but also their network of local groups which provide a good connection to grassroots environmental politics (Abbot, 2020). Moreover, beyond the formal participation apparatus and NGOs – in the arena termed 'insurgent planning' by Brownill and Inch (2019, p.7) – there have been efforts at advocacy planning, but this type of model remains a limited and transitory service (Brownill and Inch, 2019, p.19). Therefore, in terms of a future direction for advocacy planning, there is scope to develop the work of Planning Aid with a view to creating a better funded and more independent body which retains advice and challenge as its core objectives (Abbot, 2020; Parker and Street, 2017). Additionally, another direction for advocacy planning is more 'buy-in' from local authority planners themselves, although this is acknowledged to be difficult and time-consuming work (Wilson and Tewdwr, 2020), and not necessarily a principal concern of contemporary planners.

6.3 Code of Conduct for Practice

The literature demonstrates that, while high expectations are placed on public consultation exercises, there are no standards for how facilitators/built environment professionals should act (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019, p.190) and for ensuring inclusion has been achieved. Participation needs professionalisation, something that the International Association for Public Participation is seeking to do. Indeed, there is no Code of Conduct/Practice covering the nature and scope of public participation, despite critiques of poor practice (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019; Alwaer and Cooper, 2020; Cowie, 2017; Sachs Olsen and Juhlin, 2021; Wigley, 2011). In this vein, there is a recurring call for 'facilitation standards' or a Code of Conduct/Practice in the 'growing "participation industry"' (Brownill and Inch, 2019, p.19), which would cover the public, private and third sectors. In this respect, a key point to make is a Code of Conduct/ Practice would need to cover the managing of expectations, whereby a balance must be struck between cultivating participant enthusiasm, and managing unfettered expectations and fostering disillusionment (Cowie, 2017; Wargent and Parker, 2018). Managing expectations, in turn, involves the facilitators of participatory activities having a degree of knowledge of planning/placemaking processes (including funding sources) and the potential outcomes of activities, with the criticism that many 'arts initiatives' in public participation lack an understanding of the planning system in which participation is embedded (Cowie, 2017; Sachs Olsen and Juhlin, 2021; Wargent and Parker, 2018). Moreover, facilitators/built environment professionals need to assist community members in constructing a way forward, based on how participants' contributions might have best effects, which means they need to be properly trained.

6.4 Closing comments

This section covered the need for stewardship, advocacy planning and a Code of Conduct to promote good practice in community participation. There is a lack of leadership across the field which has impacted on its knowledge base, knowledge of what works and how best to achieve it. This needs to be corralled into a format that can be used as a basis of a Code of Conduct. The question of who should take responsibility, and indeed pay for participation remains a moot point.

7. Conclusions and recommendations

This review of peer reviewed literature has sought to capture what has been written about the practice of public participation within UK land use planning and placemaking since 2010, reflecting the current spectrum of participatory activities and their implications for those members of the public seeking to shape the built environment. The review has firstly provided a framework for the discussion of research activity in this area, secondly summarized and synthesized the existing evidence concerning participatory activities, and thirdly identified gaps in current research. Recommendations for further research and policy action include:

7.1 Review right of appeal

It was outlined that the appeal system originates from the post-war reconstruction era and is therefore limited. This points to the need for resaerch into the potential of a third-party right of appeal to enable the public/objectors to debate the planning merits of a development control decision.

7.2 Analyse the impact of recent innovations (primarily NSIPs and EIAs)

In the literature reviewed, several relatively recent innovations in participatory processes were identified. It would be beneficial to systematically investigate the relative merits of: the recent expansion in pre-application consultation ('frontloading'); the relative impacts of the public giving their representations in writing, rather than verbally, as with NSIPs and the potential of a wider application of the EIA-style approach, whereby independent experts produce technical papers, including a social impact study, instead of undertaking consultation.

