OPEN ACCESS

University of BRISTOL

This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from Explore Bristol Research, http://research-information.bristol.ac.uk

Author:
Ramsay, Amanda M

Title:
Neighbourhood Planning in the Localism Act 2011

Power, Trust, and Communities

General rights
Access to the thesis is subject to the Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial-No Derivatives 4.0 International Public License. A copy of this may be found at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode This license sets out your rights and the restrictions that apply to your access to the thesis so it is important you read this before proceeding.

Take down policy
Some pages of this thesis may have been removed for copyright restrictions prior to having it been deposited in Explore Bristol Research. However, if you have discovered material within the thesis that you consider to be unlawful e.g. breaches of copyright (either yours or that of a third party) or any other law, including but not limited to those relating to patent, trademark, confidentiality, data protection, obscenity, defamation, libel, then please contact collections-metadata@bristol.ac.uk and include the following information in your message:

• Your contact details
• Bibliographic details for the item, including a URL
• An outline nature of the complaint

Your claim will be investigated and, where appropriate, the item in question will be removed from public view as soon as possible.

Neighbourhood Planning in the Localism Act 2011: Power, Trust, and Communities

Dr Amanda Ramsay

A thesis submitted to the University of Bristol for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Law

December 2021

School of Education

Thesis Abstract

This thesis examines citizen engagement in neighbourhood planning. The research offers first-hand experience of participation, through a 20-month community placement volunteer role as the Communications Officer, with an area neighbourhood development forum (NDF) known as Knowle West Future (KWF), in the attempt to produce a neighbourhood plan for an area of south Bristol known as Knowle West.

Employing participant observation as method, the research findings were also facilitated by including layers of data from semi-structured interview data. This enables an understanding of policy enactment in the context of community history, with a sense of the emotional geographies told through the marginalised voice around societal loss. The overall aim of the thesis is to present rich, nuanced empirical data to facilitate a rounded and in-depth understanding of one attempt at neighbourhood planning. This research offers an analysis of some of the complexities surrounding this decentred model of governance. The thesis examines how entanglements of power and trust around loss and community context can impact policy implementation.

This study develops a critique of the policy of neighbourhood planning, in terms of examining the 'empowerment'[1] promised by the government. However, several constraints affected Knowle West residents' ability to fully operationalise the policy and KWF did not make a neighbourhood plan. Resource issues including relational agency, trust, and multi-dimensional levels of socio-economic disadvantage within the locale are analysed and presented as part of the web of complications faced by this group of novice volunteer citizen planners.

[1] David Cameron, Prime Minister's speech on the Big Society, 19 July 2010.

Dedication and Acknowledgements

This research could not have been undertaken and completed without the assistance and support of many people, for all sorts of reasons. All of whom I am hugely grateful and thankful, not least my examiners and many members of the academic and support staff at the University of Bristol. None of this would be possible without my PhD studentship at the School of Education and funders, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). Local photography within this thesis, including the cover photograph, is often courtesy of Feria Urbanism, thank you.

However, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my family. Their love and support, particularly my parents and sister, niece and nephew and my 'in-laws'. They all know what they have done to help in a variety of ways, all of which will never be forgotten. My niece and her brother have played highly important roles throughout the pursuit of my Doctorate (PhD). Both have been an amazing tonic, in the best as well as the hardest of times. They provide a much-needed element of joy and laughter, as well as an important distraction from self, the heat of politics, and puncture the harshness of academic discipline. My cousin Jenny, too, has kept me company during the many years of study, always being hugely supportive. Thank you all.

The supervisory care I have had from the University of Bristol has been exemplary. For my wonderful first supervisor Professor Rosamund Sutherland[2], School of Education, who died suddenly in 2019 during cancer treatment. I send my love and thanks to you and your family. Known by the name of Ros in local schooling and educational circles,

[2] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2019/feb/24/rosamund-sutherland-obituary (Accessed 13 August 2021)

as well as the University of Bristol. At times, when I felt lost or lacked confidence, Rosamund kept me going when things were tough. Her enormous generosity of spirit will never leave me. The lavishing of time, firm but kind pastoral care, and wry humour only added to her visionary intellectual inspiration, academic rigour, and warm friendship. These have all been a wonderful gift (and continue to be).

The biggest thanks must go to the people who have kept me relatively sane, particularly during the 2020 and 2021 lockdowns, showing such huge kindness and compassion. My supervisors have guided me through so much academically, and in life, Associate Professor Helen Manchester (School of Education) and Professor Morag McDermont (School of Law). They know how grateful I am, but they may never know just how much their ideas, dry wit, generosity, words, patient guidance, and continuous support has meant the world.

For Mr Benjamin, also a big thank you. An amazing British social-political historian who taught history at A' level at Kingston College of Further Education, sparking my love for socio-economic-political British history.

And, of course, huge thanks to the people of Knowle West. I cannot thank them by name, given the nature of guaranteeing anonymity, and the use of pseudonyms within this thesis. I will be eternally appreciative for their time, candour, openness, patience, and support, allowing me into their workplaces, lives, and homes. Huge thanks to Penny Evans and Carolyn Hassan at the Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC), for offering the

community placement in the first place and for being such strong guides and important supervisory figures.

Many of my friends have been a lovely resource too, mainly moral support and keeping me company on text during years of social isolation and desk work. I hesitate to name any for fear of missing someone out, but it would be remiss not to mention Christian, Clare, Julie, Mike, Anne, George, Karen, Atsuko and Makiko, David and Nick, Abdul and Peter. Many thanks to Father Thaddeus, and Father Pat from the Holy Apostles, for spiritual sustenance during both the pandemic and ongoing PhD isolation. Thanks must also go to my God Mother Pauline, who always keeps my spirits going with great words and lovely presents to buoy me. As for Harry, he has been a total super star of a human being, offering valuable practical, emotional, as well as intellectual support in philosophical discussion. Thank you all so much.

Also, thanks to Stef and Robert, local mates in the Bristol South Labour Party, for all their support and friendship. (It would be remiss to not mention the amazing support of the trades unions, particularly the CWU, the GMB, Unite, Usdaw, as well as the Co-operative Party for their political and moral support.) I am also very grateful for the assistance of the Chair of the House of Commons Select Committee for Housing, Communities and Local Government (HCLG), Mr Clive Betts MP (Sheffield South East). Also, many thanks to his parliamentary assistant Michael Chilton, when I needed extra push in extracting important information from government.

I would also like to make a dedication to Professor Kathy Charmaz[3], who passed away during the July of 2020. The creator of Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) (Charmaz, 2000), Kathy gave of her time and ideas in email correspondence, right up until the month before her death, offering guidance regarding the use of ethnographic methods and CGT. Such kindness, all at a time when she was weak and dealing with stage four cancer. Sadly, another commemoration is made to Knowle West resident known as John in this thesis. He fell ill around the time of the neighbourhood planning group in Knowle West known as KWF engaging planning consultants Feria, after John was drenched to the skin on inception day. Rest in peace (RIP).

This thesis is written in memory of Graham C. Smith, my beloved friend who also died of cancer when we were in our twenties. He keeps me company at my desk. RIP.

My learning and understanding are explicitly connected with each and every one of the participants on the Productive Margins project, including people I met at symposiums and our regular Productive Margins Forums. I wanted to express my thanks to all within that collaboration, academics from across various faculties within the University of Bristol and Cardiff University, and the various community partners from across Bristol and South Wales. (I will discuss this more within the thesis itself.)

