Encouraging greater public participation in neighbourhood planning - an ethnographic examination of the impact of the Localism Act 2011 in England

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Abstract:

Following its election in 2010 the UK Coalition Government and the subsequent Conservative administration from 2015 – to date promoted, as a route to economic growth (Bradley, 2016b) and increased social equity (Brownhill, 2016) an expanded role for civic action through the adoption of localism (Corry & Stoker, 2002: Brownhill and Downing, 2013: Bailey, 2017 & Bradley, 2016a) Legislative changes were introduced in the Localism Act 2011 and subsequently amended in the Neighbourhood Planning Bill 2017 (see DCLG et al). This particularly impacted the organisation and delivery of spatial planning, in England, in the following ways:

- through the disbandment of previous national, regional & local planning regimes,
- by a reduction of national planning policy guidance,
- allowing the creation of community led 'neighbourhood plans'.

More than 1900 places have commenced the process of development of a neighbourhood plan, with over 200 achieving a successful referendum outcome (according to Parker and Salter, 2017: Bradley and Brownhill 2017). Whilst the concept of public participation in plan-making is not new (King et al, 1998: Cooke and Kothari, 2001), the potential impact of the changes, on expanding that involvement is contested (Davoudi and Cowie, 2013: Gallent et al, 2013). The nature and impact of involvement citizens in neighbourhood planning remains emergent (Parker, 2015: McGuinness and Ludwig, 2017) and is subject to a growing body of contemporary literature which this research contributes towards.

This study seeks to explore the impact of the Localism Act 2011 (DCLG 2010) on public participation in planning through the 'lived experience' (Okley and Callaway 1992) of volunteers in neighbourhood planning. This research is ethnographic in nature (Genzuk, 2003) and the author was able to apply methods of participant-observation (Ybema et al 2010) in the development of a plan from inception through to adoption. An Interpretative Thematic Analysis (IPA) (after Braun and Clarke, 2006, Maggs-Rapport, 200) is then applied to a large data corpus including; questionnaires, social media forum outcomes, semi-structured interviews: culminating in a thick narrative description suitable for an applied ethnography (after Barfield, 2004 and Maginn, 2007).

In doing so, this thesis aims to identify what has changed as a result of the Localism Act, consider whether these changes represent the emergence of a new paradigm for planning in the UK. It examines how and why individuals are becoming involved at a local level and, seeks to propose a new framework for good practice for community involvement in neighbourhood planning in the new context, in order to inform best practice in spatial planning policy generally and neighbour plan-making specifically.

This thesis has examined the appropriateness of community involvement in planning from the view of the lived experiences of those participating, and, through participant / observation the researcher has delivered an ethnographic study of particular experiences. The research has applied an uncommon approach in planning practice and in doing so has confirmed that ethnographic techniques are appropriate for this area of sustainable development and planning research. It has given 'voice' to participants in ways that cannot otherwise be achieved using traditional planning study techniques. Adopting an 'insider' role in neighbourhood planning may not be a repeatable method, to some extent, given that the opportunity to participate in neighbourhood planning in that sense is necessarily limited. Hence this study provides a unique contribution to knowledge in the field.

Chapter 1 – Introduction.

1.1   Why carry out this research?

Since the formation of the UK Coalition Government in May 2010 it has been proposed by a variety of commentators that; local authorities, planning and regeneration experts, the wider civil society (including charities, pressure groups and community enterprises) collectively often termed the 'third sector' were struggling to understand and come to terms with the 'localism' agenda (Bradley and Brownhill 2017, Wills 2016, Haughton and Allmendinger 2013, Derounian, 2013 and Davoudi, 2012).

This study is concerned with aspects of this effect and aims to decipher the impacts of this "new" localism (Stoker, 2004) on the individuals who volunteer in certain communities involved in Neighbourhood Planning, in England. The study topic sits within the academic realm of "sustainable development", in the sense that achieving urban (re)development through spatial planning has as its primary objectives; to support sustainable economic growth, as well as social and environmental improvement (Maginn 2007).

According to Roberts and Sykes (2000), spatial planning operates in the prevailing social, economic and environmental policy context of the particular country, region or community in which the activity occurs. From Lister (2010) and Marquand (2009) a convergence of political thinking can be seen to have emerged in the UK during the late 20th Century resulting in an approach defined as 'neo-liberal' (Larner, 2000). This has impacted not just on how the state operates, but also the expectations that Governments have of individuals and communities. A migration from 'top down' government to collaborative governance through partnership with civil society is argued to have emerged. However the degree to which these partnerships conforms to a truly empowering collaborative model (after Healey from1997 and 2003) as opposed to post-political popularism is contested (as in Parker & Street, 2015).

Given the relative newness of the 'new, new localism' (Haughton and Allmendinger, 2013) commentators have observed a contradictory approach during the Conservatives tenure

from 2010, which sees policy continuing to be centralised (Jones and Stewart, 2012; Ludwig and Ludwig, 2014; Stanton, 2014) to a similar extent as that observed during the 'new' Labour Government' tenure from 1997 to 2010 (Brooks, 2000; Geddes and Martin, 2000; Allen, 2006).

A growing number of case studies into neighbourhood planning have now been carried out (see: Bradley 2014, Parker, 2015 and Brookfield, 2016) Brookfield notes:

"In reflecting on the findings, several issues should be borne in mind. First, the study focused on a single city and, consequently, findings reflect the dynamics of neighbourhood planning within that location. Experiences elsewhere might differ, particularly perhaps in very rural, sparsely populated areas where numerous plans have come forward (Turley, 2014). Second, the study examined neighbourhood planning in its early infancy. Follow-up research could explore if/how participation dynamics have changed over time. Third, the study provided a snapshot of neighbourhood planning over a six month period. ***Future research could take a longer view, perhaps following the progress of a plan or plans from inception through to adoption with issues such as the scale and nature of participation examined."***

The author has added the emphasis in bold here to highlight that this study has been carried out from the inception (in 2012) through to completion of a neighbourhood plan (four years later in June 2016) and involved an immersive ethnographic examination of the experience of a group of, largely, volunteers in the production of that plan.

During the summer of 2012, the community of Neston determined to pursue the development of a Neighbourhood Plan. The Local Planning Authority (Cheshire West and Chester Council) had been earmarked as a front-runner area by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) and the local Council (Neston Town Council) sought volunteers from the local area to form a group that would be tasked with developing and implementing a neighbourhood plan.

The author, as a local resident, identified that to be involved, at grass roots level, as a participant-observer would provide a very substantial core of evidence in what is, as recognised above, an emergent and potentially significant phenomenon. It may be that a new, paradigm of planning is developing and hence being able to document this cultural development represented a significant research opportunity. Parker, et al (2014) examined user experience prior to the conclusion of many plans, and, the Neston plan provided the

researcher with an opportunity to take a longer view and with a consistent group of participants, completing the process.

The author has had over twenty years experience as a professional in the public sector leading on the development of plans and strategies for sustainable urban (re)development (SUD). Specifically, during that time, the researcher has worked closely with other professionals, politicians and communities in the creation of such plans and strategies including (but not limited to); Local Plans, Local Transport Plans, Development Frameworks, Development Briefs and on specific community led project implementation.

One such example includes the introduction of an innovative environmental improvement in a deprived residential neighbourhood, termed a "Home Zone", affecting around 500 households in a medium sized city in north-west England. This "Home Zone" project was recognised nationally in 2006 for excellence in community engagement, and, the researcher, during the course of that project, developed a deep interest in public participation in plan-making. The author has received training in and applied various community focused participatory techniques. He has also contributed to best practice publications in this field.

Widening responsibilities throughout his career gave the researcher insight and experience in diverse public sector planning and delivery through involvement in Neighbourhood Management Pathfinder schemes, and, responsibilities for aspects of Safer and Stronger Communities under the auspices of a Local Strategic Partnership. The researcher has led large action focused multidisciplinary teams delivering complex public services and undertaking intelligence led strategy making, building on research in fields such as; road safety, engineering, structural maintenance of historic structures and all aspects of the development planning process from Strategic Planning (such as County Structure Plans) to development site assembly and delivery.

These experiences have brought the researcher into direct contact with individuals and groups from the third sector and across all forms of community organisations – acting mainly as a professional seeking to assist and guide individuals and groups through often complex and challenging processes.

During the transition from the previous UK Labour Government to the current Coalition, the researcher was directly involved in local goverment re-structuring. This involvement included participatory budgeting activities within local communities, and, the dismantling and closure of certain public services, with transference to third sector delivery through partnership.

As a result the author had current and well-developed knowledge of political thinking of the mainstream parties in the UK with regards to localism and community participation. In a private capacity the researcher has experience in volunteering, ranging from youth work and sports coaching to active travel mentoring. Following voluntary redundancy from local government in 2011, the author secured the role of Doctoral Training Associate at Salford University, commencing in early 2012, with a view to obtaining the qualification of PhD, his personal objective being to move into consulting, academic teaching and research. In parallel the author

In autumn 2012 the town of Neston announced, through the community newspaper of the local Town Council that it was interested in developing a neighbourhood plan, and, was therefore seeking volunteers to assist in this process. The Town Council had determined to form a Community Steering Group, made up of up to 12 volunteers and were looking for that group to manage the programme for and develop the content of the neighbourhood plan for Neston. The process was initiated at an open public meeting which the researcher attended. This was done with some trepidation. Despite a lengthy career in the public sector and familiarity with the planning process the concept of simply being a member of the public in a large and potentially challenging public forum was intriguing. Even more challenging was the fact that members of staff from the researchers' most recent former employer (Cheshire West and Chester Council) would be in attendance.

Although the researcher had had a good relationship with these colleagues, the researcher felt "exposed" as a recognisable member of the local community and therefore did not have the anonymity of having no prior involvement. Furthermore, it was highly likely that certain Councillors with whom the researcher had had engagement with in a professional capacity would be present. Not all of those relationships had been straightforward as the researcher was previously a high-profile chief officer of the Council and had, on occasion, confrontational relations with some.

It transpired that the researcher found the event very welcoming and that many of the potential fears did not materialise. The event was managed by an experienced planner, who encouraged participation in a planning game based around place making and spatial land use considerations.

Participants were asked to record their interest in volunteering for the neighbourhood plan and required to complete a simple application form. That application form gave the researcher the first opportunity to express interest in the process and declare the intention to participate both as an active contributor, and, observer of the process.

The result of the selection exercise was that the researcher was requested by the Town Council to join as a member of the Community Steering Group (CSG). The first task of that group was to determine a way forward and after a number of meetings elect a Chair person.

The process of election became complex because two candidates were willing to be considered for that role. Members of the community steering group then had to vote is a simple majority process for their preferred candidate. The outcome was a split vote and a member of the Town Council had to make a casting vote. This felt uncomfortable for some reason. However, the chair has subsequently done a good job of managing the process, and, chairing a group of volunteers.

The CSG met at a minimum of monthly throughout the process of delivering the Neighbourhood Plan. The author has attended all meetings its has been practical to do, Appendix and that took place, usually, in the evenings at a convenient (but often cold) community facility. The researcher has been particularly active in the following tasks on behalf of the CSG:

- creating a programme for the plan, by chairing a sub-group that designed a project timetable.
- developing consultation ideas and activities, together with subsequent analysis of the feedback, chairing a sub-group tasked with this role.
- contributing to the development of environmental, quality of life and transportation aspects of policy / proposals – which sits within the researchers' professional

background.

Given the recent nature of the enabling legislation, the research topic is emergent in scope and represents an opportunity for ethnographic research as identified by Brookfield. In addition, whilst there is excellent contemporary literature on the subject it does remain largely focused on traditional planning case study research and/or policy impact based investigations, rather than from the perspective of the activist 'citizen planner' (Inch, 2015).

The researcher chose to become involved with the Neston Neighbourhood Plan for a number of reasons, explored below.

Firstly, the plan represented a genuine opportunity for very close participant-observation. This is very much in keeping with the ethnographic / action research tradition of living and working in the field area of interest for an extended period of time.

Secondly, as a participant with considerable experience in transportation and land-use planning, the researcher believes that he is able to constructively contribute to the plan, which might result in certain improvements, most notably in provision for cycling within the town, and, for safety of road users.

Thirdly, as an observer, the researcher was intrigued to witness the motivations of others in what is an abstract process - with little in the way of material gain to be made, unless of course the majority of participants were residents with businesses or land that might be made available for development. The researcher, perhaps cynically, did expect an element of "nimbyism"- in other words, involvement of a majority concerned to make sure that things did not happen to change the town.

Finally, the researcher advocates incremental and continuing change towards a more sustainable future for our urban places, subscribing with the concepts of SUD expressed in the principles of the BEQUEST framework – that it is relative, adaptive process and one best built on "an integrated and flexible approach that adjusts to local conditions and local community requirements" - Bentivegna & Curwell et al (2002). The Neston Neighbourhood plan representing an opportunity to put these principles into practice.

1.2   Research aim:

By observing and participating in neighbourhood planning this research aims to develop a framework that explores how volunteer 'citizen planners' develop neighbourhood plans in the context of the institutional design.

1.3   Research objectives:

(1) To explore the political and theoretical context of neighbourhood planning
(2) To establish a study location to carry out a participant-observation led ethnography
(3) To undertake field studies in other areas carrying out Neighbourhood Planning through volunteer-led citizen planning in order to provide additional data in the form of a field diary
(4) To develop and analyse a significant data corpus using an appropriate qualitative technique(s) to allow the development of a framework.

Hague and Jenkins (2005), amongst others, suggest place identity, participation and planning as being inescapably linked. The argument being that planning is about place making. In Chapter 2, it is argued that professional planners have been used as "conduits" by politicians seeking to promote or impose their version of identity on a place. This is significant, as the motivations for groups of people to become involved in their neighbourhood could be to protect their own personal (albeit collective) view of a place or, alternatively, advance social justice and sustainability in their local areas through a more progressive democratic process (after Bradley, 2016a).

However professional planners have traditionally engaged with the community to overcome resistance to change and build consensus towards an institutional viewpoint of the desired outcomes for a place, as evidenced by Allmendinger and Haughton (2015). But the process by which planners must now do so is changing at the local level, from the previous "public consultation and engagement", towards community led collaborative endeavours as in Booher (2004), Ansell and Gash (2007) and Healey (2015). Various authors, including Kaszynska et al (2012) and Bradley & Brownhill (2017), now advance

the concept of neighbourhood planning that seeks to go beyond the bounds of simple land-use planning to broader societal objectives.

These theories raise the question about how civic minded volunteers as 'citizen planners' will engage with the technologies of "agency" and "structure" within local Government and potentially national organisations (for instance the National Infrastructure Commission) in the delivery and management of the process. King et al (1998) suggested mechanisms of institution to tackle this challenge. Various frameworks have been advanced, such as CLEAR from Lowndes, Pratchett and Stoker (2006), but these remain focused on gauging the effectiveness of authority led engagement, as opposed to active citizen ownership. In a period of continuing austerity Bailey and Pill (2014) challenge the scope for local authorities to sustain community engagement, and indeed anecdotal evidence from various informal conversations with senior planners during this research confirm that many Councils have failed to support Neighbourhood Planning since 2012.

In 2009, the Conservative Party published its ambitions in a policy green paper titled: "Control Shift: returning power to local Communities." This was derived strongly from concepts of "new localism" and embraced decentralisation, referring to models from Sweden referring to "free communes" and France. The Conservative Party (2010) suggested that the then planning system was 'broken' and as a result was failing the economic, social and democratic objectives of Government. Delivered as part of an overhaul of the planning system (explored in more depth in Chapter 2), neighbourhood planning was viewed as capable of contributing to growth by making planning "more simple" DCLG (2010), and, through transferring control to local communities enables them to be more 'in charge' of what happens in their localities.

This political rhetoric has continued in 2014 (DCLG & Boles), e.g. statements by the planning minister Brandon Lewis claiming that Neighbourhood Planning (NP) had contributed to a 10% increase in housebuilding compared to non-NP areas, (DCLG & Lewis 2015).

Notwithstanding the arguments over whether or not this "improvement" is more sustainable, or, produces better societal outcomes (such as more affordable housing), these statements do raise the question; "In what way does government believe that

neighbourhood planning contributes to this improvement in planning outcomes?" There is little concrete evidence of specific theory motivating these political statements: however during 2013 the Department for Communities and Local Government held an academic roundtable to present their view of the impact of Neighbourhood Planning at that point and, to seek to establish the state of knowledge and research in the academic community. One feature of that presentation was Figure 1, below. This sets out a proposed "virtuous circle" of NP contribution enabling local development to occur more successfully.

Figure 1: Government hypothesis of the impact of neighbourhood planning: extract from DCLG academic review meeting September 2013.
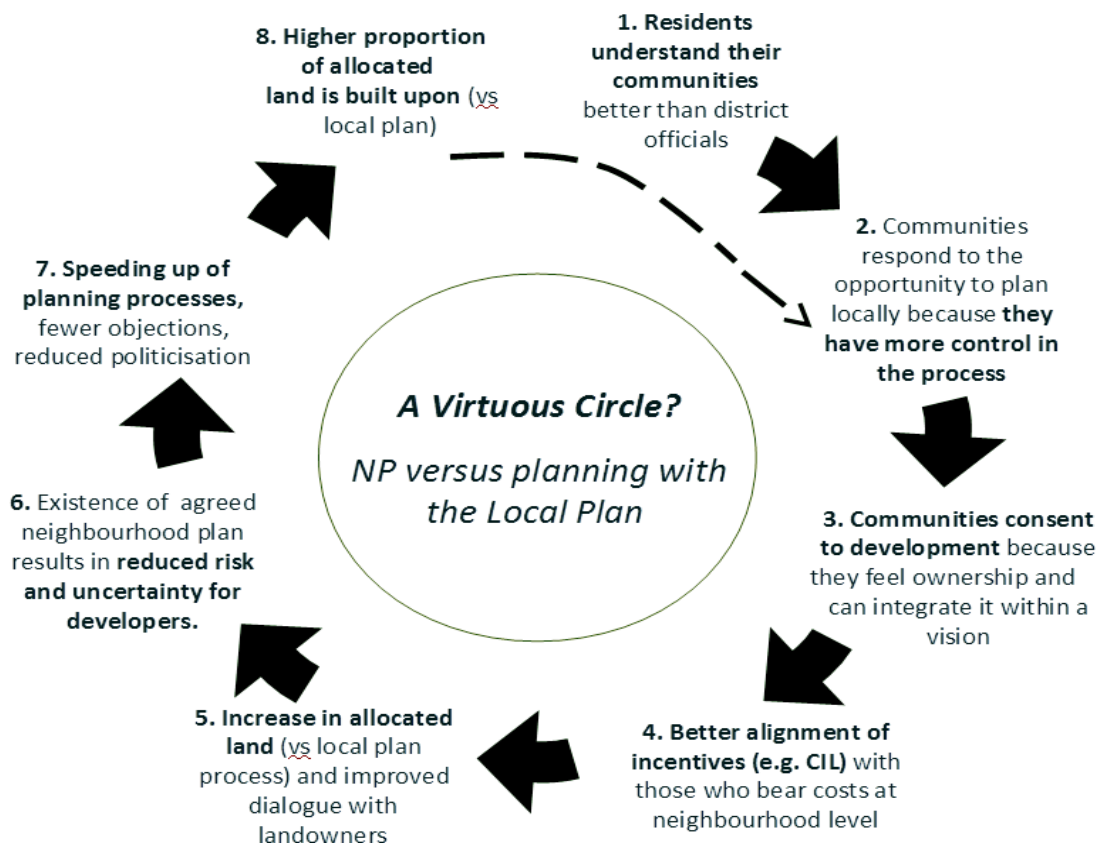
1.4   Research questions:

This research study, building on the aims and objectives above, seeks to challenge and explore the assumptions of Government in its fostering of NP, by exploring the following research questions:

- Who is involved and how do they become involved
- To what extent and in what ways do people's attachment to place influence their propensity to volunteer?
- What challenges do citizen planners face, such as:
    - Are they hampered by community's capacity to adopt such approaches
    - Do they face organisational resistance in some areas, especially those which have traditionally been characterised by dependency on institutional approaches to regeneration and development
    - How do communities develop Neighbourhood Plans, in terms of their relationship with other organisations, for example (but not limited to) the Local Planning Authority and local councils (e.g. Town or Parish Councils)?

1.5   Research focus, scope and methods:

In order to deliver on the aim of this research and answer these research questions the study is focused on the town of Neston, Cheshire. This semi-rurally located town in the north-west of England has a population of 17500, and, the neighbourhood plan area covers some 15000 population across approximately 1000 households. The neighbourhood plan area includes the retail focused town centre, an industrial / commercial quarter, five suburbs formed from smaller "village" centres surrounding Neston and includes the SSSI area of the Parkgate Marshes.

As a neighbourhood plan area this has been one of the largest in development and is urban in nature, although largely surrounded by greenbelt under intensive farming. The plan was under development throughout the duration of this study, and, the researcher has been an active member of the Community Steering Group that has led the creation of the plan.

The Community Steering Group was made up of 12 individuals who were nominated onto the group after an application process managed by the local council. In addition to the Community Steering Group, various task and topic groups have existed, comprising (at times) up to 40 individuals from the community.

The researcher has undertaken field-based research through; participant observation in Neston. This involved carrying out face to face interviews with 12 local participants; recording informal conversations, attending meetings and other events, extensive field notes and participation in training and awareness raising with other communities through attendance at various seminar's regarding Neighbourhood Planning and Localism.

The researcher also instigated a web-forum via LinkedIn, undertook a questionnaire survey of 20 other neighbourhood planning areas and has interviewed a range of participants, activists and professional planners including those from other NP areas. The researcher attended an academic roundtable led by the DCLG on two occasions and has contributed to a national planning conference.

The resulting field diary (extract at Appendix 1) forms a substantial data corpus that has been examined using an interpretative thematic analysis. The results are presented in the form of a thick narrative in Chapter 5 whereas conclusions are discussed in Chapter 6. This research is concerned with how participants make sense of the emerging phenomenon of neighbourhood planning and the principle mechanisms for interpretation have been insider research as a participant observer, and, the statements, expressions and language used by participants. The following word cloud provides a pictorial summary of the emphasis of the language used. It should be observed that the language used to describe participants experience, and, from my field diary notes is centred on people. Their concerns, emotions, feelings and attachments to community and the groups that they participate in are exposed in this study.

Word cloud of the data corpus: people, neighbourhood, group and community focus

1.6   Thesis Structure:

1.6.1 Chapter One – Introduction

This Chapter has established the background to this research and has set out the aims, objectives, research questions, focus, scope and methods. The Chapter now summarises the remainder of the thesis content as follows.

1.6.2 Chapter Two - Identifying the emergence of Neighbourhood Planning: a review of Planning Theory and Practice in UK since the end of the 19th Century.

In this chapter, I reflect on the emergence of neighbourhood planning by reviewing the development of planning theory and practice during the 20th and 21st Century.   I place planning policy in its context as part of wider policy activities intended to ensure that development is environmentally, economically and socially sustainable. However, I highlight that planning is a politically directed activity.

I explore how planning policy and practice has changed from a technocratically driven process intended to address perceived physical shortcomings of a place, towards a social and environmental focused discipline. The nature of engagement with individuals and communities affected by planning proposals and decisions is observed to have changed from consultative through communicative to collaborative models of democracy.

I reflect on the changing nature of planning, through reflection on knowledge gained over thirty years 'in the field' and by reviewing relevant discursive and critical work to illuminate how planning practice, and, hence neighbourhood planning itself are influenced by and can be understood, particularly in terms of the nature of participation and localism.

1.6.3 Chapter Three - Theoretical framework:

The chapter analyses the theoretical underpinnings of the study in the context of the following topics; Governance, Volunteering and Participation, Institutional Design, It is citizen led but is it democratic? The chapter then explores; localism in the context of neighbourhood planning, the nature and form of volunteering under examination, the role

of place attachment, institutional design for 'commons' management, and, the question of the democratic basis for neighbourhood forum.

1.6.4 Chapter Four - Research Methodology

This chapter explores the research methodology. Firstly, it examines the traditional, normative, approach to planning research. Secondly it examines how and why that normative tradition is not appropriate to this thesis, and, in particular considers what a different approach could be. Third it assesses the contribution that a social constructionist / interpretivist approach could make. The research strategy – ethnography - is examined and placed into its context against contemporary research. The dilemmas and challenges faced through the adoption of an ethnomethodological strategy are considered.

1.6.5 Chapters Five– Thick narrative description of the data corpus arising from a thematic analysis.

This chapter provide a thick descriptive narrative of neighbourhood planning, from the perspective of the participants, and myself as a participant-observer. The outcomes of the questionnaire, web-forum and semi-structured interviews are combined in this thematic analysis. A summary of the analysis is presented at the end of the Chapter.

1.6.6 Chapter Six– Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter concludes the thesis in five sections. After an introduction it responds to the research questions posed in Chapter 1 and draws conclusions as to the implications for the involvement of volunteers in neighbourhood planning. Secondly, it reflects upon and critically reviews the research process. Thirdly, it considers some of the practical considerations for planners and policy makers. Fourthly it suggests the original contributions to knowledge made in this thesis. Finally, it considers the implications for the desire to encourage greater public participation in planning and provides suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2
Identifying the emergence of Neighbourhood Planning:

2.1   Introduction

The previous chapter (1), introduced the concept of neighbourhood planning as potentially representing a new paradigm for planning, i.e. based on the principles of participatory democracy and which relies on active 'citizen planners', Bradley and Brownill (2017). In this chapter, the emergence of neighbourhood planning is explored through a review of the development of planning theory and practice during the 20th and 21st Century.   Planning policy is placed in its context as part of wider policy activities intended to ensure that development is environmentally, economically and socially sustainable but also highlighting that planning is, essentially, a politically directed activity.

It includes an exploration of how planning policy and practice has changed from a technocratically driven process intended to address perceived physical shortcomings of a place, towards a social and environmental focused discipline. The nature of engagement with individuals and communities affected by planning proposals and decisions is observed to have changed from consultative through communicative to collaborative models of democracy.

The changing nature of planning is addressed through reflection on the knowledge gained over thirty years 'in the field' and by reviewing relevant discursive and critical work to illuminate how planning practice, and, hence neighbourhood planning itself are influenced by and can be understood, particularly in terms of the nature of participation and localism.

2.2   Formalising Town and Country Planning – 1947 to 1972:

The 1947 Town and Country Planning Act established certain principles of spatial planning that can still be recognised today. The intention was to establish procedures to control the growth of towns and cities. Features of this Act included the requirement for local authorities to produce development plans for their area, and, enabling legislation to provide for Green Belts. (The application of the latter was consolidated in Circular; 42/55,

since superseded by the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF)).

The practice of planning was defined by the creation of master plans and more detailed development plans. This was rationalist design led and the most common form of approach in the post-WWII era was modernist in principle. New towns, suburbs and radical redevelopments of town centres where proposed. In addition, a green belt was proposed first in London in 1935, and, later consolidated as a concept in Abercrombie's Greater London Plan in 1943. In parallel with the Abercrombie plan, the Hungarian architect Erno Goldfinger produced a document for the then Ministry responsible for rebuilding London, termed "Planning your Neighbourhood" (1944). This document set out to explore "neighbourhood planning" in the sense of wholesale reconstruction (following demolition of traditional housing areas) of neighbourhoods for pre-defined numbers of people. This was then no so much consultation as propaganda.

This "technocratic" design led approach became the theme for the immediate years after the second world war and resulted in often brutal imposition of modernist values on both traditional neighbourhoods and the communities that lived (and had survived the Blitz) in them. This "comprehensive redevelopment" theory of planning was typified by Keeble (1952)*.* For many post war planners this was the definitive guide to the plan led approach. Taylor (1998) identifies key features of Keeble's concept, from the following statement in Keeble (page 1, 1952):

"Town and Country Planning might be described as the art and science of ordering the use of land and the character and siting of buildings and communicative routes…. Planning, in the sense with which we are concerned with it, deals primarily with land, and is not economic, social or political planning, though it may greatly assist in the realisation of the aims of these other kinds of planning."

Taylor determines that town and country planning was a design led exercise that complemented other goals, but, in its own right could be seen at that time a process driven by four key design principles (Taylor 1998), as follows. Firstly, "utopian comprehensiveness" – as characterised by the adoption of a modernist -architectural approach that features; Garden Cities, New Towns, Urban Redevelopment and Slum Clearance.

Second, an "anti-urban" aesthetic seeking the restriction of urban sprawl from existing

(considered sub-standard) urban areas by an encircling Green Belt, as identified by Hall (1973). Indeed, Hall considered that perhaps two of the most conflicting objectives of post war planning included the desire to improve physical quality of the environment, and, provide for seemingly ever-increasing desire for accessibility by the motor car. This leads to the third principle: "seeking to create order in urban structure".

Colin Buchanan's seminal report *Traffic in Towns*, Ministry of Transport (1963) sought to deal with one particularly problematic aspect of this dilemma by suggesting the imposition of a strict order to urban traffic infrastructure. Buchanan pointed out that the dilemma stemmed from the essentially constrained physical nature of many traditional English towns and cities due to their traditional, historic and often compact nature. One option for addressing this, architecturally, could have been a move towards implementing a planned "motor-friendly" design, such as Frank Lloyd-Wright's utopian Broadacre City concept, whereas many cities in the US simply embraced unplanned urban sprawl. However, in the United Kingdom, the conservative views of the prevailing anti-urban aesthetic placed higher value on countryside over town according to Taylor (1998), and often authorities sought to either constrain through legislation (car parking and traffic management) and/or adapt (which led to the growth of various traffic control methodologies (e.g; traffic 'calming' and traffic signal control), as well as often adopting grandiose major, urban, highway proposals.

The fourth principle elucidated by Taylor was that there was an "assumed consensus" over the aims of planning. Multiple authors have stated that there was a belief amongst post war planning theorists that there was consensus in society over the values and ideals of town planning. Indeed Taylor (1998) points to Keeble's use of the term 'principles' as further evidence that consensus was assumed – planning was therefore argued not to be political in nature, purely practical.

Throughout the 1950s, 60s and 70s planning continued to be led by technical / quasi-scientific approaches. This 'structural' planning theory of the post war period, and imposition of modernist architectural practices, arguably laid the foundations for a significant up-swelling in reaction against the technocrat in government, and, caused divisions between the left and right wings of politics - embodied today in the changes still being wrought in the planning system by politicians of both persuasions. Those on the left

saw that existing communities where being disrupted by the process of redevelopment, whereas conservative objections to planning stemmed from (in part) these issues, but more often from the belief that local planning authorities were in thrall to Marxist political theory, and so, as free-market economics took firm hold under Margaret Thatcher, mistrust of local authority planning grew as it was seen as a barrier to private sector speculative development, as opposed to centralist 'planned development'.

The criticisms of the design led approach were targeted first at the quality of design emerging from the process, notably by Richards (1950). Secondly, Nairn (1955), attacked the bland "nowhereness" of suburban housing developments, describing them as "neither town nor country" and ascribing the term "subtopian" to them. The main area of criticism of post-war design led town and country planning was focused on a lack of social and community aspects. The sociologists, Michael Young and Peter Wilmott, published a study in 1957 of the redevelopment of the Bethnal Green area of London. This identified a phenomenon referred to as "social blindness" within the design led planning process, resulting in severe fragmentation of historic communities and a breakdown in traditional family life, isolation, loneliness and increasing social unrest. This was despite the social value of planning for neighbourhoods, featuring comprehensive, self-contained local facilities including shops, local parks, churches and schools, all within walking distance of main housing areas being recommended by sociologist Clarence Perry as early as 1920, see Perry (1939).

2.3   From design led master-planning to planning as "communicative action".

During the latter period of the post WWII era two further concepts of planning emerged. Taylor (1998) characterises the original form of planning approach as "architecture writ large". He argues that for the 20 years following WWII theory and practice was largely an exercise in physical urban design. The second form that emerged in the 1960s were "scientific" approaches to planning. These emerged in the form of the "systems" view – where the object that a plan deals with is dealt with as a "system", and, the "rational process" theory, applied to the process of plan making in itself. Although this was claimed by Kuhn, amongst others, to represent the emergence of a second "paradigm" – the application of scientific method as opposed to artistic endeavour, the two worlds of

planning continued to co-exist alongside each other, and, in the requirements of the Town and Country Planning Act 1968 – which required strategic scale, systems theory led "structure plans", and, design led "local plans" which addressed in detail town centre and suburban remodelling along similar lines to the "1948" system. Such a two-pronged approach was enshrined, alongside the later re-casting of the structures of local government, which was to place the responsibility for the "science" of structure plans with County Councils and the artistry of local planning with District or Borough Councils. The author's observation of this system, on having joined local authority planning in the early 1990s is that this led to a divergence of perception in approach – leading to County Council led planning seemingly distant and remote from "local people" and a view amongst District Planning officers that they were more in touch with their communities and engaging in more meaningful approaches.

One of the chief promoters of the systems approach was Andreas Faludi who in 1973 was reported to claim: "Planning is the application of scientific method…to policy making". This "rational process" view of planning led to many students at the time being encouraged to read Karl Popper's works on scientific method. It espoused a systems analysis view of planning objectives. The use of modelling, quantification of social problems, and, the use of computers to analyse complex systems grew.

A dilemma that emerged with respect to the rational, process led view of planning, inspired by the application of Popperian methods of scientific fact finding, was that many commentators observed that planning, as a policy instrument, was about making judgements based on values and interests and is, therefore an inherently political activity. Indeed, Long (1949) concluded: "*Plans are policies, and policies, in a democracy at any rate, spell politics. The question is not whether planning will reflect politics, but, whose politics will it reflect*".

Planning as the author has observed is a value-laden, politically managed process, and, therefore is an inherently a political process which, perhaps, should be more accurately defined as a normative (evaluative) action. Davidoff and Reiner (1962) initially promoted their 'choice theory' of planning. Initially driven by a technical professional view of planning as a process of choice informed by scientific enquiry, Davidoff later moved away from this technical-ist standpoint to emphasise his view that the future for planning is one

of a practice which seeks political and social issues to be examined and debated. Davidoff also later argued that acceptance of this position meant a rejection of prescription for planning outcomes by technical specialists, according to Faludi (1973).

Given all the above, and, the fact that town planning will affect large numbers of the population, all of whom may hold differing views and values for any given proposition, the awareness of planning as a political activity, requiring the consideration of a range of views was growing at this time. For instance, the 1948 Act provided for members of the public to 'air their opinions'. In particular authorities were required to publicise planning applications. Similarly, the submission of development plans (as was) to the Government was to be advertised, and, copies of such plans made available for public inspection. Traditional "representative" democracy was expected to enable the representation of peoples' views, but, as will be explored in Chapter 3, there was at that time a growing sense of disillusionment with traditional democratic processes, which continues today and it could be argued is increasing, particularly since the advent of the internet, and, widespread access to social media.

These concerns were fully captured in two complementary Government led reviews in 1965 and 1968. Firstly the publication of the outcomes of Planning Advisory Group (PAG) review of development planning (HM Government 1965). Whilst the group's report was acknowledged to have led to a recasting of planning legislation in 1968, those legislative changes did not fully reflect the concerns emerging in social and community facing arenas of public policy development. This is despite PAG's aspirations that:

"Local development plans would make for better and more effective planning at a local level and a greater degree of public participation in the process" (para 7.4, pg. 45) and *"local development plans must provide an opportunity for local comment or objections to be made."* (para 7.3, pg. 44).

Secondly the 'Skeffington Report': 'People and Planning, Report of the Committee on Public Participation in Planning' which was prepared by Arthur Skeffington MP and the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. It was published by HMSO in 1969. The so called 'Skeffington Committee' was appointed in 1968 to assess how the public might become more involved in the creation of local development plans. This was a response to the belief that the Town and Country Planning Act created a largely 'top down' system,

and followed the 1965 report 'The Future of Development Plans' prepared by the Planning Advisory Group HM Government (1965).

Prior to this, public consultation had largely been in gesture only, involving those already familiar with the planning process and aware of how to participate. At a time of slum clearances, town centre redevelopments and major road building programmes, this had resulted in poor community involvement and the emergence of a number of protest groups.

The Skeffington Report proposed that local development plans should be subject to full public scrutiny and debate. However, the recommendations of the report were not immediately taken up according to Paris (1982), who reported that despite these aspirations and the requirements of the 1968 legislation, the mechanisms for public participation in planning remained unclear. Whilst the Skeffington Report gave a statement of expectation which suggested that participation should involve action as well as discussion, and, described full participation as that which enabled the public to take active roles throughout plan making. The Report ruled out the possibility of responsibility resting in any body other than the planning authority and its officials. So the practice of planning remained rooted in the participation through communication genre and hence was reliant on the theory of representative democracy. Paris concludes that these exhortations to participation were seen as being vague by practitioners and were misrepresented as simply advocating better public education and better communications so that it could be claimed planning decisions were well supported and hence informed through representation.

Critical analyses of the impact of planning, especially Hall et al, (1974) led social theorists to raise objections to this form of approach, and, led to community and activist led back-lashes against so-called clean-sweep planning especially in the United States. Ledwith, (2011) recognises these were part of a wider political protest movement in America and Europe against the Vietnamese War, nuclear weapons, capitalism and in favour of civil rights, amongst other things. In the context of planning theory, a more participatory form of decision making (Chapter 3, explores political theory) was proposed by Sherry Arnstein in her seminal paper featuring a conceptual analysis of the impact of forms of public participation. This was summarised in a diagram: 'Arnstein's Ladder of Participation' reproduced in Figure 2, below.
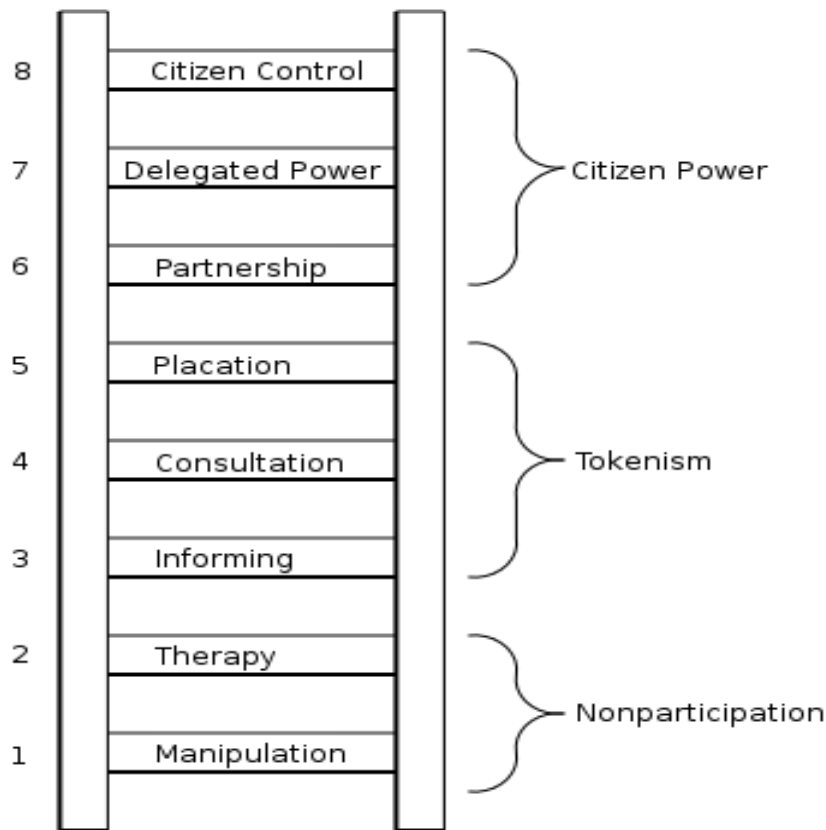
Figure 2: Arnstein's Ladder of Participation: Arnstein, (1969).

Hall (1973) suggests that the 1968 Skeffington Report can be classified as advocating consultation, and, thus is argued by Arnstein to represent 'tokenism'. Arnstein (1969) suggests that there is a crucial difference between undertaking the 'ritual' of participation, where participants have no power to affect the outcome of the process, as opposed to establishing a redistribution of power. Without that redistribution of power, participation is seen to be an 'empty' and 'frustrating' task for those disempowered.

Not all planning theorists agreed with this stance, although similar Marxist inspired viewpoints were widely expressed throughout the 1970s within planning literature according to Paris (1982) and McConnell (1981). Held (1987) observed that there are various models of democracy, and, for Skeffington the implication was that, within an accepted model of representative democracy, participation would increase democracy by improving information flow. In practice, this view of a consultation based planning led by technical "experts" triumphed and became the mainstream process of plan making through to the present day.

Radical community development, on the other hand, examined by Ledwith (2012), amongst others, continued to take a more radical standpoint. Inspired by the writings of Paulo Friere (a Brazilian educator and philosopher who was a leading advocate of critical pedagogy) and the thinking of Antonio Gramsci, the latter viewed the mechanisms of state and civil society, including the processes of planning, as part of a wider hegemony that sought to preserve the power and wealth of the elite over the wider mass of "workers". These neo-Marxist thinkers continued to influence community development activists through the 70s and 80s particularly during the conflicts between various communities and the Conservative Governments of Margaret Thatcher (from 1979).

By the 1970s the rational process nature of planning was considered to be bedrock of procedural planning theory. This concept of planning came under increasing criticism on two major fronts. The first being a criticism of content-less-ness, the second being a criticism on the lack of evidence with respect to the actual effect of planning itself, as opposed to knowledge on the process and procedures. Faludian concepts such as: "so long as the process is right and the technical application of rationality is correct then the outcomes must be assumed to be correct" were widely disputed by Scott and Roweis (1977), Camhis (1979) and Thomas (1979) who argued procedural theory was content-less in that it specifies thinking and acting procedures, but, did not investigate what the content or impact of those procedures was. In doing so a procedural approach treats planning as theoretical and an abstract analytical concept, rather than something grounded in the social, historical and environmental context of its intended loci. Faludian concepts were, in the view of these critics, too focused on the conceptualisation of the science of planning, without understanding how towns and cities functioned.

Hall (1973) concluded his review of the effects of planning at that time determining three main observable outcomes: "urban containment", "suburbanisation" and "inflationary effects of housing and property prices".

Urban containment was actually one of the intended purposes of the 1948 Planning system – and the creation of Green Belt areas surrounding many of the English cities and other urban areas was deliberate and had encouraged two effects on housing development. Firstly, in town centres the use of high rise development. Secondly, large scale displaced

housing demand, in the form of new towns connected by the emerging national motorway network.

Suburbanisation was the term used to describe the increasing separation of home from work, leisure, shopping and other functions of urban areas. This physical disaggregation and growing car ownership had (and continues to have) undesirable consequences – increasing reliance on the private car, and, longer and more expensive commuting journeys. This (from the author's perspective as a chartered transportation planner) led ultimately to a collapse in the ability of public transport to serve the needs of the majority of journeys, which resulted in a vicious "spiral of decline" for public transport.

The economic effects of planning proved very hard to confirm, although Hall's research did come to a relatively worrying conclusion when considering the intended distributive effects of post-war planning which, put simply, was that although material living standards had risen, post-war, the rich had got richer and the poor relatively poorer. Given the generally socially democratic political landscape of Britain in this period, this conclusion was something of a shock. The reason that it was such a shock is that the system had not been designed to be so in-egalitarian. Hall himself stated (1973, vol2, p433):

"Somewhere along the way, a great deal was lost, a system distorted and the great mass of people betrayed"

Hall, in making this statement made an assumption about the managerial role of the planner in urban development, according to Taylor (1998) and Paris (1982), which fails to recognise a crucial paradox in planning as implemented in the majority of western, capitalist economies, which is that "the planners" whilst they may work for or be employed by the relevant local authority for an area, could not directly influence land use because in the majority of countries development is largely delivered by the private sector. Equally, in respect of development carried out by local authorities, this would be handled by estates management and surveyor / engineering sections, whose focus (often) would be on cost / delivery timescales as opposed to utopian planning objectives. Consequently, much public development (especially in social housing during the 50s, 60s and 70s) was considered to be overtly utilitarian, according to Almeida (2013).

In Marxist critical analysis of planning, such as Preteceille (1982), Fainstein and Fainstein

(1982) and Paris (1982), it is argued that planning as an activity conforms to Gramsci's (1970) hegemonic model (developed in his Prison Diaries between 1929 and 1935, first published in 1950 and in English in 1970) in the sense of the process of planning serving the perpetuation of the supremacy of a capitalist elite bourgeoisie. Furthermore, planners can therefore be considered as agents of the state, and, in so being they depoliticise the actions of the state, by seeking to encourage in ostensibly technical terms, based on seemingly rational means, ideologically driven actions which are promoted as being in the public interest.

Pahl (1975) suggested a "pure" managerial-ist model of public policy governance, which envisaged that professional officers had control of and access to all resources of the authority concerned. But commentators indicate that this was simply not realistic, and, perhaps the most critical analysis of the managerialist viewpoint and hence impact of planners and their actions came from Pickvance (1977). He argued that the determining factor in urban development is the operation of market forces subject to very little constraint. These criticisms challenged Pahl's managerialist view of planning.

The theory and practice of planning at this time was therefore detached from implementation. Friedman (1969) suggested that potential issues of implementation should be considered at the same time as policy formulation. The suggestion being that effective implementation begins at the early stages of plan formulation. Friedman promoted a theory of "action planning". Later, Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) introduced the concept of "implementation planning". These theorists saw that such action orientated approaches to planning needed a wider set of inter-personal skills than was often the case, and, use a wider range of techniques than before in order to make contact with other necessary actors (now almost universally referred to as stakeholders in planning and regeneration), communicate the concepts of an emerging plan (as opposed to merely "consulting" on a completed proposal), and, negotiate with the actors to achieve consensus based decision making.