7.3 Integration of innovative participatory processes into the planning system

There appears to be no coherent body of empirical evidence demonstrating the extent to which innovative participatory processes can be used to synthesize local, context-aware (bottom-up) thinking/initiatives. Research is needed on ways in which these processes can successfully be fed into established political structures – thus leading to end results which are transformative on the ground. There is also a need for a targeted investigation into potentially successful models of structured cooperation between community initiatives and local authorities in the neighbourhood planning arena.

7.4 Make neighbourhood planning more inclusive

Initiatives such as neighbourhood planning are playing out differently in different areas, resulting in a patchwork of coverage, and potentially exacerbating existing inequalities among communities. As such, there is a need for further research relating to how to widen participation in neighbourhood planning, to achieve more equitable plan-making in terms of geographic distribution. This is part of a broader call – throughout the literature – for inclusivity, whereby, overall, there is a need to develop a more nuanced and reflective understanding of the contribution participatory processes can make to addressing inequalities.

7.5 Challenge existing decision making orthodoxies

Questions remain about how best to push the boundaries of authoritative knowledge in planning to offer ways to 1) promote wider community concerns and 2) reconcile 'lay' and 'expert' knowledge. Research into this topic is especially important given the concept of 'local' has adopted a politically and legally significant meaning expressed through Localism. As such, research is recommended into ways neighbourhood planning processes could work to extend democratic practices in planning, in order to incorporate (accept as valid) local lay knowledge and expression of feelings.

7.6 Incentivise engagement

The literature highlighted the state-acceptance of volunteering as a key way to influence strategic plan-making. As such, research is needed into how to ensure the right conditions are in place to encourage volunteering by making it more of an enjoyable and rewarding experience. A starting point for such research could be an analysis of those types of initiative, identified in the literature, which seek a 'honeypot effect', whereby public participation activities are so appealing people want to engage with the activity. Research is also needed into the impact of incentives to help widen participation in planning consultation.

7.7 Improve digital participation

Moves towards increasingly digitized (data driven/encoded) and digitalized approaches could potentially further reduce the role of local, experiential accounts in planning/placemaking. Little research has been undertaken into the relative benefits of digital and face to face engagement and the way they might be merged to optimise inclusion and reward, another area for future investigation.

7.8 Use of elected representatives

The ways the public use their locally elected representatives, to seek to increase their influence in shaping the delivery of interventions in the built environment, did not appear to be well covered by the literature. This raises questions about the need for future research around the role of elected representatives, with a particular interest in the impact of the increasing use of delegated powers.

7.9 Review the impact of delegated powers

Likewise, there seemed to be little research about the impact of delegated powers on people themselves, in public participation in development control decision making – given delegation has enabled decision making to become more bureaucratic by empowering planners to determine more applications themselves. This appears to be another gap on the extant literature.

7.10 Improve stewardship of the process

A major challenge appears to be how a system of stewards of the participatory process might be established. Given there are multiple facets of stewardship, this offers an ambitious research agenda, and is required to address current shortcomings in planning/placemaking processes, including the need for advocacy planning initiatives.

7.11 Establish a Code of Conduct

There needs to be a Code of Conduct/Practice for those involved in the 'public participation industry'. Targeted research is necessary to work towards establishing this.

7.12 Review the merits of statutory and non-statutory approaches

A devolved UK enables a comparative study of the two key approaches to community planning: the statutory route (English neighbourhood plans) and the non-statutory route (Welsh Place Plans and Scottish Local Place Plans). Given the resources directed to these types of neighbourhood level plan, a study is required into their relative merits within the highly legalised UK planning system and its need to be watertight in relation to potentially complex future legal scenarios.

7.13 Integrate with other tiers of governance

Across the constituent nations of the UK, both Wales (2015) and Northern Ireland (2014) have utilised recent legislation lying outside of the planning system to orient planning decisions around community wellbeing. Given the relative newness of the legislation, there appears to be a lack of studies into this area. As such, an appraisal of these approaches offers an opening for research into the integration of well-being/community planning and land use planning.