Also, it would be remiss to not thank the people of Bristol for giving me a vibrant new home and a sense of community. Thank you.

[3] Available at: https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/pressdemocrat/name/kathy-charmaz-obituary?id=1981124
(Accessed 13 August 2021)

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: AMANDA RAMSAY **DATE:** 15 December 2021

Index

A.1 INTRODUCTION 14

A.1.1 Outline of the thesis 15

A.1.2 Aims and objectives of this research 18

A.1.3 A note on abbreviations used in this thesis 19

CHAPTER ONE – SETTING THE SCENE 20

1.1 Chapter one – aims and objectives 21

1.2 Setting the scene – the research journey 22

1.2.1 Productive Margins: regulating *for* engagement 23

1.2.2 Knowle West Media Centre: my community placement hosts 26

1.2.3 When Knowle West Future (KWF) became a neighbourhood development forum 26

1.2.3.1 The community research project: 28

1.2.3.2 Communications Officer role – KWANDF / KWF 30

1.3 An Introduction to Bristol and the Knowle West area 34

1.3.1 Profile of the Knowle West estate 36

1.3.1.1 The other 1% - a socio-economic profile 43

1.3.1.2 Multiple-dimensional levels of disadvantage and 'social exclusion' ... 47

1.4 Personal and professional rationale – why does this matter? 52

1.5 A Constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approach using ethnographic data collection methods 69

1.5.1 Initial research questions and fieldwork schedule 72

1.6 Conclusive comments 74

CHAPTER TWO - THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 76

2.1 Aims of this chapter 77

2.1.1 Introduction to chapter two – the theoretical framework 77

2.2 Co-design, collaborative planning and the work of Jane Jacobs 82

2.3 Localism and neighbourhood planning 89

2.3.1 Constructing the 'local' 91

2.3.1.1 Social networks, resources, and localism 95

2.3.1.2 Social networks and social inclusion 100
2.3.2 Localism and collaboration 101
2.4 The operation of power in localism and neighbourhood planning 107
2.4.1 Power *with* others 111
2.4.2 Power and resources 114
2.4.3 Power *over* others 115
2.4.4 Thinking about modalities of power 116
2.4.5 The relationship between trust and power and collaboration 121
2.5 Concluding comments 126

CHAPTER THREE - POLITICAL AND POLICY CONTEXT OF THE STUDY 129

3.1 Aims of the chapter 130
3.1.1 Introduction 132
3.2 Setting the political scene 134
3.2.1 The State and Society 141
3.2.1.1 The Broken Society 144
3.2.1.2 The Big Society 149
3.3 UK Coalition Government (2010-15) and the Localism Act 2011 159
3.3.1 The Act and Neighbourhood Planning 164
3.3.1.1 The 'statutory regime' - the regulatory, legislative framework around neighbourhood planning 179
3.3.1.2 Multi-level regulation brings 'tests' and new procedural arrangements 186
3.4 Concluding comments 187

CHAPTER FOUR - RESEARCH METHODS 190

4.1 Introduction 192
4.2 The research approach 193
4.2.1 Constructivist grounded theory (CGT) as method 195
4.2.1.1 Research questions - shaping the study 200
4.2.2 Ethnographic methods 201

4.2.2.1 Participant observation 202
4.2.3 Ontological and epistemological considerations 204
4.3 Researcher positionality, reflexivity, voice, and emotional labour 212
4.3.1 Positionality and autoethnographic voice 214
4.3.1.1 Vignettes – voice and community context 219
4.3.2 Emotional labour 221
4.3.2.1 Emotive dissonance 224
4.3.2.2 Researcher's dual role, emotional labour and emotion work 226
4.3.2.3 Reflexivity - regarding emotional labour and emotion work 229
4.3.3 The emotions of participation 233
4.4 Developing a research design – why CGT and ethnographic methods? 233
4.4.1 Data collection 237
4.4.1.1 Reflections on participant observation fieldwork in Knowle West 240
4.4.1.2 Semi-structured interviews with KWF members 243
4.4.1.2.1 Anonymity and right to withdraw 247
4.4.2 Other ethical considerations 250
4.4.3 Access and informed consent 253
4.5 Approaches to data analysis 255
4.5.1 Stages of data analysis 257
4.5.2 Analysis of the interviews 261
4.5.3 Credibility and generalisability issues 263
4.6 Concluding comments 265

B. FINDINGS – INTRODUCTION 267

B.1 Cast of Characters - the Knowle West Future (KWF) forum members 267
B.2 Timeline re key dates in neighbourhood planning in Knowle West 271

CHAPTER FIVE – COMMUNITY CONTEXT – LOSS AND TRUST 278

5.1 Introduction 279
5.2 Community context - helps us understand issues with policy enactment 279
5.2.1 Societal changes: losses to ways of socialising and knowing each other 283
5.2.2 Societal changes: losing shops and a local supermarket 286

5.2.3 Losses of local assets, including a secondary school 290
5.2.4 Economic decline, mass unemployment, and riots 293
5.2.5 Regeneration policies and initiatives on the estate 295
5.2.5.1 Knowle West Regeneration Framework and regeneration 297
5.2.5.2 When and why KWF formed to make a neighbourhood plan 303
5.2.5.3 Housing and trust: tensions over regeneration, standards, and demolition 309
5.2.6 Fears around losing green space and stalled regeneration work 312
5.2.7 Feeling cut-off and losing bus services 314
5.3 Loss and disappointment bring anger and a lack of political trust 316
5.3.1 Community context, apathy, and a loss of agency 320
5.3.2 Emotional geographies and the marginalised voice 324
5.4 Austerity, young people, and loss 327
5.5 Conclusions 332

CHAPTER SIX – REGULATING FOR ENGAGEMENT? 334

6.2 Relational elements - how KWF organised and regulated themselves 338
6.2.1 Introducing how the forum regulated themselves 339
6.2.1.1 Narrative Scene on KWF forum meeting 339
6.2.2 The spatiality of power and community engagement 347
6.2.3 Trust and loss and the spatiality of power 352
6.2.3.1 Related issues of trust within the group and outside the group 355
6.2.4 Power dynamics in the group and user experiences of the KWF forum ... 361
6.2.4.1 Impact of the working approach in KWF and how personality appeared a block within KWF 370
6.2.4.2 A lack of decision-making and KWF meetings being off-putting to newcomers 373
6.3 Regulation for engagement – enabling power with others? 379
6.3.1 Regulatory Episode One: 380
6.3.1.1 The regulatory impact of funding 382
6.3.1.2 Procedural compliance 386

6.3.1.3 Power-over - complex legal, external regulatory factors and 'strict rules' 393
6.3.2 Regulatory Episode Two: 395
6.3.2.1 The Council and a 'duty to support' 396
6.3.2.2 Bristol City Council and 'professional advice and assistance' 398
6.3.2.3 Bristol City Council, the Knowle West Regeneration Project Board (KWRPB), and the local councillors 399
6.4 Conclusive comments 406

CHAPTER SEVEN – RESOURCES FOR ENGAGEMENT 409

7.1 Introduction 410
7.2 Individual capacity – leadership, confidence, local knowledge as expertise 412
7.3 Local knowledge as expertise and community histories as resource 418
7.4 Resource management – fundraising and volunteers 423
7.4.1 Volunteers as resource 428
7.5 Community engagement and building trust 429
7.5.1 Relational resource of a collaborative mindset, reciprocity and trust 433
7.5.2 Relational expertise, asset-mapping and the spatiality of power 435
7.5.3 Missed opportunities of working in collaboration with local groups 440
7.6 Collaboration as resource - Council support and consultants 443
7.6.1 Feria Urbanism and buying in expertise as resource 446
7.6.1.1 Towards a neighbourhood plan 455
7.7 Conclusive comments 462