This 'implementation' theory required planning to conform to a concept of communicative action advanced by Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) and later by Forester (1993), Sager (1994) and Innes (1995). These theorists drew on the work of Habermas (1979), who advanced the theory of communicative action. This philosopher and social theorist was

concerned with the development of a general theory that could provide a basis for critical analysis of modern, capitalist society. In addition, the theory as advanced, would provide clues for the requirements for a more democratic society. Habermasian theory of effective communicative action is based on four key principles; comprehensibility, truth, sincerity, and, justification / legitimacy.

Although this approach was adopted as the new form of planning during the late 1970s and has become common place, there is criticism that although planners extolled the virtues of their role in "getting things done", a report by Kemp in 1980 (highlighted by Taylor (1998)) indicated that in the final report of a public inquiry into the Windscale nuclear reprocessing plant there were many omissions, misrepresentations, inconsistencies and errors – leading to the conclusion that the final decision was made on as a result of "distorted communication". That distorted communication, it is claimed (by Taylor amongst others) has led to and exacerbated communities frustrations with planning, and, with respect to Arnstein's ladder suggests that planning has remained stuck in forms of consultation and placation (by disguising or massaging the truth) and hence still represents tokenism and does not therefore adhere to Habermasian philosophy.

2.4 Emergence of problem centred planning

Thus, a problem centred approach to planning emerged that sought to deliver outcomes consistent with the drive for economic growth, with a focus on addressing the following four themes:

1. Tackling urban decline through regeneration as a masterplan led approach

Roberts and Sykes (2000) identify how urban policy had evolved from the 1950s approach of comprehensive redevelopment, to the 1990's theme of 'regeneration' – suggested to be a more comprehensive form of policy and practice. Partnership approaches (involving the public, private and third sector) dominated, with an emphasis on "stakeholder management". The application of a communicative planning approach was followed, together with a Forester inspired emphasis on community. The Labour Government elected in 1997 continued and very much extended the application of this theme as the primary method of securing economic growth, leading to regeneration led approaches –

culminating, for example; in the 'Reclaiming East Manchester' initiative (Grant 2010).

2. Tackling social inequality – adopting community visioning as common practice

According to Pierson and Smith (2001), the concentration of poor people in highly defined urban areas across the developed nations of northern Europe and the United States gave rise to unprecedented levels of academic, governmental and philanthropic attention. Reaction to this, according to Walzer and Hamm (2010), included the approach known in the US as 'community visioning' and in the UK as 'community organizing' (Derounian 2014). This approach grew in popularity during the 1980s and early 1990s and built on the "Take Charge" model, after Ayers et al (1990). The model used various community engagement techniques to raise the following questions; "where are we?" (problem identification), "where do we want to be?" (problem resolution) and "how will we get there?" (action planning). The purpose of this engagement was to overcome a sense of loss of "community" in many urban and rural areas faced with decline as a result of global changes in the economy, demographic shifts and political disenfranchisement of citizens, believed to relate to both local issues (such as; fraudulent activity by politicians) and global issues (such as growing concerns about the environment and climate change).

Pierson and Smith (2001), identified that building social capital and social networks had become the focus of endeavour for tackling inequality and issues around ghetto-isation of urban areas to bring actors together in community programmes aimed at restructuring areas perceived to be "failing". Allen, Chazdon, Radke and Spanier (2010) suggest that community visioning had at its heart the concept of public deliberation and that, in many ways, the practice is analogous with rational planning models. Shipley and Newkirk (1998) suggested that the US and UK have a significant tradition of civic participation which encouraged the widespread adoption of community visioning in these countries in the design and development of regeneration masterplans.

3. Addressing the emerging global ecological crisis and incorporating the concept of sustainable development in planning.

In 1987 the United Nations commissioned the World Report on Environment and Development and concluded its work with the publication of: "Our Common Future"

WCED (1987). The Brundtland Commission as it became known sought to establish a long-term environmental strategy for achieving sustainable development by the year 2000 and beyond, recommend ways to translate concerns for the environment into mechanisms that take into account the interrelationships between people, resources, environment and development, assist the international community to understand how it may deal more effectively with environmental concerns, and shape an agenda for long-term action on protecting and enhancing the environment.

This ambitious "global agenda for change" was formulated to seek to tackle increasing concerns over global climate change and environmental degradation across the developed and developing world. The work was extensive and took four years to complete, but in principle the report can be said to have established a definition of sustainable development as, that which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

Three factors were suggested to be taken into account when considering sustainability. These are the social, economic and environmental factors. The Commission called for action and behavioural change at all levels and in the interest of all. Identifying the need for changes in attitude, and, social values, the report further called for 'vast' campaigns, comprising education, encouraging debate and emphasising public participation.

Following this global call to action, Governments were expected to react, and, aside from an on-going debate about the science of global climate change and environmental degradation, activities such as the development of Agenda 21 by the United Nations was intended to galvanise the commission's work into deliverable actions for change that could be executed at local, national and global levels.

The subsequent 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (the Rio Earth Summit) published "Agenda 21" – a non-binding action plan for sustainable development which established a raft of sustainable development principles, including principle 10 which sought the participation of all concerned citizens (UNCED 1992).

At a local level, in the UK, the Government and local authorities responded to this challenge with a range of "Local Agenda 21" initiatives, which featured community

engagement at their core, as required by the UN:

"Each Local Authority should enter in to dialogue with its citizens, local organisations and private enterprises and adopt a "Local Agenda 21". Through consultation and consensus building, local authorities would learn from citizens and from local, civic, community, business and industrial organisations and acquire the information needed for formulating the best strategies. The process of consultation would increase household awareness of sustainable development issues. Local Authority programmes, policies, laws and regulations to achieve Agenda 21 objectives would be assessed and modified...."

In 1990, the Conservative Government had published the Town and Country Planning Act, which established and refined the Planning roles and functions of County, Local and metropolitan authorities beyond the functions set out in the Local Government Act 1985. This set out the role of Structure and Local plans in achieving sustainable development and was intended to be implemented through a variety of planning policy guidance (PPG) notes. This included PPG 1 which defined general policy and principles and PPG13 which attempted to provide guidance on mitigating the impact of transport arising from development. Many other notes were produced ranging across archaeology, noise, housing development locations (presumption towards brownfield site development), pollution control, renewable energy, nature conservation and dealing with the impact on historic areas. The PPGs reflected the move towards the incorporation of sustainable development principles in planning. It is worth noting that these PPG remained in place until 2004 when they were replaced by a series of Planning Policy Statements (PPS) and ultimately all these guidance documents were repealed after the Localism Act 2011 with the publication of the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF).

Forrester's 1989 publication of "*Planning in the Face of Power*" suggested the need for a more participatory form of planning (and democracy in general), and, whilst embedded in the tradition of the theory of communicative action, he emphasised the planner's central role in shaping not only the documents themselves, but also the nature and extent of participation, thus planners:

"*shape not only documents, but also participation: who is contacted, who participates…who persuades whom of which options...Planners do so not only by shaping which facts certain citizens may have, but also by shaping the trust and expectation of those citizens.*" p.45

This standpoint seems at odds with the Habermasian principles of comprehensibility, truth and sincerity, but nevertheless Forester is considered a pioneer of the theory of communicative planning. Forester saw the planners' role as being a negotiator and this responsibility carried with it "*communicative ethics*", by which he sought to emphasise the planners "duty" to involve less powerful groups, and, advocate their concerns by "*choosing to address or ignore the exercise of political power in the planning process*" Taylor (1998). The adoption of such practices was also evidenced by a return to the more managerial and technocratic style (after Hall) of typical of the "New Labour" Governments of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown.

Carley, Jenkins and Smith (2001) argued that the long-term strategic needs of urban societies for sustainable development and economic growth cannot be divorced from the need to involve individuals and communities in the urban development process. Furthermore, they suggest that sustainable urban development is a political process. It is further argued that through the involvement of "civil society" in urban development across the globe, sustainable plans can be developed. Chapter 3 explores the theoretical underpinnings of the study and considers the development of participation in more detail.

4. Aesthetics and the growth in demand for better urban design, particularly in regeneration schemes alongside increasing calls for local democratic control and community outcome focused planning.

As explored by Jones and Evans, (2008) it is evident from the substantial body of multi-disciplinary research devoted to it that a further dynamic in relation to planning policy and practice that emerged in the 1990s under both the Conservative and later Labour Governments was growing concerns over the quality of urban design, much of which echoes Hall's 1973 study of suburbanisation, Relph's (1976) concern over "placelessness", Kunstler's (1993) "nowhereness".

2.5   Urban and rural regeneration from 1997 to 2010:

Elected in a major "landslide" victory in the 1997 general election the "New Labour" Government of Tony Blair offered a "new deal" for communities, applying a form of neo-

liberality termed the "third way" (Stoker 2004). The political underpinnings of this period are explored in the following chapter, however the majority of a large body of research literature in the period agrees that the Labour Government did not change the economic development and planning policy emphasis of the previous administration, indeed it sort to consolidate and to build further on the public / private partnerships that had emerged under the Conservatives.

In addition, the new administration adopted a more managerial / technocratic approach to planning, one in which the government of the period created a raft of policy instruments, the earliest of which was the formation of the "New Deal for Communities" (1998). This sought to continue previous attempts at holistic regeneration in key deprived areas, through community visioning, coordinated via public / private partnerships, and, characterised often by parachuting of various technical / managerial "visionaries" to lead on the formation and delivery of those plans, according to Walzer and Hamm (2012).

Engagement with communities was sought through formal representatives from the so called "third sector" of voluntary and community organisations, as opposed to individuals, and, these 'partners' where expected to conform to the pre-determined management structures of these partnerships (Wallace 2010). Many areas of local government where also subject to a raft of performance related data which, captured in Local Area Agreements, represented a form of agreement between local authorities, other public services and the newly formed Regional Offices and Assemblies (created after 1998 as a result of the Regional Development Agencies Act).

The Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and Regional Government Offices (RGOs) were eventually abolished following the 2008 global financial collapse, replaced initially with Local Authority Leaders' Boards, then, Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEP). These remain the only vestige of the 'New Labour' managerial era "red-tape" to survive the formation of the 2010 Coalition Government liberalisation (which was similar in nature to the Thatcher era 'deregulation').

After the report of the Urban Task Force (Urban Task Force 1999) the Government established in certain core cities formal Urban Regeneration Companies (URC). These had both special budgetary arrangements and enhanced planning powers that very much

echoed the "managerial" approach to public policy, specifically Liverpool Vision, New East Manchester and Sheffield One. Eventually, this model of management structure was, effectively repeated in every city in England, even if the resulting "regeneration company" did not actually have the formal powers of the URC, they modelled their behaviours, and, plan making approaches on the URC. The function of land-use plan making (up until 2004 this was still based on the 1990 TCPA) was often outside the structure of the local regeneration company, which led to inevitable "tensions" over who was responsible for engagement and communication.

Despite these efforts at regeneration across many urban (and indeed rural) areas of England and Wales, it is recognised that there remained challenges in community development, housing supply and land use planning resulting in the preparation of a series of further reports and plans, including the Sustainable Communities Plan (2003), Barker Review of Housing Supply (2004), Barker Review of Land Use Planning and the Egan Review of Skills for Sustainable Communities (2004). Sir John Egan had also reviewed skills and contract delivery in the construction industry

The culmination of much of this effort was captured in the partial refresh of the Town and Country Planning Act (1990) with the Planning and Compulsory Purchases Act 2004. The most significant elements of that new law to this assessment of the 'journey to now' for local planning and democracy, was the abolition of County Structure Plans (long seen as "too detached and conservative" by many in local Labour led councils), Unitary Development Plans and District Local Plans with a more "streamlined" plan making process requiring Local Development Frameworks (LDF), instead. These LDF link to Regional Spatial Strategies, as set out in PPS 12.

In 2007 the Sustainable Communities Act (SCA) was published, a private members bill supported by the campaign organisation "Local Works" which is a coalition of more than 100 organisations supported by the New Economics Foundation. Planned to assist in the reversal of so called "Ghost Town Britain", the Act was designed to help local Council's petition the Government to support proposals to prevent the on-going decline in local facilities and services. Via the Local Government Association or National Association of Local Councils and through a "transparent process that includes local people" proposals can be presented to the Secretary of State, who is obliged to 'reach agreement' with the

local Council on those proposals. Local representation can, under this act, include citizens' panels. This so called "barrier busting" right was extended to allow individuals or community groups to petition the Secretary of State direct, without recourse to their local council, although proposals from members of the public have no formal status in terms of the SCA.

Towards the end of the Labour Government in 2010, there continued to be calls for more local accountability (particularly from the then opposition Conservative party in Parliament). Many commentators have suggested that the Local Democracy, Economic Development and Construction Act 2009 which was pushed through Parliament prior to the 2010 general election was the then Labour governments' attempt to demonstrate their commitment to localism. It was intended, amongst other things, to create greater public involvement in decision making and allowed the creation of new "combined authorities" in the major urban centres. The Act was repealed immediately by the coalition Government, although the formation of Combined Authorities was allowed to continue.

2.6   Conservative Government from 2010 – emergence of "new Localism"

Following the general election of May 2010, a Conservative – Liberal Coalition Government was formed and lasted, in effect, until May 2015, when a majority Conservative Government was elected. Subsequently, following her decision to announce a "snap" general election, Prime Minister Theresa May lost her majority in April 2017 and was forced to form a loose coalition with the Democratic Unionist Party of Northern Ireland, although to all intents and purposes the Government is in minority.

The direction of policy towards planning has seen little significant change since the initial Conservative-Liberal Coalition (hereafter 'Coalition') and the chapter now explores the current context for planning, and in particular, the establishment of neighbourhood planning as a significant element of the Local Development Plan.

2.6.1 New Localism:

The neo-liberal approach of the previous Labour Government towards communities,

inspired in part by the concepts explored by Stoker (2004), was adopted and reinforced by the Coalition. However, the rhetoric towards planning was, if anything increased pointing a finger of blame at traditional forms of planning (Sturzaker 2011). Much focus was placed on the criticism that the planning system was at fault for having inflationary effects on housing and land prices by stymieing development and "holding back" entrepreneurship – familiar themes from the Margaret Thatcher era, but, placed now in the context of the cost of housing and apparent lack of new supply, as identified in Adams, Leishman and Moore (2009) and Sturzaker and Gordon (2017).

The following statement is extracted from "A Plain English Guide to the Localism Act", DCLG (2011):

> *"The time has come to disperse power more widely in Britain today."* The Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, Coalition Agreement, May 2010.

In the foreword to the same guide the Rt. Hon Greg Clark MP, Minister of State for Decentralisation, stated:

> *"For too long, central government has hoarded and concentrated power. Trying to improve people's lives by imposing decisions, setting targets and demanding inspections from Whitehall simply doesn't work. It creates bureaucracy. It leaves no room for adaptation to reflect local circumstances or innovation to deliver services more effectively and at lower cost. And it leaves people feeling 'done to' and imposed upon.......... I have long believed that there is a better way of doing things. Eight years ago I wrote a book called Total Politics which set out the case for a huge shift in power – from central Whitehall, to local public servants, and from bureaucrats to communities and individuals..."*

These statements can be taken to reflect the key concepts, beliefs and understandings lying behind the term 'Localism' as interpreted by Conservative politicians. However, commentators observed that the scale of reduction in local authority budgets (50% plus reductions in some cases) and the introduction of the new measures in the Localism Act, the Government's agenda of a "big society" as opposed to "big Government" was emerging rapidly, and, were argued to be anti-democratic rather than empowering (Ledwith 2012) (Williams, Goodwin and Cloke 2014). These issues are also powerfully explored by Allmendinger and Haughton (2015).

That there was confusion over what 'localism' might have meant at that time can be found by reflecting on the following two statements, which come from NALC, (2010)

(researcher's emphasis in bold):

> *"Localism is the **principle**, the **mantra** that defines everything we do. Our Localism Bill will help free local government from the **shackles of central government** control. It will continue the overhaul of the planning system, give voters more power over local government spending and let the community take over rural pubs or post offices and increase broadband access through encouraging home grown Big Society initiatives. And localism isn't just about giving power back to local government. It's not a tug of war between the two of us. It's even more important that we push power onwards and outwards closer to people. If people know they can make a difference, then there's a reason to stand up and be counted, a reason to get involved. So we want to make sure people can take control and take responsibility in their street, their estate, their town. This means **district, county, parish and town councils and local people working together in their neighbourhoods**, as the basis for the Big Society."* Bob Neill MP

Whereas, at the same time, a local council observed; "*So what does the 'Big Society' mean? Well no-one seems too sure – even those who promote it*." Davoudi (2013) observed that this localism should not be confused with localisation (relating to the global versus local production and use of increasingly scarce resources – often food) and instead offers a "Foucauldian-inspired" interpretation of localism that attempts to conceptualise the process in terms of a neo-liberal governmentality.

One manifestation of Localism was a focus on changing the way planning works (Albrects 2013). Statements by the then Planning Minister Nick Boles hark back to an era of design-led planning advocated by those such as Ebenezer Howard. In his speech to the Town and Country Planning Association Conference on 29 November 2012 Boles made the following statement, arguably invoking Anderson's imagined communities:

"Letchworth and other garden cities work as living, breathing urban communities because, as Ebenezer Howard put it, they combine "the advantages of the most energetic and active town life, with all the beauty and delight of the country!" This is the way most English people want to live. We need to find a way to build places like this again."

The Minister's conclusions in this speech was that the country was trapped in a "vicious circle" created by the current planning system, by local authorities not being ambitious enough and putting too few housing sites in their local plans, and, as a result forcing the value of a limited supply of land for housing upwards. These simplistic statements overlook conclusions found in Adams, Leishman and Moore (2009) and Archer and Cole (2014) who pointed to caution amongst builders over the capacity of local housing markets to absorb new-build supply, and, ignore the collapse in the market following the 2008 global financial downturn and continuing austerity in Government funded projects.

However, he praised Greg Clark for his vision and referred to Eric Pickles scrapping of various pieces of planning legislation. He then heralded neighbourhood planning as:

*"..in what I believe will be our most **revolutionary** step, the government launched **neighbourhood planning** through which villages, parishes and other neighbourhoods can take control of their future and decide for themselves how and where development should take place."*

Haughton and Allmendinger et al (2013) conclude from these statements, and numerous others about 'localism' that the way planning as it has been traditionally carried out in the UK will have to change, as do Taylor-Gooby and Stoker (2011). The Localism Act clarified the Governments' expectations of change raised in these and other statements, although how those changes would take effect was an open question, as explored by Marshall (2013) and Waterhout, Othengrafen and Sykes (2013).

2.6.2 Neighbourhood planning as a new approach to community involvement in planning.

The desirability of a more "bottom up" approach to planning is not new and has been explored by multiple theorists for several decades. It requires a participatory democracy which achieves an effective transference of responsibility, with an emphasis on local solutions to local problems developed by empowered citizens (as Arnstein would see it – moving planning towards citizen control). It could be, then, that a new paradigm of planning is emergent, as identified by Agger (2012). Features of that new paradigm would be the replacement of institutionally organised and professionally led 'communicative planning' approaches, explored by Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (1998). This could give way to a model, discussed in Hague and Jenkins (2005), Carley, Jenkins & Smith (2001) and Pierson and Smith (2001) where local communities take a more instrumental, participatory role and active responsibility for decision making at a neighbourhood level within broad strategic frameworks spanning the relevant government jurisdiction.

This 'neighbourhood planning' requires, according to Hague and Jenkins (2005) a "place" focus for communities and an expansion of voluntary participation of individuals in collective action, plus, an end product in the form of a land-use plan which must be legal and has been adopted through a simple majority referendum in the local area. The current

political objectives for Neighbourhood Planning under the Localsim Act include greater community consensus towards an expansion in house building. So, can simply empowering communities actually bring about all of these significant changes in the economy?

It can be observed that, from the author's experience in planning and land use development, and, as confirmed by; Curwell and Deakin (2002), Patten (2008), and Ledwith (2011), that other factors are at play in respect of the broader context in which planning and regeneration occurs. These are as follows:

First, globalisation and its impact on the ability of nation states to truly influence and control the economy of individual countries.

Second, the crisis that started in 2008 in financial and currency markets, which appears to be continuing, and, which has had a dramatic impact on the confidence of private investors in certain areas, plus the continued imposition of Government austerity, hence the slow-down in the regeneration industry which has traditionally relied on public / private partnership funding (especially under New Labour's "third way").

Third; the changing relationship between citizen and state perhaps as a result, not just of globalisation and its impacts, but also because of the apparent inability of the state to control the excesses of various actors whether within large corporations, government or other public organisations. This includes corporate and individual tax avoidance, apparently excessive executive remuneration and the growing gap between the "haves and have nots" (Derounian 2014).

Finally, the on-going diversification of communication media, which may influence the widely held belief, possibly evidenced in low turn outs at all forms of democratic electoral processes, that interest in party politics has diminished, whereas participation in "community" has, or will, expand.

This implies that individuals will be less willing to accept state sponsored actions carried out on "our behalf" simply because of an assumed political consensus. Cooper (2002) pg. 126, also points to the lessons learnt from the BEQUEST project to the increasingly

"virtual" nature of organisations, and the likely divide that access to Information Communications Technologies (ICTs) can have in the recognition that:

"As a predominant or preferred mode of communication, ICTs create a higher entry threshold for participation and this ensures that some stakeholders remain as silent voices"

This researcher has observed that the Government's preferred approach to the creation of guidance and the dissemination of information on the subject of Neighbourhood Planning is heavily reliant on ICTs as opposed to other media – which is likely to introduce an element of exclusivity in respect of access to and capacity to manipulate, distribute and understand information in electronic form (Bentivegna & Curwell et al, 2002).

Most information on Neighbourhood Planning is not directly maintained by the Government itself, but rather through an outreach organisation called Locality, who provide and maintain the website "My Community Rights". This website, together with other sources such as the Royal Institute of British Architecture, Royal Town Planning Institute, Council for the Protection of Rural England and third sector "activist" organisations such as Action for Market Towns, contain detailed explanations of how to develop neighbourhood plans but also exploit the other new rights provided in the Localism Act, which are described below.

2.6.3 The Localism Act 2011:

All aspects of the new planning policy directions created by Government since 2010 have been introduced under the broad heading of "Making the Planning System work more efficiently and effectively". The Localism Act 2011 came in to effect in April 2012, and, introduced neighbourhood planning through a series of new measures, which can be grouped under the following topics, below summarised from DCLG (2012a, 2012b and 2013);

1. New freedoms and flexibilities for local government:
   This includes; a general power of competence – which is a complex area of law, but which is intended to enable more individualistic approaches to be taken by

Councils.

2. Clarification of the rules on predetermination of planning applications:
   For instance allowing for a local councillor to "speak up" on local matters such as planning applications without fear of prejudice which is a significant change because the rules have previously prevented this.

3. The Act also dismantled regional quasi non-governmental organisations:
   The so-called 'quangos' (e.g. Regional Development Agencies) and other similar bodies were disbanded and their powers transferred to local authorities, combined authorities and economic prosperity boards (as exist in Greater Manchester inter alia). Prior legislation, discussed above, enable a Combined Authority (CA) to be created but the Localism Act granted more powers to a CA.

Other freedoms for local councils were introduced relating to organisational approaches to local democratic mechanisms, such as areas committees, and freedoms to modify executive decision-making approaches away from the common "leader and cabinet" styles towards more traditional committee led methods, the former being seen to be managerial and un-democratic.

4. New 'rights and powers' for communities and individuals;
   Providing; the community 'right to challenge' the Councils model of service provision. Through this measure the third sector, including voluntary and community groups, parish and Town Councils or local authority employees can express interest in taking over the running of a service, a community 'right to bid' for ownership of identified community assets, which if threatened with disposal or closure, the Act provides time for community groups (from the whole third sector) to assemble funding and develop their bids for that asset.

5. Delivering reform of the planning system:
   including the abolition of regional strategies, including housing targets; enabling neighbourhood planning – which is explored in more detail in the following section; allowing a community 'right to build' – avoiding the need for further planning processes such as traditional planning application considered by the

overall Council for an area; reforming the Community Infrastructure Levy, particularly to incentivise the take up of Neighbourhood Plans by rewarding such areas with a greater share of Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL) than non-neighbourhood plan areas; changes to the way Local Plans are made, also explored in more detail in the subsequent section on Neighbourhood planning.

6. Reform of how housing allocations are made:
   Which included changes to social housing allocations, tenure, homelessness legislation, finance, scope for a national swap scheme, regulation of social housing and abolition of Home Information Packs.

The Government set out the intended effect of the Act, at DCLG (2011b).

2.6.4 Neighbourhood Planning as a process within a broader local development plan:

This section explores the definition of Neighbourhood Planning, and, its relationship to the reformed process of creating a Local Plan. In addition to the change in law brought about by the Localism Act (2011) the Government have reformed planning guidance by creating the National Planning Policy Framework, DCLG (2012c).

Amongst other things this changes the function of local planning to place more emphasis on the role of local Councils in setting overall strategic direction for their jurisdictions, and, allows for the inclusion in the local planning framework of community developed neighbourhood plans. Local Plans are defined by Government in this document as:

"The Local Plan for an area sets the rules for how the area will develop over time. The Local Plan, along with any neighbourhood plans, forms the overall development plan for the local area. Planning decisions must normally be taken in accordance with the development plan."

The National Planning Policy Framework states that every local planning authority in England should have a clear, up to date Local Plan, which conforms to the framework, meets local development needs, and reflects local people's views of

how they wish their community to develop.

The National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) provides a framework in which local people and their local councils can produce their own distinctive plans, reflecting their own priorities. The NPPF says Local Plans should: be based on the objectively assessed needs of the local area, set out opportunities for development and clear policies on what will or won't be permitted and where, plan positively for the development and infrastructure required in the area to meet the objectives, principles and policies of the NPPF, reflect a collective vision for the sustainable development of the area, cover an appropriate time scale (preferably 15 years) and be kept up to date, be based on co-operation with neighbouring authorities, public, voluntary and private sector organisations, allocate sites to encourage development and the flexible use of land, identifying new land where necessary, contain a clear strategy for enhancing the natural, built and historic environment and supporting Nature Improvement Areas where they have been identified
The government is working with the Local Government Association, the Planning Advisory Service, and the Planning Inspectorate to provide support to local councils on plan-making. Councils at an early stage of preparation should contact the Planning Advisory Service."

Early in 2012, the Government embarked on a programme termed "front-runners" in Neighbourhood Planning. These are defined in this extract from the Department for Communities and Local Government policy:

"The Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) has committed to providing up to £50 million until March 2015 to support local councils to make neighbourhood planning a success. We've also supported over 200 'front runner' projects that are helping local communities, local councils and the government learn about how neighbourhood planning is working in practice. Under this scheme, we've made available a grant of up to £20,000 towards the cost of each project.

DCLG is providing further funding to 4 organisations already offering support on neighbourhood planning: the Royal Town Planning Institute (as Planning Aid), the

Prince's Foundation for Building Community, the Campaign to Protect Rural England, working with the National Association of Local Councils, and, Locality (the Building Communities Consortium).

The funding will enable the support providers to offer practical and bespoke advice and assistance to communities leading the way on neighbourhood plans. For the future, we're considering whether that support best meets communities' needs and what extra help might be made available."

The following is also an extract from the National Planning Policy Framework, pages 43-44, paragraphs 183 to 185, DCLG (2012), which defines the role of NP:

"Neighbourhood planning gives communities direct power to develop a shared vision for their neighbourhood and deliver the sustainable development they need. Parishes and neighbourhood forums can use neighbourhood planning to:
set planning policies through neighbourhood plans to determine decisions on planning applications; and
grant planning permission through Neighbourhood Development Orders and Community Right to Build Orders for specific development which complies with the order.
Neighbourhood planning provides a powerful set of tools for local people to ensure that they get the right types of development for their community. The ambition of the neighbourhood should be aligned with the strategic needs and priorities of the wider local area. Neighbourhood plans must be in general conformity with the strategic policies of the Local Plan. To facilitate this, local planning authorities should set out clearly their strategic policies for the area and ensure that an up-to-date Local Plan is in place as quickly as possible. Neighbourhood plans should reflect these policies and neighbourhoods should plan positively to support them. Neighbourhood plans and orders should not promote less development than set out in the Local Plan or undermine its strategic policies. Outside these strategic elements, neighbourhood plans will be able to shape and direct sustainable development in their area. Once a neighbourhood plan has demonstrated its general conformity with the strategic policies of the Local Plan and is brought into force, the policies it contains take precedence over existing non-strategic policies

> *in the Local Plan for that neighbourhood, where they are in conflict. Local planning authorities should avoid duplicating planning processes for non-strategic policies where a neighbourhood plan is in preparation."*

According to the DCLG (2011b) neighbourhood planning was a "new way" for communities to decide where they live and work, however it is optional and is intended to be complementary to, but must be in conformity with the Local Plan (DCLG 2012a). Furthermore, DCLG has stated that the Neighbourhood Plan will enable communities to choose where they want new homes, shops and office to be built, have their say on what new buildings should look like and grant permission for new community buildings.

After considerable debate at planning appeals and through challenges to draft Neighbourhood Plans by developers and local authorities, the Government sought, in 2016, to clarify the position of Neighbourhood Plans at draft or examination stage. According to the following: *http://lichfields.uk/blog/2017/may/5/neighbourhood-planning-act-2017-essential-guide-to-changes-to-plan-making/* (viewed 31 May 2017), the planning consultancy observed that the Neighbourhood Planning Act 2017 (NPA 2017) means that NP is "here to stay".

The changes that NPA 2017 has introduced include; the requirement that Local Authorities (LA) must support NP, and, assuming that a plan has reached "examination stage" even an unmade (i.e. not formally adopted by the LA) plan must be given weight in determining planning applications. Definition of what a post-examination plan is, together with clarification of the implications of a positive outcome at referendum prior to a plan being formally "made" by the LA is provided. The implication of the latter is that a plan that has been successful at a referendum is automatically considered part of the development plan (DP). A council can subsequently choose to not "make" a NP with this status, at which point it would no longer be part of the DP.

In terms of examination the NPA 2017 also requires that the examiner allows for the neighbourhood plan making body, the LA and others to meet during the examination process. A draft report on examination should also be published.

Additional legislation and technical consultation papers are being prepared to support these

changes and enact the law into practice. The Government's motivation for bringing into force these changes, and, confirming its support for NP is set out in the ministerial statement by Gavin Barwell, MP, Minister of State for Housing & Planning, 12 December 2016:

> *"Neighbourhood planning was introduced by the Localism Act 2011, and, is an important part of the Government's manifesto commitment to let local people have more say on local planning. With over 230 neighbourhood plans in force and many more in preparation, they are already a well-established part of the English planning system. Recent analysis suggests that giving people more control over development in their area is helping to boost housing supply – those plans in force that plan for a housing number have on average planned for approximately 10% more homes than the number for that area set out by the relevant local planning authority."*

The Minister further clarified the position:

> *"The Government confirms that where a planning application conflicts with a neighbourhood plan that has been brought into force, planning permission should not normally be granted. However, communities who have been proactive and worked hard to bring forward neighbourhood plans are often frustrated that their plan is being undermined because their local planning authority cannot demonstrate a five-year land supply of deliverable housing sites."*

The issue, the author suggests, has come to a head because the Government continues to be frustrated by the progress of LAs preparation of DPs and the lack of progress in housing developments. Government believes in "localism" and is seeking to 'reward' local communities who progress their plans, even if LAs struggle. The difficulty for LAs is that they continue to suffer from austerity and have limited staff resources to process NP and DP development. The Minister believes that NP has become of sufficient scale and continued growth that it is anticipated to remain a feature of the planning system:

> *"As more communities take up the opportunity to shape their area we need to make sure planning policy is suitable for a system with growing neighbourhood plan*

coverage. Building on proposals to further strengthen neighbourhood planning through the Neighbourhood Planning Bill, I am today making clear that where communities plan for housing in their area in a neighbourhood plan, those plans should not be deemed to be out-of-date unless there is a significant lack of land supply for housing in the wider local authority area. We are also offering those communities who brought forward their plans in advance of this statement time to review their plans."

A gap in take up across 'the north' and within urban areas was initially evident at the outset of this research, and, although neighbourhood planning has continued to grow throughout the period the take up has, by and large, been in rural as opposed to urban areas (Parker and Salter 2017).

2.7   Conclusions

The recent changes to NP legislation could be seen as a response by Government to the contemporary research into take up and completion of NP by the small group of current researchers into the topic such as Parker (2016 and 2017), Bradley (2015) and Brookfield (2016). In these recent papers the main criticisms that emerge are that NP take up is uneven, although NP could be seen to be representative of a progressive localism, in practice, innovation is not only constrained but potentially entirely suppressed. NP continues to be defined by its manifestation in largely rural, middle class communities in the South East and South West of England (at least 42% of plan areas). Conservatism in the form of localism is contested by many communities, however, in general, plans are seen to be balanced in terms of both pro-development polices and mechanisms of restraint.

In term of progression to adopted NP status, whilst more than 1600 areas have taken up NP plan making, the total number achieving referendum was (by 2015 according to Parker (2016)) just 100 plans. This figure, of around 6% successful completions, is in itself not encouraging and appears in particular to relate to the length of time it takes to complete a plan.

The research canon into NP is growing however it is particularly limited from the

perspective of the experience of users and how and why communities have cooperated with the policy, which confirms that this research is a valid and potentially useful exercise.

This chapter has explored the development of planning theory and practice from the beginning of the 20th Century, and, highlights the discrete changes from instructive, consultative, through communicative to participatory models of practice. Neighbourhood planning demands volunteers to participate as willing 'actors' in this practice (Giddens 1984), but how and why do volunteers engage in this practice? Given the relative newness of this phenomenon, despite the work of Sturzaker (2011), Stanier (2014), Selbee and Reed (2001) and Rybin (1999), only Brookfield (2017) has specifically examined voluntary participation in contemporary Neighbourhood Planning.

It is well established that communities value "place" and multiple authors have commented on the desirability of "place-centred" design, and, whilst the author recognises the architectural and urban design aspects of this debate, the author is positioned towards sociological and cultural aspects of 'place' in the context of its effects on the motivation of those who chose to participate (as volunteers) in planning, specifically theory of place identity and attachment, after Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983) and Livingston, Bailey and Kearns (2008).

Whilst the impact of increasing use of social media and the nature of a globalised economy does indeed blur the boundaries of "community" for individuals, in fact arguments over place are focused now more so than ever over the role of the "professional" versus "lay" person, and, thus populism in politics is only likely to continue. There is a considerable body of research that addresses the divide between so-called "experts" and the "local" person who, by virtue of their lived experience, together with the application of transferrable skills perhaps gained in other forums, 'authorises' them to engage in plan making.

Maginn (2007) has influenced two critical aspects of the nature and methodology of this study. The first is that prior to the opportunity to lead the creation of their neighbourhood plan most methods of citizen participation constituted little more than mere "tokenism" in Arnstein's terminology, and, according to Manzo and Perkins (2006) engaging people in effective community participation goes beyond making minor modifications to plans and

being required to "co-operate' with the development of plans and should include leading on; critical thinking, plan making and skill building and development. The second area is the proposition that place represents a form of public good, as identified by Susser and Tonnelat (2013). The author contends that not only is 'place' a form of public good, but that plan making by a group of 'local' lay people is analogous with the management of common pool resources (Poteete, Janssen and Ostrom 2010)

The mechanisms for effective collective action towards the management of common pool resources is explored, in depth, by Ostrom et al (various dates). In this context the theoretical considerations of this research are set out in more detail in the following Chapter 3. Suffice it to say at this point that the author agrees with Healey (1997) where she draws on Forester in regard to the contrast between the rational approach to planning, led by scientifically justified decisions, versus the inclusionary approach developed in her publication and thus provides a sound theoretical standpoint from which to analyse the extent to which neighbourhood planning represents a significant change in planning practice and theory.

Chapter 3 - Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the theoretical underpinnings of localism and neighbourhood planning in the context of the following framework:

3.1.1 Governance

Hague and Jenkins (2005) propose that planning is essentially a political function. Planning can be considered to be located at the nexus of the three principal features of a political eco-system: firstly the state and its institutions which set national and local agenda through policy, identified by Cochrane (2007) and Albrechts (2017), second the economy and its balance of private and public 'push and pull' factors which stimulate or regulate growth, identified by Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (1998) and Booher (2004) and thirdly society, in its response to changing socio-cultural 'norms' in the forms of pressures and values, such as the acceptance or otherwise of the 'role of the expert', see in Connelly (2010) and Brownill and Parker (2010).

3.1.2 Volunteerism and participation

Following Forester (1989), the involvement of citizens has become a focus of much planning theory, particularly in the works of Healey (1997) and later; Innes and Booher (2010) inter alia. The motivation behind volunteering and the characteristics of that activity in demographic, and, social terms are explored. Trenttelman (2009), shows how examining the lived experience of volunteers can demonstrate attachment to place, and, community. Taylor (2005) and (2007) shows how new forms of participatory governance can challenge volunteers who have adopted community-based activities in preference over more traditional working patterns.

3.1.3 Institutional design

I suggest that a spatial plan is a form of "public good" and argue that the model of neighbourhood planning that has been developed represents a collective action approach towards governance of that "public good". The mechanism for creating this "public good"

is inherently collaborative, delivered by 'citizen planners', after Bradley (2017). I have therefore identified that the analysis of common pool resource management explored by; Ostrom (1990)(2007); Poteete Janssen and Ostrom (2010) and, particularly Susser and Tonnelat (2013) is relevant to this field.

3.1.4 It is citizen led but is it democratic?

It is suggested by Forester (1989), Ledwith (2012) and Healey (2010) that true community empowerment has at its heart the pursuit of emancipatory social justice, after the principles of Freirean critical pedagogy. So there is now observed to be present a tension between the principles of community empowerment as promoted widely by practitioners and theorists of participatory planning, and, neo-liberal political thinking, which is based deeply in a market led ideology and public choice theory, according to Thornley (1991) when reflecting on the work of Buchanan (1965). That neo-liberal viewpoint assumes that it is individuals, not social groups that engage with and make political choices, and, their motivations are largely selfish. Hence is neighbourhood planning democratic?

This thesis now considers the theoretical framework in detail.

3.2 Understanding the Governance model of Localism and Neighbourhood Planning.

The current conceptualisation of localism appears reliant on the principles of participatory democracy; subsidiarity, devolution and decentralisation of state power and responsibility. The roots of this form of governance model are identified by; Haughton and Allmendinger (2013), as appearing in British politics under the former Labour Government. The political theorist Stoker is identified as the leading academic, who (in 2004) published an article titled "New Localism, progressive politics and democracy" – in the Political Quarterly, 75, pp 117 to 129. The now familiar political rhetoric of "*giving away power*" was often stated by the Prime Minister Tony Blair. He was influenced by Stoker, and, policy advisors such as; Geoff Mulgan (then Director of the Young Foundation), Matthew Taylor (one time head of the Policy Unit), and, Demos, a think tank.

In Britain, irrespective of the political party that they represent, the political promoters of Localism generally adhere to what are widely recognised as neo-liberal political viewpoints. These viewpoints have been heavily influenced, over time, by the Chicago School of Economics, which rejected Keynesian economic theory in favour of monetarism, and, built heavily on the work of Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek, leading to a monetarist economic policy being the driving factor in almost all western economies. This political philosophy generally rejects intervention from government (and hence would seek to reduce "big Government") and adopts a laissez-faire attitude to regulation – including relaxation of planning constraints. But at the same time, communities and individuals, motivated by a growing sense of threat to their place identity (according to Hague (2005) inter alia) have become more active, especially in respect of developments seen to threaten local assets.

According to Ansell and Gash (2007), over the preceding two decades a "new strategy for governing" had emerged which became known as "collaborative governance". Older forms of government – specifically government by representation – had fallen out of favour during the mid-90's when concepts developed by Stoker (1998) led, ultimately, led to the adoption of a "third way" in politics – then promoted by the New Labour government headed by Tony Blair.

Whilst the Blairite Government fully embraced neo-liberal economic policies it also espoused a social democratic approach to welfare, environmental and social aspirations, including a new vision for communities.

Pierson and Smith (2001), suggest that the social policy developed in this era was designed to apply pressure to individuals to conform to a new 'Blairite' model, which defined their expected role in a wider community. This model was, it is argued, characterised by: a blend of empowerment through the involvement of "community" and personal responsibility through policies aimed at ending welfare dependency amongst the (alleged) "work-shy".

Whilst Healey (2010) identifies this was a social democratic approach which encouraged more democratic decision making, more often than not other commentators observe that communities tended to be represented through the voluntary institutions of the third sector,

as opposed to individual representation. However, various legislative actions, including the Sustainable Communities Act 2007, and, the Planning and Compulsory Purchases Act 2004 characterised the "third way" in planning policy terms, and, sought to raise the profile of community involvement in the socio-political debate on land use strategy, and, in specific areas of regeneration.

Stoker's theoretical stance is that governance, as opposed to government, is about collective decision-making, and, particularly decision making that involves both public and private "actors". Ansell and Gash (2007) assess this definition against an alternative proposed by Lynn, Heinrich and Hill (2001) that defined governance as only being related to specific provision of "*public goods*", and, then in relation to creation of laws and rules governing their management and distribution. I accept the combined definition of governance, and, in that sense agrees with Ansell and Gash, that collaborative governance, particularly for the purposes of planning represents the involvement of "stakeholders" in the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred.

Collaborative governance, can be conceptualised then as a socio-political model in which public and private actors work collectively in distinctive ways, using particular processes, to establish laws and rules for the provision of public goods.

This concept is distinctly different to representative democracy, where politicians and appointed officials determine strategy and implementation based on an assumed consensus of opinion supporting their actions. The various earlier forms of rational planning conform to a technocratic and bureaucratic style of representative government, whereas, collaborative and communicative planning (based on the Habermasian concept of communicative action) emerged at the same time as most western "liberal' governments moved towards governance based approaches.

Emerson et al (2011) describe this form of politics as "deliberative democracy" and has examined collaborative governance in settings as diverse as public administration, conflict resolution and environmental management in the study what is termed a "collaborative governance regime" (CGR) to develop their framework, examined later in this chapter.

3.3 Volunteering and Participation

3.3.1 Towards an understanding of 'Participation theory' as a model of planning policy development

Jones and Evans (2008), identified that three paradigms for the nature of planning that can be observed to have existed since the 1940s. These are stated to be; rationalist 'blueprint' planning, consultative models and participatory models. These have existed and developed as political models of governance have changed over time. It is important when considering this fact to appreciate that these paradigms do not necessarily exist independently, but, that they often exist alongside each other. The first paradigm relates to a rationalist form of planning led by fixed 'visions' or 'blueprints'. The predominant assumption over the nature of relations is that a common consensus exists, Keeble (1952). This form of planning approach has largely fell out of favour, according to Almeida (2013).

The second paradigm is also rationalist and seeks to achieve specific actions through a flexible vision of delivery. Characterised by public-private partnerships, this paradigm of planning is demonstrated strongly in ways in which Urban Regeneration Companies sought a common consensus through collaborative public-private partnerships. This form of 'communicative' planning (after Habermas 1984) is criticised by Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (1998 and 2015) who argue that we are now in an era of 'post-political' planning regimes.

The third paradigm, arises from criticism of 'rationality', Alexander (2000), and seeks to develop plans through participatory planning. Power, according to Forrester (1999) is ideally split between Government, private sector and civic society.

The theory of collaborative planning was developed and promoted by Healey (1997, and, 2010). Healey specifically refers to the collaborative governance approach adopted by the New Labour government as providing a social democratic basis for the pursuit of an institutional approach to planning through communicative action. In doing so, Healey has built a model of collaborative planning, after Forester (1989). Both theorists saw that the challenge of communicative planning systems as they developed was to overcome the

conflicts that emerged using traditional consultative processes, and, related to a hegemonic issue that saw state planning actors wielding power in the interests of the private sector businesses and land-owners as opposed to the community, often with a place making focus, as opposed to being community led.

Healey argues that collaborative planning (as opposed to communicative) approaches, hold out the prospect of evolving the capacity to address the challenges of place-focused policy attention. A place making focus was argued to have been driven by developers, and, land owners seeking to increase value by an urban design process often termed "gentrification". This was seen to be particularly impactful on deprived neighbourhoods within brown field regeneration areas. One of the negative effects of this has been to alienate existing communities who hold strong place based attachments to existing areas. Hague, Jenkins et al (2005) argue that whilst the "new planning" theory was participatory there was a risk that it continues to fail to take account of social and community interests.

Healey expresses the view that collaborative practices hold the promise of developing understandings, policies and conditions which are infused with a richer understanding of materials, values and interests than resort to technical analysis, bureaucratic procedural or ideological struggle on their own could achieve.

This is an idealistic ambition for collaborative planning practice and it is argued not to have been entirely successful by commentators. For instance, Jones and Evans (2008) point out that although Local Strategic Partnerships (LSP) were present as part of the collaborative regeneration approach in the UK, community representation often involved giving hand-picked community members seats on a decision-making body, whose remit was largely driven by the dominant governing body. Hence it is argued that institutional priorities tended to be reinforced and dissent suppressed

More recently, Bradley (2016b), has concluded that whilst the policy objective of the introduction of Neighbourhood Planning was to overcome citizen objection to house-building, the Neighbourhood Plan has emerged (in locations that have embraced it) as a political lobby for systems change in England – one which is diametrically opposed to the speculative approach of volume house builders.