7.14 Review centralisation of local planning (Scotland)

While the legislation is new (2019), recent changes in Scotland have resulted in a move away from the traditional approach that national planning frameworks allow for some manoeuvrability at the local level, to – instead – the Scottish NPF now having the same legal status as the local development plan in local decision making. The result is arguably a mix of devolution and centralisation and, as such, this innovative approach holds potential for future research.

Appendix 1 – Search strategy

Research aim: to capture what has been written about the practice of public participation within UK land use planning and placemaking since 2010, reflecting the current spectrum of participatory activities and their implications for those members of the public seeking to shape the built environment, with a view to suggesting areas for further research.

Introduction

In order to build up a detailed picture and deeper understandings of public participation within planning and placemaking, a systematic review of the extant literature was conducted, focusing on the UK since 2010. Systematic reviews are based on a defined search strategy that aims to detect as much of the relevant literature as possible. The need for a systematic review arises from the requirement of researchers to summarise all existing information about a phenomenon in a thorough and unbiased manner.[17] The fact a systematic review is intended to be unbiased is a key point to make (more so than a snowballing approach to conducting a literature review, where a chain of potential studies continues from a starting point of only one referral). Overall a systematic review aims to:

- Provide a framework/background to appropriately position new research activities,
- Identify any gaps in current research in order to suggest areas for further investigation,
- Extract data and, across the studies, synthesise the existing evidence.

In this way, the individual studies contributing to a systematic review are *primary* studies, while a systematic review is a form of *secondary* study. Additionally, the process of performing a systematic review must be transparent and replicable, and span three sequential phases. To this end, the first two phases, 1) planning the review and 2) conducting the review, are documented here in sufficient detail for readers to be able to assess the thoroughness of the search strategy – while the third phase, 3) reporting the review, is found in the main Review Report.

Planning the review

Creating a mind map was the starting point, to help devise key search terms for use in targeting relevant articles. The selection of key search terms is crucial for a successful search (Ngan & Litwin, 2021)[18]. Moreover a mind map aided an understanding of the many component parts of public participation in planning and place making, which was particularly useful due to the high degree of overlapping terms in the search (for example, community participation, public participation, citizen participation, local participation, social participation and civic participation). In this way, mind maps provide a structured way to initially capture and organize ideas relating to possible search terms.

In consultation with a subject librarian at an academic institution, the most appropriate abstract and citation database for the search, in order to find studies, was identified as 'Scopus'. Scopus covers peer-reviewed literature and this focus would, ultimately, improve the quality of the analysis. Gillian Griffiths, Senior Product Manager at Scopus advises that the most fundamental principle of searching in Scopus is to start broad, then narrow down using the initial set of results[19]. In this light, the aim was to keep the concepts/search terms broad in scope. However, following test searches,

[17] Kitchenham, B., 2004. Procedures for Performing Systematic Reviews. [online] Keele University Technical Report TR/SE-0401. Available at: http://www.inf.ufsc.br/~aldo.vw/kitchenham.pdf [Accessed 14 October 2021].

[18] Ngan, H.F.B. and Litwin, A., 2021. A Practical Guide to Performing a Systematic Review Using Citavi Reference Management Software to Establish Research Gaps and Research Agenda [online], SAGE Publications Ltd. Available at: https://methods.sagepub.com/case/systematic-review-citavi-reference-management-software-gaps-agenda [Accessed 12 October 2021].

[19] Griffiths, 2016. Scopus: search tips to make your research more effective [video online]. Available at: https://www.brighttalk.com/webcast/13703/185729/scopus-search-tips-to-make-your-research-more-effective [Accessed 8 October 2021].

and in consultation with the subject librarian, it was found that the key terms were too broad, and that more precision was required. For example, 'planning' proved to be a problematic term, whereby its use allowed results from many disciplines to flow into the search results, especially educational studies. Therefore, to be more precise, rather than using the word 'planning' a concept group was created as a search term instead, formed of: "urban planning" OR "town planning" OR "land use planning" OR "spatial planning" OR {planning process} OR "planning practice". In this way, creating concepts groups limited the ambiguity of search terms.