CHAPTER EIGHT – CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 465

8.1 Introduction 466
8.1.1 Revisiting the abstract - the hub of the thesis 467
8.2 Findings against the research questions 468
8.2.1 RQ1: How did community context and local histories, around issues such as loss and trust, affect the work of KWF in the policy enactment of neighbourhood planning? 469

8.2.2 RQ2: How did power and regulatory issues affect KWF's work as a neighbourhood planning group? 473
8.2.3 RQ3: How did resource issues impact the work of KWF? 477
8.3 Contribution to knowledge 484
8.4 Implications for further research 487
8.5 Limitations of the research 492
8.6 Concluding note 497

BIBLIOGRAPHY 499

APPENDICES 573

APPENDIX A – GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION ETHICS FORM ... 574

APPENDIX B – EXAMPLE INTRODUCTORY LETTER OF INVITE TO INTERVIEWEES 588

APPENDIX C – EXAMPLE PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET 589

APPENDIX D – PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM 592

APPENDIX E – KWANDF CONSTITUTION, 2013 595

APPENDIX F – MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING 602

APPENDIX G – LAUNCH PRESS RELEASE FOR KWF 613

APPENDIX H – WE GOT THE POWER 615

APPENDIX I - DATA EXTRACTED FROM 'MASTERFILE' DATABASE 628

APPENDIX J – EXTRACT RE 'LAND USE' DATA FILE 641

APPENDIX K - DATA EXTRACTS FROM INTERVIEWS WITH KWF MEMBERS 646

APPENDIX L - VISION 2030, 13 OBJECTIVES - KWRF 658

APPENDIX M – LETTER FROM KWF TO BRISTOL CITY COUNCIL 659

A.1 INTRODUCTION

A.1.1 Outline of the thesis

A.1.2 Aims and objectives of this research

A.1.3 A note on abbreviations used in the text

Introduction

This thesis presents a uniquely detailed study of the development of one community-led initiative to produce a neighbourhood plan, arising from the Localism Act 2011 and regulations therein. The data are drawn from interviews and from being embedded as participant observer in a community group of volunteers, called Knowle West Future (KWF), located in south Bristol in an area known as Knowle West. Set against an era of huge public spending cuts from central government, the national political climate is elaborated upon in *Chapter Three*. In so doing, this thesis reflects on the initiative of neighbourhood planning in the broader historical, socio-political context within which it sits. The time frame of the fieldwork study being from 2010-2015, the era when the localism of the Big Society political narrative first entered the British political scene. In 2015, KWF abandoned the making of a neighbourhood plan, voluntarily giving up their powers related to being a Neighbourhood Development Forum (NDF).

My approach to data collection uses ethnographic methods (Hammersley, 1990; Atkinson et al., 2000; Genzuk, 2003; Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011; Charmaz, 2020). The overall strategy for data analysis draws largely on Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) (Charmaz, 2000). I started with a specific research topic – that of neighbourhood planning in Knowle West - rather than a hypothesis, or literature review. The research design means that research participants (including myself as my views have been shaped

by my experiences in the field of having had an active, participant observer role in a neighbourhood planning group) identify the main concerns within the topic; generating new theory from data, as opposed to testing existing theory (Birks and Mills, 2010). Issues around loss, power, trust and emotional geographies emerge.

I have utilised a range of theoretical approaches to aid my data analysis. In particular, drawing on the concepts of co-operation, power, and trust; and more broadly around theories of urban development and community empowerment.

A.1.1 Outline of the thesis

With an appreciation of the spatiality of power in relation to space, relationships, and resources (Allen, 2003; 2004) this thesis examines neighbourhood planning. In the opening *Chapter One*, a few key pieces of the overall research jigsaw are introduced. This is to create something of a framework so as to illustrate how the research topic emerged and locate the thesis in the context of Bristol and the Knowle West community setting. This chapter essentially brings in various pieces of background information, such as explaining how my community placement came about. Also, touching on the initial excitement about possibilities anticipated, presenting what the planning group KWF - that hosted my participant observation work – were considered able to achieve through neighbourhood planning. Details of how my involvement came about, how my research journey evolved, and what initially drew me to the study. Details are included as to how the research topic came about – through the KWF project – including an introductory outline to explain neighbourhood planning. I touch on methodological and epistemological considerations, including information on my role and positionality as researcher in the generation of data, considering any bias to be part of the data

(Glaser, 2002). Given my constructivist grounded theory approach (Glaser, 1978; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998) a sketch is provided to present my personal and professional rationale, in terms of positionality. I want to show how I know what I know and how that background has presence in the research.

In C*hapter Two*, a conceptual framework is presented in order to analyse the data. In building this framework I draw heavily on the concepts of the local, collaboration, power, trust, and co-design within this theoretical framework. Neighbourhood planning is framed by the government and scholars as being *collaborative planning* within the policy setting of *localism*. The overall aim of *Chapter Two* is to engage with some of the complexities surrounding working collaboratively, as well as setting out a theorisation of empowerment and power and resources. In examining notions of community empowerment, I draw on urban theorist Jane Jacobs (1958; 1961; 1969; 1993; 2000; 2016) re community involvement in planning, touching on her work on social capital. Using her ideas as thinking tools, I reference how these theories were developed by Bourdieu and Putnam in the theory of social capital and how these theorisations differ, but how both have helped my understanding of the data and why, particularly in relation to social disadvantage, power, and trust. I draw on Richard Sennett for his work on co-operation, with this working with the other theories to conceptually frame my analysis, around community-led urban development.

Neighbourhood planning is presented in a political context by way of a brief literature analysis in *Chapter Three*, predominantly to demonstrate the complexity of legal regulations surrounding the policy of neighbourhood planning from the Localism Act

2011. Contemporary political narratives, including the Big Society and localism, are examined as part of this analysis.

Chapter Four provides an explanation of research methods used, describing the considerations and procedures that were followed around data collection and ethics, along with a discussion around researcher positionality and reflexivity. As well as drawing on many months of field notes from my time as the Communications Officer for KWF, plus the official KWF documentation. I have intentionally drawn heavily on the voices of the local residents from KWF in my data chapters, many of whom participated in semi-structured interviews with me, once I had left the group. However, I acknowledge the jointly constructed nature of the stories told in these chapters, as the interviewer and someone so close to the work of the group. In describing the participant observer role adopted in this study, *Chapter Four* attempts to deal with the 'messiness' of such qualitative research, as well as provide a description of the data analysis methods and my ontological and epistemological positions. It also touches on the emotional labour (Steier, 1991) involved in this research and the impact this had on some of the experiences in the field. In that, the researcher's experience is emotion-laden, and that emotional labour is part of the research process (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Korczynski, 2003).

Issues around social change and community context, disempowerment and agency, regulation and resources emerge as themes from the numerous stages of data analysis. In chapters five, six, and seven I present these in three thematic chapters. *Chapter Five* depicts a context of decades of loss and disappointment, losing social and public services

infrastructure told through local histories and human geographies. The community's sense of loss and societal change then frame the subsequent data findings chapters.