So, reflecting on Arnstein (1967), and in Chapter 2, the move towards neighbourhood plan-making may represents a shift toward delegated power. In their recent studies, Brownill and Bradley (eds 2017) consider the emergence of a 'progressive localism' also noted by Healey (2015), resulting in greater community-led housing planning, seen in Field and Layard (2017).

Perhaps, then, Neighbourhood Planning as viewed as a manifestation of citizen power represents a new, fourth paradigm of planning that is emergent in nature?
The next section considers who these citizen planners may be.

3.3.2 Towards an understanding of the nature of Volunteering

The National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) enabled comprehensive data on volunteering in the UK to be established. It created the Almanac of the Civil Society which provided comprehensive access to statistics of volunteering in the UK. The NCVO refers to Michael Edwards definition of Civil Society (from 2004), but adds that it is associational life that brings people together and allows civic values and skills to develop. Civil society is also defined by values: the values associated with the 'good society', which aims for social, economic and political progress. Finally, civil society is defined as a space: the public sphere where debate and deliberation allows the negotiation of the common interest , such as Neighbourhood Planning.

From the NCVO data I established that participation in formal volunteering differs by employment status, age, ethnicity, disability and region. People in employment are more likely to volunteer than those who are economically inactive (42% and 34% respectively). Those living in the South West (49%), South East (49%) and East of England (41%) are more likely to volunteer than those living in the North East (29%) and London (32%). Forty-three per cent of people aged 35 to 49 formally volunteer at least once a year compared to one-third (33%) of those aged 26 to 34. Participation does not differ greatly by gender with 39% of men formally volunteering once a year compared to 38% of women.

However, a relatively small subset of the population I term "the civic core" is responsible

for most of the volunteering; seen to be charitable giving and civic participation. Just over a third (36%) of the adult population provide nearly nine-tenths (87%) of volunteer hours, just over four-fifths (81%) of the amount given to charity, and just over three-quarters (77%) of participation in different civic associations. The contribution of the primary core to volunteering is particularly striking with 9% of the adult population accounting for 51% of all volunteer hours which highlights the significant level of involvement of a committed few. In terms of demographics, people in the civic core are more likely to be middle-aged, have higher education qualifications, actively practise their religion, be in managerial and professional occupations, and have lived in the same neighbourhood for at least 10 years.

Further analysis of participation has been carried by Brodie (2011) and most recently Brookfield (2017), the latter of which provides the most up to date analysis of volunteering in plan making. These data provide direction to the theoretical conditions necessary to support and encourage participation, and are seen to be that participation is personal and must be viewed first and foremost from the perspective of the individual taking part, but, that significant barriers to participation are entrenched.

These data have enabled the author to form a typology of participation, thus:

Social participation:

> the collective activities that individuals are involved in, including being involved in formal voluntary organisations (e.g. volunteering for a charity shop or being a trustee), informal or grassroots community groups (e.g. a tenants' and residents' association or a sports club), and formal and informal mutual aid and self-help (e.g. a peer-support group or a community gardening group), which Blackstone (2009) links to social compassion.

Public participation:

> the engagement of individuals with the various structures and institutions of democracy, including voting, contacting a political representative, campaigning and lobbying, and taking part in consultations and demonstrations.

Individual participation:

> people's individual actions and choices that reflect the kind of society they want to live in, including buying fair trade or green products, boycotting products from

particular countries, recycling, signing petitions, giving to charity and informal helpful gestures (such as visiting an elderly neighbour).

Given the reliance on the citizen planner in neighbourhood planning it is necessary to understand the conditions which are necessary to sustain volunteering, and, Clary and Snyder (1999) have developed a theoretical approach to volunteering which assists in understanding this, however, more recently, Brookfield, Bolton and Parry (2014) have concluded through a longitudinal study of long term patterns of participation and volunteering amongst a cohort of 50 years olds across Britain that life stage; employed / retired, and, events (e.g. redundancy) influence participation and volunteering, both positively and negatively. A further consistent theoretical position emerges in addition, which is the link between volunteering and place attachment.

I conclude that involvement in Neighbourhood Planning constitutes public participation and hence it is concerned with the individuals' relationship to institutions, as part of a Neighbourhood Plan Group. Arguably there is an element of social participation in Neighbourhood Planning, through the inherent need to collaborate with 'like-minded' individuals and this thesis explores the extent to which individuals collaborate and cooperate whilst volunteering.

3.3.3 Towards an understanding the role of Place Attachment

Communities can be defined in terms of their attachment to place. According to Roberts and Sykes (2000), the Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) considered that communities could be defined by their reference to; personal attributes (such as age, gender, ethnicity), beliefs, economic position (including work patterns such as volunteering), skills, relationship to local services (e.g. patients and carers are a community), and place (through attachment to neighbourhood, village, city).

Similarly, the degree and success of voluntary action can be linked to outcomes that affect both people and places. Bourke (2004) suggests that the meaningful involvement of community in planning and regeneration is likely to produce more sustainable outcomes. I recognise that a significant factor in volunteerism and participation in planning, is place attachment. Booher (2004) suggests understanding the nature of community involvement

is essential in reframing public participation strategies in the post-political era of the 21st Century.

Livingston, Bailey and Kearns (2008) established that older residents that have lived longest in an area tend to have a greater attachment to place than younger ones. This is compared to the NCVO derived data that more middle-aged people tend to volunteer and especially if they have been resident in an area for more than ten years. Those with higher educational qualifications and a more integrated social network in an area have higher attachment to place.

According to Hauge (2006) attachment can be defined as the feelings that individuals develop with respect to places that are well known to us; our homes, streets, villages, towns and cities, or, equally landscapes and environments. There is a debate over the validity of 'place identity' in isolation from other mainstream psychological understandings of identity, but, Hauge concludes that it is relevant given that "who we are" demonstrates itself in many ways, including our attachment to place.

Hague and Jenkins (2005) see place identity, participation and planning as inescapably linked. Their argument being that planning is about place making. They argue that planners have been used as "conduits" by politicians or indeed developers seeking to promote or impose their version of identity on a place. This is significant, as the motivations for people to become involved in their neighbourhood could well be to protect their personal view of a place. Planners have traditionally engaged with the community to overcome resistance to change and build consensus towards and institutional viewpoint. But the process by which planners must now do so is changing, from the previous "public participation", to a community led "bottom up" approach – the big Society.

Yet Devine-Wright (2012) challenges the traditional view of communities reacting as 'Not in My Back Yard" (NIMBY) pointing to place attachment as a powerful motivation for 'place-protective' actions. Consequently, I accept Bradley's (2014) suggestion that community localism enables domestication of the local political debate, challenges the perception of citizen group and agreed with the conclusion (from Bradley, 2016a) that engaging this 'passion for place' might be used to revitalise housing needs assessment, planning, design and delivery. The opportunity to explore this as a participant observer in

a Neighbourhood Plan is set out in Chapter 4, Methodology.

3.4 Towards a framework for the understanding the institutional design of Neighbourhood Planning.

Gunn, Brooks and Vigar (2015) observe the challenging nature of the requirements of Neighbourhood Planning in particular in terms of the capacity of communities. One particularly challenging theoretical issue is the question of how communities can organise themselves to deal with the relationship between individuals and the institutions of state.

The development of a neighbourhood plan by volunteers requires the action of a pool of volunteer members of a community to manage the production of a spatial plan for the use and re-use of land within a defined jurisdiction. This activity can be considered analogous to other cooperative activities, involving the use of common pool resources (CPR) and therefore, understanding how such organisational approaches develop, fail and succeed is important to this study. Indeed, the analysis by Poteete (2010) includes field studies of similar "community policy" activities, as opposed to physical management tasks.

Ostrom (2005), Poteete, Janssen & Ostron (2010) and Ostrom (2011) provide some of the most comprehensive assessments of the institutions for collective action. Economists by training, Ostrom, together with her other collaborators concentrate on analysis of the evolution of organisations for collective action, often in the field of common pool resources (CPR). These field investigations have often related to resources in developing world situations where no formal structures of governmental organisation or management exist, and, responsibility for the CPR rests with the community in the form of "commons management".

Motivated by criticisms of rational choice theory, the starting point for Ostrom's work included analysis of a classic common pool resource theory, specifically Garret Hardin's "*tragedy of the commons*", first published in the journal Science in 1968. Ostrom, a Nobel Prize winning economist, and others, have investigated this concept using two main "game theories" (over the past 40 years):
- the Prisoner's dilemma game, and,
- the logic of collective action (a model which sort to challenge rational group theory

concepts that individuals with shared goals would act voluntarily together to try to further those goals)

The "prisoner's dilemma" is set in scenarios where it is assumed that uncooperative behaviour produces a better scenario of outcome for each participant that a cooperative approach.

The conventional theory of collective action is seen in Figure 3:
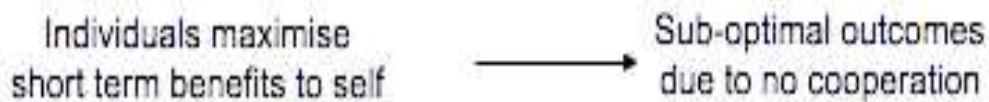
Figure 3: Conventional theory of collective action

Hardin's "tragedy of the commons" becomes a dilemma which points to the inevitability of, for example, over fishing of limited stocks by individuals as a result of the inherently competitive nature of the rational choice model of social / economic theory. The classic response to this can be illustrated in the diagram shown at Figure 4. Here, the intervention in this "market" by authorities ("the leviathan" according to Ostrom), which impose "optimal" rules. Note that these can either be public institutions, or, in the case of a free market, private companies that achieve monopoly of control over the CPR. It can be observed in the case of the emerging paradigms of planning, authorities have "allowed" public participation based on this model. For example, in the case of the recent Blairite government, communitarian beliefs in the defined roles that actors, such as the third sector, play in society. So that when forming partnerships, the extent of influence on overall objectives and strategy is limited by the "rules" to ensure outcomes that conform to the expectation of the external authority which set the parameters of the strategy intervention and the measures by which success will be judged.
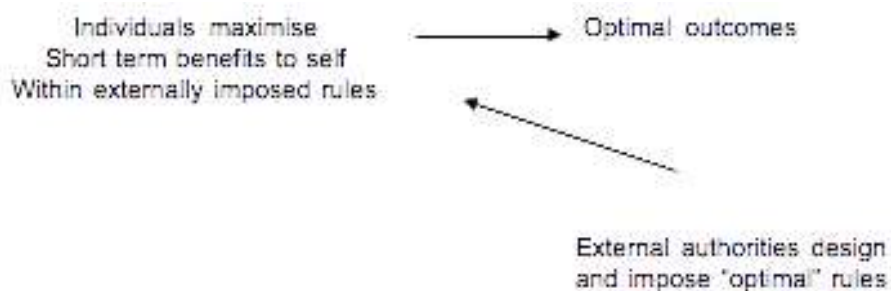
Figure 4: The conventional solution to collective action dilemmas.

Also, in the emerging model of neighbourhood planning, and, reflecting on the proposed hypothesis from the DCLG (explored in Chapter 1), it appears that those responsible for setting the rules of neighbourhood planning are applying, almost literally, the model above by ensuring, for example, that Neighbourhood Plans must be in conformity with the Local Plan. This simple action denies more radical policy choice being promoted within communities as they develop their Neighbourhood plan. This is discussed further in the emerging findings.

Neo-liberal politics bases its assumption about behaviour on rational choice theory which when it comes to collaborative actions makes simplistic assumptions about how people act and why they act in such situations. Ostrom explores this concept and finds it lacking in subtleties and incapable of explaining the sometimes non-rational (i.e. uncompetitive) decisions that individuals make in cooperative management situations.

It is important to note that Ostrom views this as an artificial solution and one which undermines the potential for cooperative solutions to CPR management, based on the extensive field work that has been carried out by their research group. The outcomes are only optimal in term of the authority that forms them, they are not necessarily optimal in real world scenarios. These conventional models of collective action have in theoretical fields been replaced by more optimistic models of behavioural theory that undermine the rational choice theory. Ostrom has developed an institutional analysis approach that may be helpful in the evaluation of neighbourhood planning.

These behavioural models are less deterministic in the sense that explanations of behaviour no longer simply rely on an individual gaining some benefit, from some form of (controlled) cooperative effort. Rather, individual behaviours and hence collective outcomes are affected by a number factors;

- Contextual variables.
- Situational variables
- Learning
- Norm-adopting behaviours

These result in a model of cooperative behaviour that can be illustrated as shown in Figure 5, below. Poteete (2010) observe that some theoreticians bypass the micro-situational variables, hence the arrow line linking Context to Learning and norm adoption.
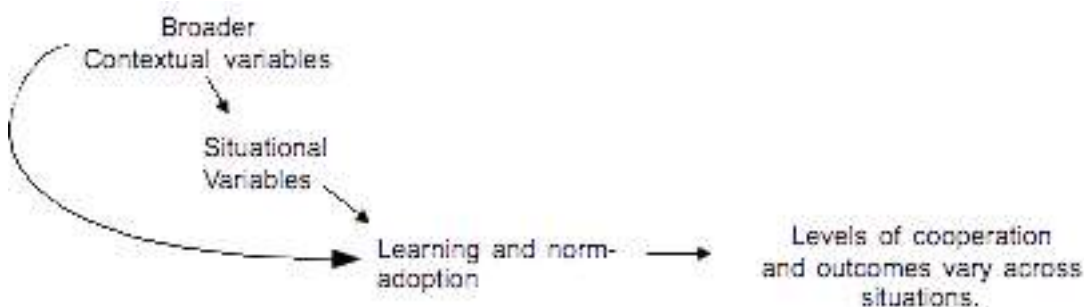
Figure 5: A model of cooperation in collective-action dilemmas in behavioural theory. (from Poteete et al (2010)).

This model is further extended to include feedback from the net benefits of collective action, and, recognise the "the centrality of trust" to such situations. This behavioural theory of collective action, relies on three core assumptions:

1. Participants do not possess complete information about the situation they are active in, but, by participating they learn more and can gain a more complete and reliable picture over time.
2. Participants have preferences relating to the net benefits for themselves, but, these are combined and / or influenced by other preferences (e.g. seeing benefits for others), they develop and adopt norms about suitable input and anticipated outcomes that provide feedback for their decision making.
3. Participants use "rules of thumb" - heuristic – approaches in making incremental decisions – this might encourage very competitive (rational choice) decisions in some arenas, but, make much more cooperative decisions in others. These heuristic approaches enable variation in the norms of behaviour being adopted – from entirely "rational" to reciprocity.

Key to this behavioural theory is the concept of the centrality of trust and reciprocity.

Economist Kenneth Arrow (1974) pointed to the essential nature of this between partners in deciding on transactions.   The research indicates that more people are more willing to cooperate than conventional (rational egoist) economic theory would suggest. This reciprocity can generate increasingly effective cooperative efforts, by mutual reinforcement of learning and norm adoption, as illustrated by Figure 6.
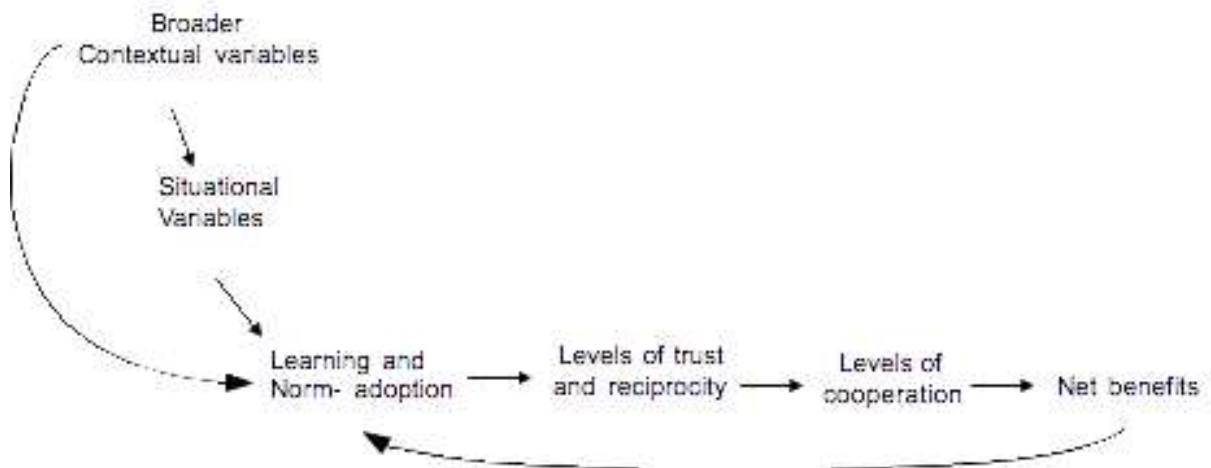
Figure 6: The impact of cooperation and reciprocity on collective action. Adapted from Poteete et al (2010)

Building on these concepts of CPR theory, the institutional analysis and development framework (IAD) emerged from the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis held by the University of Indiana, as a result of collaborative research by multiple authors. The focus of IAD is the "action arena" within the framework that is conceptualised as shown in Figure 7, below. This framework can be viewed as representing a model for a collective action process such as the creation of a neighbourhood plan, where the plan itself and the process involved in creating the plan is centred in the Action Arena. It should be appreciated that the IAD is expressed as a "multi-tier conceptual map".

The focus of this study is to better understand the participants, their wider community and the nature of the interactions within their individual action situation. Different research objectives will influence the focus of analysis of the various elements of this framework, and, these arguments will be developed further in the following chapter, where the research methodology is explored.

However, it is useful to reflect, briefly at this stage, on the nature of each of the variables

identified in Figure 7 that affect the action arena. The biophysical / material conditions are relatively easy to understand, in the context of Neighbourhood Planning given that the objective is a spatial plan and the thesis has explored the social, economic and environmental aspects of Sustainable Development in chapter 2.
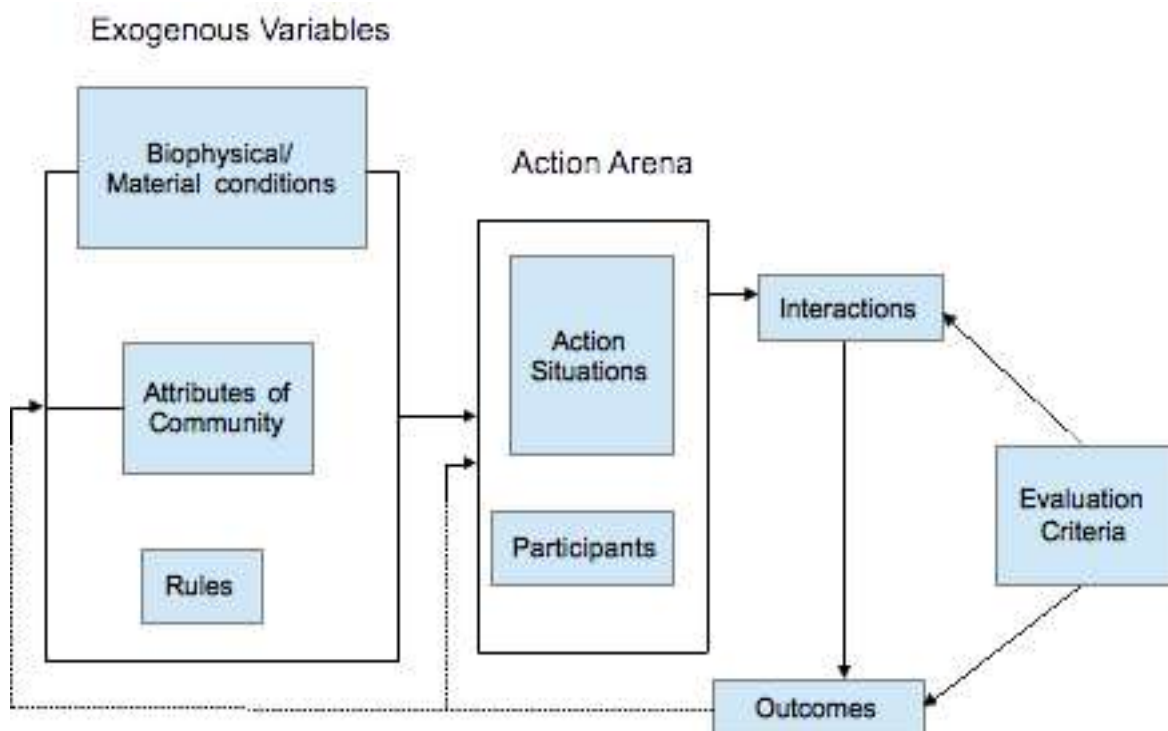
Figure 7: The IAD framework (adapted from E.Ostrom, Gardner and Walker (1994)).

The attributes of community are very important to the ultimate success of any cooperative action, according to the behavioural model that this framework draws upon, and these are identified as being; the *values* of behaviour generally accepted in the community, the level of *common understanding* that potential participants share (or equally do not share) about the structure of the action arena, the extent of *homogeneity* in preferences of those living in the community (which is relevant given the need for a NP to pass through a simple majority referendum), the *size and composition* of the community, and the extent of *inequality* of the basic assets among those affected.

The culture of experience with governmental institutions is likely to affect the way local participants; use, modify, ignore or understand the rules written by external officials. As

demonstrated above in Figure 2, above, the context for rule setting in terms of Neighbourhood Planning appears to be operating under the conventional model for collective action that we might expect under a neo-liberal administration. This assumes rational egoist responses to the potential of the collection action situation being made available by the Localism Act, in the form of the Neighbourhood Plan. The term "rules" can be applied in a number of ways under this framework and these can range (according to Black (1962)) across four principle categories; regulation (and in this context this would be the Localism Act, NPPF, Environmental Regulations), instruction (such as the Locality "Road map"), precept (moral behaviour) and principle (as in a law of natural science, although in the context of Neighbourhood Planning, can be conceptualised as being represented by the Agenda 21 Action Plan for sustainable development).

Considering the action situation itself this is, in turn, affected by the following variables relating to the participants in the activity; their positions and roles, the outcome of their decisions, the costs and benefits of outcomes – such as a good environment arising from sustainable development, linkages between action and outcomes, participants degree of control of the situation and access to information.

3.5 But is neighbourhood planning democratic?

Pierson and Smith (2001) express a concern that strategy based on such "holistic" partnerships of "like-minded" (but) institutional bodies may crowd out dissent. The reason being that the adoption of these "new institutional" collaborative approaches do not appear to genuinely provide for democratic discussion in the drive for a consensus.

Similarly, Pierson (2001) recognised that despite "the growing awareness" of the importance of citizen participation, empowerment and action in both the UK and US, programmes of urban revitalization (Pierson's term of choice) fail to achieve this significantly. Even extensive schemes in the US under the Clinton administration such as the Enterprise Community initiatives in Atlanta failed in highly deprived areas due to; a lack of resources, the need for communities to work with established elites to leverage influence, and, the exclusion of (often black) community groups from the informal structures of power.

Ledwith (2011) identified that the neo-liberal concept of a "Big Society" emerged in competition to New Labour's Third Way, but, continued to have at its centre the principles of participatory democracy and community empowerment. Davoudi and Madanpouri (2013) and Houghton (2013) criticise the current manifestation of localism policy as being anti-democratic, and, potentially punitive, especially in the context of austerity, focused on welfare cuts that primarily target the poor. This, together with the phenomenon observed by Derounian (2012), Parker (2015) of take up of neighbourhood planning in mainly rural, traditionally conservative areas populated by "the already haves" as opposed to "the have nots", raises an immediate contradiction with the theory of collaborative planning.

3.6 Theoretical Framework: summary and conclusions

This chapter establishes the governance model for neighbourhood planning as conforming to the theory of collaborative planning within a participatory democracy.

Volunteer citizen planners within areas that choose to adopt neighbourhood planning have achieved a degree of citizen power, and, as such can potentially challenge the traditional hegemony of state actor-controlled planning institutions. It holds the prospect of community empowerment, but, remains challenging given the neo-liberal motivations of its creators who are seeking to improve economic activity in the form of speculative, private sector developers. Participants influence is potentially limited by Ostrom's 'nestled enterprises' in the sense that a neighbourhood plan must conform to the local plan, for instance.

Other very influential factors include the total number of decision makers, the number of participants minimally necessary to achieve the desired outcome, similarities of interests, group size, and, the presence of participants with substantial leadership or other assets.

Place attachment can be expected to be a significant motivating factor. Whilst concerns of NIMBYism might exist, it has been suggested (Brownill and Bradley, eds 2017) that a progressive localism may be in development in areas that adopt neighbourhood planning.

The theory on CPR has developed towards a concept termed the Social-Ecological System

(SES) within which the IAD sits. This enables the definition of key features of successful User Group Organisations formed to tackle CPR management dilemmas, and, it is possible to identify their potential relationship to neighbourhood planning activity. Table 1, below illustrates these implications. This table defines the SES that Neighbourhood Plan activity can be expected to operate within.

Table 1: Forming a successful UGO (derived from Poteete et al (2010)) and its possible implications on neighbourhood planning.

Characteristic of a successful UGO, based on long term field analysis of CPR management:	*Theoretical implications on Neighbourhood Planning*
Some heterogeneity of asset structure	This includes the skills and resources of the participants – in order to foster some degree of innovation, or, entrepreneurship in starting a group
Prior or concurrent experience with other local organisations = provides an easy model to copy. Negotiating the constitutional rules of a new organisation from scratch is complex	Groups may borrow approaches from best practice?
A general purpose UGO – that may be able to take on additional purposes	The Localism Act provides not just for NP but also community right to build, rights to challenge and rights to buy.
Homogeneity in the community	The NP has to pass a majority referendum and based on volunteering data, participants are likely to be "similar"
Users shared perceptions that risks are better spread across community in cooperative manner	Risks in Neighbourhood planning groups are likely to be reputational – important therefore than participants "pull their weight".
Physical unity of the community – e.g. it is difficult for two isolated villages to agree on CPR management	Again NP must pass a majority referendum and hence it is important that the area affected is clearly defined

In addition to a typology of characteristics of organisations and group behaviour, it is also possible to assemble design principles from the IAD, that are most likely to be a factor in achieving effective neighbourhood plan making. These principles are set out in Table, 2, also below.

Table 2: Reflecting on recommended Design Principles (from Ostrom (2005) for effective CPR management compared to Neighbourhood Plan-making.

Design Principles	*Factor in Neighbourhood Planning Process*
Clearly defined boundaries	Neighbourhood plan area defined by map approved by LPA
Proportional equivalence between benefits and costs	Independent inspector carries out "tests" on conformity to certain key principles, plus Plan to be in line with Local Plan
Collective choice arrangements – community can influence "rules"	Consultation vetted by Inspector
Monitoring - accountability	Unclear at present
Graduated sanctions in over use of CPR	Not relevant factor?
Conflict resolution mechanisms	This is dependent on constitutional set up of the NP forum and any governing body e.g. Parish, Town or District Council.
Rights to organise – long term tenure – not challenged by governmental organisations.	Issue here is that Urban areas more restricted than Rural areas. Form of organisation is relatively prescriptive and terms of what can be influenced confined by requirement to conform to LP.
Nestled enterprises	NP is part of the Development Plan – hence a nested governance will exist. However despite "bottom up" principles behind thinking with LP setting critical criteria how truly democratic can the process - e.g. in respect of housing numbers and allocations.

These tables and the other theoretical considerations assist in the definition of a thematic structure to analyse the data corpus. Chapter 4, explores the Research Methodology adopted in this thesis and builds upon the theoretical frameworks to assist in the creation of an analytical framework.

Chapter 4 – Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters 2 and 3 have established that professionally led planning has focused on place-making through communicative planning methods, effectively seeking to 'consult' with the local community on schemes to 'improve' outcomes in given areas of a locality. The majority of research in this context has adopted normative approaches, such as: case study or grounded theory. A more recent development in planning has been the application of the principles of participative democracy and this has promoted a shift towards more holistic approaches to involvement of communities in planning, according to; Allmendinger and Haughton (2015). This in turn mirrors the move in political theory and practice towards collaborative modes of governance and, in particular, the devolution of control of public goods towards 'the local', as seen in Ansell and Gash (2007).

Community involvement and ownership is viewed by those who promote sustainability is an essential 'value' in normative terms, however, although great efforts have been made to enable civic society to be more involved in planning, actual impacts have often not moved beyond tokenism, as seen in Brownill and Carpenter (2007), on the terms defined by Arnstein, (1969). Neighbourhood planning, being driven and created by local representatives for their own community does, in principle, seek to move much more closely to Arnsteins' "degree of citizen power' according to Matthews (2013).

Achieving this "localism" in planning through encouraging voluntary individual action is, the subject of a growing body of research, but as has been demonstrated there is a limited body of contemporary research exploring the experience of voluntary individual action with the current planning system - primarily because of the "newness" of the phenomenon, but also due to the adoption of the normative approach as the standard tool in planning research, Sager (2001).

Implementation of 'localism' can be seen to range in action in the UK from sub-regional "combined authorities" dealing with the majority of public expenditure for a defined geo-political area. These are often set up in partnership with the private sector (which are then

not under direct citizen control but remain in the management of a professional and political 'elite'). Localism also encompasses; community initiatives focusing on managing services, many of which have fallen through the local authority net due to austerity, Parker and Street (2015).

Swyngedouw (2005), argues that whereas pioneering moves towards participatory governance have offered a pathway towards greater inclusiveness, and, offer a challenge to traditional state-centred forms of policy making, these arrangements remain 'Janus-faced'. Although potentially democratising, Swyngedouw, drawing on Foucauldian notions of governmentality challenges the assumptions of emerging models as empowering to some, whilst disempowering others. Similarly, Derounian (2014), and in interview during this research, points to the growing gaps between the 'haves and have nots' in society, particularly in regard to the degree to which participation is possible to achieve. Haughton (2012) useful summarises the dilemmas of the 'post-political' era concluding that a crisis of consensus exists which implies that ordinary planning research assumptions around norms and values cannot be applied per se to neighbourhood planning, and similarly others are particularly critical of what Lord, Mair, Sturzaker and Jones (2017) consider to be the failure of the communicative planning ideal.

How then to investigate an emerging social phenomenon – the 'citizen planner' - and evaluate its impact appropriately? Davoudi (2011) points to the effect of the legacy of positivism in planning theory but also suggests that it was possible to envisage the emergence of an interpretative approach to planning theory and practice. That legacy, confirmed also by Greed (1994), includes the habit (or culture in the case of Greed's ethnography) in planning research to undertake case studies, based on the empiricist view that knowledge stems from human experience, and, that by applying an atomistic ontological view which sees the world as discrete, observable elements (such as measurements of community engagement in the form of; numbers attending a meeting, percentage turn-out at referendum, stated expressions of view on certain subjects within a plan). Planning research is often presented as independent of the subject, and, purely objective therefore. Greed, observed that the planning process had become essentially mathematical, scientific, legalistic and municipalised. In this process the human element got lost. The normative assumption in planning since Forrester and Healey includes the belief that compliance with certain procedural approaches to communication will ensure

Habermasian ideals are met and inclusiveness 'improved', although this has not necessarily been the case according to Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, (1998).

This thesis, however adopts a relativist standpoint centred in the lived experience of citizen planners, including myself as the researcher. This ontology demands an interpretivist approach, assuming that reality is socially constructed, and that the research goal is understanding of experience. My role was interactive, cooperative and participative. This chapter now explores the establishment of that research methodology, as follows.

Firstly, it examines the traditional, normative, approach to planning research. Secondly it examines how and why that normative tradition is not appropriate to this thesis, and, in particular considers what a different approach could be. Third it assesses the contribution that a social constructionist / interpretivist approach could make. This study adopts an ethnographic strategy that intends to explore the lived experience of the citizen planner, through participation and observation and in doing so it focuses on the volunteers as opposed to outcomes or processes. Ethnomethodology is examined and placed into its context against contemporary research. The dilemmas and challenges faced through the adopted strategy are considered.

4.2 The normative tradition in planning theory research

According to Steino (2003), planning has taken many forms throughout the history of its practice. This journey has been captured in Chapters 2 and 3. In summary, planning was initially seen as a scientific Popperian 'discipline'; through transactive practice for instance, after Friedmann (1973); and so on to communicative action following Healey (1997) and Forrester (1999). Steino argues that in essence planning is an essentially contested concept, and, what links all forms of planning is that it is future orientated, and, seeks to connect knowledge with action. As such, Steino, believes that planning conforms to the paradigm of the design disciplines, and according Needham (1998), central to any design discipline are normative theories.

Taylor (1998) argues that whilst Healey, McDougall, Hague and Thomas, amongst other authors, have posited a fragmentation of planning theory into a plurality of diverse

theories, in actual fact there are and remain only two tranches of planning theory and practice: substantive planning (focused on the outcomes of the object – a town, a region, 'the environment'), or, procedural planning (concerned with the process itself).

Taylor and Steino concur that communicative planning theory remains procedural, and, despite being the most common practice of planning it has not usurped earlier rational process views of planning, grounded as it is in the Habermasian ideal of a process of deliberation and decision making which is 'undistorted'. Hence communicative planning seeks 'ideally' rational planning outcomes. So, we can conclude and observe that the majority of contemporary planning theory research remains normative in approach. Whereas participative planning, in the form of neighbourhood planning has been demonstrated to represent a break from these traditional models of planning as 'communicative action' and represents a movement towards 'a degree of citizen control', and as such it therefore demands an approach other than that derived from seeking normative values and measures within traditional planning research.

4.3 Seeking an alternative approach to the normative tradition – its shortcomings in evaluation of the 'lived experience'.

Steino (2001), suggests planning research remains both intrinsically political, and, grounded in apparently scientific principles which very rarely question 'why plan?'. Indeed, I have found no examination of why citizen planners' in particular would choose to get involved in planning. Participation is assumed to be both a given and desirable feature – a normative value or belief, arising from the 'culture' of planning itself. For instance, Mitlin (2008) sees communities adopting 'co-production' as a route towards political influence, changing power relationships (after Forrester) and providing the potential for transformation, and yet does not elucidate on how or why citizens may engage.

Similarly, Taylor (1998) saw the emergence of what he terms 'popular planning' during the 1980s, part of a process of radical social movements countering Thatcherite economics, which focused on the outcomes of a market led economy. The success of the Coin Street, London development is cited, which was a community led planning scheme implemented in preference, ultimately, over that of a major developer. Recognised as 'democratic planning' in Montgomery and Thornley (1990), these social movements can be recognised

as the precursors to what we now would recognised as neighbourhood planning.

Steino (2003), seeks to answer the question of 'why plan?' and suggests an economic theory perspective that accepts market failure models as justification, based on Hardin's 'Tragedy of the Commons' – the prisoner's dilemma game theory. Yet, as explored in Chapter 3, Ostrom has demonstrated the flaws in game theory in application to common pool resource management and prefers a positive model for the potential role of community in the management of 'the commons' as a public good.

Davies (2001) observed that the public perceptions and experience of participants in the planning system were hidden by the usual mechanisms of planning research although to some extent these could be considered to be hiding in plain sight, simply waiting to be drawn out, if only examined with appropriate tools. This research was then, naturally, drawn to the question of how best to evaluate the social construction of participation, the nature of its impact on volunteers, and, the motivation to participate, in order to address the research questions of this thesis.

Maginn, (2007) proposes that for research into an urban social issue of a 'why' or 'how' nature, as opposed to 'what and where' then qualitative methods offer "undeniable advantage". Locke et al (1998) describes interpretative qualitative research identifying that Ethnography, Phenomenology and Hermeneutics techniques lie on a continuum of interpretive forms of research, similarly Cromby (2012) recognises that such methodologies allow structures that give the researcher the ability to: render sensible the detail and texture of lived experience. Of growing prominence in social science is the post-modernist turn towards language and application of hermeneutic interpretation in social theory – defined as social constructionism by Berger and Luckmann (1966) who argue that such realities are socially constructed through the meanings that people give to what they do and through the way in which they make sense of the world around them.

4.4 Adopting an interpretivist / social constructionist perspective

Grix (2004) views research philosophy as the foundations of the whole edifice of research and from this I recognise that understanding the theories of being and how we gain

knowledge as fundamental to success in presentation of work. Marsh and Furlong (2002) suggest these research foundations ought to be worn as a skin, and, not a sweater. The standpoint of the researcher and as such the assumptions that the researcher makes about the world defines the ontological position from which a research methodology follows. I intended to immerse myself in the lived experience of a community volunteer – become a citizen planner – and participate in the development of a neighbourhood plan alongside other volunteers.

Traditionally, as demonstrated above research approaches and application of methods in sustainable development, planning and urban regeneration (which are seen in the literature as being intrinsically connected) generally conform to positivist (social) scientific principles, indeed Davoudi (2011) observes that whilst an interpretive approach is emerging in some areas of planning, positivism has retained it dominating influence.

During this research the aim was, within the context of collaborative planning in the form of a neighbourhood plan, to move from; a 'position of knowing' (gained from over twenty years in the profession) about planning systems, and, the perceived wisdom that community involvement was 'a good thing to do' – a traditional normative planning theory assumption; towards a 'position of understanding' the individual motivations of those involved as Bradley's 'citizen planner'.

Grbich (2013) and Willig (2013) both allow for a pluralistic approach to be adopted in research. They suggest that it is reasonable to accept that one single level of interpretation is unlikely to reveal all the aspects of meaning to be found in statements made by participants in a social phenomenon. This implies that an epistemological approach adopted within a research project can vary through the course of analysis of a data set, leading to a paradigm that might be termed "pragmatism".

Usefully, when considering the importance of the concept of place in neighbourhood, Davoudi (2011) observed that quantitative indicators and physical attributes of the built and natural environment are often the dominant narratives that are drawn upon to signify a sense of place and a distinct place identity in most planning research. What Davoudi sees as less common is a social and cultural construction of spatiality around values, norms, beliefs, aspirations and memories of participants drawn from the community. Similarly,

Natarajan (2017) gives guidance on how we can interpret community knowledge, to inform socio-spatial learning that can then develop and encourage participation.

I have demonstrated that most planning research adopted realist ontological positions and positivist epistemologies which, though available in sociology or social psychology, were not appropriate to satisfy the intended research outcomes, and, therefore traditional methods of planning research, i.e. the objective "case study" could not be adopted in this case.

McGinn (2007) provides one of the few sources that draws collaborative planning into an interpretivist tradition, arguing for the appropriateness of research in this area through ethnography. Based on a social constructionist ontology McGinn draws on an interpretivist viewpoint suggesting that this may assist in understanding the role of participants in collaborative planning endeavours.

A social constructionist ontology allows the research to derive discursive understandings of identity and place. Whilst it is true that there are a limited number of contemporary research texts in the particular field of neighbourhood planning based on a social constructionist / interpretivist approach that focus on participatory planning, those identified included Umemoto (2001). Here the researcher examined participation from the standpoint of the participant examining the lived experience alongside that of the citizen. This research also conformed to a methodological approach familiar within the fields of anthropology, sociology and critical social psychology – applied ethnomethodology.

Trenttelman (2009), also allowed for lived experience in the context of place attachment and community action to be considered a valid research strategy, recognising the role of a community-based sociologist. This allowed for the researcher too record, observe, participate and reflect on the development of community-based plans in similar contexts to Neighbourhood Planning.

So whilst there are limited ethnographic studies in the field of collaborative planning, Greed (1994) for instance studied town planners themselves and concluded that they could be viewed as a 'tribe' with their own values, cultures and beliefs. That research confirms planning 'culture' as being characterised by an emphasis on: objectivity, statistically valid

samples, 'distance' between the researcher and the subject. Whereas McGinn (2007) argues that studying collaborative planning through applied ethnography should enable the researcher to become more aware of the cultural dynamics of neighbourhoods, providing an opportunity to become more aware and critically reflective of their actions, cultural relations, practices and processes. McGinn concludes an ethnography applied in this way could pave the way forward for more understanding of effective community participation in plan making.

4.5 The adoption of an ethnographic approach in neighbourhood planning research

I formed the view that in order to achieve a successful outcome it would necessary to secure "grass roots involvement", ideally enabling the researcher to work directly with those carrying out the process of developing a neighbourhood plan. As the project developed (see research strategy below), the opportunity emerged for me to become a participant-observer in the process. I have followed Giddens who stated:
"a particular piece of social research is ethnographic (if) it is written with the aim of describing a given cultural milieu to others who are unfamiliar with it' (Giddens, 1984: 285).

This thesis is influenced by a number of existing methodological approaches to ethnography. Feldman (1995) sees ethnomethodology as a distinct tradition in sociology, one that allows the researcher to investigate the techniques that people use to understand the world. Angrosino (2007) sees the aim of ethnomethodologists as being to explain how a group's sense of reality is constructed, maintained, and changed. This is relevant to Neighbourhood Planning as the process, since 2012 was emergent, and, subject to change. In addition, citizen planners are inevitably exposed to both changing views from the wider community, and, a growing, developing and potentially contradictory evidence based, some of which may be qualitative in nature.

Fetterman (1998) suggests that an ethnography can be both a descriptive and analytical technique and reflect the researchers' perspective. For this research an essential part of the project was my immersive involvement in the process of a neighbourhood plan at an

experiential level, with the intention of understanding individual experiences that shaped the group and hence the culture of a particular set of Neighbourhood Plans, as opposed to seeking to understand the wider culture of neighbourhood planning per se.

I set out not to purely describe Neighbourhood Planning but understand it from the perspective of the individual participant, as part of a wider group.

4.6 Development of the research strategy:

The preceding sections have confirmed that this thesis adopts a relativist ontology, in that I aim to understand neighbourhood planning from; the experience of participating in and engaging with other volunteers in the creation of a neighbourhood plan.   I believe that the appropriate nature of reality in this context is one of social constructionism; the reality experienced by participants is based on their individual and unique combination of a-priori knowledge, values and beliefs, and, that I can best understand that experience from securing and interpreting information about; what some people think and do, what kind of problems they are confronted with and how they deal with them.

Silverman (2004) suggests that in these contexts a qualitative methodology is appropriate, in that the object of the research is to describe and potentially explain experiences. Participants (and the researchers) interpretation of events form part of the process. The forum for research of this nature, in the context of neighbourhood planning is according to Willig (2013) is centred in the territory of the research 'targets' – although I use that expression only in the context of the participants I engaged with both collaboratively, and, as a fellow participant in Neighbourhood Planning. This field-based focus is a traditional aspect of ethnomethodology.

Maggs-Rapport (2000) confirms the need for, and form of a field diary in terms of recording events, interviews, meetings whilst in the field, and, to enable later reflection on thoughts, feelings and observations regarding those interactions. These data comprised notes, and, transcripts of engagements with subjects. In addition, the field diary comprised documents distributed in support of the neighbourhood plan areas that I engaged with. These comprise emails and document attachments for example. Together with the transcript of formal semi-structured interviews, content of a web forum, and, the outcomes

of a questionnaire based survey, these data form the overall data corpus for the study. That data corpus forms the 'thick narrative' of my experience of neighbourhood planning.

The following sections explains how that data corpus was developed and structured.

4.6.1 Scoping stage and literature review;

Following the commencement of the research itself, and in accordance with guidance found in; Willig (2013), Maginn (2007) and Macmillan-Jones (1985) I embarked on a comprehensive literature review and scoping exercise. The purpose of which was to determine potential "field work' locations and establishing potential participants who were willing to engage and collaborate in the research. This research commenced when the concept of localism and Neighbourhood Planning was in its infancy and subject to both substantial growth and challenge. The then Government had established a number of 'front-runner' authorities, with whom it was possible to engage with via the mainly web-based resources supported by the then Department of Communities and Local Government, the Planning Aid organisation and the community development organisation Locality.

The comprehensive literature review was neighbourhood policy and practice focused, initially, in order to develop my a-priori knowledge of planning into a specific knowledge base of neighbourhood plan, participatory planning and collaborative democracy theory. Later in the research my literature review expanded to incorporate the theoretical framework areas of: governance, volunteerism, place attachment and the management of the commons through the theories of institutional design. Literature review and reflection continued throughout the development of this thesis, in order to ensure that I remained up to date with contemporary research in this emerging topic area, and, to continue to inform my field work. In addition, I undertook a scoping exercise comprising informal face-to-face meetings with:

- A local activist with experience of professional planner led regeneration.
- The Development Director of a major north west land and property company.
- The Head of Planning at Salford City Council
- The Direction of Regeneration at Cheshire West and Chester Council

- A former senior executive of COOP Mutual who oversaw investment in community trusts.

- A housing trust employee

- A social entrepreneur

- A faith leader (the logic being that volunteering, especially in urban communities is often led or coordinated through faith organisations).

The purpose of these where to establish an initial 'snap-shot' of the perceptions of Neighbourhood Planning across typical 'actors' who I could anticipate at that time might be influential in the process as it developed. These interviews were also useful in filling in gaps in policy and practice knowledge that was, at that point, limited in terms of the literature from academic research.

In addition, self-assessment questionnaires were distributed to the chairs of the then 21 frontrunner Neighbourhood Plan areas. These were intended to elucidate the potential for more comprehensive participant-observation engagement, as well as establish the value of certain questions for future semi-structured interviews.

The questionnaires, informal interviews, participation in appropriate seminars, training and my initial engagement with neighbourhood planning as a member of a potential steering group were the subject of both careful design, derived from, inter alia, Moser and Kalton (1977), Angrosino (2007) and Willig (2013). These where subject to ethical approval by the University of Salford.