Moreover, through conducting test searches the most representative key search terms were identified. It was found that the initial inclusion of 'built environment' as a key term yielded very few results: it seems unfrequently used in this area of research. It was subsequently omitted, while adding the term 'place making' sought to expand the search to include non-statutory participation activities. Lastly, an additional way of reducing the number of irrelevant results was to exclude certain studies from the search. As such, NOT "education" was added, as education studies were finding their way into the search results. Further precision was achieved by also adding NOT "marine", as marine studies were also being found in the search results. Eventually, numerous Scopus test searches led to the careful choice of final search terms to seek to ensure the desired results, whereby the search parameters were as follows:

participation OR engagement
AND
{urban planning} OR {town planning} OR "land use planning" OR "spatial planning" OR {planning process} OR "planning practice" OR {neighbourhood planning} OR "place making"
AND
UK
AND NOT
marine OR education

Search String

(TITLE-ABS-KEY (consultation OR participation OR engagement) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY ({urban planning} OR {town planning} OR "land use planning" OR "spatial planning" OR {planning process} OR "planning practice" OR {neighbourhood planning}) OR ({place making} OR {place-making} OR placemaking) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY (uk) AND NOT TITLE-ABS-KEY (marine OR education)) AND PUBYEAR > 2009 AND (LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY , "United Kingdom")) AND (LIMIT-TO (SUBJAREA , "SOCI") OR LIMIT-TO (SUBJAREA , "ARTS"))

Scopus Results page

1. Results since 2010.

2. Scopus **'Subject Area' limiting options applied:**
   UK
   Social Sciences
   Arts and Humanities
   Result set of 81 studies

Conducting the review

However, from referring back to the key words identified in the initial mind map, it was clear that there was 'white space' in the result set: topic areas which seemed to lack coverage. As such, to seek to achieve a wide and balanced set of overall results, further Scopus searches were conducted. This involved adapting the initial search string using the Scopus 'edit' function to create new tailored search strings: an approach which gives precision. As an example, the following adaptation of the initial search string yielded three further studies on public participation and the UK legal system:

Tailored search string: consultation, local communities and the legal system

(TITLE-ABS-KEY ((consultation OR participation OR engagement) OR {local community}) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY ({legal system} OR {planning law} OR {environmental law}) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY ({planning process} OR "planning practice")) AND PUBYEAR > 2009

Creating these types of tailored search strings was undertaken numerous times, across a range of topics which lacked coverage. As such, it is important to note that – while systematic reviews are formed of three sequential phases – they are iterative in nature (Kitchenham, 2004)[20]. In this vein, ultimately, in seeking to cover 1) public participation's many component parts, 2) the high degree of overlapping terms and 3) 'white space', the following are examples of Scopus search terms:

participatory politics / participatory democracy / empowerment / engagement / voice / representation / inclusion / hard to reach / citizen involvement / civil society / spatial justice / environmental justice / participatory planning / community planning / collaborative planning / community-led plan / collective action / social innovation / co-design / inclusive design / urban governance / decision-making process / best practice / neighbourhood renewal / development plan / local plan / neighbourhood plan / localism / planning policy / e-participation / stakeholder participation / communicative planning / place governance / citizen activism / statecraft / planning inspectorate / planning appeal / land use policy / citizen-planner / planning procedures / delegated powers / oral hearings / material consideration / elected representative / democratic deficit / statement of community involvement / white paper

Additionally – while the initial mind map sought to be thorough – searching in Scopus 'Author key words' brought to light new, alternative search terms which helped ultimately to identify potentially relevant studies. An exploration of the studies' reference lists also revealed additional pertinent studies which could be included in the review. Moreover, to ensure the most up-to-date and relevant studies were utilised, the Scopus 'Cited by' tool enabled 'time travel' by following citation chains to trace what happened to an area of research later and what others did with that work. In these ways, Scopus offered ways of 'search and discovery' from the initial result set (of 81 studies) to reach a second result set of 105 studies.