Chapter Six depicts regulatory aspects of the research story through empirical data. How the (legal) regulatory framework - national, European, and local legal regulation - impacted the work of KWF, how the group regulated itself as a forum, plus how the group was regulated by Bristol City Council. I define four elements of trust that are vital resource issues in work of this nature. The regulatory impact of resources, for KWF to engage with the policy enactment of neighbourhood planning is discussed.

The final findings are presented in *Chapter Seven*, surrounding multiple layers of resource issues associated with neighbourhood planning, from financial to relational resources. I argue that collaborative work of this nature requires many skills, including that of co-operative mindsets and the know-how to use an asset-mapping approach to maximise on relationships and networks to build trust, resources, power and influence.

Finally, in *Chapter Eight* I offer some conclusive comments, including reflections on 'levelling-up' and social inclusion. Providing a brief statement surrounding the contribution to knowledge this research makes in its uniqueness and outlining some implications for future research. I also answer the three-over-arching research questions and provide a discussion of the limitations of the research.

A.1.2 Aims and objectives of this research

My research is place-based and emphasises the situated nature of the knowledge generated. This thesis focuses more on the community context and regulation issues inside KWF and outside the group rather than the outcomes of the group's work. This

is for two reasons; one is purely practical, as the group decided not to carry on with neighbourhood planning very soon after the initial interviews with group members took place. Also, because I am primarily interested in understanding how community context and the legal regulations surrounding neighbourhood planning policy may have affected community engagement, rather than evaluating the merits of what may have been achieved by KWF. Despite not starting with a research problem or hypothesis, I was curious about localism from the outset. I wanted to know how the Localism Act 2011 - legislation made by central government and considered a flagship policy within the 'Big Society'[4] narrative - and neighbourhood planning would be enacted at the community and local government level? I wanted to dig deeper and know more. I wanted to explore what was happening on the ground when a community enacted the policy of neighbourhood planning. I was curious to compare this with the rhetoric around 'community empowerment' (Layard, 2012, 141) and the prime minister's:

'... vision of a more powerful people ... not small people but big citizens.'[5]

A.1.3 A note on abbreviations used in this thesis

There are many acronyms and abbreviations within this thesis, some of which are quite similar. Particularly, in terms of groups starting with the same initials of KW, for Knowle West. This can be troublesome for a reader and tiring on the eye, so I have decided to keep some of them in full as new chapters start, so as not to unduly distract the reader, to aid the flow of reading.

[4] David Cameron announced this flagship policy in the FT, 31 March 2010
[5] Prime Minister David Cameron describing the Big Society, Conservative Party Conference, 2010

CHAPTER ONE – SETTING THE SCENE

1.1 Chapter one: aims and objectives

1.2 Setting the scene: the research journey and working in Knowle West

1.2.1 Productive Margins: regulating *for* engagement

1.2.2 Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC): my community placement hosts

1.2.3 When Knowle West Future (KWF) became a neighbourhood development forum

1.2.3.1 The community research project:

Neighbourhood planning with the Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF), known as Knowle West Future (KWF)

NB: Formerly, the Knowle West Residents' Planning Group (KWRPG)

1.2.3.2 Communications Officer role: KWF neighbourhood planning

1.3 An introduction to Bristol and the Knowle West area

1.3.1 Some history of the estate

1.3.1.1 *The other 1%* – a socio-economic profile of the area

1.3.1.2 Multiple-dimensional levels of disadvantage that can result in 'social exclusion'

1.4 Personal and professional rationale: why does this matter?

1.5 A Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) approach using ethnographic data collection methods

1.5.1 Initial research questions (RQs)

1.6 Conclusive comments

1.1 Chapter one – aims and objectives

I first came to know Knowle West through campaigning and charity work, then via my community placement through Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC), as part of my Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) studentship with the Productive Margins, regulating *for* engagement project[6]. This chapter is a series of sections intended to lay foundations, to demonstrate how this research project evolved and to ground the study in the community setting of Knowle West, in south Bristol. From how my community placement came about, to some history about the Knowle West area, this chapter includes a series of background pieces. Given what emerged from the numerous stages of data analysis, there are various aspects of this story that need more explanation from the outset, in order to set the scene for the later data findings *Chapters Five, Six, and Seven*. For example, I had a 20-month involvement with a community group called Knowle West Future (KWF).

This first chapter also introduces how a residents' planning group, known as the Knowle West Residents' Planning Group (KWRPG) reconstituted in 2013, to produce a neighbourhood plan. To give this context, this chapter aims to offer a brief historical and socio-economic portrait of the community of Knowle West, in terms of bringing the reader closer into the community setting for this research project. The later empirical chapters include testimony that goes back to the 1930s and so some history of the estate is included in *Chapter One*, with local maps of the area under investigation.

[6] More information available at: https://productivemargins.blogs.bristol.ac.uk/who-we-are/ (Accessed 19 July 2021)

My research paradigm is outlined in *Chapter Four* - in the research methods section of this thesis, where issues around researcher reflexivity are explored. In terms of my personal and professional rationale, regarding how my conviction has developed in areas of social justice, issues of equalities and social inclusion. I include some of my own family, academic, professional, and political background, to illustrate some of the personal motivations that drew me to this area of research, in terms of ethics and positionality. I conclude this chapter by applying contextual and background information to explain how my research journey developed and how this affected the direction of research.

1.2 Setting the scene – the research journey

To first set the scene for the reader, I want to outline some of the contextual background to how this thesis came about. There are various layers to this story, with each section forming a part of the narrative of how this thesis evolved. My research was part of a broader research programme called Productive Margins (PM): regulating *for* engagement (see s*ection 1.2.1*). My research topic emerged from a community placement with one of the third sector partners within PM, called Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC)[7]. A local arts organisation and community charity based in south Bristol, KWMC was keen for me to undertake a role as Communications Officer for a neighbourhood planning forum (NDF) that was just starting work in their area. The NDF was initially called the Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF), introduced below in *section 1.2.3.1 – The community research project:*

[7] More information available at: https://kwmc.org.uk/about/
(Accessed 19 July 2021)

neighbourhood planning with the Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF), known as Knowle West Future (KWF).

My studentship included research methods training, such as understanding qualitative research and data analysis, through the School of Education at the University of Bristol. The ESRC studentship funding contributed to attending training in Ethnography, Language, and Communication (ELC) at King's College London in 2015.

1.2.1 Productive Margins: regulating *for* engagement

Securing one of three PhD studentships, embedded within a five-year programme of research called Productive Margins: regulating *for* engagement, this funded three PhD students to work within the community organisations as part of the project. The umbrella research programme spanned Bristol and South Wales, Productive Margins was funded by both the ESRC and the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). Part of a national programme called Connected Communities, often known simply as Productive Margins (PM) this was collaborative and co-produced research between communities and academics. The Connected Communities programme is a Cross-Research Council, led by the AHRC. Their aims are a useful framing point to introduce this thesis, in terms of research to:

> '... help us understand the changing nature of communities in their historical and cultural contexts and the role of communities in sustaining and enhancing our quality of life.'[8]

[8] Connected Communities website: https://connected-communities.org/index.php/about/ (Accessed 19 September 2019)

This collaboration of researchers in Bristol and South Wales worked in an experimental partnership known as the PM Forum, of academics from the University of Bristol and Cardiff University and various community groups. The community organisation members: Building the Bridge; Coexist; Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC); Single Parent Action Network (SPAN); South Riverside Community Development Centre (SRCDC); Southville Community Development Association (SCDA); and 3G's Development Trust. The PM Forum set out to co-produce research and experiment with new ways to participate in aspects of decision-making for economically, politically, or socially marginalised communities, across politics, policy and the arts. It is worth explaining that I was participating throughout the lifespan of the evolution of my research as an attendee and member of the PM Forum. This involvement has impacted my understanding of the research topic, as my thesis developed, in an organic way. In particular, this involvement enabled me to learn more about regulation and co-producing new ways of envisioning regulation that better involves communities in regulatory processes and practice.