An academic round-table was formed by DCLG at that time and I joined in this on several occasions, including meetings in London, and, participating in seminars around the country. Notes and observations from those meetings also contributed to the field diary.

Following the establishment of the academic round table I was invited to participate in a closed LinkedIn group of academics, practitioners and activists. This forum enabled me to raise three open questions seeking to examine these actors views and beliefs in neighbourhood planning, in the form of a conversational environment. I closely followed Willig (2013) guidance on use of the internet in creating these data.

4.6.2 Establishing a participant-observer role.

During September 2012 my local Council, Neston Town Council with support from Cheshire West and Chester Council sought expressions of interests from members of the community into the formation of a neighbourhood steering group with a view to the creation of a Neighbourhood Plan. This was advertised widely in the local area, and, I responded to the advertisement. I was subsequently invited to a neighbourhood forum meeting, where local council employees facilitated 'planning for real' type exercises (which form part of the communicative planning theory toolkit of local Council planners and something with which I was familiar from my professional career).

The objective of this exercise was to give members of the community an opportunity to examine the kinds of issues that as potential members of a local steering group they would face in formulating policies and strategies of a neighbourhood plan.

Following that meeting I expressed an interest in joining the neighbourhood plan steering group and various associated task and finish groups that were intended to be set up to tackle some initial areas of concern that had emerged from a pre-consultation exercise developed by the town Council.

I actively participated then as a member of the Neston Neighbourhood Plan Steering Group until completion of the plan in the Autumn of 2016. It entailed regular attendance at meetings of the other participants. I supported public consultation and engagement on behalf of the steering group and actively contributed to policy and strategy development.

Throughout my participation I sought explicit consent from participants in terms of their awareness of my role both as a participant as a local resident, and an observing academic researcher, in accordance with the ethical guidance and consent of the University, and, using best practice examples, such as that in Ybema, Yanow, Wels and Kamsteeg (2010), dealing with ethnographic ethical considerations.

4.6.3 Completing the data corpus by carrying out semi-structured interviews

Towards the end of the neighbourhood plan development period, and, following my commitment of over three years to the participant-observer role, I determined that it was appropriate at that stage after consulting, amongst others; Walker (1995) and Sager (2011), to complement the other data sources with semi-structured interviews, designed on the guidance of Maggs-Rapport (2000) and Willig (2013). The purpose of the timing was such that the Neighbourhood Plan was substantially complete at that point, and, hence the participants I engaged with in that way would be in a position to reveal as comprehensive an experience as possible given the necessary restrictive timetables of the thesis.

Twelve semi-structured interviews were carried out, in total. Nine of these were with other members of the local Neighbourhood Planning group that the researcher had joined. These subjects comprised every remaining member of the Neston Steering Group that was available at that time. Four were other subjects, identified from either the social media forum and/or questionnaire returns, were also approached and consented to take part in these semi-structured interviews. This smaller group of subjects included; a planning consultant, an academic, and, two residents from another NP area, specifically in Boston Spa, Leeds. The spread of these subjects gives a most comprehensive view possible to the neighbourhood plan experience possible within the constraints of the thesis process.

In Chapter Five, the contributions of this group are identified thus:

NNP = Neston Neighbourhood Plan interviewees, then content in brackets represents initials of the nine interview participants, noting that two did not give consent to be named, so although identified by initial are not traceable by name.

NNP(PB)(JW)(RH)(DW)(TN)(RH)(TD)(JW)(ME)

AC = Academic practicioner – James Derounian.

PP = professional planning consultant – Peter Hamilton, Cass Associates.

NPO = Neighbourhood Plan (other than Neston): Will Sparling and Geoff Shaw

NPO(WS), NPO(GS)

4.7 Developing an analytical strategy

Smith and Osborn (2008) consider semi-structured interviews as the exemplary method

necessary to form a data corpus for an interpretative analysis. Given that my data corpus comprises not only such interviews but also field diary extracts, questionnaire and social media forum responses, I found that Braun and Clarke (2006) gave the most compelling description of the formation of a thematic analysis, albeit in the field of clinical psychology.

I applied a mixed-methods approach to data collection, appropriate in ethnography as Maginn (2007) confirms in his study of community participation through applied ethnography. Maggs-Rapport (2000) also enabled the adopted of combined methodological approaches, bringing together ethnography and interpretive phenomenology through a thematic analysis.

After Maggs-Rapport and King and Horrocks (2010) I applied thematic analysis to the "thick" narrative that forms the resulting data corpus from the strategy detailed about. Essentially this comprises a three-stage process: descriptive coding, interpretive coding and finally the derivation of overarching themes. In practice I have applied a more comprehensive phased process that this to define my thematic coding, following Braun and Clarke (2006), my approach has conformed to a thematic analysis within a social constructionist epistemology, following six phases.

The first has been a immersive "repeated reading" of all data in written form (after transcription to a common format of a Word document), compiled into a substantial data corpus. The extent of that data corpus is explained in the research strategy above, and in Chapter 5. This immersive process has enabled the identification of latent themes within the data, albeit time-consuming, this enabled note taking and mark-up to provide some initial stratification of the data corpus.

Then, working systematically through the entire data set I generated initial codes based on the ideas and themes that emerged in the first phase. Thirdly, that initial coding was used to enable a search for broader themes, so that rather than individual codes, ideas could be combined into overarching concepts emerging from within the data. A tabular format as used to track and record where these individual codes and overarching themes occurred within the data corpus. Appendix five illustrates this approach by presenting one complete transcript analysis.

A fourth stage involved refinement of themes, confirming that data within themes cohered meaningful and that there were clear and identifiable distinctions between themes. This review phase involved action at two levels, the first being a re-reading of the coded data extracts, the second being a similar review across the data set, challenging the validity of themes against the total to confirm that these appear to be an accurate reflection of the concepts expressed by participants in the research. That phase also enabled the identification of any missing or erroneously labelled themes. Appendix 6 illustrates the evidence gathered linked to the refined themes.

The fifth stage involved further definition and refinement of the thematic map to ensure that the "essence" of each theme accurately reflect the content and that data captured against each theme is coherent. A detailed analysis of each theme was then prepared, with comprehensive examples of critical data, in the form of quotations by research participants. The final stage, reporting, form the final chapters of this thesis, comprising the analysis and conclusions.

4.8 Challenges and dilemmas in participant observation and ethnography

From the outset of my research I intended to identify and participate, overtly, in a neighbourhood plan setting. My decision to act overtly was made to reduce the ethical dilemmas involved in participant observation, particularly because the community I was operating in was my "home" community, and, it would have not been practical or ethical to act in a covert manner in that setting.

Covert participant observation raises other ethical issues and generally speaking is only necessary to be adopted where the researcher is seeking to engage in (deviant) sub-cultures, such as gambling, according to Alder and Alder (1987). I did not consider the field of Neighbourhood Planning to be a sensitive area. I reached that conclusion reflecting on the context in that it was a publicly accessible process, and meetings and documents would form part of the public record. Secondly, I felt that as a local resident it would be easier to overtly explain my interest from the outset to potential collaborative participants.

My role in the local neighbourhood plan enabled me to conform to the insider role in research. This insider role paid off in the form of a rich and narrative data, secured with two integrated ethnographic data collection techniques: participant observation and in-depth interviewing. I recognise insider research in terms of; the fact that I would be sharing identity, language and experiential base with the study participants, who would be my colleagues in the neighbourhood plan, Asselin (2003).

The challenges for me as an insider researcher included; negotiating access to the research situation, securing consent for the research to take place, promising anonymity and confidentiality to my colleagues, given my professional background in the local area I was likely to be faced with challenging views about past processes, interviewing those with whom I had built a close relationship with, and, managing my position as both a participant and a researcher in the process.

I followed Costerly, Gibbs, and Elliot (2010) in resolving these challenges, treating the neighbourhood plan as a work-based situation and hence part of my development as a researcher and qualified planner. In order to achieve access to the research situation I approached the local council with a view to participating as a local resident in the Neighbourhood Plan. In doing so I explained both my work background, my research intentions and what I believed I could contribute to the neighbourhood plan. This proposal was considered by representatives of the Town Council and they agreed to my participation, on the basis that my colleagues in the neighbourhood forum were content.

Ethical approval, risk assessment and informed consent was sought and gained at all appropriate stages, using the submissions enclosed at Appendix One, Two and Three. In alignment with these documents, I declared my intent and purposes at an open meeting of my fellow participants, and, this was actually well received. I circulated a consent form to individuals and explained how I would preserve confidentiality and anonymity. A consent form was returned by all participants.

One significant feature of my involvement at a local level is that I had at that time only recently been in the employ of the Local Planning Authority. I was relatively well known to former professional colleagues as I had held a senior management position. I had also

previously been in regular professional contact with those responsible for spatial planning, but, my intention as a participant was to act entirely as a volunteer member of the public. This position was accepted and understood by my colleagues in the neighbourhood plan.

I was fortunate in that a number of the volunteer participants had academic backgrounds and hence they were familiar with the research consent process. Through liaison with my academic supervisor, and, with reference to; Kanuha (2000) I tackled the issue of being "native" as opposed to "going native" by regularly reflecting on and discussing the process and my progress. In particular I was able to reflect on my experiences by virtue of the triangulation I achieved in my data through reference to other neighbourhood plan areas. I deliberately engaged with those areas through survey, and, interviews. In the context of reflexivity, whilst I could empathise from my own participant experience I was largely observing and recording behaviours and responses, from those areas. Ultimately as Valocchi (2012) observes it was possible for me to participate as a local activist, but, also further my research career in carrying out this study on an area of passionate concern for me.

I recognise that the position of the researcher shapes all research, Malterud (2001), and that in carrying out insider research in my local community there could be a risk that I would lose objectivity in recording and communicating conclusions. I recognise that as a former professional involved in spatial planning and communicative public engagement that my perception of community involvement would be, to some extent, influenced by that prior experience. In that context, my experience of community participation was a positive one, as I had successfully helped several communities achieve resident planned schemes, including those aimed at creating a new sense of community identity in the form of a "home zone". This scheme in central Chester was a radical community led approach in which my role was a supportive one, as opposed to the traditional professional / consultee relationship.

Throughout my engagement in neighbourhood planning, I kept a personal journal of my experiences, after Lincoln and Guba (1985), and recorded methodological decisions, the logistics of my studies and, with support from my supervisory team, I reflected on what was happening in terms of my own values and interests. In addition, I completed two interim reports as part of the research journey, and, presented the findings of these are

various forum. Doing so enabled me to critically examine my work, and, exposed me to challenge from third parties. I followed fieldwork guidelines and an interview structure in order to ensure consistency and repeatability in my data collection. These are illustrated at Appendix 4.

I therefore systematically attended to the context of knowledge construction, especially the effect of my own values and beliefs, at every step of the research process.

4.9 Conclusions

This Chapter has established the research methodology of this study. I have demonstrated that the traditional approach to planning research was discounted in favour of an alternative, interpretative standpoint. The emerging phenomenon of neighbourhood planning has been examined from the perspective of the participant and in that sense the strategy accepts that these experiences are socially constructed. The adoption of an ethnomethodology gives this study a uniqueness which enables it to make a positive contribution to knowledge in the field of planning research. Through the application of a thematic analysis, derived from the theoretical framework set out in Chapter Three, the following Chapter 5 provides a 'thick narrative' in accordance with the ethnographic principles adopted by the researcher.

I have acknowledged and recognise the inherent perils of such 'insider' research, however, I feel comfortable that I have taken all reasonable steps to prevent the failure of my research in achieving appropriate objectivity. In the following chapters I have concentrated on the interpretation of the lived experience of participants with particular regard to how the language and expressions used guide the researcher in regard to the research questions posed in Chapter 1.

Chapter 5 – Thick Narrative Description in the form of a thematic analysis.

5.1   Introduction

The preceding chapter (4) has established the position of this research as being interpretivist. I consider that the experience of volunteering to be socially constructed. I have suggested that it is influenced by the individuals' emotions, knowledge, beliefs, values and prior engagement with the structures of agency, after Giddens (1984), in the form of; 'local councils', 'policy and strategy' and so on.

Chapter 4, has demonstrated how the research was undertaken following an ethnographic research strategy. The collection of the field diary, resulting in a 'thick description' after Agrosino (2007), spanned over four years of participant-observation in the neighbourhood plan making process, and, forms a data corpus exceeding 145,000 words, over 399 pages of; notes, annotated documents, correspondence, survey outcomes and interview transcripts.

In order to provide a manageable interpretation of these data, the analysis within this thesis concentrates on three main sources from within the field diary; the outcomes of a questionnaire survey; a web-forum dialogue and twelve semi-structured interviews, analysed together with reflective, interpretative and observational extracts from the field diary.

In total the views and experiences of fifty-two (52) individuals who have participated in neighbourhood planning have been taken into account in this thesis. Sixteen of these, excluding myself, are participants in neighbourhood planning as citizen planners. The research subject comprised four distinct groups with whom I engaged with using a variety of methods.

The first group were the eight (8) individuals described at paragraph 4.6.1 in Chapter 4, who I interviewed at scoping stage.

The second group are individuals who responded to a simple postal questionnaire.
This was aimed at assisting the identification of possible locations for the subsequent

ethnographic field study and interview participants. It was distributed to potential contacts in 21 frontrunner areas from approximately 200 possible contacts identified from a database of frontrunner areas that was sourced in 2012. The 21 areas chosen were targeted to provide both geographical spread and a variation in the likely size and type of the area.

A total of nine (9) responses were received. Of these seven (7) were completed questionnaires. The responses to the questionnaire were captured using a simple spreadsheet, and, analysis of the findings of these responses are included in this chapter. The overall response rate to the questionnaire was good at 42.8%. Completion of the questionnaire, at 33%, was also a good level of response. However I recognise that in the context of the 1900 or so areas now developing neighbourhood plans it is in no way a representative sample.

Of the two responses to the questionnaire that did not complete the actual questions, both indicated that although they were a 'frontrunner' area a Plan had not progressed. The first of these responses advised that time and resource constraints meant that the volunteers had determined that they could not proceed. The other advised that the NP process had stopped and that the work to date was being developed into Supplementary Planning Documentation. These findings are in themselves potentially useful "failure case" but, given that I was seeking to be actively involved in the development of a plan, these cases were outside the scope of this study. However the issue of time and resource constraints for volunteers has emerged as a consistent theme during this study.

The third group of participants comprised academics, professional practitioners and localism activists. In common with many community led approaches neighbourhood planning has become a lively topic of debate on a number of internet based social and business networks. I participated in and/or observed a variety of web forum discussions around neighbourhood planning, in particular an academic / practitioner focused forum which was created as a result of the DCLG hosted roundtable discussions with emerging academics. This participation led the researcher to post the following questions to that group on 'LinkedIn': "What motivates communities to get involved?"; "Will neighbourhood planning help achieve the government's ambition to kick start the economy through a boom in house building?"; "Does neighbourhood planning simplify spatial planning, or, make things more complex?"

A total of 46 comments were posted by 23 contributors. These included a practitioner who had had significant input to the guidance being put together for local communities by the organisation Locality. I met with this author of neighbourhood planning guidance at a number of events. Similarly, one of the policy makers and analysts from the DCLG neighbourhood planning team also contributed.

Finally, 12 interview subjects, eight derived from the Neston Neighbourhood Plan Steering Group, and, four from other areas were interviewed using a semi-structured interview, which was recorded and then each professionally transcribed. This group are described in more detail at paragraph 4.6.3 in Chapter 4, page 86, including the coding of attributions.

This chapter begins with a description of the thematic coding structure that has enabled the creation of the thick narrative that forms this chapter.

5.2   Developing the thematic coding structure:

I adopted an iterative, interpretative thematic analysis, after Braun and Clarke, (2006). Given the ethnographic nature of the study in application to a planning research related subject, I have followed Maginn (2007) in applying this approach to an emerging collaborative planning approach. Maggs-Rapport (2000) phenomological approach has guided the way I have allowed many thematic areas, to emerge, from the data itself, and, in doing so the data corpus 'speaks' to the researcher in the process of reading, coding, reflecting and assimilation.

The thematic analysis also has had reference to the application of the theoretical framework explored in Chapter 3, and, seeks evidence within the data corpus the principles of; governance, volunteerism, participation, institutional design and questions over the nature of democracy within neighbourhood planning.

The following coding has thus emerged from the data;
1. Demographics: comprising

   Age, Gender, current work status and role in the area

Length of residency in the area

Nature of the community as recognised by participants.

2. Motivation towards and application of;

Volunteerism (social) – collective action through being part of a group

Volunteerism (public) – engagement in collaborative planning

Self-interest (individual participation) – reflecting the type of society and / or place that individuals want to live in and / or personal satisfaction.

3. Evidence of place-attachment based motivation for volunteering and the meaning of neighbourhood to participants.

4. Assessing roles within / attributes of the group in the context of the IAD framework;

- learning and norm adoption
- trust and reciprocity
- cooperation
- values
- common understanding
- homogeneity
- inequality
- risk

5. Skills and Resources of individual participants

- leadership for collaborative working.

6. Consensus in the community

- focus on referendum outcomes

7. Participative democracy:

- progressive politics
- scepticism of government

This chapter now considers each of these thematic areas in turn to provide a thick descriptive narrative of neighbourhood planning, from the perspective of the participants, and myself as a participant-observer. The outcomes of the questionnaire, web-forum and semi-structured interviews are combined in this analysis. A summary is presented at the end of this chapter.

5.3   Reflecting on demographics;

It was possible to confirm the age of 16 of the 19 individuals directly involved in neighbourhood planning (as members of a steering group) that I engaged with. The age range was between 24 and 72, although the predominant age group was 'over 60s' – with ten of this group being at least 60 or more years of age, giving an average age as approximately 61.

The age of the 'typical' neighbourhood volunteer encountered was therefore 'over 60', and, in terms of work status declared at the time I engaged with them, almost universally, the response was 'retired'. Of the 19 involved directly in a community steering group, 14 were retired. Three had employed status; an academic (AC), a planning post-graduate (NPO(WS)) and an employed planning consultant (PP) providing a paid for service to a local community group.

The age of participants in the social media group and those with whom I engaged with in initial scoping discussions was not established, however the gender of those participating in the former, inferred from given name, was split 19 to 4: male / female. This (17% female / 83% male) is comparable to the subjects interviewed of whom 8 were male and 4 female (25% female / 75 % male).

One of the immediately noticeable features of community participants that I encountered then is that it is predominantly male group, over 60 and retired. This outcome is rather different to the NCVO data which suggests that volunteers across all sectors of volunteering are generally 'economically active' at the same time as volunteering, and generally slight younger (around 45 years of age). Those I engage with in volunteering in neighbourhood planning tended to be older than average volunteers and are, almost, universally retired. I recognise that this may be unusual and unique to the communities that I engaged with. Whilst the finding in itself is not statistically significant, through the survey and the interviews I engaged with representatives (more often than not chairs of local groups) of ten (10) emergent neighbourhood plans from a target group of 21. In each case the chair of these groups was male, retired and over 60, NNP(PB), NPO(GS).

Participation in neighbourhood planning tends to be a relatively sedentary exercise, largely involving numerous face to face meetings, and, assessing / evaluating large volumes of information in report form, often circulated by email or through investigation of web-based resources. Therefore, it is perhaps not surprising that older people are attracted to this form of volunteering, as opposed to more 'active' volunteering roles. Indeed, I observed that many of my collaborators in neighbourhood planning in the Neston area had prior 'form' in volunteering when they were younger – often in sports or outdoor related activities such as; shooting, football, cricket or scouting. Although older, the cohort of subjects do tend remain members of the 'civic core' with an observable predisposition towards volunteering. In many cases the participants (either those interviewed or through the questionnaires) admitted to volunteering in multiple roles; neighbourhood planning, food banks, volunteer driving, civic preservation societies and organisations such as the Round Table, or, similar community focused roles being routinely mentioned in conversation.

In addition, through the interview process, and, as part of the questionnaire I established that all 14 retirees had held middle or senior managerial posts across business, local government and the civil service. Several had held very senior posts including; Chief Executive Officer in Local Government, Director of an academic department in a Russell Group University, and, Managing Director of a large multi-national business.

These participants expressed the following sentiments: the need to remain 'mentally alert' (NNP(PB), NPO (GS) or not 'go to seed' (NNP(DW) and a recognition that retirement enabled them to 'give something back' (NNPTN) often to local communities for which the subjects had affection, and, significant family ties. It is perhaps unsurprising that given the nature of neighbourhood planning; being a 'committee' led process, which inevitably involves dealing with large volumes of complex information through chairing or participating in 'working groups' meant these participants felt were suited to this activity, by making use of skills that they felt that they had acquired through their working life.

This outcome corresponds with the NCVO data, and the findings of Brookhill (2017) in respect to the typical social-demographic of those who volunteer as being predominantly middle-class, and, having benefitted from higher education. Former professionals appear to dominate neighbourhood plan volunteering. This issue is discussed further in the

context of roles (5.5) and heterogeneity (5.7).

The volunteers in the communities tend overwhelmingly to be home owners (at least 85% of those interviewed or who responded to the questionnaire) and are 'established' members of the community – having been resident often for 25 years or more, and, most having 'laid down roots' in their community. They tend to do so by bringing up a family in the community, attending at local faith organisations, supporting their local schools (for instance being members of the Parent Teacher Association, or, members of School Governing Bodies). It was common to express regret that during their working life participants did not get much time at home to engage in civic society, despite being active volunteers in numerous ways. A number of participants expressed frustration that their peers who had retired only complained about the state of things in their local area, without doing anything about it, and hence they had taken this annoyance as a motivation to become more engaged, so as to be in the know, but, able to influence the nature of change in their community.

There considerable consistency in defining their community amongst participants with 50 % of participants tending to refer to their community as a "village". In two cases, it was recognised that their community was a suburb of a larger town, whereas one subject described their locality as both a town in its own right but also a suburb.

One community volunteer (NNP(RE) described its community as a "semi-rural" town - this was the largest population area (Neston) and technically, in local government terms in Cheshire it is a 'town', and, has a Town Council. It was observed that Neston community participants went to great efforts to describe and refer to Neston as a community made up of 'the four villages' and indeed during consultation efforts were made to describe the community in these four discrete areas, with the development of separate plans and identities appertaining to each locality within the one community.

As a resident of Neston, I can appreciate the dilemma that was faced by the group presenting a single plan for the "four villages" mainly because of the presence of a generally poor image of Neston Town itself, whereas at least three of the four villages that make up the community are regarded as affluent and desirable places to live. Hence, one comment received during consultation referred to the fact that the participant did not live

'in Neston' rather specifically in one of the four village components. It is worth observing at this point that there are no clear geographical delineations between the four villages, they tend to merge together apparently seamlessly, and, all the main services for each of these 'villages' are actually centrally located, with the exception of one village which has a recognisable separate, albeit small, village centre around some minor local services (newsagent, post office, delicatessen, garage and hairdressing services) that are independent of the services in the main 'town' centre.

5.4   Examining motivation towards volunteering;

5.4.1   Volunteerism; as a 'social' movement – collective action through being part of a group

Neighbourhood planning is a collective action, and as such demands the volunteer be willing to work in a social group towards a common goal. Motivations to participate in this manner often centred around having the time to spare, having been involved in similar activity in the past (for instance a number of participants mentioned Parish Planning), and having certain expressed concerns regarding the current and potential future state of their communities.

One participant in this research was motivated by their role in leading a local development trust and that engagement in 'citizen led planning' as they termed it, was a; "means to an end" (NNP(RH)) in the context of pursuing certain ideas at a local policy level. Others were equally pragmatic and arguably opportunistic, and, keen to apply their previously applied knowledge of a range of professional skills, including; architecture, community visioning and transportation planning, to address what they saw as deficiencies in their communities.

A strong sentiment towards motivation to participate as a volunteer that emerged was the sense of 'self-determinacy' that I feel is encapsulated by the following; "It is extremely important for the community. It's the only thing that the community seems to be able to do to determine its own future in setting the parameters..." (NPO(GS). Often participants expressed a specific dissatisfaction with the past systems with statements such as; "local people are better than top-down planners" (NNP(ME)). This particular statement reflects other strong sentiments that characterised professionally qualified, employed planners

from the local Council as "disengaged", "disinterested in local issues" and "incapable of applying the level of knowledge" that 'local people' could through their collective action. One group (NNP) was very critical of a local planner's inability to attend their evening meetings, and, interpreted that failure, perhaps rather unreasonably, as a lack of motivation on behalf of that particular individual. In the end when that member of staff was bypassed as a contact in preference to a more senior individual considerable pleasure (NNP(JW)) was expressed in having "got one over" on "the system", that initially certain participants felt was tipped against them in the form of artificial barriers and obstructions towards making progress.

These standpoints reflect the post-political dilemmas for professional planners drawn out in; Allmendinger and Haughton (2015), and also strongly align with the critique of Habermasian principles adopted by professional public-sector planners in, Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (1998). The motivations towards "doing good" for the local community through collective action reflect Blackstone (2009) and, often, these sentiments are powerfully argued by volunteers in a very passionate manner, for instance: "…whereas, the neighbourhood plan, the whole (strong verbal emphasis on this) community will eventually have some form of effect or impact by whatever decisions are made or taken" (NNP(RH) and, "it's to give the community some enabling powers in regard to planning and environmental issues, etc. Anything where we can have the impact from a local point of view. All of us, and I think it could be said for the majority of people who live in our area do have a sense of belonging, a sense of pride (physical and vocal emphasis rising here) as I said before in Neston Park Gate and this area and you want the best not only for you as an individual, but for the whole community." (NNP(DW).

All participants in neighbourhood planning expressed dissatisfaction with that which had gone before, and, expressed very strongly that NP gave them as a community a chance to "right the wrongs" done to their towns, and, villages. Examples included lack of shopping, education, transport, healthcare and, in particular jobs for young people and affordable housing for young families wishing to remain in the area that they grew up in. One participant saw the NP as: "a tool for protection that which makes our place special" (NNP(TD)), and in doing so evidenced faith in the power of development planning policy, using the term "enshrined" to refer to planned protective measures within their particular plan.

Sustainability arose consistently as an aspiration in all the plan areas that I engaged with, and, this was particularly true in Neston; "the intent to make the area more sustainable had been ignored by the LPA" (NPO(WS)), LPA being a reference to the local planning authority. Indeed this theme is also reinforced by a further common thread in deciding to act locally which was the desire to "raise aspirations" of the local populace by; "tackling a central problem" (understood to be the perceived death of the town centre) "which would raise community aspirations for redevelopment" (NNP various).

I found that many participants in neighbourhood planning had an acute grasp of the vernacular of regeneration and planning, often based on their past professional lives, but also gained from the intense level of immersion in the topic that I observed to develop in many volunteers. These prior, failed, struggles to gain improvements in a local community often led to considerable frustration in volunteers with the planning profession. Indeed, although most communities do resort to professional support, according to Parker (2015), it was not uncommon to hear statements such as: "I think, ████'s been a real encouragement in the sense" (he said) "do it yourself. Don't get planners to write it. It won't look like yours. It won't have your feel to it. You do have, you know (vocal emphasis underlined) if you do it yourself you've got passion.". (NPO(GS).

Whilst the above suggests enthusiasm for taking complete control of the writing of planning policies, as Parker (2015) pointed out, most community areas that have successfully progressed to completion eventually collaborated with professional planners, often by appointing independent consultants. In my experience of the Neston Neighbourhood Plan this is true, and, in fact we 'co-opted' an employed professional planning consultant onto our group. This is despite the fact that several participants, myself included, had professional planning policy development backgrounds. However, one of the observed reasons for doing so was to protect the energy of volunteers, as it has been universally recognised in; Bovaird (2007); Brodie et all (2011); Brownill and Carpenter (2007), Clary and Snyder (1999), Parker & Street (2015), that the co-production of plans by volunteer groups is a labour-intensive, and, risk laden process for participants, which demands long-term commitment, which can result in both fatigue and drop-off in participation. I will return to the theme of risk in greater depth below.

Indeed, the following, from one of the leaders of a neighbourhood steering group shows awareness of this fatigue, and, also the need to demonstrate to participants that progress is being made, thus: "So that, to deliver that in a reasonable time frame, because you do get fatigue. Volunteers get fatigue. We've had one or two drop out. Fortunately, people are staying the course in the main. Unless it keeps moving forward at a reasonable rate, that fatigue process will continue and people might not stay with it. Again, it's got to be in a reasonable time frame. So, I'm particularly keen on getting these consultants on board and get that working and then people can see we are making progress." (NNP(PB).

Whereas, this; "It's this trying to keep everybody on the straight and narrow and trying to get everybody to sign up to a programme and agree objectives and policies. I mean, it is bloody frustrating to be honest, because I find that this is about the first occasion in my life when you can't say, well, look, do it or bugger off. In this voluntary area, sadly, you run at the speed of the slowest worker. It's very difficult" (NPO(GS)) demonstrates perhaps the frustration some leaders can have with the collective action process, in that being reliant on volunteers does mean this is an inevitable part of the neighbourhood planning experience.

The perceived and accepted wisdom that neighbourhood plans should conform to traditional structure and forms of planning policy was challenged; "Why do we need to write lots and lots of policies and how flash and expensive consultants to do it. I think it can be much more, formal is not the right word, but less sophisticated… Why does it have to be written in professional speak?" (NNP(JW)) This statement not only conforms to a post-political 'anti-expert' ethos, it also raises questions over the legitimacy of amateur policy making, however the literature (Parker, 2015 for instance) highlights the reason for engaging professional consultants tends to be the concerns over fatigue, and, risk of challenge at examination or through planning inquiries.

5.4.2 Volunteerism (public) – engagement in collaborative planning

During my experience of participation in neighbourhood planning it became clear that, for some participants at least, the outcome of the process in the form of an adopted plan was less important than the other changes and challenges that could be made by participating in the collaborative planning process. This form of public volunteerism manifested itself in a number of ways. For instance, some participants in the Neston Neighbourhood Plan

process progressed from volunteer 'citizen planners' to being formal members of the local Council. The following statement demonstrates the motivations of this participant; "The most important (thing) for me would be get a revitalised town council. I think town councils have got enormous potential. They are held back with all that … so I actually see the neighbourhood plan biggest compilation and a catalyst of that process. I think in the long term in terms of their social and economic and radical breakdown in Neston, I think that's a more important thing than actually houses or whatever. The circumstances and the issues are going to change. I want Neston to be a player. I want Neston to be respected in Cheshire." (NNP(JW)) So, this participant in neighbourhood planning did not see the plan itself as the most important thing, rather the effect of that collaborative planning on changing the way in which the Town Council operated, and, was perceived externally, particularly at other levels of local government, and, within the development community. This was a further example of the plan being seen as a "means to an end" rather than an end in itself.

Another motivation for collaborating related to the view that, in the past, the views of more marginal groups (such as hobbies and pastimes) had been overlooked because there had never been an opportunity to participate in this way before. The following participant stated; "Yes, I had a feeling that certain organisations were never even thought about and wasn't even known about. Peoples own prejudices were infiltrating town planning. And so I felt if I actually volunteered to get in there then I could actually put the case for some of the lesser known ….. activities." (NNP(ME)) So, again, for this participant, the actual plan itself was less important than the influence it may be possible to gain for their particular interests through collaboration within the plan making process.

Academic engagement, such as my own, was another motivation for participation in public volunteering amongst two other participants that I engaged with. For me I hoped to gain access to and record the experience of the collaborative planning process from the standpoint of a volunteer within my local community. For another academic the sentiments were slightly different, as follows; "..I feel that I couldn't not get involved from the point of view that I write about, I talk about, I lecture about communities and getting involved and community led plans. It would be a bit of a giveaway if you didn't do it. Having to talk the talk.." (AC) Whilst this is also an individual motivation to volunteer, but, it was expressed in the context of learning and experiencing collaboration with non-

planners – engagement with the 'citizen planner'. The opportunity to participate / observe in collaborative planning being too good to miss for this particular participant.

Frustrations with the status quo and with the attitudes of other 'neighbours' in their communities was a motivating factor for collaborative planning, in the sense that some participant felt that they had to 'put up or shut up' and work collaboratively for change to the local area and not simply sit at home and gripe about the whys and wherefores of other people's actions.

5.4.3 Self-interest (individual participation) – reflecting the type of society and / or place that individuals want to live in and / or personal satisfaction.

Personal motivations for involvement in citizen-centred planning arise from a number of complex factors. I observed the desire to remain mentally active in those who recently retired or for whom the opportunity to participate coincided serendipitously with some other change in circumstances, such as redundancy, or, a period between work contracts. In the case of the latter volunteers often could not sustain their participation once work was regained, or, due to other family pressures.

Some volunteers accepted and stated that they felt a satisfaction from; "doing good" (NNP various). For others it was the chance to make changes locally that would be of benefit, potentially for their children or grandchildren. The following perhaps sums this aspect up best: "I think there is a personal satisfaction in making whatever contribution it is you've decided to make and see something happening as a result of it. That second bit is important." (NNP(TN))"People won't volunteer if they can't see anything happening as a result of their efforts." (NNP(ME). Involvement in collaborative planning is, for some, a very abstract concept, and, I certainly observed volunteers who anticipated seeing an immediate change in their local area as a direct result of their actions in the context of neighbourhood planning. For instance, in the Neston Neighbourhood Plan steering group we had one participant who held very strong views and beliefs about environmental responsibility and sustainability, and, wished to implement as well as develop certain 'green' policies. It was very frustrating for that person to accept that the Neighbourhood Plan was not the appropriate forum, largely being focused on spatial planning policy, to

both develop strategies and implement them, immediately.

A very strong focus on affordable housing, particularly aimed at supporting local young people to remain in their 'home' village emerged during my engagement with Neighbourhood Planning.   From my reading of other plans, I believe it is reasonable to conclude that affordable housing has been a significant topic of debate and policy attention in most plans. In the context of this form of development, I did not observe any specific form of "NIMBYism" with respect to housing development, rather a sense of the desire to protect that which makes a place distinct, or, to preserve what it perceived to be the thing that ensures that development does not overwhelm existing areas. In the context of Neston this related to the Green Belt, and, a concern that the town centre was not performing as well as it could do.   But the plan participants reached the conclusion that the way to deal with that was to re-zone their town centre, and, free up some sites not previously allocated for housing to "windfall" style brownfield sites. This, in the context of Neston, enabled our plan to conveniently side-step the fact that the local plan already had sufficient housing sites allocated to the town, yet, our steering group felt that the numbers where not sufficient to support the sustainability of the town centre, nor, provide affordability.

I found the motivations at a personal level to be honest, open and frank. I did not at any point pick up a sense of either political manipulation, or, ulterior motives (for instance financial gain from influencing land for allocation favourably).

Many participants felt that the ability to walk into their local centre, purchase various supplies from a range of local shops,perhaps, have a coffee, or, visit a local library, and then return home 'on foot' was an important motivation to ensure policies that protected and enhanced these activities were present in their neighbourhood plans. This provides a strong link to the longevity of residency and familial nature of place attachment. In addition, I found that these sentiments recognise the societal and sustainability benefits of a strong local community with a diverse economic base that is able to retain and recirculate activity within the community. These 'common sense' views can be seen to be pragmatic at one level, however I found that they were deeply held and clearly stirred strong emotions in participants. Hence it can be seen to be a verbalisation of a strong place attachment (see below).

Finally, in the context of individual participation I also experienced, and, had expressed to me the satisfaction of seeing other people participate, improve and collaborate together towards a final outcome. In the context of Neston, this led to the successful adoption of the plan, after a public referendum. There was a great sense of pride amongst those of us who had "stuck the course", expressed thus in an exchange where I am the interviewer (Int) and a colleague is the respondent (Res); "It's a feel-good factor of making it serve other people better. Giving them something to achieve." Int: "Seeing what change?" Res: "What change can do and it always takes one person to put their time and effort in, which then inspires other people to put time and effort into it. It drags other people into the whole picture. Everybody benefits, because you get a certain buzz from watching other people enjoy themselves." (NNP(DW)).

5.5   Evidence of place-attachment based motivation for volunteering.

I recognise place attachment as the feelings that individuals develop with respect to places that are well known to them; their homes, streets, villages, towns and cities, or, equally landscapes and environments, as in Trenttelman (2009). A tripartite framework enables us to define that attachment, as in Scannell and Gifford (2010a). This framework comprises the three 'Ps'; 'person'; 'process' – giving effect to cognition and behaviour; 'place' - including social and physical aspects. This study aimed to examine place attachment in the context of the lived experience of community volunteers, and, as a participant / observer, to establish its significance in motivating volunteers. In that sense it draws on both Manzo and Devine-Wright (2014) and Seamon (2014).

Through the process of thematic analysis it has become clearer that volunteers demonstrate place attachment in respect to their motivation to volunteering, and, in particular where there was a perception that their community ('place') was threatened by either excessive and inappropriate development, or, loss of community features and facilities arising from either decay, inattention (often of the local Council) or through development (processes and persons) that did not have support within the community.

One respondent stated that they chose to participate in the neighbourhood plan due to; "a loss of village distinctiveness due to aggressive development". (NPO(GS)). The comment

is deeply personal, and, the use of the term 'aggressive' highlights the way the participant has reacted emotionally to the threat of change, possibly reacting to it on a physical level. When considering the purpose of the neighbourhood plan, participants indicated that they believed that the neighbourhood plan would give them "power", suggesting that without the NP they felt powerless to resist change to their 'place', and, equally that the NP would give the "local community", with emphasis on the local residents, the ability to; "make their own choices". So even in advance of the completion of the NP, participants were expressing a sense of empowerment. NNP(various) NPO (both).

This sense of place expressed by participants extended to references to "local distinctiveness" and desires (presented in the manner of an emotional plea) to maintain; "village feel". I recognise these as indications of 'specialness' about a place, compared to other locations. Aspects of that sense of 'specialness' of place included seeking policies which aim to preserve views out of the village to 'cherished' landscapes, and, seeking policy to prevent "coalescence" with other, neighbouring communities. Those 'other' places were seen in a less preferential light compared to the participants local community, or, the threat of coalescence seemed to suggest that this 'specialness' would be diluted. Alongside these feelings of specialness and the risk of 'dilution' were pragmatic although unquantified assumptions that existing local services and facilities, such as; schools, doctors, dentists, could not cope with the "influx that would ensure from merging with community".

The social impact of observed loss of aspects of place were expressed thus; "the loss of all of these things, the loss of post offices and the loss of local grocers, greengrocers and all the rest of it has a huge impact I think on the social coherence of a community." NNP(TN) This 'sense of loss' was then a motivation for volunteers, summed up best in a statement relating to the objective of creating the NP; "helping this attractive village realise its full potential" (NNP(RH)) and so I consider that this feeling of unfulfilled potential drives volunteers to think, and, devise schemes for improvement to their local communities, which potentially are a positive force for change in the local area, expressed by the following as a 'vision' for the future of the community; "the wider team are still excited that the neighbourhood plan will make a real difference to the village. The thinking that we have, you visualise the place in fifteen years' time. You visualise the impact of the housing policies and what we (would) like to do in the centre. How we'd like to integrate and make

the connectivity in the village better." (NPO(GS) This participant was focusing on internal sustainability after a realisation that the village had deficiencies in providing for walking and cycling routes despite significant areas of 'green space', but the outstanding feature of this comment is the use of the term visualise, in the sense of a mental image of the future, and, the recognition that change would take a long time – fifteen years – rather than be an immediate 'fix'.

A further social dimension indicated by participants was the recognition that involvement in volunteering gave them as part of a wider social group. This social dimension linked characteristics of place, such as the availability of a variety of services in close proximity that enabled walking around the "village" to be the main and preferred mode of transport to the opportunity to "socialise" when walking "up to town" through being recognised for their role in volunteering. In an era when personal isolation is considered to be growing, this personal interaction could give participants in neighbourhood planning wider social networks and contribute to greater well-being as a result. NNP(various).

The relationship documented in place attachment research between length of stay and volunteering was apparent to me throughout my engagement with the NP participants. This phenomenon was evident in various statements and responses such as; "the majority have been living in Boston Spa for 25, 30 years or more. It clearly is the sort of place you move to and you want to stay. There is a real good community feel. And therefore, it's not difficult to get interest in neighbourhood plans and it is interest in the village what is the village going to be like in ten years' time. What improvements can be made." (NPO(GS) This provides evidence that in terms of assembling a group of volunteers, the majority of these can be expected to be long-term residents. This was also true in my own community, where all the participants were long term residents of the area. This association over a long period of time gives rise to strong emotional bonds to a location; "it's more that I, I probably say I would care, because I care about my village and what goes on. I've lived there for twenty odd years. I care about the style and how it changes and the development that's going to take place."

To summarise, the participants in Neighbourhood Planning seem to exhibit a strong degree of place attachment that can be characterised in the form of the 3P's framework. The participants, including myself, have strong emotional ties to their communities, and, aim

through the neighbourhood plan process to protect and improve those attributes which are perceived to make a place 'special'.

5.6   Assessing roles within / attributes of the group in the context of the IAD framework

Chapters 3 and 4 identified how the IAD framework may give guidance on the nature of relationships and activities within the group dealing with a collective action in the form of the creation of a Neighbourhood Plan. The framework suggests that cooperation and reciprocity is important in any group aiming to achieve effective management of a common pool resource. I have proposed that the creation of a spatial plan for a local community is analogous with other forms of CPR management. Following Susser and Tonnelat (2013), I consider that knowledge of and the development of local land use policies forms a manifestation of management of "the commons" within a community. Siddiki, Weible, Basurto and Calanni (2009) enabled me to consider the language and behaviours of participants in the context of the IAD, with reference to Tables 1 and 2, Ch4.

The participants in neighbourhood planning must, I have observed, by necessity, consume and understand large amounts of information regarding their local area and neighbourhood plan process in order to produce an evidence base that is capable of supporting their proposed policies in the face of, potentially, professionally organised objections to those policies. These challenges can take the form of legal challenges under the relevant planning legislation arising from speculative development applications that are contrary to the local community's aspirations.

Alongside this learning, the group seeks to create a set of shared objectives, and, hence views are normalised over time through the reiterative process of creating, discussing, revising and ultimately agreeing on policy objectives and content. In the course of discussing their experience with participants, through the semi-structured interviews, and, in casual conversation it became apparent that participants were well aware of the need to be willing to adapt to new tasks, and, take on new information as they present themselves. These learning and norm-adoption traits are important to successful group activities; "I think that you've got to also have a group of people that are willing to take on the tasks that

are going to come along." (NNP(PB-Chair)) Participants quickly recognise that collaboration and cooperation is the only mechanism by which a successful outcome will be achieved. At the outset some participants had concerns such as; "we were told by a number of people, we were going to have nothing but obstacles in our way in confronting and speaking to Leahurst (Veterinary College of Liverpool University. They would be very obstructive and not want to help and not get involved." NNP(TN) The experience for participants was, however, relatively straightforward, although as this participant observes the process often revolves around the capabilities or certain individuals; "On the contrary, they have been absolutely superb. Now whether that comes down to the individuals, I really don't know." NNP(TN) and NNP (DW).

A community steering group leader observed that although there had been a "fall off" in people, those that remained had gelled together. My observation of this was that the core group that tended to remain and stick together, either shared similar views of most subjects, or, seemed to adopt pragmatic approaches to raising objections. I personally found that I was very careful not to be overly challenging, and I found that I often adopted a slightly different approach to my fellow volunteers compared to how I would have behaved in a professional environment. This adoption of 'situational behaviour' was common amongst all the community groups I engaged with, and reported frequently by leaders as both a frustration, in so much as they could not; "crack the whip" and therefore had to moderate their behaviours.

A further, and perhaps unintended consequence of the Localism Act, is the phenomenon I have experienced, and, was reported from other NP areas which is that the community steering group, whilst it focused on the task of creating the Neighbourhood Plan itself, had become galvanised into a "team", who was motivated to continue to work together on other related activities, such as in the case of Neston developing an Economic Development Strategy, and, supporting some 'greening' activities.

In the view of one community participant this sort of outcome was a positive aspect to the "unintended consequences" of NP in that: "…people are now working together. I think (they) will continue working whether or not it is around a neighbourhood plan and that a network has been formed that can work together. That's actually quite an achievement. That actually will hopefully support the town council which was probably quite tied up

with kind of stupid local politics or even national politics." (NNP(JW)) In this comment I observe a post-political standpoint from the participant, who sees themselves as distant from the 'petty politics', and so is able to concentrate on getting on with supporting the wider objectives without the distraction that prevents the council, in this case, from being effective in the view of the participant.

How the participants how gone about this is described variously as; "amenable", a "partnership", "working together…not adversarial", and "not confrontational". NNP(various) Whilst it would be a mistake to conclude that the process of working collaboratively on a NP was without disagreement, and, I certainly observed a small number of tense moments in meetings. But, overall, I found, and more importantly participants reported that the discussions inside their group were generally harmonious. This points to the expected homogeneity within groups in terms of social 'standing' and viewpoint.

Whilst engaging with external bodies, I found that the dynamic was considerably different to that which I experienced when I had represented local authorities, and, in addition public reaction to being approached by volunteers from the community was considerably different also. To an extent I consider that this is a sign of the trust that being a volunteer and member of a local community brings to such an engagement and I experienced and observed a sense that volunteers were seen to be attempting to do good for their local community, as this volunteer observed: "We are working in partnership for the end good of everybody" NNP(TD) I observe that volunteers, however, do tend to believe that once they have developed a plan or policy it must correct; "We all know ourselves from what we see with our own eyes what the town needs or what it deserves. Again, it's quite reassuring that we've virtually all come to the same conclusions. I think that is a real strength". NNP(DW) This contentment that, being local, and, being able to see the solution to the problem could result in quite a narrow range of solutions being perceived as acceptable, without the wider ranging search that a more objective approach might produce.