However, a result set of 105 studies was too large and was subsequently filtered and sifted down to a more reasonable size. This was aided by the Scopus 'Relevance' ranking tool (whereby Scopus algorithmically matches the terms/criteria executed in your search query, so that the studies which most closely match your search terms head the list). With the studies ranked by relevance in this way, the final filtering down was largely achieved by looking at the records, one-by-one and dismissing them based on the reading of abstracts (in the Scopus 'show all abstracts' view). This brought the number of studies to the 30 'best results' (see appendix: List of reviewed journals).

[20] Ibid.

Reporting the review

The third phase of a systematic review is 'reporting the review'. This involves the extraction and synthesis of data from the individual studies (the primary studies) to form a secondary study: the systematic review report. For this phase, the 'best results' set of 30 primary studies was uploaded into NVivo Pro 1.3, a computer software package designed for qualitative researchers working with text-based information. In terms of the synthesis of the extracted data, a thematic coding framework was created within NVivo, whereby the codes were derived from the reading of the individual studies themselves. This helped to facilitate 'ideas organization' as the systematic review report worked to appropriately position new research activities and address any gaps in current research. In this way, NVivo was used to organize the primary studies for analysis, to extract the information from the primary studies before analysis, and code the information from the primary studies for analysis.

Appendix 2 – List of reviewed journal papers

(30 studies)

Abbot, C. 2020, "Losing the local? Public participation and legal expertise in planning law", *Legal Studies*, vol. 40, no. 2, pp. 269-285.

AlWaer, H. & Cooper, I. 2020, "Changing the focus: Viewing design-led events within collaborative planning", *Sustainability (Switzerland)*, vol. 12, no. 8.

Alwaer, H. & Cooper, I. 2019, "A review of the role of facilitators in community-based, Design-led planning and placemaking events", *Built Environment*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 190-211.

Beebeejaun, Y. 2012, "Including the Excluded? Changing the Understandings of Ethnicity in Contemporary English Planning", *Planning Theory and Practice*, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 529-548.

Beebeejaun, Y. 2019, "People and Planning at Fifty/'People and Planning' 50 Years On: The Never-Ending Struggle for Planning to Engage with People/Skeffington: A View From The Coalface/From Participation to Inclusion/Marking the 50th Anniversary of Skeffington: Reflections from a Day of Discussion/What to Commemorate? 'Other' International Milestones of Democratising City-Making/An American's Reflections on Skeffington's Relevance at 50", *Planning Theory and Practice*, vol. 20, no. 5, pp. 745-747.

Bishop, J. 2019, "People and Planning at Fifty/'People and Planning' 50 Years On: The Never-Ending Struggle for Planning to Engage with People/Skeffington: A View From The Coalface/From Participation to Inclusion/Marking the 50th Anniversary of Skeffington: Reflections from a Day of Discussion/What to Commemorate? 'Other' International Milestones of Democratising City-Making/ An American's Reflections on Skeffington's Relevance at 50", *Planning Theory and Practice*, vol. 20, no. 5, pp. 740-745.

Bogusz, B. 2018, "Neighbourhood planning: national strategy for 'bottom up' governance", *Journal of Property, Planning and Environmental Law*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 56-68.

Boland, P., Durrant, A., McHenry, J., McKay, S. & Wilson, A. 2021, "A 'planning revolution' or an 'attack on planning' in England: digitization, digitalization, and democratization", *International Planning Studies*, vol 27, no 2, pp155-172

Brownill, S. & Inch, A. 2019, "Framing people and planning: 50 years of debate", *Built Environment*, vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 7-25.