The philosophy of the PM Forum played an important part in shaping my thinking. One of the aims of the PM research was to help release creativity, knowledge, and the passions within parts of society that are often relegated to being on the *margins* of decision-making and power, to co-produce new forms of engagement[9]. This was exactly how I approached my placement. The emotional response to how this did not result in

[9] Productive Margins, Case for Support, 2012, available at:http://www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/public-engagement/migrated/documents/productive-margins-case.pdf (Accessed 11 August 2019)

an always positive experience or tangible outcomes for the community is reflected in my methodology *Chapter Four* and parts of the data chapters.

The explanations and statements below -quoted from the PM website - are intrinsically relevant to this thesis. With social justice at the heart of the practice, the ethos of PM is explained here:

> 'In the term *productive margins'*[5] we embody an understanding that people and communities excluded from participation in the regulatory regimes that impact upon their daily lives have expertise, experience and creativity that can be politically productive.'[10]

One of the main aims of working as the PM Forum was to shift debates from the regulation *of* engagement to thinking about regulation for engagement:

> 'Communities are tired of endless 'consultations', desiring instead bottom-up mechanisms arising out of the everyday lives of those who are caught up in regulatory regimes. Our claim is these regimes can be redesigned and harnessed for engagement, ensuring communities at the margins are engaged in regulatory processes and practices.'[11]

This thesis is very much informed by this philosophy and debate, which is expressed through the data analysis within *Chapter Six*, Regulating *for* engagement?

[10] Regulating *for* engagement https://productivemargins.blogs.bristol.ac.uk/ (Accessed 11 August 2019)

[11] Regulating *for* engagement https://productivemargins.blogs.bristol.ac.uk/ (Accessed 11 August 2019)

1.2.2 Knowle West Media Centre: my community placement hosts

Of the seven community organisations participating in PM, Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC) hosted my research placement. As previously referenced, KWMC is an arts organisation and community charity based in south Bristol. Community media organisations are voluntary organisations characterised by inequality, exclusion, and social disadvantage (Scott and Russell, 2005), where social justice needs to be foregrounded. KWMC seeks to involve local residents in community activism, education, employment, and local decision-making. This is how they describe themselves on their website:

> 'We support people to make positive changes in their lives and communities, using technology and the arts to come up with creative solutions to problems and explore new ways of doing things.'[12]

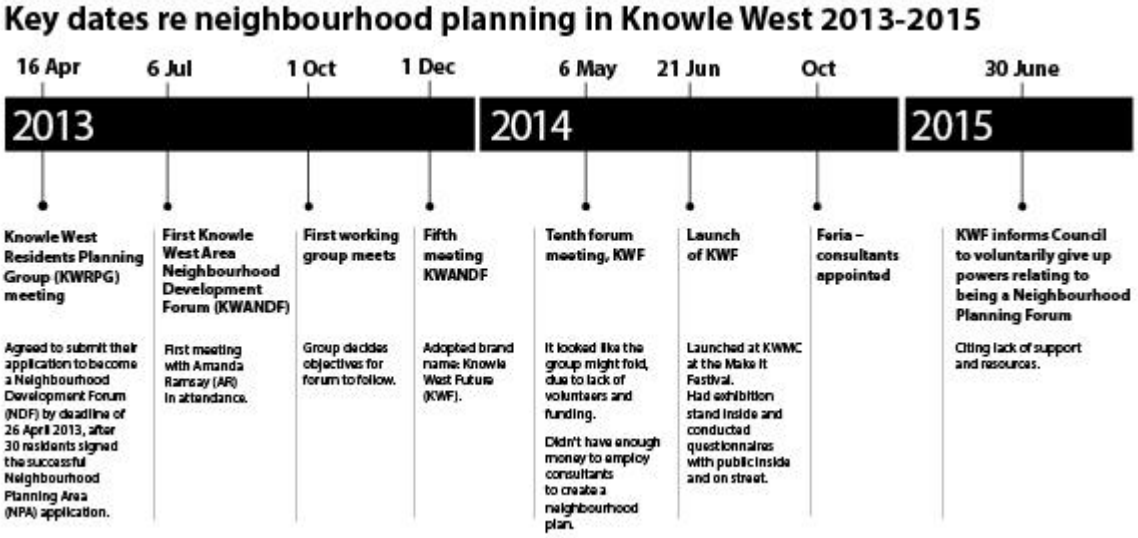
Alongside two academics from the School of Education and the School of Law, one of KWMC's Directors became part of my supervisory team, for the duration of my placement, which was initially agreed as one year in duration. All three were members of the PM Forum, one the Principal Investigator.

1.2.3 When Knowle West Future (KWF) became a neighbourhood development forum

Before turning to some of the local recent histories regarding regeneration in the area, in terms of Bristol City Council, the Knowle West Regeneration Board and the Knowle

[12] More information available at: https://kwmc.org.uk/about/ (Accessed 16 August 2019)

West Regeneration Framework (KWRF)[13] (see *Chapter Five, section 5.2.4.1 – Knowle West Regeneration Framework (KWRF) and regeneration)* to situate events for the reader, what follows is an at-a-glance summary of key dates and information relating to neighbourhood planning in Knowle West. This will then be discussed in more detail across the empirical findings, within *Chapters Five, Six* and *Seven.* These are introduced with a two-and-a-half-page timeline of key dates in the neighbourhood planning journey in Knowle West. Following a procurement process undertaken by three KWF members in the spring of 2014 (see *Chapter Seven*, *section 7.6.1 - Feria and buying in expertise as resource*), urban design and planning practice Feria Urbanism[14] was appointed by the group to support KWF in October 2014. Starting as a consultant team in November 2014, the work began to support KWF with the beginning of the process of producing a neighbourhood plan. This will all be covered in more detail within a discussion about resources for engagement in *Chapter Seven*.



[13]More information available at: https://www.bristol.gov.uk/housing/knowle-west-regeneration-framework (Accessed 9 June 2020)
[14] More information available at: http://www.feria-urbanism.eu/ (Accessed 16 August 2019)

1.2.3.1 The community research project:

Neighbourhood planning with the Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF), known as Knowle West Future (KWF)

A local community group known as the Knowle West Residents Planning Group (KWRPG) were the originators of neighbourhood planning in Knowle West. In the summer of 2013, this group went about reconstituting themselves as a neighbourhood development forum (NDF), in line with new powers available through the Localism Act 2011 and the 2012 neighbourhood planning regulations (see *Chapter Three – section 3.3*). KWRPG had been active in responding to regeneration plans and consultations led by Bristol City Council, as part of the Knowle West Regeneration Strategy which resulted in the Knowle West Regeneration Framework (KWRF)[15], approved by Bristol City Council's Cabinet in 2012. This is discussed in more detail within the empirical data chapters, particularly *section 5.2.4.1 - Knowle West Regeneration Framework (KWRF) and regeneration).*

The volunteers in KWRPG decided they wanted to produce a neighbourhood plan, as they saw this as a means of having greater say in the detail of future regeneration policies and initiatives around planning decisions locally. At their April meeting, KWRPG agreed to apply to become a Neighbourhood Development Forum (NDF) by the deadline of 26 April 2013, after 30 residents signed the successful Neighbourhood Planning Area (NPA) application. They secured their neighbourhood development area (NDA) in March 2013.