Volunteers expressed some exasperation with those not part of the group who sought more information or challenged the motivations of those taking part. I did not observe this directly myself, and, within the Neston plan we did not have any specific challenges. Other areas have reported being subject to freedom of information requests from other

residents, along with, accusations of financial gain perhaps being the volunteers' motivation. These reports came from another area in the form of a comment in an interview with a participant: "As an extreme we have had a couple file a freedom of information request or whatever. It's that sort of thing which is very dispiriting, because they have been asking for a huge amount of information, (and) within my hearing at a public meeting they basically accused the neighbourhood planning steering group of a stitch up and behaving in a way which is improper...".

It is understandable that prospective participants in volunteering would be put off by observing and/or receiving such personal accusations, and, would, in my view, be intimidated at the prospect of having to provide large volumes of information in response to such requests. I do not view this as either a typical or an expected situation but it does contrast with the relatively benign nature of the volunteering experience that I have had.

In the context of similar albeit less extreme questioning of a volunteer, this was offered in explanation by a participant observing; "..obviously, I don't know the individual or particular circumstances. But I think there are people who like to be in the know. They don't want to miss out on something that could be important." This sense that somehow one might miss out on something does question the general 'trust' that I observed to exist in the volunteer role.

This leads to the examination of the personal values expressed by participants, as opposed to the group attributes which I have explored above. Participants expressed that they were "value driven" (NNP(RH)) as opposed to seeking "power" (NNP(TN)). I interpret this as a recognition of the altruistic nature, and this was something that I observed in volunteers. Others expressed that they were "ideas driven" (NNP(TD)) and that they sought, through the neighbourhood plan "opportunities to progress" (NNP(RH)) these ideas. I observed that these ideas appeared to be tilted towards the 'pro-social' and were more often than not translated into a willingness to apply policies which sought; "more affordable housing", "better facilities for young people and families", and "the environment, and the quality of life for our grandchildren". NNP(various). It is reasonable to characterise these as a manifestation of "progressive localism", as in Bradley and Brownill (2017).

Volunteers contend that their NP is a platform to pursue ideas at a local level, and, that in

pursuance of those ideas they are prepared to collaborate and to some extent compromise on those ideas. Volunteers also demonstrated that the nature of participation in NP was different to other forms of volunteering; "...it's in a cerebral way which this is really as opposed to a physical volunteering. It appeals to some people." (NNP(DW) I consider this an acknowledgement that those who tend to volunteer for NP are relatively similar in outlook and are therefore likely to have similar perceptions of what is wrong, and, how to go about fixing those things in their local areas. I did not get any sense of the 'busybody' or 'nimby' from my engagement with volunteers, but, then given that I was also a participant, perhaps this is an oversight in interpreting my own motivations.

Volunteers in NP were observed to hold the belief that the consensus they tend to develop within their groups confirms that they were correct in their conclusions of the best solution to a particular policy dilemma. In addition, I experienced the viewpoint of some participants that local volunteers were likely to "get fresher ideas" than the professional "outsider". Volunteers felt that they had more time to listen to other peoples' ideas than a "paid person". It was also suggested by some participants that a professional would be more interested in getting their own point of view over, or, preconceived notion or idea in place than a local person.

This perception potentially places the professional planner, who is inevitably non-resident in an area, in a perpetual dilemma in the sense that local community volunteers will not trust that they are either being listened to nor will they find it easy to accept that such a person is not trying to impose a proposal for some hidden purpose. Cox and McCarthy (1982), point to this as the "politics of turf" in neighbourhood activism, and, it echoes the question of empowerment in the 'citizen planner' explored in Bailey and Pill (2015).

I have observed in a preceding section that the development of a common understanding of the goal for a neighbourhood steering group to achieve a successful outcome focused on the referendum led to a normalisation of opinion, and, less 'extreme' viewpoints being pursued. I consider that many volunteers are intimidated by the process of developing a NP. It is bureaucratic, in that it is reliant on processes and procedures that are more in keeping with the development of a spatial plan by a professional, governmental body that benefits from substantial access to resources. These resources would include, ordinarily, a range of skilled, and, professionally qualified planners, who had both education and prior

experience of the processes, such as sustainability appraisal, or, environmental impact assessments.

These governmental procedures would be supported by comprehensive data and the systems to manipulate and potentially simulate the outcomes from certain policy options; such as air quality modelling, or, carbon emission estimations. These resources are just not available to community volunteers, unless procured from professional organisations, or, via a governmental resource.

As a consequence, I observed a tendency to dilute more radical ideas, in the face of both the fact that an NP has to conform with the overarching spatial plan, and, that too great a departure from current custom and practice demands evidence that may have to be gathered, interpreted and analysed using methods simply not available to the community volunteer. Consequently, the scope for innovation and the radical challenge for transformation of, for example environmental policies, is limited by the process / procedures that would be required to evidence these, as in Gunn, Brooks and Vigar (2015).

A further aspect of this iterative, normalising policy development process observed is that community volunteers a very aware that they have then gained a much more detailed knowledge of the decision-making process than the professional officers or elected representative on the sponsoring local Council. Volunteers expressed concern over the potential impact of this; "I think there is more trouble ahead in the town council, because I think one of the issues is that, because we've been in from the start, we've seen the evolution of the issues and the debate and the ideas behind it. The town council haven't." (PP).

This sense of common purpose leading to the development of an accepted set of policy objectives is reinforced by perceptions of homogeneity within the groups that I engaged with. Volunteers identified that they had "blended together" despite recognising that participants appear to come from different "walks of life", either in terms of industry, public sector, banking, commerce, volunteers appear to take comfort from the feeling that everyone was similar to themselves in outlook and objectives. This lack of dissent leads to expressions such as; "there is no-one who has effectively let us down". NNP(PB) In addition participants expressed the view that this "similarity" had led to a lack of

arguments within the groups, and, had produced "very quickly" consensus views about what was needed to be done. I found that there was a tendency to be quite impatient with dissent, and, that debate tended to focus on the correct form of wordings to explain a particular standpoint in policy, as opposed to debating a range of options.

This tendency also resulted in a wariness to present "the public", as the rest of the community ended up being referred to by in all the groups I engaged with, with options to choose from in some policy areas. This stemmed from fears that this might present, in some way, that the neighbourhood plan steering group could not produce decisive policy proposals. This was reinforced by the oft repeated expression that; "We all know ourselves from what we see with our own eyes what the town needs or what it deserves." NNP(DW) Participants seemed to also need emotional security in the consistency of attitudes of other participants; "Again, it's quite reassuring that we've virtually all come to the same conclusions. I think that is a real strength." NNP(TN) Surveys seemed to be employed largely to confirm that "local knowledge" and "intuition" provided a sound basis for policy decisions; "our initial thoughts and ideas. We weren't wildly off piste, if that's the right word. We knew what ███████ needed and we knew what that required and everything." NNP(ME).

Community participants were content with "virtually all the public" agreeing with their intuition, and, wary of dissenting views, or, exploring options that did not appear to accord with their "hunches". The community steering group members also appeared, whilst I participated in the process, to see themselves as semi-official custodians of the spatial plan development of the area, and, to some extent detached from the normal population of the community who were not participating in the process. Surveys and engagement often seemed focused on confirming that the majority of that public would accept the policies being proposed, as opposed to seeking to gain a greater understanding of the wider ranging views of sections of the population. This desire to establish homogeneity of opinion both within the group, and, within the wider community tended to lead to silent dissent amongst participants that chose to remain part of the group, who may have held divergent views, yet did not find a voice to express those concerns within the group.

Whilst many participants in NP did seem content with the general homogeneity of the groups that they worked in to produce the plans, there were concerns expressed about the

lack of diversity of representation; "when you look at the mix of people on our steering group, that I think it's fair to say, the majority of the people are all ex professionals..." NNP(DW) It was reflected that; "We don't have enough people from the lower echelons. We need proper bricklayers on the—we need a couple of cleaners. We need a couple of security guards or something..." NPO(GS) When the impact of this lack of diversity was explored the responses indicated awareness that the neighbourhood plan group volunteers did not represent the demographics of society. The experience of participants in this respect are confirmed by the responses from my survey work around the subject of neighbourhood plan, which identified that the participants appeared to be white, middle class, retired men from largely professional backgrounds.

Participants considered that "incentives" might encourage a wider level of participation across a broader social spectrum. These were suggested to variously include changing the timing and venues of meetings, the provision of support for child care. No community participant considered that the nature of the process; procedural, legalistic and narrow, would act as a deterrent to participation.

Professional and academic participants suggested that engaging with and motivating "marginalised" communities is a significant challenge for NP forum; "the challenge is to ensure that often marginalised groups in communities can be represented." (AC) That is to be expected because engaging with the marginalised is a core principle of the communicative model, inspired as it was by Habermasian ideals. These models, developed by Forester and Healey, principally at a time when considerable resources were available to the public sector to engage in diverse and extensive 'consultation' and 'communication' activities, including the support of locally embedded development support, often through third-sector actors. Prior to NP this was the over-riding practice in planning in most recent times. Until recently, these practitioner / advocates of NP had no means to assess where it sits in the Arnstein Ladder.

In my experience as both a participant-observer and a practicing planner, the reality of the impact of austerity on local government expenditure, and, the 'post-political' condition, has resulted in a situation in which some local authorities in England have retreated to transactive models of operation, as also seen in Gallent, Hamiduddin and Madeddu (2013). This is done in the sense of officer led centrally devised plans and strategies endorsed and

led by mayoral, leader or cabinet style methods of governance, and, which relies on communication in the form of notification of intent to carry out a plan or strategy, and, seeking consultative responses in some form. These consultation responses are then analysed, largely with a view to establishing whether the majority of respondents are "in favour" of the intended action.

I have seen no real change in that approach within Neighbourhood Plan forums, whilst there have been great efforts in some levels to 'engage' communities, these have often been through traditional media, and, simple survey methods. In some NP areas civic events have been established which are used to support consultation on plan strategies and policies, but, largely due to the skills and resources of participants, these often are simply transactive in form. The NP forum do not have the resources to support complex communicative engagement strategies, and, as I have observed above, the general homogeneity within NP groups tends towards an attitude that is led by the assumption that as local people then the correct action is that which is the intuitive response to a situation, the need to secure a simple majority opinion at referendum makes it unnecessary to be truly engaged, or arguably representative. This raises the question of whether the model of NP as currently constructive can be considered truly progressive, or, truly empowering of the citizen, apart from a small,'select' group of individuals.

As Taylor (2011: 264) points out with regard to spending on engaging communities, despite the rhetoric of localism "is a drop in the ocean when set against the cuts in state support and services" with a real danger that those active in their community (whether from an organising or community development perspective) "are being sucked into substituting for the state".

The following comment from one participant is especially revealing of the dilemma in the context of a select elite of community participants 'representing' their communities; "I think one of the main dangers we have is that, I find that you become cocooned into thinking that 'this is society'. We look at society with blinkers on, effectively, because all of my friends … they have their three or four holidays a year. They have all got two or three cars. That's the society that I know and exist in." NNP(DW) This particular participant went on the explain that whilst chair of a local charitable forum they had their "eyes opened" when distributing funds, for instance to assist a service user to purchase a

bed, and, also upon learning about the life expectancy and mortality rates amongst the most poor and deprived areas of UK compared to the sort of communities who have developed Neighbourhood Plans.

Recent research (Parker (2015), Brownill and Bradley, eds. (2017)) indicates that whilst around 2000 communities are practicing Neighbourhood Planning, there are critiques of the degree to which NP can be considered to be participative, and, indicate that objections to NP suggest that it acts to reinforce existing power inequalities, and, installs self-elected elites. From my time during this research study as a participant-observer this is very much consistent with my experience. Bradley and Brownill continue; "Neighbourhood forums, in particular, appear open to capture by elites, in the that are self-selecting and at least initially unelected" (p.257). In Neston this was the case, and, as Davoudi and Cowie (2013) refer, the town council here was generally unelected and roles in it uncontested, and, many participants in NP were 'referred' to the forum by members of the town council.

A participant suggested that one of the flaws in democratic representation and the inherent inequality in representation at the local level was down to the number of actual local authorities in the UK compared to other area which are perceived to have a more finely developed social infrastructure. Drawing on the comparison between Scotland and Denmark (which apparently have a similar population), the community volunteer referred there being 42 local authorities in the former compared to 273 in Denmark, and, hence local authorities, budgets and their structures mean that these organisations are not "big business" as the participant defined current UK local authorities. NNP(JW).

Bradley and Brownill (2017) also identify the issue of the challenges facing the communities adopting NP, referring to McGuinness and Ludwig (2017) in the context of the scale and nature of the NO task itself and the capacities and skills of participants. Substantial support is suggested to be necessary. The participants I engaged with confirmed that they had not expected the task to be "as concentrated" or to have been "to the depths it has gone". In addition, participants expressed annoyance at the phenomenon observed that can be characterised as social loafing, in so much as a limited number of participants would turn up to events, and in particular meetings, but not take up any tasks, or, proactively contribute to debates.

Participants commented that some attendees "liked the sound of their own voice". NNP(various) Community forum leaders complained at the heavy workload, and, the need to constantly be "prodding" people. Others expressed concerns that some colleagues in NP forum; "didn't buy-in" or "didn't have the energy or the skills to contribute.." NPO (various) The energy required to participant is considerable, plans can take several years to come to fruition, and, in that time one can expect to be confronted with several hundred pages of information. In Neston we met weekly at times, always in the evening, and, occasional at weekend events, particularly during consultation on the plan as it was developed. Additionally, to remain up to date with discussions, several hundred emails were transacted during the course of the drafting of the plan.

So we can conclude that the time demands of NP are considerable. Groups have to coordinate their efforts to ensure meetings are set up, attended, recorded and actions followed up. Section 5.7 which follows explores the skills and resources of participants.

5.7   Skills and resources of participants

Section 5.6 explores the roles and attributes of the group in the context of the IAD framework, whereas this section focuses on participants individual skills and resources. I observe that leadership and the ability through that leader to maintain momentum through a long process is important. The nature of that leadership role is different to that which might be employed in a work place. It demanded a collaborative mind set; chairing the meetings required patience, plus, the ability to manage a discussion that ensured that meetings did not simply become local "talking shops". This scenario, in which a group of residents list and debate their personal complaints about a location, was certainly one of the major concerns that many participants had at the outset of the process. However, allowing groups to dissolve into that sort of debate would, have been self-defeating because progress on determining policies would have been impossible. So, groups require a confident and experienced leader to, guide discussions without being overtly directive.

Given the overwhelmingly former professional nature of participants, the level and quality of knowledge management was not an issue. Participants were equipped intellectually to grapple with the complex issues of a neighbourhood plan, but not necessarily with the

experience of what planning involved, as discussed by McGuinness and Ludwig, in Brownill and Bradley (2017).

The areas I engaged with seemed to have found a local person who could champion the NP in this manner, and, one whom was suitably eloquent, without being too long-winded, to capture and elucidate quite complex issues in a simple and digestible form. I was not aware of any challenges to the selected leader of the group I participated in, despite the fact that the group did elect the leader, from a field of two individuals who indicated that they were willing to take on the role.

The town council was anticipated to provide administrative and secretarial support, but, aside from booking meeting rooms and occasionally (infrequent) note taking that task was eventually taken up by participants themselves. Our custom and practice became to rotate note taking at each meeting, and, circulate a summary of the meetings by email to the neighbourhood forum members.

This implies that it was necessary for group participants to have access to the means and skills to capture such notes, summarise the outcomes, and, translate these into digital form and to email. Without this technology I doubt that the NP would have been practical within the time and human resources available. Also, a number of participants, myself included, oversaw a document library through a web-based document sharing platform. There was absolutely no support from either the town council or the local Planning Authority in terms of the manner of communication or storage and distribution of documents, although towards the end of the process the Local Council made it a requirement on the NP forum that it must share its meeting agendas and notes on the Town Council website. This was to protect the Council from issues associated with claims for information under the relevant act.

From my interviews and questionnaire data these situations appear to be consistently reported by participants in all areas. Therefore, the ability to work collaboratively in a group setting, led and supported by a nominated local leader are vital attributes for participants in neighbourhood planning. Conversely, divergent approaches such as simply wishing to be left to ones' own devices with a discrete set of clearly defined delegated tasks producing a defined outcome would not reflect the nature of the work of a

neighbourhood plan, certainly in the very early stages. Later on in the process, groups tended to hive off certain areas to "task and finish" groups which aim to produce policies and content around certain specific topics.

At that stage in the plan making process, in the groups I participated in or engaged with, contributors were largely self -selected as opposed to be directed. Individuals were allowed to explore areas of interest, or, if they had demonstrated particular skills or knowledge sets (for instance around housing, retail development or environment) then within the groups I engaged with, then group members tended to recognise that knowledge set, and, defer to those with greater experience.

Neighbourhood forum meetings then tended to become a report back session on progress made by smaller groups on certain topic areas. If any particular difficulties or imponderable issues were identified these tended to be reported "upwards" to the neighbourhood steering group, or, even the Town Council. However, policy objectives were defined and agreed collectively by all participants. This encouraged a sense of ownership amongst the group, and, I feel minimised dissent, on the basis that "we are all in this together" as one participant put it.

5.8   Achieving a consensus in the community

Throughout my participation in and observation of neighbourhood planning in action I was acutely aware of the necessity for plans to achieve a positive outcome at referendum, and, also the requirement for plans to be in conformity with the relevant Local Plan.

Volunteers in all the areas I engaged with, and, all other contributors to my data corpus saw "passing the test" of a referendum as the endorsement of the activities of community forum. To a large extent within the NP areas I examined, this tended to lead towards a pragmatic approach to policy development that sought to avoid potentially controversial concepts, and, was likely to secure majority support at the referendum. On participant put it thus: " at the end of the day, we'll have a referendum when the residents are going to vote on it. It's no good coming up with some legalistic detailed plan that the residents aren't really going to understand and buy into. The best things in life are simple messages. That really is definitely our target..." NNP(RH) This standpoint, given that volunteers

will have invested a large amount of (free) time and (unpaid) effort in that endeavour, is understandable.

However, what this issue raises is the question of whether focusing on a simple majority outcome lends the plan real validity in dealing with the issues of a local area, and, whether the plan can thereby produce better outcomes, particularly for the disadvantaged in society who tend not to the participate in either consultation, or, indeed vote, whether at a local or national level.

Given the elitist nature of participation discussed above, reinforced by this comment by a community participant; "If you look at some of the people around the table and one of the things that strikes me about this neighbourhood planning group of people. They are all self-appointed in one way or another. No way democratic..." NNP(RH) Plus, the focus on avoiding challenge, by carrying out consultation; "We need to be able to demonstrate that consultation. When we get into the details and somebody says, I didn't know you were going to do that. We can say, but we have consulted, and the majority have said that's what they want." NNP(PB) This reductive standpoint does not truly reflect the participative ambitions of localism in the sense of community empowerment.

I have seen that certain individuals become empowered (arguably from a self-selected 'elite') in the form of the community voice in the form of the neighbour steering group. That body of volunteers see the majority vote of those who vote in a referendum give credence to the decisions of that elite.   This could, potentially, result in a very restrictive and non-progressive localism. This resonates with Allmendinger and Haughton (2015) and Davoudi and Cowie (2013) concerns over the democratic legitimacy of neighbourhood plan forums.

A further impediment to truly participative, progressive plan making in the NP context is the requirement for alignment with Local Plan policy. In the case of Neston it was a considerable cause of frustration that despite the evidence of the need for and capacity to deliver more housing, particularly affordable, social housing, the pre-determined housing numbers from the LPA meant that there was little opportunity to explore innovative options for taking this forward.

By way of illustration, at one stage, the neighbourhood forum was in discussions with both the local social housing landlord and the University of Liverpool which sought to tackle the impact that a large number of student residents from the nearby Veterinary School. The impact of this situation was that the local private rental housing market was relatively expensive, and, skewed towards houses in multiple occupation. This resulted in there being few opportunities for rent of family houses whereas the social landlord had quite a large stock of properties that did not suit their needs, and hence had potential land to spare. There was also a local challenge of providing moving on accommodation for the more elderly person who is looking to step down from larger family properties and yet wishes to remain in the local area. Despite the emergence of a potential strategy to resolve these issues, the need for conformity with the Local Plan effectively prevented the approach going forward.

Secondly, during initial consultation the mere mention of attempting to tackle student accommodation raised objections from amongst a vociferous (albeit small) group. The community forum felt unable to pursue this more radical, progressive policy due to the risk that the issue posed to the wider plan being passed at the referendum. As participants we recognised that we did not have the resources, or, time to carry out the kind of further consultation and engagement strategy that might help tackle this issue.

We struggled to gain engagement from younger, disadvantaged members of the community and there was perceived to be considerable apathy amongst the student population despite consultation activities centred around the veterinary school.

Finally, one of the issues that the Neston plan had to address was the relationship with the emerging Local Plan, which caused a delay in the ability to take "our plan" to referendum. This was due to the fact that throughout the development of the NP, the wider Local Plan for Cheshire West and Chester was in a state of flux, and, other NP in the district had been the subject of challenge. This led to a further "degree of caution" in content. This frustration over the status of other, more strategic spatial plans remains a problem in the development of NP.

5.9   Participative democracy

During my engagement with neighbourhood planning I observed participants stating their desire to achieve what might be considered progressive, sustainable outcomes in local areas. These included expressing the objective: "reducing the need to commute by car by providing more (local) employment opportunities". Such objectives were intended to be tackled by adopting spatial plan policies which would seek to; "tackle traffic flow, parking", "address 'road safety'". Change to social infrastructure was identified, as in; " improving local infrastructure especially school provision". Preservation of the local environment was seen as a priority, such as; "no building in the green belt", and, "identifying the best housing sites and types". Participants also hoped that neighbourhood plan outcomes could result in; "better youth provision" and "tackling health and anti-social behaviour linked to alcohol and substance misuse". Participants also expressed economic development aspirations; "preventing shop closures"; "development of tourism"; "long-term development of unused railway lands"; "redevelopment of the shopping centre"; "enabling Hackbridge Corner move toward the status of district centre and boost the local economy". (The sources of these quotes are both interview and questionnaire derived and form part of the wider data corpus).

The initial breadth of neighbourhood plan aspirations often then contracts in the face of the need to focus on the conformity with the Local Plan, and, the realisation that dawns on participants that the NP is a vehicle for agreeing land use allocations, with a predetermined focus on housing. Once this realisation dawns on the, more progressive potential participants, I observed a drop-off in attendance, and, ultimately withdrawal from the process. This participant expressed: "It's diminishing by the month, unfortunately. The initial number I think has halved…They have lost interest or we've already covered it, so what's the point in wasting time .." NNP(RH).

Despite this some participants remain up-beat about the prospects for NP; "…it's new, it's not been around before. It is extremely important for the community. It is the only thing that the community seems to be able to do to determine its own future..." NPO (WS) So even with the limitations imposed upon communities and the nature of the process there is faith that NP can secure some positive outcomes for local communities. Contrary views where strongly expressed such as; "it's a political sop" NNP(RH) This view was often expressed in the context that at a national level Government has set top-down housing targets, and, has imposed sanctions upon Local Councils who are failing to deliver Local

Plans, and/or meet housing targets. So, whilst the NP appears to cede some form of local choice over how housing is delivered, the imperative to build houses leads to situations where communities continue to feel "rail-roaded" into accepting the top-downward imposition of targets.

An academic commentator observed in interview that; "many communities have been 'scared' into a frenzy of rhetoric surrounding localism and NP" (AC) I found evidence of a strong strand of scepticism of Government emerged from my engagement with participants; "I think that it's naïve, because the government have deliberately made it so bloody bureaucratic and formulaic" NNP(JW) As discussed above the dilemma that many areas have found themselves in has been the conflict between local aspiration and actual allowable scope of the NP. Participants suspected that, their efforts may be futile and believed that "vested interests" might be allowed to overrule the plan. Others suspected that the lack of support from either the Council or Government indicated that these bodies were quite happy to see plans fail. Participants considered that they would then be "scapegoats" and felt that they might remain "piggy in the middle". One participant suggested that they were being "manipulated" in taking the NP in certain directions, suggesting that the Council had "skewed the deck" in their favour over the community's interests. Others agonised over the loss of jobs in local councils and resented that to some extent their efforts at creating a plan were being done; "on the cheap, at someone else's expense.. so that a particular political party could get elected." NNP(Various).

The concern that initial participants in NP were mis-led or misguided by the rhetoric of localism was regularly repeated by participants. Describing this phenomenon as a "myth about localism" (NPO(WS)) that would enable communities the "ultimate and final say so on what gets built, what it looks like, where it goes" (NPO(GS)) when in fact participants do seem to be aware that; "there is a lot of pressures outside of that" (NNP(TN). I believe from my observations that participants are well aware of these restrictions, and yet are willing to be involved (or at least those that are not dissuaded from participation despite this awareness) because of what some termed "planned opportunism" NNP(RH). In fact I observed some participants not being particularly concerned about the NP per se, rather to other gaps in local community management that would emerge "because of the roll back of the state" NNP(JW). This was viewed by those with that standpoint as a chance to intervene in non-NP related matters where they perceived the local Council was failing, or,

simply could not provide effective leadership. In Neston this has emerged as a more galvanised local community approach to self-help and resulted, for instance, in the creation of new annual festivals; a more diverse approach to local redevelopment of some previously disused sites, and, take up of redevelopment of wind-fall sites that do not fall foul of local plan housing allocations.

The undemocratic and elitist nature of NP forums did concern many participants, myself included, although most seem to adopt a pragmatic response along the lines of; "…if not me, who else is going to do this, it's important, and, it's a chance for us to do something…" NNP(DW) .   This is then likely to happen in middle class areas which have the resource of a lot of professional, retired people with both time and other resources (intellectual, technological and physical capacity) but those participants with a broader social conscience did worry that they had adopted localism for their communities, but in reality were conspiring with; "this right wing agenda" NNP(PB) to self-help and thereby as a community already in a good position simply pushing themselves further forward at the expense of other, less capable, areas.

The question of whether or not localism and the formation of Neighbourhood Plan forum along with the promise of more local decision making was actually a distraction from the "bigger picture" arose during my observations. These sentiments emerged in the context of the major national infrastructure issues, such as high-speed rail improvements, and, the use of fracking on the mainland as a means to extract shale gas reserves. This debate represents the tension between centralism and localism. Whereas localism would seem to most participants an opportunity to exert greater control over their local area, in one view it can be argued that; "centralism trumps localism". In fact within the Neston plan we considered promoting anti-fracking policies, but, it was made very clear by the local council that this would put the NP out of conformity with the Local Plan. Consequently, those issues were downplayed in the NP, on the basis that as a group we felt dis-empowered and rather than raise expectations in the community it was safer to defer to the LP on that matter for environmental and other controls.

Participants were aware of the low turn-out at previous NP referendum and the questions that exist then over the democratic nature of the NP process. However, participants simply accepted that this was the nature of the process and that they were not in a position to

change this, rather that they simply had to make the best of what they were presented with. I concluded that this acceptance reflected the pragmatic nature of participants that had stayed the course of creation of a NP and that they would be willing to accept a majority in their favour on the basis that this would confirm that their efforts had not been in vain. In fact, as part of a team that spent the best part of four years on the creation of a neighbourhood plan it was in fact a massive relief when the referendum was successful. There was real sense of a team having achieved something positive for the community. How effective these plans will be remain to be seen and is not considered by this research.

5.10   Summary

This Chapter has presented the thematic analysis of the data corpus of this research into Neighbourhood Planning. During the participation in neighbourhood planning I experienced or observed volunteers 'in the field' who expressed ambitions that can be recognised to fit with the objectives of sustainable development. They did so in the sense that they hoped to tackle economic, social and environmental issues that their local community have either identified, or, perhaps more accurately that the local participants believed should be addressed by their NP.

Some commentators thought that the NP approach could be a 'NIMBY's' Charter however with the one exception I did not observe participant behaviour that could be described in that manner. I found fellow participants honest, open and willing to spend the time in exploring the complex issues facing their communities to the best of their abilities.

Throughout the Neighbourhood Planning participant experience it is the case that volunteers expressed concern with issues that included development, however I found that the motivations for those participants were measured and have, generally, not be driven by a resistance to change, rather apparently genuine concerns for the environment, sustainability and the maintenance of certain "characteristics" in the face of potential 'gentrification' or blandness driven by the dominance of certain major developers both in business, retail and housing sectors. This unspecified "specialness" runs through all participant's views of their locality.

Participants in Neighbourhood planning exhibited the expected characteristics of volunteers in this field, in terms of demographics and socio-economic position. All of those engaged with expressed; dissatisfaction with 'what has gone before', and, were they were volunteers a belief that 'if we don't do it – who will?'. Participants seemed willing to 'put something back' after a fulfilling and demanding career related to a sense of civic pride in their locality.

Motivations to volunteer have been explored; social, public and personal motivations have been examined. A clear link to place attachment has also been demonstrated. The thematic analysis has suggested that community led groups in NP do appear to demonstrate the features of successful "commons" management systems as defined in the IAD, summarised in Chapter 4 and illustrated in Tables 1 and 2.

Preparing a neighbourhood plan is a time consuming and technically demanding process for which volunteers gain no specific benefit, other than a sense of having contributed to something positive for their communities, and yet, participants are also aware that the process is not entirely democratic, and, that they tend to represent a self-selected 'elite' and so are not necessarily representative of their area.

However, in the face of this participants tend to believe that their conclusions, confirmed by a majority of voters through a referendum process are by 'right' the correct outcomes for the neighbourhood plan for their area. Aside from the neighbourhood plan many participants see their involvement as a means to an end and use that involvement to gain influence over other aspects of their local area.

Chapter 6, which follows reflects on this research and presents my conclusions. The experience of being a participant-observer has given me a unique insight into to motivations of community volunteers, and, a 'hands on' experience of the NP making process. Whilst I have participated in the process, it has been vital that I remain objective in my recording and observing of things that were literally going on around me. Inevitably my presence and contributions to the process would have had some impact on what I observed, however aside from my technical contributions to the neighbourhood plan I endeavoured to set aside my pre-conceptions about NP. I used semi-structured interviews with my fellow participants as a means to engage them in a conversation about their

feelings, and, experiences of volunteering and I did not attempt to guide, or, influence their comments other than to ask appropriate questions or seek clarification where necessary.

In common with all ethnographic study I faced the dilemma of how to maintain the necessary scholarly detachment, but, not treat my colleagues as subjects, rather collaborators, or, as I have adopted the term 'participants' in NP. After Angrosino (2007) I recognised that my research would develop as it went along, and, that part of that development would be my evolving relationship with the other people involved in my study. I viewed my research as a dialogue between myself and the communities I was engaged with, and, I was glad to support a developing neighbourhood plan as a participant. My intent, in doing so was to foster a real sense of trust in my intentions and secured cooperation with the research process. I sought and gained informed consent from all participants, and, explained at each stage how their feedback would contribute towards my research. I adopted an "insider" role and this was appropriate to both the context (the technical support I could give to my local community) and situation (the plan was based in my home community that I have resided in for 20 years).

Chapter 6 – Conclusions

6.1   Introduction

The thesis has reported the findings and theoretical conclusions drawn from a research study undertaken over a five-year period.   This chapter concludes the thesis in four sections. Firstly, it responds to the research questions posed in Chapter 1 and draws conclusions as to the implications for the involvement of volunteers in neighbourhood planning. Secondly, it reflects upon and critically reviews the research process. Thirdly, it considers some of the practical considerations for planners and policy makers. Finally, it considers the implications for the desire to encourage greater public participation in planning and provides suggestions for future research.

From the outset of this thesis, I have emphasised how the involvement of the public in decision making for planning has become an increasingly central component of planning policy over the post Second World War period. I have detailed the timeline of planning policy development and shown how this has occurred in step with the move towards "localism" in politics and the growing desire especially in the UK to engage communities at a time of public sector funding austerity and declining faith in "expert" led activities.

6.2   The findings against the research questions

Chapter 1 set out the research questions. These were established at the outset of this study and hence. This thesis makes a significant contribution to the on-going debates about the nature of community involvement in neighbourhood planning, especially: Clarke & Cochrane, 2013: Brookfield, Bolton, & Parry, 2014: Brookfield, 2016: Bradley, 2015 - 2017: Parker, Lynn & Wargent, 2017).

Research Questions:

Who is involved and how do they become involved?

To what extent and in what ways do peoples attachment to place influence their propensity to volunteer?

What challenges do citizen planners face, such as:

- Are they hampered by community's capacity to adopt such approaches?
- Do they face organisational resistance in some areas, especially those which have traditionally been characterised by dependency on institutional approaches to regeneration and development?
- How do communities develop Neighbourhood Plans, in terms of their relationship with other organisations, for example (but not limited to) the Local Planning Authority and local councils (e.g. Parish and Town Councils)?

Those participating are typically retired individuals who have been resident in an area for a long period time, and, have family associations to the area. The participants are typically from a professional or academic background with significant senior or executive managerial experience. Self-confident, resilient and self-motivated are all typical behavioural traits that might be expected or sought when trying to establish a group of volunteers, similar observations have also been made by Parker and Wargent (2017).

Participation within community forum appears to an 'elite' activity and neither the typical community forum, nor typical referendum should in my view be considered to be truly representative. Inequality, particularly social, geographical and economic is unlikely to be addressed by the 'new localism' in my view, based on the experience of participation in and observation of neighbourhood planning for the past six years. Those individuals who do choose to engage with the process become empowered in the sense that they gain a privileged set of knowledge both about the process and also the rational and decisions behind the creation of their imagined new "frame" for the community that they are seeking to represent.

Whilst efforts are made to communicate that vision, endorsement of that imagined "frame" is gained from a binary 'pass or fail' majority referendum. How representative that view of the future for a community is in reality must therefore remain open to question. Hence

does NP move towards a greater degree of citizen control in terms Arnstein's (1969) ladder – I do not believe that it does entirely, however, the fact that the creation of the plan for a local community becomes a responsibility of that local community does hold the prospect that future iterations of neighbourhood planning may find ways to ensure greater inclusivity.

The biggest challenge that participants face is the time commitment that is required to be involved in the development of a neighbourhood plan as a volunteer. In the case of Neston the plan took four years to complete. This is not untypical, and, some areas commence the process and never complete it, despite considerable efforts being made to do so. Failure to complete a neighbourhood plan has occurred for a wide variety of reasons, which are not explored in this thesis. The next most significant challenge is dealing with the volume of information required to inform the development of the plan, much of which is in written form, comprising; technical social, environmental and other numerical data that forms the evidence base required to support the creation of a plan and the policies it contains.

The motivation of those participating in Neighbourhood Planning has been observed to be a genuine desire to improve the local community, often based on frustration arising from what it perceived to be inaction by all levels of Government. Often being "in the right place at the right time" enables participants to contribute to issues that they have had a long-interest in, such as; improving the environment, perceived degradation of the urban/rural fabric of their communities, a lack of affordable housing or local facilities for recreation.

Bradley states in Brownill and Bradley (2017), p.163; "The belief that people feel an emotional bond with the place in which they live has motivated state strategies of localism, with their promise to devolve policymaking to neighbourhoods."

I observe that place attachment was evident in the emotion with which participants expressed their desire to make changes for the benefit of the wider community, and, in the sense of attachment that participants expressed through the reference to the life experiences that had motivated them to participate. This is no surprise as Bradley goes on to confirm what I have also revealed in that (at p.167); "multiple studies confirm place attachment and identity as factors driving environmental activism and community

engagement…". Indeed Manzo and Perkins (2006) corroborate that view.

But, in a novel way, I have applied an ethnomethodological approach to this planning research, adopting the role of an 'insider' participant / observer, and one who is also a resident in the study area, very much in vein of the 'lived experience' of Trenttelman (2009).

This has enabled me to recognise the personal, physical, social and emotional responses of participants to <u>place</u> *and* <u>community</u> (Seamon, 2014). But I suggest that it is important that this attachment to place and community is not abused in the rhetoric that surrounds localism and neighbourhood planning. It is not a naïve fascination with the local that motivates participation from my observations, rather, I experienced a great scepticism of Government's motivations for the creation of neighbourhood planning policy. Whilst recognising duplicity in the neo-liberal policy by participation in the process, the universal view is captured in the expression 'if we don't – who will'. Hence there is a pragmatic acceptance amongst participants that the plan itself represented an opportunity effectively to make the best of a circumstance, even if that circumstance was not seen to be an ideal situation.

I would agree with Clarke's (2011) observations, pointed to by Bradley, that neighbourhood planning is unusual in that it does confront participants attachment to place at a personal, social and physical level. I experienced the process as it presented challenges to me as a participant in the form of a review of the performance of my community in the context of local or national 'averages', such as; shop occupancy, residential tenures, land and house values etc. It also informs and sometimes contradicts preconceived notions. For instance, the expression of anger from one participant of an area who, when confronted with the lack of actual access to greenspace in an area perceived to be rural, wanted to understand "how this had happened" and to seek to "put it right". In the latter I see a desire to bring their place back into the 'frame' (after Martin, 2003) that the individual held for that place.

Many participants, myself included, hoped that involvement in neighbourhood planning could generate unintended, beneficial consequences in areas of their community not necessarily within the narrow confines of the neighbourhood plan. Participants

volunteered with a spirit of optimism and exploration of the 'unknown' given that neighbourhood planning remains a new and fairly unique phenomenon. I suggest that this optimism was motivated by an imagined 'frame' of place for one's community that seeks to preserve and enhance that which makes a community special to the individual, albeit in the context of a collectively negotiated future identity. Indeed, Bradley (2017) observes at p.168 (Brownill and Bradley, 2017); "further analysis is required to understand how the place definition work of community activists mobilises the emotions and cognitions of place attachment to generate the collective efficacy required to inspire place-based action." Bradley (2017) goes on to signpost the 'social movement concept' of Melucci (1995). I would argue that the iterative, negotiated policy objectives of a Neighbourhood plan that I observed provides the "story telling" environment and creation of "symbolic action" that Bradley references (Poletta and Jasper, 2001) in the form of the Neighbourhood Plan. This also appears to coincide with Bradley's conclusions at p.175, Brownill and Bradley (2017).

Numerous communities have demonstrated capacity to develop neighbourhood plans. The observed impediments to development of neighbourhood plans relate to the capacity of local government organisations to support community forum. During the ongoing reductions in local government budgets it was observed in this study that, over a period of five years, changes in the capacity, and, availability of staff within the relevant local authorities had an impact, at some stages, on community progress towards the development of neighbourhood plans. However, community forum members seemed adaptable to these changes and often sought alternative routes to gaining support, such as; access to information, policy assistance and clarification of emerging local plan status. This adaptability appeared to stem from the former professional backgrounds of most community forum participants and their particularly skills around resource investigation and management.

One area that consistently raises its head in the context of neighbourhood planning research as seen in Durose, Mangan, Needham and Rees (2014) and observed in Gunn, Brooks and Vigar (2015) and confirmed in this study, is the complexity of the evidence base required to be formed, understood and referred to by community representatives. Often this has to be undertaken will little or no effective support from local authorities (in some areas). This does then represent a capacity issue, as I observe above, I have noted that the former professional and problem-solving backgrounds of many participants in the

areas I engaged with seem to enable those groups to overcome those challenges. However, what these observations perhaps most worryingly suggest is that in groups that do not have the resources, such as; energy, intellectual capacity, or, perhaps more importantly financial (to procure professional support), will struggle to resolve the potential evidence 'gap' and then their policy proposals and hence their nascent plans would be at risk from challenge from much better resourced groups or organisations, particularly speculative developers. Hence, as Derounian (2014) observes the gap between the 'haves' and 'have not' areas in society could continue to widen, exacerbating the concerns over democracy and inequality seen in Davoudi and Madanipour (2015).

I observe from this study that whereas a Council may express support, there remains potential for organisational and individual barriers to effective development. In addition, the impacts of austerity on local planning authority staffing continues to have a detrimental effect on their ability to support communities, as in Wills (2016). Also, the local (unelected) Town Council may not necessarily share the same enthusiasm for trusting development of a plan with a group of willing volunteers, and, I observed some tensions over the 'right' of volunteers in the community forum to dictate policy to the (self-selected) Town Councillors. Questions of oversight and scrutiny of neighbourhood plans have also been raised, as in Wilding (2016).

During the period of my engagement in neighbourhood plans, from the project scoping exercises and within the literature review, it is also possible to conclude that in some areas there remains hesitancy in the traditional structures of local government, whether local planning authorities, or, parish / town councils. According to Parker and Salter (2017), whilst there is a good spread of take up across England, that remains characterised with a bias towards the south of England, in largely rural, less deprived communities, and, support from traditional institutions remains "mixed", pp479-490. Parker and Salter observe that 84% of plans developed by October 2016 where in the 'south' compared to 16% in the North West, North East and Yorkshire and Humberside.

I observe that the adoption of Neighbourhood Planning does instil greater confidence in those that had chosen to participate. This was in the sense that they had an opportunity to influence the scale, quality and location of development in the local areas.

The study also suggests that communities could not significantly influence the quota determined to be appropriate by strategic bodies. This restriction was frustrating for some participants who wanted to be able to consider more progressive approaches to enabling more sustainable growth or preservation of their community.

Bradley (2016b) and Bradley and Sparling (2017), amongst others, suggest that the emergence of neighbourhood planning has changed the dynamic between community and developers, these authors suggest an approach diametrically opposed to the speculative approach of volume house builders. I certainly observed a robust stance towards speculative volume house building, and, a more welcoming approach to local and medium scale developments, including taking the opportunity in the neighbourhood plan to encourage brown-field redevelopment on neglected town centre sites to assist in revitalising the economy of the study locations.

I did not observe challenge from within the communities I engaged with directly, I am aware of challenges expressed by participant in other areas, and these are explored in Vigar, Gunn and Brooks (2017). These challenges include potential conflicting activities sponsored by a range of community forum within the same geographical area, and, contestation over the 'ownership' of community voice between such forum in respect of neighbourhood planning. Whilst the legislation does specify the constitution and responsibility for recognising and establishing the neighbourhood steering group, in areas without a local council – principally inner-city areas without town or parish councils – this becomes particularly difficult as there is no common denominator that defines the community 'boundaries'. Furthermore, and with regard to Wallace (2010), I recognise that communities (particularly in more culturally diverse areas) may have multiple identities, rather than conforming to the homogeneous 'norm' that I have explored. Hence, it is possible to imagine representatives of such diverse communities to claim ownership of one place in more than one community forum, (Trudeau 2006) and, for those community forums to not necessarily share the same objectives for place (Uzzell and Badenas, 2002).

A further phenomenon observed from this study, is the tendency of neighbourhood planning to occur in areas which are relatively more affluent consequently I agreed with Parker, 2015 and which is corroborated by Taylor (2013). Wherein we see participation levels to be greatest in those areas most able to act in respect of the scale and nature of

development linked to controls over the form of house building that might affect future property values. This suggests a "self-interested" form of voluntary participation is quite dominant, even if not overtly expressed by participants (Sturzaker, 2011). This then may be one of the personal advantages that participants seek to gain, even if not consciously aware of that.

The main areas of potential improvement to the Neighbourhood Plan process that stand out from this study are the length of time it can take a community, even of capable and experienced former professionals, to develop a neighbourhood plan. The process as experienced is in itself bureaucratic, and, the need to ensure conformity with the local plan is restrictive in terms of innovation or popular adoption of very local policy (for instance; anti-fracking as seen in Lancashire). These pitfalls are not new (Taylor, 2007) and yet as Brownill & Parker (2010) observe there continues to be (a now expanded) range of participatory possibilities (since NP was introduced after their paper in 2012). I observe that the challenges Brownill & Parker noted; that the world is changed and ultimately it is more complex than when, for example the Skeffington Report, and, Sherry Arnstein's (1969) work was published remain current, and in fact is arguably even more so the case due to the diversification brought about by social media, and, the rise of the 'post-political' era (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2015).

Participants in neighbourhood planning state their awareness of the nature of the dilemma between their community activism and the neo-liberal imperative that promoted localism as a means to 'overcome resistance to development'. The participants I observed risk obstruction from local Councils and challenge from volume house builders, confirming Parker and Street (2015), Colomb (2017) and Bradley (2016a) observations. These hurdles could be overcome by adopting a more streamlined process, and, accepting that communities are less able to evidence their policy assumptions than professional planning officials may be expected to be. This diametric change in planning policy development would be dependent on evidence of Neighbourhood Planning resulting in material changes in outcomes in favour of communities and their sustainability compared to areas that do not adopt Neighbourhood Plans.

Furthermore, the demographic of participation that has emerged over the past six years of this study is skewed towards rural, professional, retired, home-owning 'middle-class'

participants. Whilst efforts may be made to streamline the process, my concern is that without Governmental support, and, financial resources then poorer, less 'capable' sectors of society will continue to be dis-enfranchised from planning. Swyngedouw (2005) suggests that the policy rhetoric of community empowerment is 'Janus faced' and to the extents that it is possible to conclude within the limitations of this study it is a reasonable observation, with participants expressing concern that their involvement in NP may be 'blind-siding' them from the 'bigger picture'. For instance, how can NP become a meaningful vehicle for progressive community representation when it cannot influence the outcome of nationally significant infrastructure (such as HS2) or energy policies (such as nuclear power stations or shale gas extraction)?