Brownill, S. & Parker, G. 2010, "Why bother with good works? The relevance of public participation(s) in planning in a post-collaborative era", *Planning Practice and Research*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 275-282.

Caine, C.A. 2020, "Applying for development consent during lockdown: The Sizewell C Nuclear Power Station", *Environmental Law Review*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 81-84.

Chapman, D. 2011, "Engaging places: Localizing urban design and development planning", *Journal of Urban Design*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 511-530.

Clifford, B. 2016, "'Clock-watching and box-ticking': British local authority planners, professionalism and performance targets", *Planning Practice and Research*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 383-401.

Cowie, P. 2017, "Performing planning: Understanding community participation in planning through theatre", *Town Planning Review*, vol. 88, no. 4, pp. 401-421.

Dyer, M., Corsini, F. & Certomà, C. 2017, "Making urban design a public participatory goal: toward evidence-based urbanism", *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers: Urban Design and Planning*, vol. 170, no. 4, pp. 173-186.

Gullino, S., Seetzen, H., Pacchi, C. & Cerulli, C. 2019, "Interpreting patterns of interaction between civic activism and government agency in civic crowdfunding campaigns", *Built Environment*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 248-267.

Inch, A., Slade, J. & Crookes, L. 2020, "Exploring Planning as a Technology of Hope", *Journal of Planning Education and Research*.

Kennedy, A. 2017, "Scotland's approach to participatory planning: Characterising the charrette", *Archnet-IJAR*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 101-122.

Manuel, J. & Vigar, G. 2021, "Enhancing citizen engagement in planning through participatory film-making", *Environment and Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science*, vol. 48, no. 6, pp. 1558-1573.

Muthoora, T. & Fischer, T.B. 2019, "Power and perception – From paradigms of specialist disciplines and opinions of expert groups to an acceptance for the planning of onshore windfarms in England – Making a case for Social Impact Assessment (SIA)", *Land Use Policy*, vol. 89, 104198

Natarajan, L., Lock, S.J., Rydin, Y. & Lee, M. 2019, "Participatory planning and major infrastructure: Experiences in REI NSIP regulation", *Town Planning Review*, vol. 90, no. 2, pp. 117-138.

Parker, G., Dobson, M., Lynn, T. & Salter, K. 2020, "Entangling voluntarism, leisure time and political work: the governmentalities of neighbourhood planning in England", *Leisure Studies*, vol. 39, no. 5, pp. 644-658.

Parker, G. & Street, E. 2017, "Neo-Advocacy for neo-liberal times: Planning Aid and the Advocacy Project in England", *Town Planning Review*, vol. 88, no. 4, pp. 443-463.

Parks, J.M. & Theobald, K.S. 2013, "Public engagement with information on renewable energy developments: The case of single, semi-urban wind turbines", *Public Understanding of Science*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 49-64.

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Sachs Olsen, C. & Juhlin, C.L.Z. 2021, "How to Engage Reflexively with Messy Presents and Potential Futures: An Audio Walk for Planners", *Planning Theory and Practice*, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 595-609.

Samuels, A. 2018, "The planning committee: A fair procedure", *Journal of Planning and Environment Law*, vol. 2018-January, no. 6, pp. 648-650.

Wargent, M. & Parker, G. 2018, "Re-imagining neighbourhood governance: The future of neighbourhood planning in England", *Town Planning Review*, vol. 89, no. 4, pp. 379-402.

Wigley, J. 2011, "Changing times: The importance of proper consultation", *Journal of Planning and Environment Law*, no. 11, pp. 1447-1454.

Wilson, A. & Tewdwr-Jones, M. 2020, "Let's draw and talk about urban change: Deploying digital technology to encourage citizen participation in urban planning", *Environment and Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science*, vol. 47, no. 9, pp. 1588-1604.

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