[15] More information available at: https://www.bristol.gov.uk/housing/knowle-west-regeneration-framework (Accessed 4 May 2021)

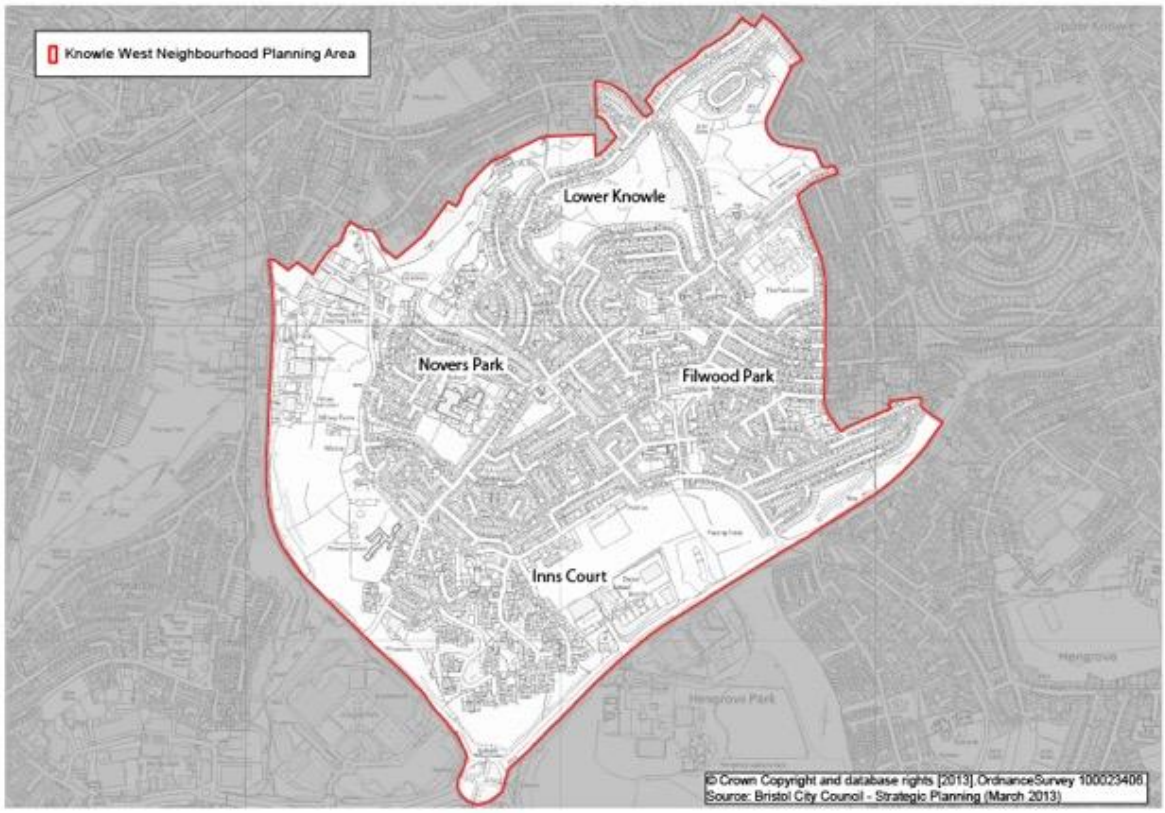


Figure a: Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF) designated boundary

The group became the Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF) to produce a neighbourhood plan. Essentially, neighbourhood planning means local people can shape and influence aspects of land use and development within the places they live and work. (The policy of neighbourhood planning is presented in more detail in *Chapter Three*, as part of the political and policy background chapter and literature analysis.) Following the first forum meeting and formal vote in July 2013, KWANDF comprised 21 members, made up of local residents, workers, and representatives of local community organisations, the community groups involved were Communities in Partnership (CiP), Inns Court Residents' Association (ICRA), Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC), the Northern Slopes Initiative (NSI) and Re:work. Of

these organisations, associations and groups KWMC and Re:work are both registered local charities with premises in the Knowle West area. Re:work[16] was set-up with the aim of relieving poverty in south Bristol, a social enterprise engaging young people in vocational training (retail, carpentry, construction, catering, and gardening) based in Knowle West. The other groups can be defined broadly as social networks (Wellman, 1999; Gilchrist, 2004; 2009) and in neighbourhood planning terms these could be described as: 'networks of shared interest' (Gallent and Robinson, 2012: 4).

1.2.3.2 Communications Officer role – KWANDF / KWF

All people mentioned in this thesis will be called by pseudonyms introduced at the beginning of the three empirical data chapters, in the later section *B. Findings Introduction* and the *Cast of Characters*. But because of issues around protecting individuals from identifying people and to ensure anonymity on occasion even pseudonyms had to be redacted in some parts of this thesis before publication. (See *section 4.4.1.2.1 – Anonymity and right to withdraw*.)

KWMC's founder and Director had brokered a role with the Group Secretary of KWANDF - for me to become the Communications Officer for one year. The forum did not meet during August, due to the summer break, but the Chair and Group Secretary had met with that KWMC Director to discuss my working with the forum. In order to conduct the Communications Officer role a job description was compiled by these KWANDF members:

[16] More information available at: https://sites.google.com/site/reworkltd/home (Accessed 16 August 2019)

- Drawing up a communications plan
- Setting up and maintaining a website
- Producing press notices and articles
- Arranging/undertaking design of posters and flyers
- Development of a logo/slogan
- Setting up and maintaining a social media presence
- Helping organise public events

It was agreed that a formal approach for me to become the Communications Officer would go to the September forum for a decision, for me to officially start in October. My studentship formerly started with the University in that September and though the placement was initially thought to be a role for the duration of one year, this time period was later extended. My initial task was to devise a communications strategy, which I called We've got the Power[17], the idea being to prepare for launching to the public. I felt we needed to create a 'brand' and logo to help to engage the public, as part of a marketing exercise. This was important before being able to set up and run social media accounts, which need graphic avatar logo ID. I also knew it would be important to find a more memorable name than KWANDF. I was responsible for all press liaison and involved with public engagement events, as well as creating, setting up, curating and running a brand-new website. In addition to this, I would attend the monthly meetings

[17] Inspired by the song of 1990, by Snap! The Power: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1BNcSBApOU

of KWANDF. The group went on to adopt the more user-friendly, brand name Knowle West Future (KWF).

This was part of a branding process to launch the group, including a logo creation. The KWF forum was then formally launched in June 2014. We undertook face-to-face work with the public that summer, with a simple questionnaire in various local hubs with clipboards, asking local people three questions:

1. What do you think should be our priorities?
2. What do you like about the area around [local hub]?
3. What do you think could be improved?

We gave out promotional flyers for KWF. This was also about collecting names and contact details of local people, as we were inviting them into the process and asking if they would like to join KWF, or simply be kept informed as things developed. This outreach work resulted in two initial focal areas for the neighbourhood plan to consider, which were worked up into various concepts to take to the public in the early months of 2015. The outcomes of these two strands of work were intended to help inform KWF about issues that could be addressed in the emerging neighbourhood plan:

1) In the centre of the Knowle West area is a place known as Melvin Square, a traffic gyratory junction in the centre of the neighbourhood that features local shops, a post office and primary school, plus a small civic green space adjacent to the Connaught Primary School. A series of innovative ideas to revitalise Melvin Square was created by urban design consultants Feria Urbanism, including branding and identity and street furniture concepts.