Participants also observed that they feared that their engagement in the process may be a distraction from the 'bigger picture'. Frustration was also present in a number of participants that the process, ultimately, was so narrow and that the scope for a more progressive form of community activism was not available. However, some communities that I engaged with did report that community activism had increased in the time that they had developed their neighbourhood plan. But I could not establish whether this was simply the effect of being more involved in the local community and hence gaining more knowledge about what already went on in their communities. I did not observe the neighbourhood plan acting as a catalyst to galvanise collective action across multiple voluntary sector actions as some advocates of localism hope, rather neighbourhood planning seems to me to simply be a further extension of the unfunded 'third sector' stepping into a void in previously government funded activity, such as parish or community planning. It is reasonable to observe that is, perhaps, a further manifestation of neo-liberality in the sense of the deconstruction of state management and organisation of affairs, largely motivated by the politics of austerity, as opposed to a true move towards citizen centred power (Prosser, Renwick, Giovannini et al, 2017). Within my participation it was very clear that as a community forum we had virtually no access to funding, and, that we could not direct policy towards linking development and direct community outcomes that would reserve or otherwise ring-fence funding to remain within the community.

Communities can successfully develop Neighbourhood Plans and can do so by working with other organisations, such as local Councils, also in Sturzaker and Shaw (2015). These communities are likely to be able to display the desired key attributes within their neighbourhood steering group, from Poteete, Janssen and Ostrom (2010). These attributes are suggested to be:

a. leadership – there must be a persuasive, consensual chair who can encourage and coordinate the efforts of group of volunteers occasionally dealing with conflict and confusion within the group and between the group and other organisations.

b. organisation – the neighbourhood plan process is complex, and requires adherence to critical stages of production, policy development, consultation, examination and referendum. Experience in the management of these sorts of processes and programmes is invaluable.

c. access to resources – the neighbourhood plan requires a team of willing and informed volunteers who can digest a large volume of complex information. It may be necessary to secure professional support in various forms and this also requires access to financial and managerial resources. A stable meeting venue is important, as are the tools to communicate within the group without face-to-face meeting – such as email.

d. endurance – the neighbourhood plan process is lengthy and requires a long-term effort from a committed group of individuals who can work together, voluntarily, as a team to produce a complex document that is compliant with various external processes, procedures and consistent with other documents, specifically the relevant local plan.

Secondly, dealing with other organisations when creating a neighbourhood plan can be challenging, and in particular the degree of support available from Local Planning Authorities has been heavily criticised by participants during the research. However, once a group becomes more established, over the course of developing a plan, it does tend to become self-sufficient and the reliance on other organisations diminishes, as Susser and Tonnelat (2013) also conclude.

Thirdly, concerns were observed to exist over the traditional structures of local government

not being fit for purpose in terms of the presumption towards development that exists by virtue of the creation of a neighbourhood plan, compared to a pre-existing adversarial culture in the most local councils (Sturzaker and Gordon, 2017). These issues are not resolved by the legislation at present. There has been some conflict observed between the "politicians" in local councils (at Parish / Town Council level) and community volunteers, whom universally deny political motivations for their interest in Neighbourhood Planning.

Those participating in Neighbourhood Planning tend to be relatively homogeneous, and, the routes to involvement are relatively informal, inward looking and ordinarily based on being aware of the neighbourhood plan for their community. Often participants respond to invitations to participate from existing contacts by word of mouth. The participants recognise themselves in others in their group and those not 'in step' with the group tend to recluse themselves early on in the process of establishing the group, also seen in Parker and Street (2015). The groups are most likely to be unrepresentative of the demographics of their areas. However, given the attributes required to successfully complete the process, it is perhaps not surprising that the groups tend to be made up of a small group of individuals with similar skills, backgrounds and compatible capabilities, given that they must be capable of responding to the 'technocracies' of planning, Parker, Street and Wargent (2018).

6.3   Reflections on the research process

This thesis was submitted after a combination of full-time and part-time study. The latter period was disrupted due to personal and domestic circumstances, on two occasions, which impacted on the duration of the research process, however, at no stage in those disruptions did the researcher stop participation in the process of developing a neighbourhood plan, and, thereby continuum of involvement was maintained.

Experiencing the challenges of the commitment required for the formal research process as opposed to the informal commitment to being a community participant meant that the thesis was developed 'in the real world' and the researchers own challenges of fitting research around volunteering, and, personal and social life form a valid part of the ethnographic experience. All volunteer participants in neighbourhood planning are likely

to have other, similar, experiences whether relating to personal, social, financial or health related circumstances that may affect their ability to participate.

Reflecting on the study methodology the methods used were conventional tools of ethnomethodology. Alternative methods found in planning research (e.g. case study) could not have established the experience of participants, to the same extent, and in particular due to the relationship built up by the researcher as a participant/observer and hence colleague of others involved in neighbourhood planning, which has given tremendous insight into the processes involved in developing a neighbourhood plan.

The biggest challenge, however, in completing the thesis has been the task created by the scale of materials secured over the time of involvement in the plan making process itself. In particular the length of the interviews and their associated transcripts where particularly problematic. The researcher underestimated the time it would take to analyse the volume of material created by the diverse range of materials used as source material that forms the 'thick' narrative of the data corpus, ranging across; the field diary, interview recordings and transcripts, meeting notes, emails, social media and questionnaires. This researcher found the task of making sense of such a volume data very challenging, and, concludes that personal unfamiliarity with the ethnomethodology adopted was the limiting factor. The research process has informed the researcher of the need to manage record keeping very carefully, to undertake transcription and analysis as part of a rolling process in future ethnographies, and, to create manageable limits on, particularly; interview lengths and constrain the overall scope of such studies.

6.4   Practical considerations

Apart from the challenges of the research process itself, this thesis has given the researcher an opportunity to research the neighbourhood plan process as experienced as a community volunteer.

The neighbourhood planning process is complex and legalistic, and, a further conclusion that can be made is that it is unnecessarily so. The reason is that the requirement for the plans to be compliant with higher level local plans, should ensure that Local Planning Authorities provide information, support and guidance to allow local communities to

develop their plans, without fear of challenge from developers (as occurred in at least two Neighbourhood Plan areas during the study period). In reality it has been found that Local Planning Authorities (LPA) do not support those developing Neighbourhood Plans adequately, and, the result of this is that those preparing plans in their neighbourhood often duplicate processes and research that is likely to also be available in the LPA.

Other practical considerations are the desirability of forming a neighbourhood plan steering group in such a way as it can provide a pool of talented individuals who may be able to contribute to wider community development issues in the retail, business, social and environmental sectors. In Neston, the participants felt hampered to some extent by the lack of support from either the Local Council or the LPA in terms of pursuing non-Neighbourhood Plan specific ideas (such as applying for grants, or, supporting the development of community plans that aim to support the local economy). There is therefore a missing dimension to the concept of Neighbourhood Planning being that it is very focused on development related issues around land-use policy and there is little outlet for other ideas that are inevitably raised in consultation with local communities.

It is therefore suggested that local Councils could usefully consider how this pool of community engagement and research can be used to wider benefit, that may be an area for further research, but, also should be considered a policy and practice recommendation of relevance to planning professionals.

6.5   Original contribution to knowledge in planning research

This research has satisfied an aspect of missing knowledge in the context of neighbourhood planning, identified in Chapter 1, where Brookfield (2016) stated: "…the study provided a snapshot of neighbourhood planning over a six-month period. Future research could take a longer view, perhaps following the progress of a plan or plans from inception through to adoption with issues such as the scale and nature of participation examined." This study has concentrated on the latter in the form of an analysis of the nature of participation as an experiential phenomenon. The researcher was an 'insider' and through participant / observation I have gained new knowledge about both the process and participants of neighbourhood planning, which I have attempted to convey in this thesis.

Secondly, as discussed in the literature review I have identified that planning research often conforms to a positivist standpoint, adopting normative techniques of evaluation, whereas, unusually for planning research and possibly uniquely in terms of neighbourhood planning, I have adopted an interpretivist view, and, judged participants experience from a socially constructed phenomenological perspective. I have aimed to avoid absolutist statements, rather I have aimed to convey the meaning of participation and experience of volunteering through a thick narrative description.

Thirdly, when considering Place Attachment as a motivation I have suggested that the neighbourhood plan and the process by which a community group negotiates its vision conforms to and confirms aspects of social movement theory, in the creation of an "imagined" frame for a neighbourhood that represents the ways and means in which a collective action group creates and documents its vision in the form of a neighbourhood plan.

Finally, I have sought to examine how CPR theory and the IAD framework may be an applicable one for identifying whether or not a community forum is likely to be successful in developing a neighbourhood plan. In doing so I have suggested the characteristics required for success and examined the skills and resources that a community group will most likely require to develop a neighbourhood plan, as shown in the diagram below.

Proposed application of the IAD model to Neighbourhood Plan development
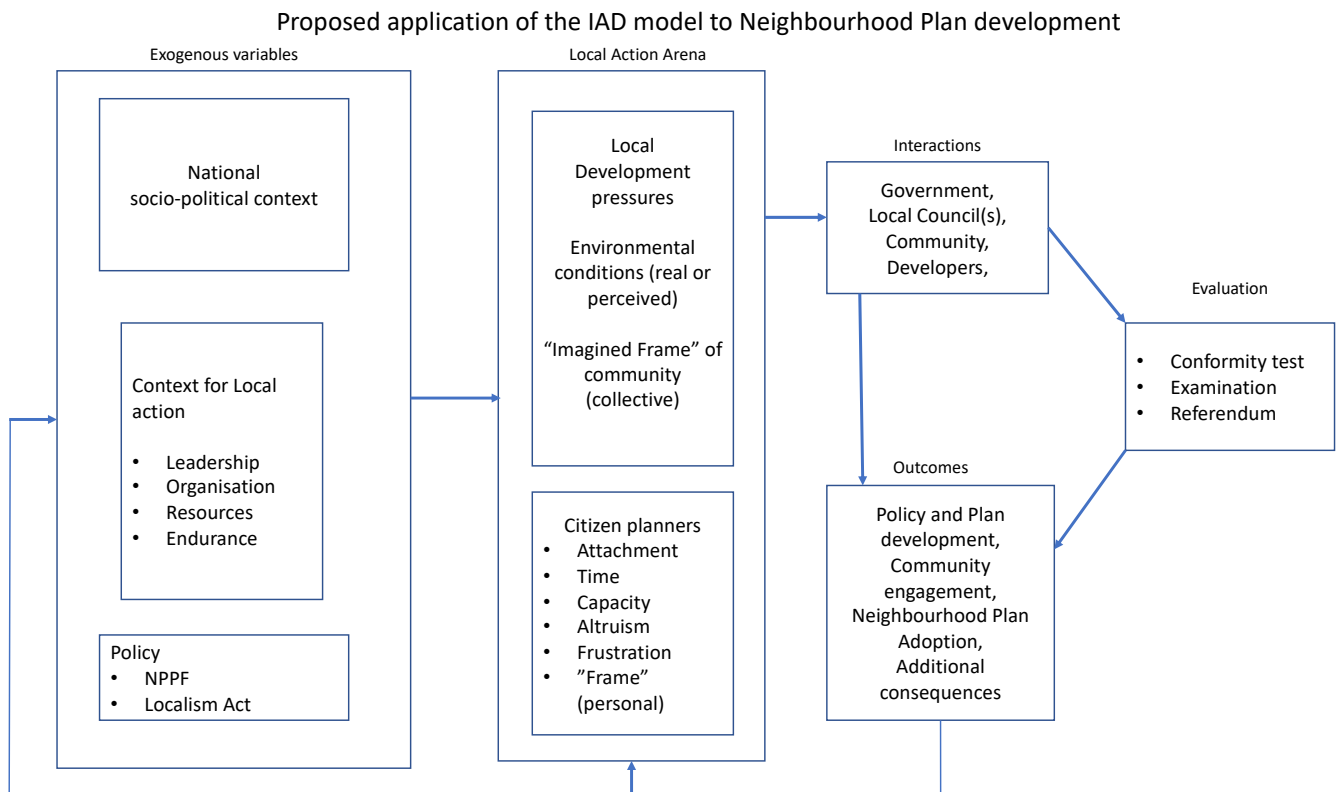
Figure 8

6.6   Implications for further research in encouraging greater public participation in planning

This section briefly sketches out potential new directions for research which arise from the conclusions of this thesis. At this stage many of these ideas remain necessarily underdeveloped since they form part of a medium-term personal research strategy. The issues raised here, however, should hold salience for researchers working in the area of community involvement in neighbourhood planning and sustainable development.

The evidence from and arguments presented in this thesis have been derived from an in depth exposure to a limited number of specific neighbourhood plans, and, as such caution should be exercised as to their wider applicability to other areas of community led involvement in planning. Nevertheless, despite this caution, it is suggested that the learning outcomes for those developing neighbourhood plans (or similar) through community involvement are valid.

The research has not proposed a theory per se of neighbourhood planning as this was not

the intention of the research strategy, rather the thesis has examined the appropriateness of community involvement in planning from the view of the lived experiences of those participating, and, through participant / observation the researcher has delivered an ethnographic study of particular experiences.

The study has confirmed that ethnographic techniques are appropriate for this area of sustainable development and planning research and may be used to give 'voice' to participants in ways that cannot otherwise be achieved using traditional planning study techniques. Adopting an 'insider' role in neighbourhood planning may not be a repeatable method, given that the opportunity to participate in neighbourhood planning in that sense is necessarily limited.

However, this conclusion leads to the suggestion that one area of further research would be to examine the extent to which ethnography can be considered a viable tool for planning research, given that this thesis has exposed a very limited number of similar studies.

Secondly, further research is required into the experiences of those who participate in community led planning to explore how they deal with the complexity of the process, with a view to identifying how that process could be made less onerous (in time) and more flexible (in planning policy outcomes) to truly enable communities to gain more influence on development outcomes in their area.

Further research could also address the success or otherwise of neighbourhood planning in delivering change in societal attitudes towards development, in particular where local development could contribute towards a greater quality of life in smaller communities.

Finally, research on the relationship between organisational culture (at all levels of local Government), developers, community groups and individual participants, particularly focusing on; how to reduce the adversarial nature of current planning practice of volume speculative house builders, how to support community groups develop plans quicker, and, ensure representation from a more diverse cross-section of the local community.

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6/1/12- semi structured interview with D.Lenton from Cooperative Ltd.
Notes -
7/3/12 – SUREGEN workshop – Salford
Notes in writing – blue notebook
29/3/12 – informal meeting with Phil Mayal and P Baker re- regeneration in Central Salford
Notes in writing – blue notebook
16/4/12 – Semi-structured interview with K Hirst Salford City Council.
Notes in writing – blue notebook
17/5/12 – semi-structured interview (telephone) with P. Mayal Muse Developments and ECF.
Notes in writing – blue notebook
24/5/12 – Interview with H. De Boer – resident of Salford
Notes – cannot locate as of 15/1/16
15/6/12 – Community Regeneration Forum – Salford, Black Lion PH.
Notes – cannot locate notes 15/1/16
12/09/12 – Semi-structured interview with Charlie Seward, Director of Regeneration at CWC
 Notes cannot locate notes at 15/1/16
13/09/12 – Neston Neighbourhood Plan launch meeting
14/09/12 – Central Salford Regeneration Forum
14/09/12 – Semi-structured interview with Jon Monk – Salford Business
?
27/09/12 – Inaugural Neston Steering Group.
18/10/12 – Neston Community Steering Group
Notes in green folder
7/11/12 – Neston NP quality of life group
notes in Green folder
15/11/12 – Neston Community Steering Group
notes in green folder
27/11/12 – Community First action meeting, Sandbach
Notes in spiral bound notebook "Neston"
28/11/12 – Informal interview / meeting with Rev. A Salmon, Salford
Notes – cannot locate notes as at 16/1/16
7/12/12 – Chapel Street Regeneration Forum
10/12/12 – Neston Neighbourhood Plan Consultation and Communication Group.
Notes in spiral bound notebook "Neston", plus draft word document (copy).
Also in purple folder
20/12/12 – Neston NP Community Steering Group
9/1/13 – Meeting with DCLG Localism Team, London.
21/1/13 – Neston CSG minutes

28/1/13 – Neston NP Communications and consultation group
Notes in purple folder
31/1/13 – semi-structured interview with Peter Baker, former Planning Salford URC.
5/2/13 – Neston Communications group meeting
12/2/13 – Meeting / interview with Jim Hollinshead Liverpoool JMU.
25/2/13- Neston CSG meeting minutes
Notes in spiral bound notebook "PhD" papers in green folder with additional notes
4/3/13 – Neston Communications Group Meeting
Notes in writing – spiral notebook "neston"
6/3/13 – Quality of Life and Transport Group meeting
Notes in writing – spiral notebook "neston"

18/3/13 – CSG minutes

25/3/13 -Neston Communication group meeting
Notes in writing – spiral notebook "neston"
22/4/13 – Neston CSG minutes
1/5/13 – Neston Communications group meeting.
10/5/13 – meeting with Richard Kingston, Manchester University.
Notes in spiral bound notebook – "PhD"
20/5/13 – Neston CSG minutes
Paper copy in my green folder
22/5/13 – Neston Communications group
17/6/13 Neston CSG minutes
8/7/13 Consultation on Neston 2030: 2030 leaflet
15/7/13 Neston CSG minutes
2/8/13 – notes of discussion forum (draft) spiral bound notebook "PhD"
19/8/13 Neston CSG minutes

16/9/13 – Neston CSG minutes
19/9/13 – Neston Neighbourhood Plan drop in event – community consultations
27/9/13 – DCLG meeting, London
Notes and hand-outs in Spiral bound notebook "PhD"
3/10/13 – Huddersfield Neighbourhood Plan event.
21/10/13 – Neston CSG. minutes
23/10/13 - Survey results
4/11/13 – Neston QoL and Transport Task group
18/11/13 – Neston CSG meeting minutes
Notes in spiral bound notebook "neston"
23/11/13 – Neston CSG awayday.
16/12/13 – Neston QoL and Transport task group, and, Neston CSG. minutes

17/1/14 – interview (1) with Peter Leary – Data Corrupted lost file.

3/2/14 – interview (2) with ██████████ – see transcript here Checked – do not use real name (JW)

5/2/14 telecon with David Wallace

10/2/14 – interview (3) with Dave Wallace - Checked – ok with real name (ethics form missing)
25/2/14 – interview (4) with Robina Hetherington – checked – ok with real name
26/2/14 – interview with Will Sparling (Boston Spa) (5) checked – ok with real name
26/2/14 – interview with Geoff Shaw (6) checked – ok with real name
3/3/14 – James Derounian (telephone interview) (7) practitioner / academic – checked self-completed ethics form.
3/3/14 – ██████████ interview (8) – checked – **do not use real name (ME)**
4/3/14 – Paul Cowie (? Check name) practitioner / academic telecon,

7/3/14 – Terry Nolan (9) – checked Real name ok
11/3/14 – second discussion with ██████████ ?
12/2/14 – Robin Hughes (10) – checked okay with real name
Phil Baker interview (11) – checked – ok with real name

20/1/14 – CSG meeting: minutes
24/2/14 – CSG meeting: minutes
17/3/14 – CSG meeting: minutes

28/4/14 – CSG meeting: minutes
16/6/14 – CSG meeting: minutes
19/5/14 – CSG meeting: minutes

23/6/14 - Neston NP Consultation Group

21/7/14 – CSG: minutes

18/8/14 – NP CSG: minutes

10/9/14 – 11/9/14 – Oxford Brooks University Planning Conference (see presentation).

22/9/14 – CSG meeting ; minutes

9/10/14 - Special Town Council meeting

20/10/14 CSG meeting notes

5/11/14 – interview with Trish Derraugh (11) – checked – ok with real name

10/11/14 – interview with Peter Hamilton (Cass Associates) (12) - checked

15/12/14 – CSG meeting

minutes

8/1/15 – Neston NP Consultation Group

24/8/15 submission version of plan created : submission plan

23/9/15 CSG special meeting to discuss project arising from emerging NP

9/11/15 CSG meeting minutes here

Consultation portal here: consultation portal (link now expired)

Final Neston Neighbourhood Plan – here (downloadable).

Final Boston Spa Neighbourhood Plan – here (dropbox access required)

APPENDIX 2 – ETHICS SUBMISSION

Name of Supervisor: Dr Phil Brown

Co-supervisor: Prof Erik Bichard

School:School of the Built Environment

Course of study: PhD

Name of Research Council or other funding organisation (if applicable):

Salford University

1a.   Title of proposed research project

Encouraging greater public participation in neighbourhood planning – an examination of the impact of the Localism Act 2011 in England.

1b.   Is this Project Purely literature based?

      NO (delete as appropriate)

2. Project focus

Since May 2010 the UK Coalition Government has introduced a significant financial austerity programme to help reduce a public spending deficit. This action has had direct impacts on the funding and organisation of planning for sustainable regeneration in the UK. In addition a political emphasis on "localism" has emerged across all political parties, characterised (initially) by the Coalition's rhetoric of the intention to encourage the creation of a "Big Society" where more people are more actively engaged, more often, in decision making at a local level, particularly in the sphere of land use planning.

In order to support this rhetoric, the Government has introduced significant changes to land use planning legislation (changes which are perceived by the Coalition to be an essential

element in the delivery of sustainable regeneration and economic growth enabling the Country to recover from the prolonged recession we continue to experience).

The Localism Act 2011 (which took effect from April 2012):

- radically alters previous national, regional and local planning regimes – including the dismantling of institutional structures of regeneration and economic development (such as: regional development agencies and urban development companies), plus it modifies the responsibilities of local Councils.
- reduces national planning guidance, and, introduced a national planning policy framework with a presumption in favour of "sustainable development",
- creates a layer of decision making termed "neighbourhood plans" which are expected to be proposed and developed by local communities.

The concept of community directed or community participatory plans has been in existence for some time, and, they have been developed often under the institutional guidance of local councils, partnerships or other bodies (such as charitable development trusts). But the Localism Act, for the first time, places a "bottom up" approach to land use planning by communities on a statutory footing as part of the development plan for an area. This power sits alongside other changes, which enable greater control of local facilities, and, to some extent, services.

The broad focus of this project is to develop a new framework for good practice addressing the successful creation of neighbourhood plans. Given the emergent and novel nature of the situation, there is limited literature based evidence to allow evaluation and analysis. Therefore in order for this framework to be developed it is crucial that a strong evidence base is gathered "in the field" - particularly by engaging with those responsible for the development of neighbourhood plans (termed community actors in this project) and those responsible for the development of the concept of localism (termed expert practitioners).

The project will:

1. Conduct empirical research into how communities across England are approaching the issue of neighbourhood plans
2. Develop, alongside expert practitioners - including representatives of the Department of Communities and Local Government, a framework of good practice in neighbourhood planning.

To do this the researcher will:

1. Undertake a survey amongst those areas preparing neighbourhood plans;

2.   Conduct a number of semi-structured interviews with community actors in specific case study areas;

3.   Conduct a number of semi-structured interviews with expert practitioners to enable various issues and ideas to be explored and examined;

4.   Participate in the development of a neighbourhood plan in his local area, and use these observations of the process to assist in developing both survey and interview questions; and,

5.   Participate in focus groups intended to be created by the DCLG in order to gain knowledge of other emerging research in the field.

3. Project objectives

There are several objectives in this work:

- To understand the policy background and current knowledge context for the study.
- To examine the effectiveness of different organisational approaches towards the delivery of neighbourhood planning.
- To assess the capacity of community groups to engage with the requirements of the Localism Act in areas developing neighbourhood plans.
- To identify the motivations and objectives of individual participants in neighbourhood planning.
- To measure the degree to which neighbourhood planning and the Localism Act enable a community to become more involved in decision making in their area.

4. Research strategy

(For example, outline of research methodology, what information/data collection strategies will you use, where will you recruit participants and what approach you intend to take to the analysis of information / data generated)

The study aims to contribute to the body of knowledge related to sustainable development by examining the role of the community in decision making for land use planning following the changes introduced with effect from April 2012 under the Localism Act 2011.

It is anticipated that the research will be undertaken in three phases:

Phase 1 – scoping study, pilot questionnaire design and preliminary analysis.

Initially a sample of 21 addresses will be targeted from the sample frame of the 230 'frontrunner' areas engaged in the production of neighbourhood plans. These will be contacted in order to seek their involvement in an initial survey (questionnaire) administered

via email. The responses from that survey will be analysed and used to help establish potential candidates for more detailed case study work. In order to encourage a good response rate from neighbourhood planning areas the researcher will:

- develop a concise and meaningful questionnaire
- send the questionnaire to a representative sample of neighbourhood plan areas
- Alert the DCLG and other agencies to our intention to survey (completed)
- set an appropriate timescale
- follow up on non-responses.

The survey will be 'branded' with the University of Salford branding and data protection issues assured. The researchers contact details will be included in order for participants to seek further verbal assurances if required.

This data will be analysed via Excel and/or SPSS.

Phase 2 – Semi-structured interviews with community actors and expert practitioners

Following the survey the researcher aims to focus on 3 case study areas. Specific individuals (community actors & expert practitioners) will be approached and invited to take part in focused interviews. The potential participants for these will be identified from the contact details from respondents from the survey – if they have chosen to record their details. Around 15 semi-structured interviews with expert practitioners are anticipated (5 in each case study area) however these are likely to occur in phases.

These interviews would be carried out at a location suitable for the interviewee; for example, their own home, if appropriate, or at a mutually agreed venue such as the University or a public building. Participants will be required to give their consent via a duplicate form where both parties retain a copy. The consent form will be prepared during the period of the award and will be available for review by the Ethics Committee or elected representative before implementation. However, a draft version of the consent form has been prepared and submitted with this form.

All interviews will be recorded via digital recording and transcribed verbatim. The overarching research and analytical strategy for this study will be grounded in thematic analysis, looking for patterns in perceptions, experiences and behaviours in participants' accounts in order to present a contextualised story of the dynamic processes involved.

Phase 3 – participant observation in a neighbourhood planning area

This phase of the research is ethnographic in nature. The researcher will spend a significant amount of time taking part in various meetings and activities relating to the development of a neighbourhood plan in an identified location. The area will be selected via knowledge of the researcher around the progress made by areas in the development of plans. The researcher will collect data via field notes, observation records and unstructured interview recordings (both unrecorded and recorded).

The findings from all this data will inform the creation of a proposed framework and be used to test hypotheses as they emerge.

Dissemination of the findings will occur through the PhD thesis, which when completed would be expected to be submitted late 2014, early 2015. The researcher also intends to present findings within appropriate academic journals / conferences and articles in relevant trade / professional publications.

5. **What is the rationale which led to this project?**

(For example, previous work – give references where appropriate. Any seminal works must be cited)

National, regional and local planning regimes have been radically altered to accommodate these new plans, and, a greater emphasis is emerging on community led decision making using the new freedoms and responsibilities available.

Once the concept of neighbourhood planning emerged in 2011/12, the government asked for interested areas to take forward the development of the concept. These 17 areas are known as the vanguard authorities. When the Act approached Royal Assent, the Government announced a funding programme for "front runner" areas – and this encouraged over 230 places to commence the process of development of a neighbourhood plan. Now more than 500 areas are recognised by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) as developing Neighbourhood Plans.

What is unusual about this situation is that these areas are not bidding for regeneration funding, or, attempting to propose an alternative concept for the future of a place in the face of attempts by either public or private bodies to propose an alternative future scenario – they are themselves aiming to form the statutory development plan, arguably a rather abstract task for a community group to be assigned.

This situation represents a new approach to planning which requires considerable changes to take place in how things have been done, and, there is a need to understand "what works" in this emerging paradigm.

There has been considerable academic analysis of community development type activities, whether it has been motivated to reduce crime, anti-social behaviour or to form "visions of the future " and action plans for change for communities. Mostly these types of activities have occurred, often repeatedly, in our more disadvantaged communities, and in the UK, more often than not, they have been led by institutional bodies such as Local Strategic Partnerships, Crime and Disorder Partnerships, or, Urban Development Companies and Community Development Trusts.

Carley, Jenkins and Smith, in their volume Urban Development and Civil Society provide comprehensive case study type analysis of the role of communities in regeneration and planning for sustainable cities. This includes investigations of housing renewal efforts in Salford.

Lachapelle, Emery and French, based on case study analysis in Montana, USA propose the following five principles as the basis of a theoretical framework for community visioning, and, we can see these principles (albeit phrased differently) throughout the literature:

- 1. Instill a sense of ownership in the visioning process and outcome
- 2. Understand the importance of "personality of place"
- 3. Emphasise leadership development
- 4. A well trained "coach" and steering committee
- 5. Provide consistent program support.

This research provides an opportunity to test whether the key ingredients (above) for successful community action on neighbourhood planning are evident in England in the areas hoping to take this forward.

Interestingly, early indications from the work to date are that Neighbourhood Planning is not being embraced in the traditional areas of regeneration, such as the northern cities. This leads to a speculation, perhaps, that these areas lack the capacity to deliver a neighbourhood plan, now that the resources (in the form of publicly funded institutions) have largely been withdrawn from these places.

The researcher hopes to examine this question through his links to existing and former regeneration company leaders, and, this issue will form an element of the examination of expert practitioners views on the future of neighbourhood planning.

6. **If you are going to work within a particular organisation do they have their own procedures for gaining ethical approval**

   (For example, within a hospital or health centre?)

   NO (delete as appropriate)

   If YES – what are these and how will you ensure you meet their requirements?

   N/a

   ---

7. **Are you going to approach individuals to be involved in your research?**

   YES (delete as appropriate)

   If YES – please think about key issues – for example, how you will recruit people? How you will deal with issues of confidentiality / anonymity? Then make notes that cover the key issues linked to your study

   ---
   Participant recruitment

   Survey

   The sample frame for the survey will be the contact details available via the DCLG for the 'forerunner' Neighbourhood Planning Areas. There are 230 of these. The survey will be sent to a sub-sample of these.

   The survey will be 'branded' with the University of Salford branding and data protection issues assured. The researchers contact details will be included in order for participants to seek further verbal assurances if required. A copy of the survey is enclosed with this application.

   Case study interviews

   Following the survey the researcher aims to focus on 3 case study areas. Specific individuals (community actors & expert practitioners) will be approached and invited to take part in focused interviews. The potential participants for these will be identified from the contact details from respondents from the survey – if they have chosen to record their details. Around 15 semi-structured interviews with expert practitioners are anticipated (5 in each case study area) however these are likely to occur in phases.

These interviews would be carried out at a location suitable for the interviewee; for example, their own home, if appropriate, or at a mutually agreed venue such as the University or a public building. Participants will be required to give their consent via a duplicate form where both parties retain a copy. The consent form will be prepared during the period of the award and will be available for review by the Ethics Committee or elected representative before implementation. However, a draft version of the consent form has been prepared and submitted with this form.

Participant observation

The researcher was recruited onto the local community steering group of his home town Neighbourhood Plan by a town council committee. At that stage the researcher declared his interests, including his function as a community volunteer, a qualified transport planner and his intended participant / observer role within the local Community Steering Group (CSG).

The researcher has openly contributed to business of the CSG on that basis and these declarations of interest and qualifications where circulated to all other chosen members of the CSG.

In later phases of the research it is likely that those the researcher comes into contact with as part of the participant / observation phase, specifically members of this CSG, will become subjects of case study interviews, in which case those individuals will be approached for personal involvement as part of the process, as outlined above and below.

Right to withdraw from the research

Survey

Their right to not complete the survey will be clearly detailed in the instructions for completion

Case Study interviews

Individual participation rights will be detailed in the covering letter and consent form for the study (i.e. it will be explained that any reluctance to take part will not disadvantage them in any way in regard to accessing services), and their right to withdraw from the research at any point (Kimmel, 1988).

Participant observation

The researcher seeks consent to take notes and declares his research interests at all appropriate and convenient opportunities. Community Steering Group (CSG) members can request that no notes be taken, or, that comments be considered confidential and personal at any point. In addition, the researcher shares his notes of meetings with the CSG and provides an opportunity for comments or observations to be amended, redacted or entirely withdrawn.

Ethnography does entail the participant / observer developing a deep bond of trust and respect with those that are observed and with whom the research participates in project work. To date no issues of concern have been raised by collaborators on the researcher's neighbourhood plan.

Confidentiality and anonymity

All of the information that will be collected from participants during this research study will be kept secure and any identifying material, such as names and addresses will be removed in order to ensure the anonymity of participants. Within the context of the survey confidentiality and anonymity are ensured by identification on the questionnaire of the address and by a serial number only. When the research is presented or published the every effort will be made to ensure the participants anonymity.

Participant well-being

It is recognised by the research team of the possibility that discussing certain issues during the interview may be upsetting for the participant and/or they may regret disclosing certain things after the interview has been completed. After each interview, the interviewer will offer an opportunity for a debrief session with the participant where they can talk to the participant about what they have said in order to support them if they become anxious about issues raised during the interview, or upset about the content of the discussion. The researcher reinstates the information contained in the information sheet and consent form about the right the withdraw part or all the information after the interview has been completed.

It is possible that through the investigation of the participant's experiences they may become upset or distressed. In order to support the participant if this happens during or after an interview the researcher will be able to signpost the individual to the appropriate organisation.

Safety and well-being of the researcher

Of additional concern during the project is the well-being and safety of the researcher whilst undertaking field work. During the fieldwork safety of the researcher will be ensured by close contact with the management team and/or team members who will be informed of the time, duration and conclusion of field research. The data will be gathered during daylight hours and the researcher will be contactable at all times by mobile phone. In addition, guidance provided by the Suzi Lamplugh Trust will be followed http://www.suzylamplugh.org/

8. More specifically, how will you ensure you gain informed consent from anyone involved in the study?

Survey

Survey respondents will be informed of the purpose and objectives of the research via a covering letter to the survey.

Case study interviews

Potential interviewees will be informed about the research in the form of introductory letters that invite them to take part in interviews this letter will explain the purpose and objective of the interview. The letter will also include the information sheet and consent form. It will be up to each individual to contact the researcher after approximately two weeks if they wish to participate in the research study a convenient date and time for the interview will then be scheduled. The decision to participate will thus remain with the participant.

Participants will be required to give their consent via a duplicate form where both parties retain a copy.

Participant observation

During this process of application the researcher made it explicitly clear that in addition to his contribution as a local community volunteer, and, as a qualified Transportation Planner, the researcher intended to act as a participant observer in support of this research project.

During the establishment process of the community steering group all such participants were asked to declare their interests in being involved in the process of developing a Neighbourhood Plan. These expressions of interest where then circulated to all members of that group, and, consent to their participation secured by the steering committee. The researcher declared his role as a Doctoral Training Associate at the University of Salford, and that he was investigating the process of creation of neighbourhood plans, through various means, including participant observation. In this manner a deemed consent was obtained from the other community steering group members.

In addition, at appropriate moments in various meetings, events and discussions the researcher has taken the opportunity to declare his interest and reinforce consent by securing oral consent to enable his continued recording of meetings, through taking notes etcetera.

9. **How are you going to address any Data Protection issues?**

   See notes for guidance which outline minimum standards for meeting Data Protection issues

Arrangements compliant with the Data Protection Act will be applied. In the sense that personal data, where collected electronically and required to be retained (specifically: contact information, age, gender and role) will be securely protected in an appropriate electronic format, subject to encryption / password protection.

Paper based records, either in the form of copies of electronic data, or, other correspondence such as letters will be retained in a secure locked cabinet in the University.

It is the intention for the interviews to be recorded onto a digital voice recorder, where this is declined by the participant they will be asked whether they object to note-taking by the interviewer. Once the data has been gathered the audio file and/or notes will be translated into an anonymised account of the interview for the research team. The original data will be returned to the researcher where it will be kept on a password secured PC at the University of Salford that only the researcher has access to. Once the research has been completed and the resulting publications produced the digital and hard-copy versions will be destroyed.

10. **Are there any other ethical issues that need to be considered? For example - research on animals or research involving people under the age of 18.**

None

11. **(a) Does the project involve the use of ionising or other type of "radiation"**

NO

(b) Is the use of radiation in this project over and above what would <u>normally</u> be expected (for example) in diagnostic imaging?

NO

(c) Does the project require the use of hazardous substances?

NO

(d) Does the project carry any risk of injury to the participants?

NO

(e) Does the project require participants to answer questions that may cause disquiet / or upset to them?

NO

If the answer to any of the questions 11(a)-(e) is YES, a risk assessment of the project is required and must be submitted with your application.

12.   How many subjects will be recruited/involved in the study/research? What is the rationale behind this number?

It is estimated that around 2500 to 3000 individuals will be participants in the process of Neighbourhood Planning in the 230+ frontrunner areas. However in many cases it will be the chair or similar leader of a community group who will respond "on behalf" of a community. A pilot exercise (underway) will be carried out with 21 targeted areas to test the likely response level. I aim for a response rate of 30%.

It is intended that approximately 80 neighbourhood planning areas will be targeted in the questionnaire survey, if this remains paper based, however, this may be made an "open" questionnaire through the use of an online survey tool.

Semi-structured interviews are proposed with a range of professional "experts" and community actors who volunteer to provide their views and experiences to inform the development of a good practice framework. Up to 25 individuals are likely to be engaged in this manner. These will be sourced from existing professional contacts, relevant Government Departments, local Councils and organisations involved in supporting and/or developing neighbourhood plans, as explained above.

> Volunteers will be sort as part of the survey process for face to face or telephone based semi-structured interviews.

13. **Please state which code of ethics has guided your approach (e.g. from Research Council, Professional Body etc).**

Please note that in submitting this form you are confirming that you will comply with the requirements of this code. If not applicable please explain why.

> The study will comply with the Ethical Guidelines of the Social Research Association. Dr. Philip Brown, principle supervisor of this PhD is a Chartered Psychologist of the British Psychological Society and is bound by the Code of Ethics for this Society.
>
> Richard Nickson, the researcher is a Chartered Member of the Institution of Logistics and Transport, and, Member of the Chartered Institution of Highways And Transportation. As such he is bound by the Bye Laws and Code of Professional Conduct respectively of these organisations.

Remember that informed consent from research participants is crucial, therefore all documentation must use language that is readily understood by the target audience.

Projects that involve NHS patients, patients' records or NHS staff, will require ethical approval by the appropriate NHS Research Ethics Committee. The University College Ethics Panel will require written confirmation that such approval has been granted. Where a project forms part of a larger, already approved, project, the approving REC should be informed about, and approve, the use of an additional co-researcher.

I certify that the above information is, to the best of my knowledge, accurate and correct. I understand the need to ensure I undertake my research in a manner that reflects good principles of ethical research practice.

Signed by Student   Richard Nickson_____

Print Name   Richard Nickson_____

Date   5 November 2013_____

In signing this form I confirm that I have read this form and associated documentation.

I have discussed and agreed the contents with the student on 5/11/13_____
(Please insert date of meeting with student)

Signed by Supervisor   Dr Phil Brown (principal supervisor)

Print Name   Dr Phil Brown_____

Date   5/11/13_____

College Ethics Panel:

Application Checklist

Ref No:	Office Use Only

Name of Applicant: RICHARD NICKSON

Title of Project:Encouraging greater public participation in planning – an examination of the impact of the Localism Act 2011 on neighbourhood planning in England.

The checklist below helps you to ensure that you have all the supporting documentation submitted with your ethics application form. This information is necessary for the Panel to be able to review and approve your application. Please complete the relevant boxes to indicate whether a document is enclosed and where appropriate identifying the date and version number allocated to the specific document (*in the header / footer*), Extra boxes can be added to the list if necessary.

Document	Enclosed? (indicate appropriate response)				Date	Version No
Application Form		Mandatory		If not required please give a reason		
Risk Assessment Form	Yes				05/11/13	1
Participant Invitation Letter	Yes				05/11/13	1
Participant Information Sheet	Yes				05/11/13	1
Participant Consent Form	Yes				05/11/13	1
Participant Recruitment Material – e.g. copies of posters, newspaper adverts, website, emails		**Not required for this projec**t		Recruitment of participants is explained above and is based on a variety of scenarios		

				arising from the research approach.		
Organisation Management Consent / Agreement Letter	Yes				05/11/13	1
Research Instrument – e.g. questionnaire	Yes				05/11/13	1
Draft Interview Guide	Yes				05/11/13	1
National Research Ethics Committee consent			**Not required for this project**	This is not an appropriate project.		
Note: If the appropriate documents are not submitted with the application form then the application will be returned directly to the applicant and will need to be resubmitted at a later date thus delaying the approval process						

APPENDIX 3– CONSENT FORM

Richard Nickson
Salford Housing &
Urban Studies Unit
(SHUSU)
1.04, Joule House,
University of Salford,
Salford M5 4WT

DATE:

Dear Sir / Madam

Invitation to participate in a research project:

WHAT DIFFERENCE IS LOCALISM MAKING IN YOUR COMMUNITY?

Encouraging greater public participation in neighbourhood planning – an examination of the impact of the Localism Act 2011 in England.

Salford University's award winning School of the Built Environment has commissioned a research project examining the changes taking place in community involvement in planning following the introduction of the Localism Act 2011.

Your area has been identified as being amongst the frontrunners in England taking forward the application of the new powers available to communities since the Act came into effect.

The University hopes to survey as many areas as possible who are currently developing neighbourhood plans, however it would like to carry out a smaller scale pilot involving as many of the frontrunners as possible. This pilot will help shape future research questions and methods. It will also gather useful information to inform other communities at an earlier stage or about to commence with neighbourhood planning.

Attached to this letter is an information sheet and a short questionnaire which we are asking communities to complete, and, we're also seeing expressions of interest from individuals within those communities who would like to provide more "in depth" feedback on their experiences.

Ultimately we aim to complete up to three "case studies" from a range of areas in England which will provide a comprehensive assessment of "what works" in neighbourhood planning.

We would like to thank you in anticipation of your assistance in this project.

Yours faithfully

Richard Nickson MSc, Dr. P Brown, Professor E. Bichard,

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Information Sheet:

WHAT DIFFERENCE IS LOCALISM MAKING IN YOUR COMMUNITY?

An opportunity to take part in a research project: Encouraging greater public participation in neighbourhood planning – an examination of the impact of the Localism Act 2011 in England.

Who are you and what are you doing?

My name is Richard Nickson and I am a postgraduate researcher at the University of Salford. Like you I am also involved and interested in my Neighbourhood Plan. I am interested in finding out about what the opportunity to create a neighbourhood plan means to you and how you are going about getting involved in your community.

I am involved in a team supervised by Dr Phil Brown and Professor Erik Bichard, and, we need your help. We are hoping to involve a group of up to 25 people involved in neighbourhood plans, either as community activists or professionals involved in planning, community development or participation. We'd like to hear your views on what neighbourhood planning means to you, your community, your profession, and, the environment you live or work in.

We will undertake interviews face to face, or, by telephone (or SKYPE) where appropriate and we will record those interviews by taking notes, audio or video recordings and in this way seek to understand your experiences and knowledge of neighbourhood planning.

We would also like to set up a panel of those participating to give us views on our findings as we proceed with the study.

Do I have to take part in the study? No and you can change your mind about your participation at any point.

How long will the study take, and, do I have to remain part of the study at all times? The project will report its findings in a thesis submitted as part of a PhD by early 2015. You do not have to participate throughout, and can withdraw at any time.

When and where will interviews be held? At a time, location and place that is convenient for you and agreed at least two weeks in advance with the researcher.

Who will be at interviews? The researcher Richard Nickson.

Will people know what I tell you? All participation is entirely confidential and comments will not be attributed to individuals. Your personal details will not be shared with any other person. We will ask you to complete a form setting out what we can and cannot do with your information.

Who is organising and funding this study? The University of Salford.

How do I contact you? The best way is to email me on: **r.nickson@edu.salford.ac.uk**

Alternatively by post:

Richard Nickson c/o Salford Housing & Urban Studies Unit (SHUSU), 1.04, Joule House, University of Salford, Salford M5 4WT

Or you can ring Richard on 07974 705101.

Consent Form for:

WHAT DIFFERENCE IS LOCALISM MAKING IN YOUR COMMUNITY?

Encouraging greater public participation in neighbourhood planning – an examination of the impact of the Localism Act 2011 in England.

Please tick the appropriate boxes	**Yes**	**No**
Taking Part		
I have read and understood the project information sheet dated 5 November 2013.	☐	☐
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	☐	☐
I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project will include being interviewed and recorded (audio or video).	☐	☐
I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part.	☐	☐
Use of the information I provide for this project only		
I understand my personal details such as phone number and address will not be revealed to people outside the project.	☐	☐
I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs.	☐	☐
Please choose **one** *of the following two options:*		
I would like my real name used in the above	☐	
I would **not** like my real name to be used in the above.	☐	
Use of the information I provide beyond this project		
I agree for the data I provide to be archived at the University of Salford.	☐	☐
I understand that other genuine researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.	☐	☐
I understand that other genuine researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.	☐	☐
So we can use the information you provide legally		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials related to this project to Richard Nickson.	☐	☐

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant   [printed]   Signature   Date

_____   _____   _____

Researcher   [printed]   Signature   Date

Project contact details for further information:

r.nickson@edu.salford.ac.uk

Alternatively by post:

Richard Nickson c/o Salford Housing & Urban Studies Unit (SHUSU), 1.04, Joule House, University of Salford, Salford M5 4WT

Or you can ring Richard on ██████████

APPENDIX 4 – QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE.

WHAT DIFFERENCE IS LOCALISM MAKING IN YOUR COMMUNITY?

"Encouraging greater public participation in neighbourhood planning – an examination of the impact of the Localism Act 2011 in England"

An opportunity for people involved in Neighbourhood Plans

to take part in a research project .