Photo of Melvin Square – from the east side[18]

2) On the edges of Knowle West are the open spaces of Glyn Vale Open Space, part of the Northern Slopes, Filwood Playing Fields and Filwood Park and Inns Court with areas of grassland, scrub and broad-leaved woodland in between. Feria developed a strategy to better connect these green areas, intending to give increased recreational access for the wider community, to create a potential Green Circuit.

[18] Photograph courtesy of Feria Urbanism

Photo from the Northern Slopes, looking north to the city centre[19]

1.3 An Introduction to Bristol and the Knowle West area

The Knowle West area of Bristol lies on higher ground about 3kms to the south of the city centre. Bristol is a lively, prosperous, and multicultural city. In fact, in 2017 Bristol was voted the best place to live in Britain by The Sunday Times[20]. Well known for its Russell Group University in the Bristol West constituency, located in the prosperous Clifton area, attracting many public-school under-graduates including former Prime Minister David Cameron's wife Samantha, and heiress Jemima Khan (*née* Goldsmith). It is a city known to have desirable real estate, decent rail connections to the capital, a vibrant restaurant and nightlife, with a long-established civic, political, economic, and cultural life. The quality of green spaces across Bristol is one of the reasons why the city

[19] Photograph courtesy of Feria Urbanism
[20] More information available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-39320118 (Accessed 05 May 2020)

was awarded European Green Capital 2015 status. The Knowle West neighbourhood area has many such green spaces. The neighbourhood is geographically defined by being in the south of the city on the outskirts of Bristol South. This is the constituency in which I live and where the research study is located.

Figure b: Knowle West in relation to Bristol city centre

The economic collapse in the 1980s left a legacy of pockets of economic stagnation, including the most deprived Filwood ward (Bristol City Council, 2015), where this research takes place. As well as neighbourhood-based areas of deprivation in the centre the outlying estates in the south of the city, like Knowle West and Hartcliffe, are economically cut off from the more prosperous parts of the city (*see section 1.3.1.1*). This has an impact on impeding mobility across local and social spaces and creates great

distinctions in life chances, from education to life expectancy; shown to be decreasing nationally since 2010 (see Dorling, 2019). There are large health inequalities gaps[21] in Bristol and the gap in healthy life expectancy between the lowest and highest Healthy Life Expectancy areas in Bristol is 16.3 years for males, and 16.7 years for females.

1.3.1 Profile of the Knowle West estate

The area provides evidence of Roman, and potentially pre-Roman settlements, notably in Filwood and the Inns Court areas. Filwood Park is the site of a small Roman settlement, possibly with a significant industrial element recorded in the early 1980s (Bristol City Council, 2009: 22). The area's urban history stems from waves of inter-war housing, built between 1928 and the 1940s. If a single housing estate could be said to encapsulate the social, political, and planning history of council housing and municipal reform in this country it could be Knowle West (see Municipal Dreams, 2014). Bristol's interwar estates were built at low density, along Garden City lines, to the town planning ideals of the day (Jevons and Madge, 1946). This estate was populated by people moving overwhelmingly from the inner cities; inner-city clearances, a social move sometimes termed rather indelicately as slum clearance. People were also rehoused from London after the Blitz obliterated housing during World War II. Sociologically, moving from the densely packed housing of Bristol and London, from whence inner-city clearance tenants came, the narrative is that sociability and intimacy are nurtured in such close-knit settings (Jevons and Madge, 1946), which was not replicated in these new, larger

[21] More information available at: https://www.bristol.gov.uk/documents/20182/3099546/Healthy+Life+Expectancy+in+Bristol+%282018%29.pdf/8514bab3-bb5f-ca20-152d-ed2897608a2d#:~:text=In%20Bristol%20the%20average%20Healthy,expectancy%20at%20birth%20in%20Bristol.
(Accessed 19 July 2021)

suburban estates. In the sense that the more spacious, less dense living enforces or fosters a change of lifestyle compared to previous, more congested ways of living. In terms of the design and qualities of the estate, housing stock can be characterised as being mainly semi-detached or set in short terraces, dispersed amidst limited greenery, other than the surrounding countryside.

In the interwar period, this was known as the Bedminster and Knowle Estate, said to be the largest of Bristol's interwar council housing schemes. Building began in 1920 and by 1939 the estate as a whole comprised over 6,000 council homes, with a population of some 28,000. Names of new streets from this first, inter-war phase, of Knowle West, were often named after West Country coastal resorts. Representing Cornwall there is Newquay Road in postcode BS4, and Padstow; as well as from Devon: Teignmouth, Salcombe, Exmouth, Crediton, Ilminster, Torrington, Barnstaple, Bideford, and Instow. There are also a couple from Somerset, with Minehead and Dunster being honoured with names. Local people tell of large Irish families living on the estate. Indeed, labourers from Ireland are said to have built many of the houses in the 1930s, 1950s and 1960s which have resulted in Irish names of certain roads, such as Kinvara, Carlow, and Wicklow, all names closely connected to my Irish family and heritage. (My Grandad McDonald was from Carlow in the Irish Republic and migrated to London for work during the depression of the 1930s.) This aspect of the local community and history resonates with my sense of connection though Grandad Mac was more of a painter and decorator in London but started McDonald Brothers in Fulham, London, a building and decorating firm with two of his brothers-in-law. My great Grandad Brown on my father's side was a master builder and built many houses in the electoral ward of Dundonald in

Wimbledon that I went on to represent as a London Councillor for the Labour Party, from 2002-06.

This has contributed to a feeling of both sentimentalism and curiosity, almost a link to the past of the community. Admittedly this gradually developed over the years of learning more and working there, leaving me with a strong affection that has grown towards the locality and residents. The main road running through Knowle West is called Leinster Avenue, and on the south side of that there is Connaught, Belfast, Kinvara, Tyrone, and Bantry. On the north side, between the main road and the Northern Slopes, many of the streets have Irish names: Kenmare, Galway, Kerry, Lisburn, Lurgan, Clonmel, Cavan, Kildare, Donegal, Tralee, and Wexford. There is even a little road named after Ireland itself that is called Erin Walk.

Knowle West includes four primary schools, Connaught, Greenfield, Illminster Avenue, and the School of Christ the King. Additional, primary schools outside of Knowle West are attended by a significant minority of children. (In fact, I was a school governor at Knowle Park Primary for a while when I first moved to Bristol, not long before my studentship at the University of Bristol.) The majority of secondary pupils attending Oasis Academy, Brislington Enterprise College, Bedminster Down, and Bridge Learning Campus. In a report by Bristol City Council school achievement levels in Knowle West are discussed:

> 'The achievement levels of these facilities are improving but remain a significant challenge, particularly when compared to nearby faith schools. Limited access to further education is a major challenge, which should be addressed whilst the

opportunity to increase education attainment is a clear priority for the area.' (Bristol City Council, 2009: 20).