Questionnaire instructions and confidentiality.

ALL information supplied in response to this questionnaire will remain confidential.

NO information obtained from individual forms will be shared with any third party

At all times these forms will be secured in a locked cabinet in a specified location in the University of Salford.

This questionnaire should be completed by an individual on behalf of the neighbourhood plan in your area, such as the chair of your local community steering group, or, parish / town neighbourhood plan committee leader.

The research project is also seeking a range of volunteers from each community who will be willing to participate in more detailed interview based examinations of their experiences of neighbourhood planning;

About you:

.	Your Age?	Answer:
.	Your role in the neighbourhood plan in your area?	Answer:

.	Your employment status (please tick one that applies to you)?	Please highlight one that applies to you:
		
		      Unemployed
		      Retired
		      Employed (please specify category or profession):

.	Are you?	Please highlight one that applies to you: a) a home owner

		b) in private rented accommodation
		c) tenant of a social housing landlord (or "the Council")
		d) other – please specify below:
.	How did you become involved in Neighbourhood planning?	Please highlight those which apply to you: Parish / Town Councillor already I had time to spare – a Community volunteer Landowner / Business interest Due to Environmental concerns. Other – please specify.
.	Overall would you say that your experience of Neighbourhood Planning has been………………	Please highlight: Very Positive 2. Positive 3. Negative 4. Very Negative.

About your area:

.	What would you describe you community as?	Please highlight one that applies best: Rural (largely dependent on farming and other countryside activities) Semi Rural (some farming) A Village A Town A Suburb forming part of a larger town or city.
.	Can you provide the population and age make up of your neighbourhood plan area?	Total: Children (16 and under): Adults (17 and over up to 65): Adults (65 and over): Gender split overall:
.	What County / Region are you in? e.g. Cumbria / North West England.	Please specify:
.	Who is your local planning authority?	Please specify:

About your plan:

.	What, in your view, was the main motivation that inspired the neighbourhood plan?	Comment:
.	How did you organise yourselves? (please tick all those that apply)	(please highlight those that apply) County Council support District, Borough or City Council support Parish / Town Council Parish / Town sub-committee (for example a Community Steering Group or similar) Independent Neighbourhood Forum (in non-parished areas)
.	How did you develop and determine which policies to pursue.?	For example did you? Appoint planning consultants to prepare draft policy options? Commission housing supply investigations? Obtain assistance from Planning Aid, Action For Market Towns, Locality or some other community development group? RESPONSE: continues over the page...
.	Could you indicate the date you reached or intend to reach each of the following stages:	Please provide actual date or anticipated Month & Year for each of the following: Neighbourhood Area designation: Neighbourhood Forum or Steering Group established: Review of evidence base: Initial community engagement: Vision and aims published and views sought: Objectives and planning policies (such as parking, design or affordability requirements): Land use allocations identified (such as housing allocations): Community proposals: Community consultation on a draft plan featuring some or all of the above (5 to 8): Consultation Statement on the outcome of community

		engagement: Submission of a Draft Plan to the LPA: Confirmation of conformity with the Basic Conditions for a Neighbourhood Plan: Independent Examination: Modifications (if required): Referendum: (What was the outcome?..........................) Delivery and monitoring:
.	Considering the community consultation on your plan could you indicate the top three issues in your area that the neighbourhood plan aims to address:	The top three issues in my area are:
.	As part of the development of your neighbourhood plan, or, following on from it do you anticipate making use of any of the other powers available to local communities in the Localism Act, such as:	Neighbourhood Development order?. If YES – what for: Community Right to Build? If YES – what for?
.	Have you been in touch with any other groups or areas that are developing neighbourhood plans?	YES NO If YES can you specify who you have liaised with?

About the people involved in your plan:

.	How many people have been actively involved in developing your plan?	
.	How many of these people are volunteers and not ordinarily involved in planning matters in your community?	
.	In your opinion, has the process of developing your neighbourhood plan increased, or, decreased:	The number of community led activities? A sense of identity in your community? The numbers of people who "get involved"?

	The quality of activities in the community? The range of community led activities? (Please comment on all of the above that apply in your area)

Finally:

. Would you or other members of the local community be willing to provide more in depth feedback, most likely to be in the form of an interview (lasting up to one hour) on the topic of your neighbourhood plan?	Please supply contact details of up to three individuals – use a separate piece of paper as necessary or email these details with your returned questionnaire.

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

We recommend that, if possible, you complete this questionnaire electronically using a word processing package such as MS-WORD and email the completed form to:

r.nickson@edu.salford.ac.uk

Alternatively you can post your response to:

Richard Nickson c/o Salford Housing & Urban Studies Unit (SHUSU), 1.04, Joule House, University of Salford, Salford M5 4WT

You can ring Richard on either 07974 705101 if you wish to discuss this questionnaire.

Please attempt to complete this questionnaire by: to be confirmed.

APPENDIX 5 – FIELDWORK GUIDELINES AND INTERVIEW STRUCTURE

Guidance notes for fieldwork on the proposed study of Neighbourhood Planning:

(adapted from "A synthesis of ethnographic research" by M. Genzuk(2003))

. Aim to be as descriptive as possible in taking field notes, cross checking to recorded information (where possible) to ensure accuracy.
. Gather a variety of information from a range of sources, giving different perspectives on the research topic.
. Cross validate (for example as in 1, above – with recordings) and also by gathering a variety of information (as in 2, above) seek to triangulate across different kinds of data. Make use of observations, interviews, meeting notes, policy documentation, news articles, web content, seminar notes and other research outcomes in the field.
. Use appropriate quotations, suitably attributed (when consent obtained) – ensure that participants are accurately represented. Capture participant's views of their experiences in their own works.
. Select participants appropriately and with regard to their ability to provide an informed perspective, but, have regard to both the subjective nature of these comments, and, of course one's own views, and, experiences – aim to be precise, observant and "unobtrusive" (in the sense of taking care not to unduly allow personal active participation to interfere).

Some basic principles I aim to adhere to (based on a range of ethnographic texts and readings):

. Build trust and rapport with participants.
. Stay alert and disciplined.
. Focus on pulling together a useful body of fieldwork to enable meaningful analysis
. Be conscientious.
. Involve myself as naturally as possible in my field setting – my local neighbourhood plan – whilst maintaining an analytical perspective to support meaningful research.
. Separate interpretation from judgement
. Provide feedback where appropriate and requested, be mindful of its impact.
. Record and review my own experiences, thoughts and feelings – they form part of my data set.

Interview Guidelines and outline interview script

14. The research purpose should guide the interview.
15. Aim to provide a context to participant's in which they can express their own views and feelings, albeit in a manner that, as a researcher I can record, compare and examine them.
16. Adopt appropriate interview techniques to the field situation. For example, "chance encounters" may require a more "informal" conversational interview. Ideally aim to follow these up with more formalised, semi-structured interviews as planned.
17. Aim to record all relevant data that arises from interviews.
18. Plan for and be prepared for interviews in the form of equipment, notepad, pens etcetera.
19. Ask open-ended questions.
20. Be clear, use understandable language and avoid jargon.
21. Pace the interview appropriately and follow a predetermined sequence.
22. Probe and follow up on salient points to elicit depth and detail.
23. Be courteous, grateful and honest with participants.
24. Listen carefully, and, allow the participant to know that they are being heard, and, understood. Seek clarification where necessary.
25. Be neutral, avoid leading questions, maintain control and ensure that all points are covered.
26. Check with participant they are content that they've been able to fully explain their views.
27. Check that equipment has worked.

Proposed Interview script:

WHAT DIFFERENCE IS LOCALISM MAKING IN YOUR COMMUNITY?

"Encouraging greater public participation in planning – an examination of the impact of the Localism Act 2011 on neighbourhood planning in England"

Welcome and introduction:

Researcher will go over the information sheet, and, consent form. This must be signed, retained, and, copies left with the participant.

Explain the structure of the interview and the anticipated time – suggest that 45 minutes to 1 hour is sufficient time.

Explain that the participant can stop at any point.

Opening:

5. Participant's name
6. Participant's occupation
7. Participant's age:
8. Participant's role in Neighbourhood Planning in their area?

Personal experience to date:

7. How did you become involved in your neighbourhood plan?
8. When did that start?
9. Have you had experience of volunteering before? If so, for how long, and in what capacity?.
10. What do you understand to be the purpose of the Neighbourhood Plan?
11. Why did you want to become involved in the NP?
12. What did you expect, initially, to happen when you volunteered?
13. How do you feel about the process of creating a neighbourhood plan so far?

Group experiences:

10. How are you progressing NP – i.e. Neighbourhood Forum, Steering Group, Council?
11. How many people are involved, and, in what capacity?
12. Are peoples' roles in the group clear and do you feel that everyone gets an opportunity to make a valid contribution?
13. What stage is the NP at in your area?
14. When do you hope to achieve certain milestones? (can the participant, for example, provide a project plan?).
15. What support do you receive from other organisations?.
16. What difficulties has the group faced in developing the NP?
17. What achievements do you feel that the group have made so far?

Views on the future of the NP in your area:

8. What are the main objectives of your plan?
9. Do you think that these can be achieved?
10. How important do you think that the Neighbourhood plan will be in future?
11. Do you feel that other people, perhaps those who aren't so involved, understand the efforts being made by volunteers?
12. What do you hope will happen because of your involvement in the NP?
13. What could be done to make the process better for communities?

Thank you for your participation !   **Richard Nickson**   **5/11/13 Version 1**

APPENDIX 6: THEORY/EVIDENCE TABULAR ANALYSIS

Theoretical consideration	Evidence expected / Implications	Evidence
Volunteerism: Social Participation	Collective activity (being part of a community group)	*"It's the environment. It's the planning. The difference is is that eventually it will impact upon everybody. Whereas maybe before, you know, it was localising the fact that you were helping different sectors of the community. Probably sectors that you were interested in, for example. Whereas, the neighbourhood plan, the whole community will eventually have some form of effect or impact by whatever decisions are made or taken"*, and, *"it's to give the community some enabling powers in regard to planning and environmental issues, etc. Anything where we can have the impact from a local point of view. All of us, and I think it could be said for the majority of people who live in our area do have a sense of belonging, a sense of pride, as I said before in Neston Park Gate and this area and you want the best not only for you as an individual, but for the whole community"* *(DW Page 7) Neston Community Volunteer* *"So that, to deliver that in a reasonable time frame, because you do get fatigue. Volunteers get fatigue. We've had one or two drop out. Fortunately, people are staying the course in the main. Unless it keeps moving forward at a reasonable rate, that fatigue process will continue and people might not stay with it. Again, it's got to be in a reasonable time frame. So, I'm particularly keen on getting these consultants on board and get that working and then people can see we are making progress."* *(PB Page 35)* *I think the process could be improved with that degree of education better. I think we could, I'm not sure structurally we would need to change much in all honesty. I think we need groups working on specific items. Maybe we could, I could have given them more direction more often, I don't know. Again, with volunteers you don't want to be prescriptive all the time. People find their own pace and work at it. I think we should have—I'm frustrated that we are going through this lull period."* *(PB page 37)* *"It's this trying to keep everybody on the straight and narrow and trying to get everybody to sign up to a programme and agree objectives and policies. I mean, it is bloody frustrating to be honest, because I find that this is about the first occasion in my life when you can't say, well, look, do it or bugger off. In this voluntary area, sadly, you run at the speed of the slowest worker. It's very difficult"* *(GS- page 7*

		"in my community of Winchcombe using the jargon, we've got loads of social capital. We are incredibly well connected. We've got money. We've got confidence. We've got retired people pouring out of every direction. But, as we know, there are so many communities that don't. It really concerns me the extent to which localism is really conspiring with this right wing approach to self help, doing it on the cheap, saving money, self reliance and in a way, sustainability is a very handy cloak under which to turn that to a benefit and say, look, look at what we are doing. We are giving all this power away. We are giving people the opportunities. Well, yes, I think broadly that's true. But, as George Orwell said in Animal Farm, some animals are equal, all animals are equal, but some are more equal than others. I think that is the case for communities" *(JD Page 13 – academic practitioner).* *"On the one hand it might be seen as more local controlled. On the other hand it might mean that a transfer of problems to central to local. And then additional burden upon the local community.'* *"Yes, but it's new. It's not been around before. It is extremely important for the community. It's the only thing that the community seems to be able to do to determine its own future in setting the parameters.."* *(PB Page 24)* *"I think quite frustrated. I feel this is one chance we've got now to try and improve the area."* *(ME Page 14)*
Volunteerism: Public Participation	Engagement in participative democracy	*"One is that I feel that I couldn't not get involved from the point of view that I write about, I talk about, I lecture about communities and getting involved and community led plans. It would be a bit of a giveaway if you didn't do it. Having talk to talk. I guess the second thing is that I have used it for mutual benefit of both my students and the community. We have had to second year undergraduate geography students of mine doing a couple of surveys for us on traffic and public consultation on the neighbourhood plan. So they've had an internship, but they've also helped us to do stuff that we wouldn't be able to do as volunteers, because of time."* *(JD Page 6 – academic practitioner)* *"The most important for me would be get a revitalised town council. I think town council's have got enormous potential. They are held back with all that … so I actually see the neighbourhood plan biggest compilation and a catalyst of that process. I think in the long term in terms of their social and economic and radical breakdown in Neston, I think that's a more important thing than*

		actually houses or whatever. The circumstances and the issues are going to change. I want Neston to be a player. I want Neston to be respected in Cheshire." *(JW Page 25) Neston Community Volunteer and Vice Chair CSG* *"Yes, I had a feeling that certain organisations were never even thought about and wasn't even known about. Peoples own prejudices were infiltrating town planning. And so I felt if I actually volunteered to get in there then I could actually put the case for some of the lesser known .....activities."* *(ME Page 5) Neston Community volunteer* *"I think, it's looking at the children and seeing what they are going to inherit from what decisions we do. That is important to me. One of the other main factors is, I've got so many friends around here who would be the first to comment and criticise, but will never take part in any of these groups or committees or get involved or donate any time. Whereas that's something that probably does niggle me in a way is that, every weekend I would see friends and they will say, oh well, there is this not happening and that's why is this or why is that. I say, don't talk to me, go and do something about it. That's me, I will go and do something or try and have an impact or influence upon what we do."* *(DW Page 8)* *"Why do we need to write lots and lots of policies and how flash and expensive consultants to do it. I think it can be much more, formal is not the right word, but less sophisticated… Why does it have to be written in professional speak. Actually, and I've heard this argument and it's important that safeguard local plan. And only fair, you are trying to go against the local plan should they be a climate to have a significant evidence base.* *(JW Page 28)* *"..in terms of the support that I think is necessary in order for the development plan to be developed efficiently then much more efficient and professional back up would have been required and that has not been forthcoming. We should have had somebody much more knowledgeable and expert in the workings of a development of a neighbourhood plan than we have had. Potentially there was one such person who for good reason was not able to join in. The substitutes that we've had have been unhelpful, ineffective, inefficient."* *(TN Page 15) Talking about the support from the Local Council* *"I think, ▋▋▋ been a real encouragement in the sense, do it yourself. Don't get planners to write it. It won't look like yours. It won't have your feel to it. You do have, you know if you do it yourself you've got passion."*

(GS Page 14 – chair Boston Spa CSG)

"Clearly, that is a very different scheme of working than I was used to. I think it's most unhealthy for families these days…voluntary work comes way way down the list from the point of view of keeping your family together. Keeping your marriage together. Having a healthy lifestyle and that's why they are declining. What's the answer to it is, you've asked me, it's a bigger answer than mine. I think, the cost of housing and the cost both of renting and of paying off and buying a house is probably the biggest contributor to that adverse change in circumstances from that point of view."
(TN Page 8)

Scepticism of Government
" I think that's naïve. And I think that it's naïve, because the government have deliberately made it so bloody bureaucratic and formulaic.. .. You know what I mean? If it was a much more flowed and flexible situation where there wasn't—look what happened in some of the examinations and the challenges and proceeds and blah, blah, blah. That's a big ask for local people. I don't agree with them at all on that"
(JW Page 18)

"the idea is to formulate a plan for the neighbourhood that will hopefully guide the local town council with its decisions in the future the way we think life in the area should go that a plan should be formulated. Being slightly cynical with my background, I wonder if that's actually going to work and actually be listened to. I'm still at the stage where I'm wondering if we are just being manipulated into thoughts.
INT   Do you mean manipulated by the local politics or do you think the broader national politics?
RES   I think both. I think both national and the town council. I think and CWAC" (NB:the Local Council) "as well, I think we are pushing this in certain directions. We are not being allowed to expand the way we would like to."
(ME Page 4)

INT? How then important do you think the neighbourhood plan is going to be in the future?
RES   " I don't. (LAUGHS) Cynical. I think it could just be a paper exercise. I don't know that Cheshire West will take any notice of it or town council. I think it might give them a few ideas. I don't think we will ever get any reward from it. I think it will just be forgotten about."
(ME Page 15)
"That, for me. I think and I tell you now, I am not optimistic in the future of neighbourhood plans, because I think, I don't think they achieve that is intended to set out to achieve. I think the vested

		interests and development industry and the local authority as such that they are very difficult to do that. For me, it's not about means to an end. It's something people get involved in."
		(JW Page 28)
		"Because as I mentioned before, the amount of support that we've been given in order to prepare this plan is minimal and none existent in some areas. And therefore, how well are we equipped, if you like to prepare a robust plan. Some might be suspicious that government is not supporting neighbourhood plans in the way that I've described, because they will be, shall we say, quite relaxed to see them fail against the weight of pressure from developers and their legal supporters. So yes, we would remain piggy in the middle and might be looked upon as a scapegoat. As a fall guy.
		(TN Page 20)
		"I think it's a political gimmick in many respects. It was sold to communities up and down the country as a means for a particular party to get into power. That aside, I think they are asking really for benefits of the initiative. But, I think a lot of people were sold Neighbourhood Planning on the basis that it would give local communities a lot more say than they currently have in terms of being able to plan for their areas and more importantly I think people felt that they would be able to use Neighbourhood Planning as a tool to refuse objective planning. That is self evidently not the case from the way that the legislation and the regulations are written.
		(PH Page 3 – a professional planner).
		"While I do remember it. I think another key one of the moment is that there is an almighty collision between centralism and localism. For me, I mean, I think it is very fascinating all the judicial reviews around some of or one or two of the neighbourhood plans and you've also got the NPPF, which to be blunt I feel that the NPPF, yes it talks about sustainable development. I don't think government has a clue precisely what that means and they say that their definition of sustainable development is the 50 odd pages in the NPPF and a fat lot of good that is. It's all about building. It's all about the economy. Build, get the economy moving and election coming, buy the vote"
		(JD Page 8 – academic practitioner)
		INT "To some extent you do wonder again whether there is a motivation behind that. You can't help but think is there any intention that to just kind of allow people to sit there arguing with each other instead of looking at the bigger picture of you know, the fracking machinery coming over the horizon or whatever.
		RES That is where I was going. For example with HS2. Where does localism, localism is fine up to a point, according to government. And then suddenly it becomes none conforming and threatening and challenging and it becomes anti social behaviour. The other area where I think that is particularly apparent is the occupy movement. How could you, if you look at it as an idea,

		how could you argue against the occupy movement which is a spontaneous, popular protest against greed where people have empowered themselves to challenge vested interests. And yet, when it gets to putting a tent up outside parliament and St Pauls Cathedral, oh no, this is trespass and forbidden, etc." *(JD Page 20 – the academic practitioner).* *"I think it's a political sop.* *INT Why?* *RES Government wants to build more houses. It knows it's in trouble if it doesn't. So, it's instituted a very top downward approach paying little or no heed to over sensibilities to release more land for house building."* *INT What do you think the reaction to that will be?* *RES "The government has done that. That's produced a very predictable backlash, because the land that they are releasing is farm land in rural Conservative voting. It's no joke, I mean, 1,500 houses in (Inaudible 00.38.25) 2,000 in Ellesmere Port in the rural fringe (Inaudible 00.38.31). And that's where the house builders want to build and they don't want to build on brown field sites. Obviously, regardless what everybody says it's too expensive and it's not where people want to live. So the government has produced a very top downwards process. They have put the shotgun to their head of the local authority who said, bloody do it or else."* *(RHughes page 16)*
Individual participation	Self-interest – reflecting the type of society and or place that individuals want to live in or personal satisfaction	*"the one thing I was concerned about with retirement, it wasn't the financial side or anything like that. It was how my, let's say, brain was going to be stimulated whilst I was retired"* *(DW Page 4) Neston Community volunteer 7.1.1* *"For some it's satisfaction at doing good. I think there is a personal satisfaction in making whatever contribution it is you've decided to make and see something happening as a result of it. That second bit is important."..."People won't volunteer if they can't see anything happening as a result of their efforts."* *(RHughes Page 9) Neston Community Volunteer* *"I don't have any chance of being able to afford them. I would like to see more development and cheaper more affordable housing included within that for local people. Unfortunately, because a lot of people move in and they've done good and move in and got the money to afford the house and then don't want to see any development because they've come into that type of area and they don't want to see it ruined."* *(WS Page 14) Boston Spa volunteer and Academic planner / practitioner*

"I guess also, yes, I have a long standing belief, I suppose from which was instilled in me by my old professor who was a wonderful, practical academic called, ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ *who was an agriculturalist and environmentalist, way ahead of his time. I always, it has stayed with me the way that my old professor didn't just talk about things, but he got practically stuck in. And so, again, I feel that it's important that I do as I say and not just if you like be a typical academic on the sidelines reviewing everything but not really making any difference to real life. "*
(JD Page 6 – academic practicioner)

"We've lived here for thirty odd years. My kids have gone through this schooling system round here. They've all ended up going to university and doing quite well. Two of them have moved out of the area now, which tends to happen. I like have been able to walk up and buy a bag of nails from a DIY shop and walk back down the Wirral Way with a bag of nails and a plank of wood on my shoulder as opposed to having it directed in the B&Q somewhere necessarily. I like doing that. I like going to the library and I only wish they would have changed the books occasionally.."
(PB Page 19) Neston – Chair of CSG

I'd like to see affordable housing. I would definitely like to see a site on affordable housing. I'd like that to be for local people as well as opposed to any people. First of all for local people. Even when we did the, This Is Neston and we stood outside with our questionnaires, I met one or two people, families. A young lady I remember who had a child in her arms who said, "I'd love to buy a place here, but I can't afford it. I live in a council Plus Dane. But I want my own house." She lived in the area but didn't want to live where she was living
(RH Page 35). Neston Community Volunteer

"It's diminishing by the month, unfortunately. The initial number I think has halved. Peoples other commitments have gone away. They have lost interest or we've already covered it, so what's the point in wasting time going over the same thing each week or each month"
(ME Page 11)

"It's a nightmare, because you are trying through the neighbourhood plan as you well know to bring people along with you, so you need to give them enough time. But at the same time you are conscious that if you don't get this thing produced you still are at the mercy of every passing developer. It's a moving target."
(JD Page 25 – the academic practitioner)

"It's a feel good factor of making it serve other people better. Giving them something to achieve.
INT   Seeing what change…
RES   What change can do and it always takes one person to put their time and effort in, which then inspires other people to put time and effort into it. It drags other people into the whole

		picture. Everybody benefits, because you get a certain buzz from watching other people enjoy themselves." *(ME Page 16)* *"Because now I've got the time. I've got bags of time. I'm retired. I'm doing a few other things. Voluntary style stuff. But there is still plenty of time left over to get involved with something which hopefully will shape the community and the area for Neston in the future."* *(TN Page 9)*
Motivational – place attachment	the feelings that individuals develop with respect to places that are well known to us; our homes, streets, villages, towns and cities, or, equally landscapes and environments	*"on another quite basic level, it is so that when I walk up the town, I run into people and say, hello. I used to get that when I was a governor and when the kids were at school and they were local. And then there has been this time and the kids have moved away to university and I've been working full time. Now I've got more time."* *(RH page 5) Neston Community volunteer PARA 7.1.1 Chapter 7* *"You look at the people who live in Boston Spa. It's amazing from the survey that the majority have been living in Boston Spa for 25, 30 years or more. It clearly is the sort of place you move to and you want to stay. There is a real good community feel. And therefore, it's not difficult to get interest in neighbourhood plans and it's interest in the village what is the village going to be like in ten, fifteen years time. What improvements can be made."* *(GS Page 1 – Chair Boston Spa CSG)* *"It's amazing what you find out about your village. It's something that I think I've got interested in is, making you realise, I've lived here thirty years, so you feel you owe a bit to the village. You have lived here a long time. It's where your kids grew up and have flown the nest and you've got grandchildren and things who live locally. It's still the fact that there is one hell of a lot of things that you didn't appreciate about this village. The character of the village and things"* *(GS Page 2 – Chair Boston Spa CSG)* *"it's more that I, I probably say I would care, because I care about my village and what goes on. I've lived there for twenty odd years. I care about the style and how it changes and the development that's going to take place."* *(WS page 5) Boston Spa volunteer and Academic planner / practitioner*

		"So the loss of all of these things, the loss of post offices and the loss of local grocers, greengrocers and all the rest of it has a huge impact I think on the social coherence of a community.." *(TN Page 14) Neston Community Volunteer* *"I think in the dark moments, you know, we all have our doubts. I would say, by and large, the team, the wider team are still excited that the neighbourhood plan will make a real difference to the village. The thinking that we have, you visualise the place in fifteen year time. You visualise the impact of the housing policies and what we like to do in the centre. How we'd like to integrate and make the connectivity in the village better."* *(GS Page 26 – Chair Boston Spa CSG)*
Figure 5 Chapter 3 – Actor roles - cooperation and reciprocity	Learning and norm adoption	*"I think the process could be improved with that degree of education better. I think we could, I'm not sure structurally we would need to change much in all honesty. I think we need groups working on specific items. Maybe we could, I could have given them more direction more often, I don't know. Again, with volunteers you don't want to be prescriptive all the time. People find their own pace and work at it. I think we should have—I'm frustrated that we are going through this lull period."* *(PB page 37)* *"It's this trying to keep everybody on the straight and narrow and trying to get everybody to sign up to a programme and agree objectives and policies. I mean, it is bloody frustrating to be honest, because I find that this is about the first occasion in my life when you can't say, well, look, do it or bugger off. In this voluntary area, sadly, you run at the speed of the slowest worker. It's very difficult"* *(GS- page 7 Chair Boston Spa CSG)* *"And support them with the information so that we maximise the time of the consultants and don't have them tell us things we already know and manage the costs of that exercise and the time frame.* *(PB Page 17)* *"RES I think we've agreed the set of objectives that will be used to inform the plan that will be written by others. We are in the act of writing a brief for others and sorting out how others will be tendered and appointed to write it.* *INT Are you comfortable with that?* *"Again, I was slightly shocked at that. I would have almost thought with the skills that we have in the group we could have written it ourselves. I didn't expect to appoint consultants. Maybe*

| | | consultants to do key roles like do a survey or something. But actually the writing—I am surprised it was always been handed out to consultants." (RH Page 12)

"I have to diary everything. One of the problems with today's society is it's too instant. I get so many emails all the time like everybody does and I feel that the expectation is that you reply to them instantly. I can't. There is no way I can. Within a couple of days or so or if it's not really that relevant to me, I just note it." (PB Page 6) |
|---|---|---|
| Actor Roles | Trust and reciprocity | "My take on that, obviously, I don't know the individual or particular circumstances. But I think there are people who like to be in the know. They don't want to miss out on something that could be important. Just to give you an idea, ████████████████████████. As an extreme we have had a couple file a freedom of information request or whatever. It's that sort of thing which is very dispiriting, because they have been asking for a huge amount of information, within my hearing at a public meeting they basically accused the neighbourhood planning steering group of a stitch up and behaving in a way which is improper" (unattributed content by request)

"I think the leadership role is important, but I think that you've got to also have a group of people that are willing to take on the tasks that are going to come along. If they are not willing to take them on, because of time pressure, which we all have, which is perfectly fine then, there needs to be another way of getting the jobs done and if that's bringing in external support then that should be done, rather than one person taking it upon themselves to get on and actually just do everything. It might be a case of spending a bit of money to get a planner in to come and help." (WS Page 8) |
| Actor Roles | Cooperation | "we were told by a number of people, we were going to have nothing but obstacles in our way in confronting and speaking to ████████████████████████. They would be very obstructive and not want to help and not get involved, etc, etc. On the contrary, they have been absolutely superb. Now whether that comes down to the individuals, I really don't know. What I've found very amenable. I think you can explain where you are coming from. I try and put over that we are working in partnership. We are not adversarial. We are not confrontational. We are working in partnership for the end good of everybody." (DW Page 23) |

		I expected things to move a bit quicker. I now appreciate why it's impossible, because there is so many people to consult. There is a limit to the speed of action from your own teams. There is a limited time. You can't go at the speed of a team of people doing 45, 50 hours of work a week. It's inevitable. The number of organisations that you've got to consult to get decisions from do slow the process down. *(GS – page 13 – Chair Boston Spa CSG)* *"there is a group of people—we had a row last night, but that's about the first row that's happened. There has been a fall off of people. Mostly that's been somebody getting a job somewhere else or there has been shuffling around which you would expect. It hasn't collapsed. That group of people are now working together. I think will continue working whether or not it is around a neighbourhood plan and that a network has been formed that can work together. That's actually quite an achievement. That actually will hopefully support the town council which was probably quite tied up with kind of stupid local politics or even national politics"* *(RH Page 29)*
After Ostrom: Attributes of community	Values	*"I thought I had some ideas I obviously thought and I thought—I'm a firm believer you see in what they call, planned opportunism. If you actually are value driven, which I am. I'm not power driven. I don't want to be in charge of anything. I'm ideas driven. If you've actually got a list of values and ideas then what you look for is opportunities to progress them.'* *(RHughes Page 8) Neston Community Volunteer* *"I think I can see the bigger picture and I can see the need for volunteers. I think there is just this is just another branch of volunteering and whether it's in a cerebral way which this is really as opposed to a physical volunteering. It appeals to some people."…"I think with this you get fresher ideas. People have got time to listen to other peoples ideas. If you get a paid person who are going to be interested in approving their point of a preconceived idea. I think perhaps, it will bring in hopefully fresh ideas, because people have got more time."* *(ME Page 17)* *"RES "And they set up this great exercise which is meaningless at that level. Given the imperative to build houses and the pressure of the building firms that a neighbourhood plan. The government cops out of it all the time by saying, well, it's Cheshire's fault, because they are taking such a long time to produce their local plan and their neighbourhood plan that we have to do what the builders want.* *INT Taking that all into account, why did you want to become involved with the neighbourhood plan and why you would continue to be involved?*

		RES Because it's a platform to pursue ideas and paradoxically, because Neston, that conflict is non-existent. " *(RHughes page 17)*
	Common understanding	*"I think within the steering group, that's worked quite well. There has been a few tense moments. It's worked relatively well. I think there is more trouble ahead in the town council, because I think one of the issues is that, because we've been in from the start, we've seen the evolution of the issues and the debate and the ideas behind it. The town council haven't"* *(JW Page 19)* *INT "What could be done to make the process better for communities or for individual volunteers either locally or generally?"* *RES "Well, I think the definition of the objectives should be clear at the beginning. It was confusticated because it was presented as a broad neighbourhood plan and it wasn't it was about land use planning and housing. Within that scope for the possibility of an expectation that things that were not related to land use planning would emerge. This would be a mechanism to take them forward. I think a clearer account at the beginning that took forward both those things. I think as it needed, it needed managing as a process and what left as it was to emerge. We spent the first six months simply just working out what the hell of how and what. It was a waste of time."* *(RHughes page 33)*
	Homogenity	*"We all know ourselves from what we see with our own eyes what the town needs or what it deserves. Again, it's quite reassuring that we've virtually all come to the same conclusions. I think that is a real strength."* *(DW Page 16)* *"We've all worked, is homogeneously the right word to use? We are all from different walks of life. I wouldn't say different backgrounds. Different careers and different specialism's. Everyone has just blended in together. There is no-one who is effectively let us down. I think that's really good from getting what was initially about 13 people who didn't know each other and to blend it into like, I wouldn't say, the Man United of the—not these days, anyway. Everyone has come together from different things and all blend in. I think that's a big achievement. So far, we've achieved what we set out to achieve. There is no reason why we shouldn't achieve the end of the product"* *(DW Page 21)*

		"One of the things that I've been banging my drum about on the neighbourhood plan, again, no-one has really taken it up is that, when you look at the mix of people on our steering group, that I think it's fair to say, the majority of the people are all ex professionals in whatever career they have been in. We don't have enough people from the lower echelons. We need proper bricklayers on the—we need a couple of cleaners. We need a couple of security guards or something. It doesn't reflect the demographics within society" *(DW Page 12)* *"I expected it to be a progressive sort of project. And ultimately, it will end up as we know with a referendum and the people themselves will decide. I think the only good thing that's been coming out all along is that, very quickly, those of us on the initial committees very quickly came to the conclusions, well, we want to do this and we want to do that. It needs to do this and it needs to do that. That has been echoed by virtually everybody we've spoken to. Our initial thoughts and ideas, we weren't wildly off the piste if that's the right word. We knew what Neston needed and we knew what it requires and everything. And that has been sort of echoed and confirmed by various surveys and people we have spoken to and so on."* *(DW Page 8)*
	Tackling inequality	*"He is a planning inspector⬛⬛⬛⬛⬛⬛⬛⬛⬛⬛⬛⬛⬛⬛⬛, I was surprised, because when I heard him speak he was saying things like neighbourhood plans belong to the community and you shouldn't try and ape the writing of planning policies. You should write them clearly and accessibly so it means something to local people. Ignore thinking conventions of planning policy writing. I was really surprised at his openness, in a good way."* *(JD page 27 – the academic practitioner)* *"I think what should have been considered was maybe some incentives to get people—as I said, one of them main concerns I have here is that we don't have a proper cross section of society within Neston on the well, when I say, on the steering group and on the neighbourhood plan. But then again, I think when you look at the number of people who live in Neston, correct me if I'm wrong. The vast majority of people are, I wouldn't say professional people, but all my friends are all teachers, accountants and doctors and all of that. I think one of the main dangers we have is that, I find that you become cocooned into thinking that this is society. We look at society with blinkers on, effectively, because all of my friends … they have their three or four holidays a year. They have all got two or three cars. That's the society that I know and exist in. I really had my eyes opened when I was in the Lyons, for example. When people were writing into you asking, could they have £150 to buy a bed or something. You saw people on the other side of the Wirral*

		and totally different. I think somebody said the other day that the life expectancy in Tranmere and Rockferry is worse than North Korea.” *(DW Page 30)* *“I was reading something recently, but Scotland and Denmark have got virtually the same size population. There is 42 local authorities in Scotland. Do you know how many local authorities there are in Denmark?* *INT No.* *RES 273. This book was advancing the theory that one of the reasons that Scandinavian countries have got such well developed social infrastructure is that the local government is much more aligned with the nature of the locality, because it is not big business”* *(JW Page 11-12)*
After Poteete (Table 1 – Chapter 3) Heterogeneity	the skills and resources of the participants – in order to foster some degree of innovation, or, entrepreneurship in starting a group.	*“I am disappointed in it. I suspect I'm almost out on my own about this. I wish we'd been a little bit more radical. And I think there has been too much of, we will not go into the green belt without even thinking and that became a rule too early on with certain individuals just pushed for it. I feel that has been wrong. I feel the town needs to expand to actually stay still”* *(RH Page 8) Neston Community Volunteer* *“I'd like to see a plan that would work and that would take into consideration everybody's ideals. Obviously, they are not all going to want the same thing out of the plan. But if everybody's ideals could be catered for that would be good. I can't see it happening. But, that would be my ideal on it.”* *“I do think that there was one particular very strong individual who pushed it and pushed it like crazy. I think we'd still be wallowing around if it wasn't for that one individual.”(RH Page 6) and “That one individual was very very good at project planning and putting dates on things and analysing tasks and summarising stuff. I found myself wondering what would have happened if he hadn't.”* *(RH page 7)* *“I think in the group we've got there is certain talents and certain people that can be utilised. One individual is great at presentations – ▇▇▇. And, then we went to the high school and he really impressed high school folks with his presentation about neighbourhood plan and local plan and all that. That was really very very good. These are very precise people. Then you've got ▇▇▇ who is into detail and words. Doing reports and doing all the statistics. That has to be, it's great, but at the same time it has to be edited and channelled and all that sort of thing. He probably feels he's*

		being slightly ignored at the moment. But what he's done is there and will be used going forward. We haven't got time in a steering committee to debate a nine page report that it works out. And then you've got ███ *who is very keen. Who goes off in different directions, which is fine, but occasionally have to stop that."* *(PB page 16)*
		"RES I think we've agreed the set of objectives that will be used to inform the plan that will be written by others. We are in the act of writing a brief for others and sorting out how others will be tendered and appointed to write it. *INT Are you comfortable with that?* *"Again, I was slightly shocked at that. I would have almost thought with the skills that we have in the group we could have written it ourselves. I didn't expect to appoint consultants. Maybe consultants to do key roles like do a survey or something. But actually the writing—I am surprised it was always been handed out to consultants."* *(RH Page 12)*
		"Why do we need to write lots and lots of policies and how flash and expensive consultants to do it. I think it can be much more, formal is not the right word, but less sophisticated… Why does it have to be written in professional speak. Actually, and I've heard this argument and it's important that safeguard local plan. And only fair, you are trying to go against the local plan should they be a climate to have a significant evidence base. *(JW Page 28)*
		"So that, to deliver that in a reasonable time frame, because you do get fatigue. Volunteers get fatigue. We've had one or two drop out. Fortunately, people are staying the course in the main. Unless it keeps moving forward at a reasonable rate, that fatigue process will continue and people might not stay with it. Again, it's got to be in a reasonable time frame. So, I'm particularly keen on getting these consultants on board and get that working and then people can see we are making progress." *(PB Page 35)*
		"I think the leadership role is important, but I think that you've got to also have a group of people that are willing to take on the tasks that are going to come along. If they are not willing to take them on, because of time pressure, which we all have, which is perfectly fine then, there needs to be another way of getting the jobs done and if that's bringing in external support then that should be done, rather than one person taking it upon themselves to get on and actually just do everything. It might be a case of spending a bit of money to get a planner in to come and help."

		(WS Page 8) *"I think the selection of the consultants is very very very important. Because we haven't got any expertise ourselves and because we haven't been assigned any expertise from the local authority, it is absolutely vital that we get consultants that have had some experience of doing what we require them to do and can provide that professionalism and expertise that we have not got and cannot give guidance on. So we need people not only to do it but to give guidance to us as well. It's really important that they've done this, not once, not twice, but a number of times elsewhere and they have got reasonable pedigree.* *(TN Page 31)* *"I think a lot of people who probably be desirable to have them helping are too busy with their own knowledge. Time is when you are working is very precious. It's only when you are not working that you've got the time to actually sit and contemplate things like this."* *(ME Page 15)* *"I'm a nominated community representative and so the Winchcombe plan, of course, because it's parish is being led by Winchcombe Town Council. We have a steering group which is made up of town councillors and selected a few selected people like myself who hopefully can bring something extra to the neighbourhood plan preparation.* *(JD page 5 – the academic practicioner).* *"I thought, it's something that I could get involved with. I also knew a couple of the people who were involved with it. They presumed that my past knowledge and experience would have benefited and been useful as part of the steering group"* *(DW Page 4)*
Prior or concurrent experience	Borrow approaches from best practice?	*"We should be able to learn from the people. I would like to feel we could learn a bit better. I would like good appraisals, professional appraisals of plans.* *INT Where would you see them coming from?* *RES I think it would have to come from professional planners. A good point. If I'd been arguing that we should be writing and not planners. I'm not really sure who—it's almost like a management role of, you know, some person with analytical skills to be able to analyse a document."* *(GS Page 32 – Chair Boston Spa CSG)*

		"But penetrating CWAC has been quite difficult. I don't think CWAC has been effective in organising support for us at all. I think here that may have something to do with the individual involved. There has been no attempt to engage with our requirements for information and access to people. There is several times we have said things like, who shall we talk to about this. Who is there to talk to about that or who knows about that?" *(RHughes Page 26)* *"A good example of that is the statistics. I did all that without any help from him at all, despite several requests to locate people and information. I think he gave no help at all. I, in the end found the right people to talk to about it, who actually own the data and who are responsible taking bits of it. I found out who they were and I spoke to them directly. I had no difficulty then in getting help, indeed, they were very obliging and occasionally produced specific data sets for me. The former were useless."* *(RHughes Page 26-27)* *"A lot of the stuff I've found we've been doing is already out there in the public domain, anyway or somebody else is going it as well. Why are we doing it. It's almost as though it's sometimes you feel as though you are just doing a paper exercise."* *(ME Page 12)*
Homogeneity in the community	Passing a referendum / concensus in the group	*"If you look at some of the people around the table and one of the things that strikes me about this neighbourhood planning group of people. They are all self appointed in one way or another. No way demographic"* *(RHughes Page 10)* *"I went to the Cuckoo Lane meeting in the town hall, which I found fascinating and I felt sorry for the councillor who put it forward. Sorry in the sense that she seemed to be pilloried rather than a sensible argument being made. But two things came out of that and one is, you need to consult. We are consulting. We need to be able to demonstrate that consultation. When we get into the details and somebody says, I didn't know you were going to do that. We can say, but we have consulted and the majority have said that's what they want. The second this is, we need the evidence to support the decisions that we are making, which is why we need to pull that evidence together. If we've got, we can demonstrate the consultation and the evidence,.."* *(PB page 26)* *"…"* *(GS page 15 – chair Boston Spa CSG)*

Users shared perceptions that risks are better spread across community in cooperative manner	Risks in Neighbourhood planning groups are likely to be reputational – important therefore than participants "pull their weight". Check against parker's findings re experiences.	*"What did I expect? I expected what I've got, but I didn't quite expect that it would be as concentrated or as to the depths that it's gone. What I mean is, I expected and it has come to pass that you stick your head above the parapet and you get shot at... If you take a spectrum I would say that 90% of people that I have come across through the neighbourhood plan in* ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ *are decent, constructive, reasonable people who like us, they want the best for the town. And then, 5-10% of people are a combination of hostile, venomous, poisonous, psychotic loons. (LAUGHS). And it's those few people, it's classic, it's those few people who in my estimation are the worst sort of nimby for whom they couldn't give a flying whatever. They come armed and I use the word advisedly to get off their chest whatever it is regardless of the fact that we might be talking about a neighbourhood plan. These are people who perhaps they have personal problems or they have had a bad experience in their life and it just happens that the neighbourhood plan is the latest opportunity to vent their spleen. Does that ring bells (LAUGHS) it's bloody dispiriting."* *(JD Page 18 – the academic practitioner)* *"One of my frustrations in any organisation where you've got committees, either business, ground work, Neston, neighbourhood plan, is, those people who go on committees who don't do anything. They go along and they say a few things. They actually don't really contribute."* *(PB Page 13)* *"A second element I think is that, like in all committees, some people like to hear the sound of their own voices and basically go on and on and on and have been allowed to go on and on and on. That really puts other people off."* *(TN Page 3)* *"there is a heavy workload at times. It does go through periods where you seem to be constantly at it. And I'm constantly prodding people and I've upset one or two and we changed one or two. People have dropped out, because the trouble is, you get a lot of people and I'm sure this applies to all organisations. There are a lot of people who will say, I'd like to be involved, but don't want to put any work in. AND* *"..there has been a difficulty with one or two individuals who didn't really sort of buy in or I think didn't have the energy or the skills to contribute.."* *(GS –Page 24 – Chair Boston Spa CSG)* *"Clearly, that is a very different scheme of working than I was used to. I think it's most unhealthy for families these days…voluntary work comes way way down the list from the point of view of*

| | | | *keeping your family together. Keeping your marriage together. Having a healthy lifestyle and that's why they are declining. What's the answer to it is, you've asked me, it's a bigger answer than mine. I think, the cost of housing and the cost both of renting and of paying off and buying a house is probably the biggest contributor to that adverse change in circumstances from that point of view."*
(TN Page 8)

"there is a group of people—we had a row last night, but that's about the first row that's happened. There has been a fall off of people. Mostly that's been somebody getting a job somewhere else or there has been shuffling around which you would expect. It hasn't collapsed. That group of people are now working together. I think will continue working whether or not it is around a neighbourhood plan and that a network has been formed that can work together. That's actually quite an achievement. That actually will hopefully support the town council which was probably quite tied up with kind of stupid local politics or even national politics"
(RH Page 29)

"We have a huge difficulty in as much as the people who are running the show are basically part timers. The chair of steering committee is not a councillor. Just one of us doing this voluntary job amongst other voluntary jobs and amongst other activities of our retirement for most of us. Therein I think lies the difficulty that we don't have a professional either in the chair or else advising the chair on a full time basis. Basically, it is a full time job. Supposedly, this neighbourhood plan development, it shouldn't be just a once a month thing, in reality. Except for maybe one or two highly enthusiastic and motivated people. For the rest of us it's doing part of doing one job amongst a number of jobs.
(TN Page 31)

"It's diminishing by the month, unfortunately. The initial number I think has halved. Peoples other commitments have gone away. They have lost interest or we've already covered it, so what's the point in wasting time going over the same thing each week or each month"
(ME Page 11)

"I just think that the main issues as far as I can see from the community perspective and people volunteering to be involved is one is the resources and commitment that people need to have."
(PH Page 14 the professional planner). |

Participative Democracy		*"I'm a nominated community representative and so the Winchcombe plan, of course, because it's parish is being led by Winchcombe Town Council. We have a steering group which is made up of town councillors and selected a few selected people like myself who hopefully can bring something extra to the neighbourhood plan preparation.* *(JD page 5 – the academic practicioner).* *"Because every single one of us either knows Neston and knows where to get things and how to do things or who is responsible for (A) and (B) and (C)."* *(DW Page 10)* *I expected things to move a bit quicker. I now appreciate why it's impossible, because there is so many people to consult. There is a limit to the speed of action from your own teams. There is a limited time. You can't go at the speed of a team of people doing 45, 50 hours of work a week. It's inevitable. The number of organisations that you've got to consult to get decisions from do slow the process down.* *(GS – page 13 – Chair Boston Spa CSG)* *"I thought, it's something that I could get involved with. I also knew a couple of the people who were involved with it. They presumed that my past knowledge and experience would have benefited and been useful as part of the steering group"* *(DW Page 4)* *"One of the things that I've been banging my drum about on the neighbourhood plan, again, no-one has really taken it up is that, when you look at the mix of people on our steering group, that I think it's fair to say, the majority of the people are all ex professionals in whatever career they have been in. We don't have enough people from the lower echelons. We need proper bricklayers on the—we need a couple of cleaners. We need a couple of security guards or something. It doesn't reflect the demographics within society"* *(DW Page 12)* *"If you look at some of the people around the table and one of the things that strikes me about this neighbourhood planning group of people. They are all self appointed in one way or another. No way demographic"* *(RHughes Page 10)* *"Communication with the public. I think we've managed to communicate with the public and let them know what we are thinking about. We had a fair return. I won't say it's very good. We had a fair return on our first survey. It's probably about it, really."* *(ME page 13)*

		"..at the end of the day, we'll have a referendum when the residents are going to vote on it. It's no good coming up with some legalistic detailed plan that the residents aren't really going to understand and buy into. The best things in life are simple messages. That really is definitely our target." *(GS page 15 – chair Boston Spa CSG)* *" I think that's naïve. And I think that it's naïve, because the government have deliberately made it so bloody bureaucratic and formulaic.. .. You know what I mean? If it was a much more flowed and flexible situation where there wasn't—look what happened in some of the examinations and the challenges and proceeds and blah, blah, blah. That's a big ask for local people. I don't agree with them at all on that"* *(JW Page 18)* *"So, I think, the odds are stacked against urban areas and if you think about where the economic base of the country is in those urban areas. That maybe, I mean, there is a slight kind of cutting in what I am saying, because the urban areas they are economic power houses and the government is very much economic growth centred. They are making it more difficult for Neighbourhood Plans in those areas mostly made sense. Potentially conflict with that kind of strategic end."* *(PH Page 10 the professional planner)* *"I'm a little bit surprised it hasn't gone a lot more quickly than it has. That is no criticism of anyone. I would have thought it would have moved along a lot quicker. I've had my eyes opened about how useless CWAC is.* *INT That's the local council.* *RES The council, yes"* *(DW Page 10)* *"They don't know how to do it. They are not getting a response from CWAC. They piss me off. Sorry.* *INT It's all right. Don't worry about that.* *RES They are hopeless. They don't know how to do it. To hear that we've been having cosy meetings. What have you done to get to see these guys and have these conversations with them. They don't talk to us"* *(ref the local Council)(RHughes page 15)* *"when you get down to the very local scale, I think in ⬛⬛⬛⬛ there has been this myth about localism means that you have the ultimate and final say on what gets built and what doesn't get built. What it looks like. Where it goes. When actually there is a lot of other pressures outside of that. I think there has been this expectation on localism, which has upset a few members of the*

| | | *group in terms of they have got developers coming in and wanting to build and what does localism actually mean, it means nothing in those kind of issues"*
(WS Page 9)

"Because as I mentioned before, the amount of support that we've been given in order to prepare this plan is minimal and none existent in some areas. And therefore, how well are we equipped, if you like to prepare a robust plan. Some might be suspicious that government is not supporting neighbourhood plans in the way that I've described, because they will be, shall we say, quite relaxed to see them fail against the weight of pressure from developers and their legal supporters. So yes, we would remain piggy in the middle and might be looked upon as a scapegoat. As a fall guy.
(TN Page 20)

"While I do remember it. I think another key one of the moment is that there is an almighty collision between centralism and localism. For me, I mean, I think it is very fascinating all the judicial reviews around some of or one or two of the neighbourhood plans and you've also got the NPPF, which to be blunt I feel that the NPPF, yes it talks about sustainable development. I don't think government has a clue precisely what that means and they say that their definition of sustainable development is the 50 odd pages in the NPPF and a fat lot of good that is. It's all about building. It's all about the economy. Build, get the economy moving and election coming, buy the vote"
(JD Page 8 – academic practitioner)

INT "To some extent you do wonder again whether there is a motivation behind that. You can't help but think is there any intention that to just kind of allow people to sit there arguing with each other instead of looking at the bigger picture of you know, the fracking machinery coming over the horizon or whatever.
RES   That is where I was going. For example with HS2. Where does localism, localism is fine up to a point, according to government. And then suddenly it becomes none conforming and threatening and challenging and it becomes anti social behaviour. The other area where I think that is particularly apparent is the occupy movement. How could you, if you look at it as an idea, how could you argue against the occupy movement which is a spontaneous, popular protest against greed where people have empowered themselves to challenge vested interests. And yet, when it gets to putting a tent up outside parliament and St Pauls Cathedral, oh no, this is trespass and forbidden, etc."
(JD Page 20 – the academic practitioner).

"I think the point is, at root and this is one of the things that I keep cracking on about, at root it's like a game of cards and centralism trumps localism." |

		(JD Page 21 – the academic practitioner) *"I think quite frustrated. I feel this is one chance we've got now to try and improve the area."* *(ME Page 14)* *"I've always been involved with community projects. It comes down to the fact that, if we don't do it, who will."* *(DW Page 7)*
Progressive politics		*"I think what should have been considered was maybe some incentives to get people—as I said, one of them main concerns I have here is that we don't have a proper cross section of society within Neston on the well, when I say, on the steering group and on the neighbourhood plan. But then again, I think when you look at the number of people who live in Neston, correct me if I'm wrong. The vast majority of people are, I wouldn't say professional people, but all my friends are all teachers, accountants and doctors and all of that. I think one of the main dangers we have is that, I find that you become cocooned into thinking that this is society. We look at society with blinkers on, effectively, because all of my friends … they have their three or four holidays a year. They have all got two or three cars. That's the society that I know and exist in. I really had my eyes opened when I was in the Lyons, for example. When people were writing into you asking, could they have £150 to buy a bed or something. You saw people on the other side of the Wirral and totally different. I think somebody said the other day that the life expectancy in Tranmere and Rockferry is worse than North Korea."* *(DW Page 30)* *"I expected it to be a progressive sort of project. And ultimately, it will end up as we know with a referendum and the people themselves will decide. I think the only good thing that's been coming out all along is that, very quickly, those of us on the initial committees very quickly came to the conclusions, well, we want to do this and we want to do that. It needs to do this and it needs to do that. That has been echoed by virtually everybody we've spoken to. Our initial thoughts and ideas, we weren't wildly off the piste if that's the right word. We knew what Neston needed and we knew what it requires and everything. And that has been sort of echoed and confirmed by various surveys and people we have spoken to and so on."* *(DW Page 8)* *"the idea is to formulate a plan for the neighbourhood that will hopefully guide the local town council with its decisions in the future the way we think life in the area should go that a plan should be formulated. Being slightly cynical with my background, I wonder if that's actually going*

		to work and actually be listened to. I'm still at the stage where I'm wondering if we are just being manipulated into thoughts. *INT Do you mean manipulated by the local politics or do you think the broader national politics?* *RES I think both. I think both national and the town council. I think and CWAC" (NB:the Local Council) "as well, I think we are pushing this in certain directions. We are not being allowed to expand the way we would like to."* *(ME Page 4)* *"in my community of* ▉▉▉▉▉▉ *using the jargon, we've got loads of social capital. We are incredibly well connected. We've got money. We've got confidence. We've got retired people pouring out of every direction. But, as we know, there are so many communities that don't. It really concerns me the extent to which localism is really conspiring with this right wing approach to self help, doing it on the cheap, saving money, self reliance and in a way, sustainability is a very handy cloak under which to turn that to a benefit and say, look, look at what we are doing. We are giving all this power away. We are giving people the opportunities. Well, yes, I think broadly that's true. But, as George Orwell said in Animal Farm, some animals are equal, all animals are equal, but some are more equal than others. I think that is the case for communities"* *(JD Page 13 – academic practitioner).* *INT? How then important do you think the neighbourhood plan is going to be in the future?* *RES " I don't. (LAUGHS) Cynical. I think it could just be a paper exercise. I don't know that Cheshire West will take any notice of it or town council. I think it might give them a few ideas. I don't think we will ever get any reward from it. I think it will just be forgotten about."* *(ME Page 15)* *"That, for me. I think and I tell you now, I am not optimistic in the future of neighbourhood plans, because I think, I don't think they achieve that is intended to set out to achieve. I think the vested interests and development industry and the local authority as such that they are very difficult to do that. For me, it's not about means to an end. It's something people get involved in."* *(JW Page 28)* *"I think it's a political gimmick in many respects. It was sold to communities up and down the country as a means for a particular party to get into power. That aside, I think they are asking really for benefits of the initiative. But, I think a lot of people were sold Neighbourhood Planning on the basis that it would give local communities a lot more say than they currently have in terms of being able to plan for their areas and more importantly I think people felt that they would be*

		able to use Neighbourhood Planning as a tool to refuse objective planning. That is self evidently not the case from the way that the legislation and the regulations are written. *(PH Page 3 – a professional planner).* *"On the one hand it might be seen as more local controlled. On the other hand it might mean that a transfer of problems to central to local. And then additional burden upon the local community.'* *(RHughes page 19)* *INT "What could be done to make the process better for communities or for individual volunteers either locally or generally?"* *RES "Well, I think the definition of the objectives should be clear at the beginning. It was confusticated because it was presented as a broad neighbourhood plan and it wasn't it was about land use planning and housing. Within that scope for the possibility of an expectation that things that were not related to land use planning would emerge. This would be a mechanism to take them forward. I think a clearer account at the beginning that took forward both those things. I think as it needed, it needed managing as a process and what left as it was to emerge. We spent the first six months simply just working out what the hell of how and what. It was a waste of time."* *(RHughes page 33)* *"The other thing which the town council hasn't woken up to is that they are actually operating at a very interesting time, because of the roll back of the state. Because actually, a lot of the stuff, we know there is lots of local authorities were doing and are still doing or will be doing in the future. So there is going to be a deficit there"* *(JW Page 11)* *"I was reading something recently, but Scotland and Denmark have got virtually the same size population. There is 42 local authorities in Scotland. Do you know how many local authorities there are in Denmark?* *INT No.* *RES 273. This book was advancing the theory that one of the reasons that Scandinavian countries have got such well developed social infrastructure is that the local government is much more aligned with the nature of the locality, because it is not big business"* *(JW Page 11-12)* *"A lot of the stuff I've found we've been doing is already out there in the public domain, anyway or somebody else is going it as well. Why are we doing it. It's almost as though it's sometimes you feel as though you are just doing a paper exercise."* *(ME Page 12)*

A new deal for Local Policy formulation?		*"Yes, but it's new. It's not been around before. It is extremely important for the community. It's the only thing that the community seems to be able to do to determine its own future in setting the parameters.."* *(PB Page 24)* *"RES "And they set up this great exercise which is meaningless at that level. Given the imperative to build houses and the pressure of the building firms that a neighbourhood plan. The government cops out of it all the time by saying, well, it's Cheshire's fault, because they are taking such a long time to produce their local plan and their neighbourhood plan that we have to do what the builders want.* *INT Taking that all into account, why did you want to become involved with the neighbourhood plan and why you would continue to be involved?* *RES Because it's a platform to pursue ideas and paradoxically, because Neston, that conflict is non-existent. "* *(RHughes page 17)* *"talking about CWAC is, there has been times when I've been there, writing a report and doing something and she will say to me, do you not realise that you are taking the job of somebody who has been made redundant from CWAC. They have made ex number of planning people redundant. She's not objective to getting it free. But the fact that some poor soul may have lost his job and people like us is coming in and I'm not saying we are doing it as well or as efficiently as they would do it. We are doing some of the roles that previously maybe a planning officer or planning assistant might have done."* *(DW Page 11)* *"I think it's a political sop.* *INT Why?* *RES Government wants to build more houses. It knows it's in trouble if it doesn't. So, it's instituted a very top downward approach paying little or no heed to over sensibilities to release more land for house building."* *INT What do you think the reaction to that will be?* *RES "The government has done that. That's produced a very predictable backlash, because the land that they are releasing is farm land in rural Conservative voting. It's no joke, I mean, 1,500 houses in (Inaudible 00.38.25) 2,000 in Ellesmere Port in the rural fringe (Inaudible 00.38.31). And that's where the house builders want to build and they don't want to build on brown field sites. Obviously, regardless what everybody says it's too expensive and it's not where*

		people want to live. So the government has produced a very top downwards process. They have put the shotgun to their head of the local authority who said, bloody do it or else." *(RHughes page 16)* *"One of the key challenges, I think for local communities involved in this process is that, erm, particularly for parish councils and town councils that have been involved with the planning system in the planning process historically is that erm, they have to change their mindset to how they engage with the planning system. Because traditionally they have been notified by local planning authorities of planning applications and there has been a very reactive and often very confrontational injection erm, kind of specific erm, relationship. One that they don't feel that they have had a great deal of power over it. And it's been very negative, as a result. Because in many cases objections are overruled and Local Planning Authority will grant permission or it's granted at appeal. So they felt very, I suppose, separated from the system. Now, they have the opportunity to be much more engaged with it. But they have to be much more constructive and positive about it. I think for lots of people who have been involved with parish and town councillors, that change of mindset is going to be very very difficult."* *(PH Page 6-7 the professional planner).*

APPENDIX 7: ANALYSIS TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE   (STAGE 2/3)

Interview Extract (page1)	Comments	Descriptive Codes	Interpretative Codes
"The ones that work and the communities where it must be very difficult in places like Boston Spa it's a damned sight easier, because you have got a community already well established. You look at the people who live in Boston Spa. It's amazing from the survey that the majority have been living in Boston Spa for 25, 30 years or more. It clearly is the sort of place you move to and you want to stay. There is a real good community feel. And therefore, it's not difficult to get interest in neighbourhood plans and it's interest in the village what is the village going to be like in ten, fifteen years time. What improvements can be made. People want to ensure that the good points about the village are retained. They want things to move on, but clearly there are many good things that people want to see is as our responsibility to keep going. But then when you see a place like Holbeck in Leeds, which is a real transient community. Having met the guy there who is the chairman of their neighbourhood plan, it really is an incredibly hard fight, because it's so transient. People stay there two or three years and it's difficult to get this community feel, this community spirit"	In this extract the interviewee compares and contrasts the process in Boston Spa to neighbouring areas, the respondent evidences awareness of the importance of a settled community.

There is a perception of the importance of having an established community.

Recognition of this community producing an attachment linked to longevity of association with place, supporting the creation of a community feel.

View expressed that the above aspects make it easier to achieve a neighbourhood plan and that "the community" want to see change, Priorities seen as the future provision for the next generation linked to personal responsibility.

Contrasts this opportunity with a place that has a transient community and how hard it will be in that location to achieve a NP.

Recognises the length of time it takes to get to completion of an NP. | Longevity of residence important in producing a sense of community feel.

Resources necessary include the time and commitment in the community to produce a plan

Necessary community attributes characterised as a "feel" and a "spirit"

Retention of the "good" features whilst looking to the future.

It takes a minimum of three years to deliver a neighbourhood plan, if a community is only stable for two – three years then it becomes very hard to deliver a plan in this time | Importance of Place Attachment – specifically :

Necessary to have positive community attributes around: duration of residence, willingness to accept change, combined with retention of things which reinforce existing place identity, responsibility for "civic" society |

Interview Extract (page 2)	Comments	Descriptive Codes	Interpretative Codes
You do need, a team is the key thing. You don't want one person to dominate. Probably, the key feature of my role, which is just accepts that we do like technical skills and it's trying to find a good balanced team of people that will, some people are really good at the detail. Some people are really good at—the Leeds core strategy, I swear we've got one couple, husband and wife on our neighbourhood plan who probably know the Leeds core strategy better than they officers who wrote the thing. It's book, chapter and verse. Everything that has application for Boston Spa's neighbourhood plan going from green energy to amenity space	The interviewee recognises the need for collaborative team-work and that whilst a leader is important, the form of that leadership is vital. The respondent recognises that the individual skills of the team (whether in isolation or in partnership – as in the example of the couple given) are vital to construct an effective team. The team can have greater (apparent) awareness of what the local and strategic position is than paid officers of the local authority. This is perhaps indicative of the demographics and inclination of the participants in NP in the particular area in question.	Team work through collaborative leadership Neighbourhood planning is a very complex and legally bureaucratic process and it does take a certain skill set to understand and implement the necessary procedures to achieve a NP.	Necessary personal attributes of leaders of NP – to collaborate and not dictate perhaps being important. Necessary Personal attributes of participants in NP – being willing to adopt certain situational personas to the task in hand. Knowledge, skills and experience ranging across project management, planning, environment, law, consultation, construction and place

Interview Extract (also page 2)	Comments	Descriptive Codes	Interpretative Codes
It's amazing what you find out about your village. It's something that I think I've got interested in is, making you realise, I've lived here thirty years, so you feel you owe a bit to the village. You have lived here a long time. It's where your kids grew up and have flown the nest and you've got grandchildren and things who live locally. It's still the fact that there is one hell of a lot of things that you didn't appreciate about this village. The character of the village and things. The obvious thing about Boston Spa, which until this couple get involved and start pouring through the statistics and all the information is that you essentially feel it's a really green village. To be middle class, commuter distance, York,	The interviewee recognises that despite having lived somewhere for a considerable period of time one doesn't necessarily have knowledge about that area.

The respondent states that there is a sense of having to give something back.

Then, through the process of involvement in neighbourhood plan and as a result of assembly of the detailed evidence base required for the complex needs of a local plan, the respondent has discovered facts about their local area that annoy and upset them. | Personal motivation to give something back through volunteering.

Increasing knowledge and understanding about the nature of local places. | Necessary Personal Attributes of participants in NP:

From involvement in NP gaining new knowledge and awareness, increasing sense of Place Attachment and Identity.

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| Interview Extract (Page 3) - continues from above: | | | |
| Leeds, Harrogate. In reality, our green amenity space is awful. It's about a quarter of what it should be. It pisses you off that all the sort of money tends to be invested in Leeds and there is very little here. The village has grown, but it's never had parks. It's got a riverside walk and it's a very beautiful river, River Wharfe runs on the edge of the village, just the far side of the village centre on the north side. We can't boast a park. This is clearly now one of the key features in our village plan. Not only do we want to | Strongly expressed annoyance that the amount of green space actually available is a lot less than it "should" be. A dawning realisation that funding from the relevant local authority has, perhaps, been at a less than optimum authority. | Realisation of investment priorities through exploration of planning policies

Emotional realisation that perhaps previously held beliefs (or values) are not supported by evidence. | Adopting "professional" forms of practice to inform Policy making despite conflict with Personal Place Identity.

Requires: Being receptive to Challenges to perceived wisdom of a Place borne out by involvement in |

improve the quality, because what we have got isn't very good. We certainly need to improve the quantity. How do we achieve it? How are Leeds going to help us achieve it? Leeds have now got some quite clear guidelines on what they expect each community to have. We feel we fall massively short of that. We think, bloody hell, here we are thinking we live—you walk 200 yards through there and there is green fields. But it's not usable amenity space	This has led to a resolution in the NP to change that situation.	Using evidence to determine appropriate local policy measures.	evidence gathering and local policy making
Interview extract (page 4)	Comments	Descriptive Codes	Interpretative Codes
I reckon probably Leeds have got it wrong in having every village has its own neighbourhood plan. We ought to be integrated with Clifford, Thorpe Arch over the river, because we are effectively one community. You are sharing—they use our centre facilities. The stupid boundaries mean that 200 yards from here and I'm what, only three or four hundred yards off the high street.	Critical appraisal of an apparently poorly organised approach from the "top" authority resulting in fragmented NP Areas that, arguably, are not representative of actual areas of impact.	An upwards pointing criticism of AGENCY and recognition of Structural / Organisational failures.	Requirements of tackling Structure / Agency in the context of Neighbourhood Planning emerge.
Interview extract (page 5)	Comments	Descriptive Codes	Interpretative Codes
I've just sent a note to Leeds. They are not very good at the linking. They will say, well, let's link up with the other front runners and see how they are doing. Well, that's bollocks, because they are totally different			Tackling Structure / Agency.

Interview extract (page 5 and onto 6)	Comments	Descriptive Codes	Interpretative Codes
communities to ours. There is so many facets of common interest in these other villages. Public transport, cycle ways, footpaths. "..the frustrating things where you have absolutely no control, because quarter of a mile down the road, right on the edge of the village is the North Yorkshire boundary." There is something like 140 properties there that are going to put pressure, which we had absolutely no consultation with. No authority had made any comments at all and yet, it will impact on our infrastructure, the transport and all these other things. locally, I mean, I've formed a number of groups. We've been meeting up with Clifford, regularly and say well, let's have a common approach … they cross each other's boundaries. We've done that. We've now started involving one of two others like, Thorpe Arch, Walton, Bramham and now, Wetherby have started a plan. There are a number of issues around that that need to be looked at in a united sense, rather than, as silos and—we are quite good at working in silos.	However the interviewee has initiated contact with neighbouring areas voluntary groups. We see a sense of "difference" emerge directed at other neighbouring areas causing difficulty to engender integration of actions. Also further frustration at traditional organisations leading to a reaction in the form of subversive cooperation that is parallel to and not "contained" by traditional boundaries.	Emergence of "para-councils" which appear to be subverting traditional authorities and boundaries	Personal requirements for NP include : self reliance and determination to resolve conflicts caused by mis-aligned boundaries versus impact.

Even within our neighbourhood plan, it's good that you've got groups to do specific things. They've got particular roles. We've been changing our topic groups a little bit recently, purely on the basis of well, what are the key issues? What are the objectives? Do they fit in? We, for instance didn't, we had a wider environmental group. We've added to that, because traffic and getting about is such a key issue. We have now got and traffic and getting about group, which looks after public transport and traffic flow through the village and one thing and another.	Further professionalization of the process emerges here. Forming topic groups focused on traditional priorities in planning.	Professionalism in volunteering	Adopting certain roles and responsibilities as "Actors" in NP volunteering.
Interview extract (page 6)	Comments	Descriptive Codes	Interpretative Codes
…thing that came out really strongly from residents is how important the character of the village. It's an old Georgian village spa. It's got a sizable conservation area in the middle of the village. That is really continues…. important to maintain. We've now formed a heritage group and the heritage group, the guy who is chairman of it is perfect, because he's got a law background. He lives in a Grade II listed property. He's	Here we see a highlight on environmental concerns and a strong empathy with residents' feel about character and heritage. Evidence is exposed here around the motivations to volunteer whereas before NP the respondent felt no control before whereas "now" feels that there is an opportunity to influence. There is a strongly held view that these sentiments are led by	Place – protectionism, conservationism, stated "roles" for key 'actors' Professional skills, teamwork	Place identity theme Role changing within developing skills and knowledge leads ultimately to reflection of competence of the current parish council.

switched on. He's a good networker locally as well. He's got a good team now and responsible for things like protecting sites and we've got archaeological site, protecting views. All this is quite exciting, really. It's all about, these are the things what turns you on. It's the ability to be able to do things like that that probably used to think, well, we have no control or no opportunity to influence what's going on. This is probably it's the good thing about neighbourhood planning, it does give you, gives the locality, the opportunity of influences what's happening.	residents who are now being listened to, whereas before they were not.		
Interview extract (page 7)	**Comments**	**Descriptive Codes**	**Interpretative Codes**
Respondent details work background… I think I tend to get very landed in roles where you try leading a disparate team, many of whom have very different agendas, which probably is ideally suited to the neighbourhood plan. It's this trying to keep everybody on the straight and narrow and trying to get everybody to sign up to a programme and agree objectives and policies. I mean, it is bloody frustrating to be honest, because I find that this is about the first occasion in my life when you can't say, well, look, do it or bugger off. In this voluntary area,	Retired, Degree Educated, moved from Local Government to Private Sector – ended up Managing Director of Large Business enterprise.	Resp describes landing in roles almost by accident, believes in their own skills to manage "disparate" teams and expresses frustration that within voluntary arena you cannot apply same pressures to colleagues that you could to "employees".	Role / Skill set in leading voluntary group requires situational leadership through "shaping" others actions.

sadly, you run at the speed of the slowest worker			
Interview extract (page 9)			
Motivations: "so and so is going to approach ▮▮▮▮▮ about being chairman. The usual thing, never avoid meetings….. I couldn't think of a good enough reason not to do it, to be honest. And whilst there are all sorts of frustrations …, there is a heavy workload at times….you seem to be constantly at it.. I'm constantly prodding people and I've upset one or two … because the trouble is, you get a lot of people and I'm sure this applies to all organisations. There are a lot of people who will say, I'd like to be involved, but don't want to put any work in."… "Don't want to do anything. They are happy to come to a meeting, but then when you say, now you've got to produce a plan and some people, ironically one was a local headmaster of a primary school who was absolutely useless. How just wonder how he ever got anything done, because he seemed to, he just seemed to be incapable of working off his own initiative, which was all a bit sad"	Motivations for dealing with the role of chair are casually dealt with here – background was a change in leadership.	The background for this function arose from illness from a predecesor in the post. In addition the statements reflect a realistic grasp of the workload, and, the fact that for those who are still working (as opposed to being retired). Identifies Social Loafing	Further evidence of the RESOURCES required both intellectually and physically. Also recognises that despite enthusiasm for "being involved" the presence of SOCIAL LOAFING by those who would, ordinarily, be expected to have some form of capability.
Interview extract (page 10)			

the questionnaire …. we had about 38%, 40% response … we chased everybody up … on the principle that if one came to us we would have to go to them. … So the consultation process was quite detailed and really worked quite well.	Through the interview the respondent was very confident that they had effectively engaged with the public. The respondent seemed to be slightly detached from the process, though claimed.		Assumed concensus amongst local population
.. are areas where we haven't done as well … with builders and developers … there is a reluctance by them to talk to us. I think everybody wants to throw their land in and get their applications in before neighbourhood plans are approved…Probably we didn't start early enough, I think. I think we've woken up to the fact that if you can get a win win situation with a developer and we've realised we've got to be flexible. We want things. We now realise what we are looking for. Builders know what they are looking for. How can we work together to achieve it	Acknowledgement of a lack of engagement with non-public stakeholders, although through this recognition now taking steps to attempt to redress this.	Challenges in engaging with a possibly hostile (as perceived by the locals) developer indicates that whilst there is confidence in ability many challenges remain for volunteers to "take on" the professional role.	
Interview extract (page 11)			
Other than being involved with organisations like Round Table years ago where you did good deeds charity work, run galas and these sort of things. No, I'd never done any work like that ….it was probably the opportunity, the feeling that, while the village does have an opportunity. It was spelt out quite well. I think it was	No real revelant voluntary experience, actually using professional skills in an altruistic capacity due to both the capacity and motivation to do so.	Poor view of Parish Council – as uninspiring, pedantic.	The respondent positions himself and his organisation outside the formal structures of government and seems to find this position as very important for success. Points to a lack of ambition within the traditional hierarchy versus a stated sense of aspiration within the group – although I have certain reservations that this is a personal reflection of ambition for the local area.

sold quite well by the Parish Council… (but) the Parish Council I think has not a great reputation in this village… they come over as being a bit pedantic. Not very inspiring. But they are not. They are probably a very worthy bunch of people who, on a very small budget do okay. It's only now when you are beginning to appreciate their good points. You think well, I think the feeling had been, quite a few people said, if it's run by the Parish Council, we don't want any involvement. It was definitely a feeling, this is run by the people in the village. It's their plan. Now, in reality, I the appreciate that it's the Parish Council who eventually will have to run with the plan and they will have to make sure that all of the policies are going to happen over the next fifteen years			
Interview extract (page12)			
at the moment where we have this vision for the village…	Articulates a vision	The respondent seems pragmatic, and, keen to find "quick wins" again very much in the business based approach to seeking the art of the possible	A sense of competitiveness emerges where the NP group is positioned over the Council's ability.
Things like that are the sort of quick actions that—we do need, to be honest, it's one—the skill is winning the support of the neighbourhood, winning support of the resident. If you start losing that and there is a	A sense of urgency	The resp articulates again a sense of frustration and also an awareness of the need to act promptly, evidence success and act professionally. Not underestimating either the scale of the task.	Volunteers are not the same as employees and in the context of NP the expectations of chair people for outcomes can be compromised due to, inevitably, the challenges of juggling other commitments.

real danger and I think it's happening. Well it will be happening with us. I hope I've averted it, because people say, what's happening about your neighbourhood plan.			
Interview extract (page 13)			
Communication is really vitality important. Keeping people in touch with what's going on. We've got a website. I do a regular update in what—I've just done one and it's not bad	Building community support requires regular communication through a diverse range of means.	The resp is taking personal responsibility for effective communications and also has pride in their own contributions	There is sense of PERSONAL SATISFACTION in being seen as producing a quality outcome for the community. Plus PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY or AUTHORITY for the outcomes.
I expected things to move a bit quicker…so many people to consult. There is a limit to the speed of action from your own teams. There is a limited time. You can't go at the speed of a team of people doing 45, 50 hours of work a week. It's inevitable…. I could probably reasonably be accused of pushing it a bit too hard. What we are trying to do now is steer a line between having targets, but with the necessity of needing targets otherwise I think there is inertia starts setting in., we are in good time at the moment,	Whilst the resp might be seen as a hard task manager the reality is tempered by the constraints of working with volunteers.

Adopts targets and expects results | The resp articulates again a sense of frustration and also an awareness of the need to act promptly, evidence success and act professionally. Not underestimating either the scale of the task.

Professional actions again repeated | Volunteers are not the same as employees and in the context of NP the expectations of chair people for outcomes can be compromised due to, inevitably, the challenges of juggling other commitments.

ACTORS : Voluntary vs professional.

Adoption of professional management approaches produces progress. The Resp associates progress with success, but, measurement of that is unclear |
| Interview extract (page 14) | | | |
| do it yourself. Don't get planners to write it. It won't look like yours. It won't have your feel to it. You do have, you know if you do it yourself you've got passion. | Pride in community ownership of the policy production. There is an extensive commentary | This comment illustrates a very strong view about taking ownership of the creation of the document. | Elements of **Place Attachment also this reinforces the views expressed by respondent one not to conform to traditional forms of policy wording and produce a** |

			readable plan that is attractive to the "layman" ACTOR theory The professional layman.. Quite in keeping with the current genre of Anti-politics.
Interview extract (page 15)			
at the end of the day, we'll have a referendum when the residents are going to vote on it. It's no good coming up with some legalistic detailed plan that the residents aren't really going to understand and buy into. The best things in life are simple messages. That really is definitely our target.	Pragmatic approach to policy formulation simple messages to residents are acceptable.		
Interview extract (page 17)			
We have a steering group, which actually has got less, because I don't find this acceptable that people just turn up occasionally and don't even offer apologies. If people don't turn up to two or three meetings, we ask the question, are you still interested. If you are not really keenly interested, let us know. People have resigned. I think we were originally about sixteen, eighteen, in the steering group. We now are down to in tens. I think we down to about twelve, fourteen. The key numbers really are the topic groups and the number of people we've got in the topic groups. They vary, obviously, dependent on the, how busy the groups are. With the housing and development has afters, with about two of those people being skilled in the sense of one is a planning	Attrition in the steering group membership deliberate. Strong views about social loafing and people challenged over their commitment. Reducing n umbers from 20 to 10s. Range in skills, self associataion with being a layman distinguishing village laymen – using the interests of people who are "happy" The respondent had made personal approaches to co-opt others who might be useful	Finding and keeping volunteers who are willing to commit the time and energy, and, who are actually going to work towards a "product" as opposed to simply "turn up" is a challenge. The creation of a NP is an abstract task for volunteers compared to more traditional volunteering which is based on more direct input / outputs (e.g. working in a charity shop, undertaking coaching, providing mentoring – scout leadership).	Resources volunteer versus professional activities.

consultant and has been very helpful in drafting as you would expect. One is a builder and the others are laymen, village laymen, people like myself. We've got spawned from that is Heritage Group, which has four or five people. They've all been chosen, because that was a new group, we chose people because of their interests and what they would be happy			
Interview extract (page 18)			
??	A pattern emerges whereby the group are identyfing non-NP issues (e.g. micro-generation) and pushing that to a higher level of concunil authority again pushing from beneath	In common with other NP areas there is a danger of digression into more "interesting" action areas – however these can be managed provided with NP group has the resources.	Interface with agency,
Interview extract (page 19)			
??	Theme in page 18 continues adds assets of community value and emerging roles in the group.	Assets of community value are important to groups, but, mainly to flag to other levels of community governance.	Interface with agency.
Interview extract (page 21)			
it's just trying to get realism into it. I take it exactly what you say. We have the same issues. We've got one woman who just bangs on and nausea about trees. You have every bit of the village would be covered in trees. We sympathise with her. It's her one line….. If that fails, if somebody really tries to bamboozle something through that isn't realistic, which is … It's going to look stupid..	The respondent identifies with the need to be: realistic, find concensus, not wanting to look stupid (personally or as as group), moderating dominant personalities in a group by peer to peer review of proposals.	Characteristics of successful group management.	Leadership styles and conflict management
Interview extract (page 22)			

you need people who work in silos to get the detail and to get these groups working on specifics…. Do you think they are clear then and everyone gets an opportunity to then make a contribution? **RES** Yes.	The resp believes that roles are very clear in his group.	Attribures of successful group management	Leadership and roles in the group.
Interview extract (page 23 and 24)			
The village centres, town centres are changing, aren't they? There is an interesting programme, on the main news which did a great signed job for Helmsley, about thirty miles up the road, which is a lovely town. He was saying, well over 50% of premises in town centres are owned and run by women and what type of business they are. It's those small towns—I think we've just got to accept and we had this discussion the other day, we are not a centre where you are going to, where people will come and do their weekly shop. We are a centre that people go to the big supermarkets and I go to a big supermarket in Wetherby. But here, it's convenient shopping. Its specialty shopping. It's all these services of lady's nails, hairdressers, you know, the specialty shops, chocolate shops, cafes spiralling everywhere with coffee shops. It is a different, a totally different offering. I think we've just got to accept that that's how the world is going to be.	Recognition (pragmatic) that villages are changing as retail markets alter. The views continue to reinforce the impression that the village is grappling with the changing nature of retail and other similar activities.	Securing quick wins that are transparent and obvious maintains sense of action in the group.	Making pragmatic decisions Informal recruitment Tackling social loafing.
Interview extract (page 24)			

there has been a difficulty with one or two individuals who didn't really sort of buy in or I think didn't have the energy or the skills to contribute. I think they've, from discussions, they've moved out of the scene. One guy interestingly was chairman of one of the topic groups but couldn't do the job. He's now a great contributor in the topic group. He's really good as a member of the topic group. **INT** He's not a chair. **RES** He's hopeless as a chairman	The respondent here covers how disputes and difficulties have been dealt with. The respondent identifies two specifically, the first being with one or two individuals who don't conform, or have energy, or skills. Language is very focused on the leader determining those who don't "fit in".	Attributes of successful group management. Conflict with other levels of community governance.	Professionalism in volunteering and interface with agency.
Interview extract (page 25)			
I think we've won over people within the Parish Council on specific issues were causing problems. The chairman of the Parish Council is not a good team player. Technically he's excellent. He's an extremely hard worker. He fights the corner for the village. He does a good job. But he's, if he's not making the decisions, he's not happy. It's a bit of a disunited Parish Council, really. He's not a very good team player….. My style is consensus. It's got to be. You've got to work as a team. Nobody can do it on his own. Nobody can run this shebang on their own. I think people need a lot of praise for when they do well. I hope we've been giving a fair amount of praise, particularly when there is no	The second point (continues from page 24) relates to structural / personal issues with the chair of the elected Parish Council. This seems to be related to contrasting / conflicting leadership styles, between "official" community leaders ain the PC versus the MP steering group leader who is self elected. Motivation and impetus – self appraisal of support based on perceived reactions, little direct evidence.	Personal conflicting styles and judgements of effectiveness between volunteers and official leaders.	Personal management and interface with individuals contrast of styles and

financial reward. It's when you start seeing the results and if what really gets you pissed off is when you get resistance to things that are unreasonable…. I think the skill is, you've got to keep the thing moving. I think the frustrations of being say, Parish Council, Leeds City. I don't think their communication is that good. And yet, they are supposed to be one of the—I think they have got more emerging neighbourhood plans in Leeds than anywhere			
Interview extract (page 26)			
you can visualise it is easier. In the earlier discussion, it is easier in a typical small unit like this, where people do tend to know each other. People do want to live here. There is a good feel about it. It's fairly self contained. I think that's easier to do it in an place like this, isn't it… I think in the dark moments, you know, we all have our doubts. I would say, by enlarge, the team, the wider team are still excited that the neighbourhood plan will make a real difference to the village. The thinking that we have, you visualise the place in fifteen year time. You visualise the impact of the housing policies and what we like to do in the centre. How we'd like to integrate and make the connectivity in the village better. When you started walking around the village, that was one of the good	This section discusses the observation the creating a visualisation of the future is perceived to be easier in a small unit. There is some self doubt expressed but also excitement over the possibility of bringing about a change in the place as it will become. The focus in this particular location is on improving green space. One benefit is self learning and new realisation even in exiting residents about the quality or otherwise of a place.	Place making and change is a clear emphasis that emerges in this interview.	Place making as a priority

messages from the consultants when you read up and say, well, you should start walking around the village. It is bloody important, isn't it. If you just drive through a place, you never see anything. It's interesting when you start walking through. The only bit of green space, real green space we've got is the recreation ground. It's quite close to the centre.			
Interview extract (page 27)			
we are looking at inclusivity and how to get into this thing. There is only one entrance into it and it's off the main street. If you want kids to use a recreation ground, you've got to use a busy main street to get there. You think, isn't that crass. It's bollocks. And yet, places that the bigger housing developments are the other side of this. When you look at it, it's easy enough to drive footpaths through. Everybody is now saying, wouldn't that be wonderful. We are looking at improving peoples fitness and getting around and, because we've got a very nice walk along the river. It's a lateral walk. When you say, well, that's great. You can walk up and down the river, but where do you go from there. We now try and say, let's have—we've even got the council now. The Parish Council have been writing up walks and—it's things like that that you suddenly think, that would be really brilliant. You can see the benefits to the	This comment links place and health / well being. Especially for children and young people. The pressure of the NP has precipitated the Parish Council to take some action – almost in a shaming way.

There is also expressed a sense of urgency and fear of failure and therefore a search for successes to associate with the process of producing the NP. | Brings in sustainability / inclusivity.

The unintended consequences of NP action – a positive outcome brought forward despite not strictly being a planning matter.

Pressure to succeed or be seen to succeed. | Place making – unintended consequences (positive) |

village that that would bring. There are a lot of objectives. If we don't attain those and I think we, the thought that we want to take them I think will piss everybody off to the point of saying, we've done all this work for two years and it's a bloody waste of time….. You sound like you've kind of built a head of steam and there is a sort of momentum. **RES** Yes, I think that's a good way of describing it, really. It's one thing that I've been determined to do that, you can't afford to let things lapse. You can't afford to have a lull period, because it's difficult to regain the momentum. Why you get a head of steam. You've got challenges ahead. You've got objectives. You've got timescales. The sad thing is, you do need to keep that head of steam going for everybody to maintain their enthusiasm, including the residents and the stakeholders, business people.			
Interview extract (page 28)			
I think we are probably guilty that our communication isn't regular enough and it could be better. We are not into the sort of tweeting thing. We just haven't got the skill. You keep saying, is it relevant. We would have liked the school, the big school, the senior school in the village to have got a little bit more involved. There	Limited use of social media which is probably a generational thing. The majority of MP groups are characterised by older people. There is a self critical appraisal of some areas of communication and failure described as "could do better"	Diversity and inclusivity issues regarding the ability of groups to be respresentative.	Communications and engaging with hard to reach groups a challenge for any volunteer group that tends to be relatively homogenous

are areas where we've failed. We've not communicated as well as I would have liked. On the other hand, it's not bad			
Interview extract (page 29)			
you've picked up on a concern that we've got at the moment. Our ex local government guy, planning guy is the communication's head for the neighbourhood plan. It's his role. We've got a load of information. He's got it all and he's promised to produce the evidence base for about the last three months. He's such a nice guy is, Chris. I'm sure it will be there. We've all offered, you know, it's not like, Chris you know, we appreciate it, but can we help you with it and all these sort of things. I think it should arrive next month. And the Parish Council chairman quite rightly keeps reminding us that without an evidence base. We've got the information is there. Putting it together and we did, we are not, it's piecemeal to be honest. It's the other thing, we haven't got a computer and everything is stuck on your own computers and we all pay for our own bloody ink.	Exposes a reliance on a small number of individuals with key skills in relation to the key issue of the NP evidence base – a further professionalism aspect that Volunteers must juggle. There is little scope for risk management and contingency planning when groups are so dependent on a very small number of dedicated individuals. High level of personal exposure in time cost and responsibilities. In addition the local Council keeping "an eye" on the actions of the NP – scrutiny…	Intensive stretch on resources. Questions over professionalism Questions of future roles of certain levels of Elected Councils.	Resources.
Interview extract (page 30)			
….That's interesting. That was the direction. And then we just couldn't find anybody who would take on the responsibility of managing the bloody thing.	There are restrictions and limitations in volunteers capacity and the resp emphasises the need to plan to be pragmatic about the delays, base reactions to this on experiences. Frustrations at failures 2 levels up in	Resources and skills	Resources

you've all bought into it, I think you then feel, well, we are going to achieve it. We are going to get there. It might be a little bit longer and looking at the first project plan that we produced. It's stretched out—we were too ambitious. I'm sure that's typical. I've gone through my life managing projects. The project that finishes on the date that it was due to finish would probably, in my experience, be about the first. Comes in on cost, that would be the first. Achieves like the sale projection are as good as were forecast. At least, we amend those every few months as we are going along. I think we've had to be more realistic. A meeting with Leeds this week really was one of—frustration was for a start their core strategy is not now going to be available until the end of the year. Okay, we can live with that, because we reckon that other than their core strategy basically has been accepted other than for affordable homes and wonderful gypsy encampments, which is, I don't think will affect us too much in Boston Spa, but affordable homes. We reckon we can live with that. That's fairly comforting. The site allocations documents, I mean, we are finding it frustrating that we can't put numbers to our plan until and that maybe the middle of 2015. It's how, the thinking that we were hoping to do that by the end of this year that we were	planning Leeds not producing documents which ultimately should inform NP Strategy. Recognition also of the worry over legal challenge to the Tattenhall Plan – which at the time was common amongst NP groups.		

looking at submitting for inspection by the end of the year. It may now not be feasible. I know it's that challenge to the Tattenhall one.			
Interview extract (page 31)			
	Commentary here highlights that despite new planning paradigm of NP that planning and development doesn't stop. Result is competing pressures for approval for developments that are contrary to the developing NP. This is expressed as a strong frustration and reflects the lact of actual control for local residents over decision making until NP is completed and adopted as policy. The length of time to complete a plan is prone to cause dismay to the "laymen" who don't seek the production of the Plan as a career, rather a mission driven activity that they value.	Classical challenge that nothing stands still.

Issue here for any volunteer that they are motivated by passion / self interest or vision for a PLACE compared to a professional planner who (arguably) is more likely to be motivated by their career and, to some extent, it doesn't matter of things happen around the policy development timescales typical of local planning. | Interface with agency
Interface with professionalism and Pressure for development from Top down agenda of economic growth. |
| Interview extract (page 32) | | | |
| There are frustrations. Managing expectations. I think there is, within Boston Spa I think there is sufficient keenness to see it through. I don't think we've ever gone through any great periods of people feeling really pissed off with it. It is that skill. It's a real skill of trying to keep the thing, the momentum going.
..
I would like better feedback, regular feedback on updates, guidance, what's happening in the real world, | Expectation management, skills - Res sees his as "other" and outside the real world or rather the world of pathfinder neighbourhood plan areas. However he wants to learn and reduce mistakes to make it easier and faster to produce a plan and then get on. There is a a contradictory position in respect to the use of planning professionals to guide / advise compared to the resps position about planners writing neighbourhood plans. | The resources that voluntary groups have at their disposal is limited and therefore the ability for a group to undergo peer review of their proposals is less, plus, they don't necessarily have the wider resources to sense check proposals. | Tensions between the desire to be independent compared to the desire to act professionally. |

hints, what to do and what not to do. I'd like to see appraisals of other—it should be easier for us. It must be bloody difficult for the first two or three neighbourhood plans on the basis that they are really the pathfinders. We maybe faddy early on. We should be able to learn from the people. I would like to feel we could learn a bit better. I would like good appraisals, professional appraisals of plans…. it would have to come from professional planners. A good point. If I'd been arguing that we should be writing and not planners. I'm not really sure who—it's almost like a management role of, you know, some person with analytical skills to be able to analyse a document			