In the 1930s the estate had lots of allotments and generous amounts of green space, on the outskirts of the south of the city of Bristol, surrounded by beautiful rolling hills. This was originally all local authority owned housing, prior to the Thatcher years and the 1980s 'right to buy' policy. To an outsider, first impressions are of something of a warren of very similar-looking, red brick, mainly terraced and semi-detached housing, few road signs, a place to easily get lost in. The complexion of ownership now is a mixture of privately and Council owned housing, a few flats, and now with some emerging pockets of new developments, of modern, privately owned, detached and semi-detached housing. A high-level analysis of land use in a study undertaken for Bristol City Council towards regeneration work showed just 8% of the land-use was taken up by buildings (Urban Initiatives, 2009: 29), of which the majority are for residential use. Plus, the following mix:

- 35% Private gardens
- 33% Public open spaces
- 13% Streets and parking
- 11% Paths and other

Earlier development was located around Knowle Park East, later spreading westwards into Knowle West. Many of the properties in Knowle West were developed for people being relocated due to inner-city clearance (Malpass, 2005). The Knowle West Estate was built to provide healthier living conditions for large families on low incomes (Urban

Initiatives, 2009). The houses were relatively small but provided with large gardens. Surrounded by a series of natural open spaces, these currently provide the local community with opportunities for outdoor recreation, leisure, and general enjoyment. Indeed, the area was considered a very desirable place to live (Jones, Knowle West Pages, 2007) although facilities such as shops and community centres were not present until the late 1930s.

Bristol is frequently characterised as a city of villages. Much like London in that respect, some neighbourhoods were, in fact, villages, swallowed up as the city pushed outwards. Whilst others came into their identities within lines drawn-up by city planners, much like Knowle West. From east to west, the estate falls into three main social zones. The Knowle Park area is where the more expensive 1919[22] and 1923[23] Act houses were built, which then housed the more prosperous tenants. Next came a wide band from the 1924 Act[24] housing, at somewhat lower rents (Jevons and Madge, 1946). Filwood Park, which is at the western end of the estate, contains large numbers of slum clearance housing.

[22]The Liberal Government introduced the Housing and Town Planning Act 1919, which gave the first local government drive to build low-cost subsidised housing, with funding grants from the Treasury. The Act, known as the Addition Act, after the Minister for Heath, Dr Christopher Addison, who was responsible for this legislation, which allowed new houses to be built for the working classes at low rents, with his famous 'Homes for Heroes' programme after the First World War. While popular, the commitments set out by the government of building 500,000 houses over three years only saw less than half of them being built.

[23]Following the election of a Conservative government, Neville Chamberlain introduced the Housing Act 1923. This legislation reduced central government subsidies and increased involvement of the private sector.

[24]The Weatley Act in 1924 replaced the 1923 Act under the first Labour government, which increased government subsidies to be paid to local government to build council housing. One of the biggest challenges facing house building during this period was the increase in demand for housing, as well as the problem of slum clearance.

It was on this estate that the first houses were built under the 1930 Act'[25], and to which families from the oldest and worst slums were moved.

Below (*figure c*) is a map detailing how local people on the KWF neighbourhood planning forum characterised Knowle West; in terms of framing the area as comprising seven local 'village hubs', described locally as 'neighbourhoods within neighbourhoods'. The geographic area covered by the KWANDF planning work included the land around Filwood Broadway and Filwood Park known as Filwood (the name of the local government ward that covers most of the KWANDF area), as well as Inns Court, Novers Park and Novers Hill (known locally as 'Novers'), 'Jarmans' (another local name for the area where the KWMC is located and a small parade of shops), Melvin Square (known simply as 'Melvin'), Daventry Road (known locally as 'Daventry'), the Northern Slopes, Glyn Vale and parts of Wedmore Vale, Beckington, and Wingfield Roads, The Health Park, plus part of Newquay Road (known just as 'Newquay').

[25]The legislation attempted to address the need to increase slum clearance and demolition of poor-quality houses. Central government subsidies were given based on housing need, not properties demolished. While nearly a quarter of a million houses were cleared in the 1930s, nearly half a million slum houses still needing to be demolished.

Figure c: Knowle West – village hubs map

Geographically speaking, there is a sense of being somewhat isolated, separate, distinct, and set away from the city centre. One of the members of staff at KWMC described the estate as being:

> '… a bit like an island, hard to access the rest of the city, expensive to get buses into the centre or to get to shop'.

As a result, people talk of typically staying in their own environ, a characteristic in the neighbouring Hartcliffe housing estate too, where I was based when Chair of Hawkspring the local charity. The staff there and at KWMC explained that people tended to keep to their own micro-local areas. This had led to a sense of a close-knit

community but with separate senses of belonging. Some local families reportedly have hundreds of members all living nearby, in some cases creating strong family bonds.

1.3.1.1 The other 1% - a socio-economic profile

As well as the sense of separate identities within the Knowle West area, Bristol has been described as being something of a tale of two cities, due to the variation in life chances and prosperity. Referencing the shame of the slave trade heritage is this piece of writing:

> 'The tale of two cities … This has always been the tale of two cities. Both must be told in their entirety. Wearing the pride and the shame on each shoulder. We walk forward – knowing with hard work. One of those forces can far outshine the other.'[26]

Socio-economic deprivation in different categories is found in Knowle West in terms of income, employment, education, health, and crime – considered to represent 'major challenges' (Bristol City Council, 2009: 20). The intensity of these issues varies within the area, but Filwood ward is classified as being among the most socially and economically deprived 1% of the whole of England (Bristol City Council, 2015). Free school meals are often used as a measure of economic hardship in the UK realm and in Filwood the rate – at the time of the report at least – was at 30.6% (Bristol City Council, 2018), this compares to just 1% in affluent areas of Bristol, such as around the University campus in Clifton. This is using the Indices of Deprivation produced by the Department

[26] Vanessa Kisuule – Bristol's City Poet 2018-2020, quoted in the One City report from Bristol City Council. More information available at:https://www.bristolonecity.com/wp-content/pdf/BD11190-One-CIty-Plan-web-version.pdf (Accessed 01 May 2020)

for Communities and Local Government (DCLG). In terms of how so-called 'deprivation' is measured, each local authority area in England is divided into Lower Layer Super Output Area (LSOA)s. LSOAs are essentially a geographic hierarchy designed to improve the reporting of small area statistics.

Other proxies for poverty - very low income - include what is known as the Market Research Association's Social Grades, which is essentially a guide to social class based on employment status, income and housing tenure, the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classifications. Child poverty is also a commonly used measure. A child is said to be living in poverty when they are living in a family with an income below 60% of the UK's average after adjusting for family size, which has about £96 per day – that's £24 each - to cover all living expenses. For example, a couple with two children living in poverty will have less than £58 per day (which is £15 each), after housing costs, to pay for all food, bills, childcare, transport, household items, clothes, and other expenses like school trips, birthdays, or children's activities.[27] In the Knowle West area, child poverty stands at 36.3%-48.2% (Bristol City Council, 2019). Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) child poverty data is all based on the percentage of children in an area whose families claim benefits of any kind. 7% of households in Filwood claim Lone Parent benefits, while out-of-work benefits are at 27.2%, compared to a Bristol average of 13.3% (Bristol City Council, 2017).

Three of the 12 LSOAs in the Knowle West area are ranked in the most deprived 100, out of all the 32,844 LSOAs in England. Considering strata details of the LSOAs allows us to

[27] Children's Society. More information available at: https://www.childrenssociety.org.uk/what-we-do/our-work/ending-child-poverty/what-is-child-poverty (Accessed 1 May 2020)

look more carefully at the community context of the research, in terms of allowing for specific pockets of multiple deprivation, rather than making broad-brush statements about a whole neighbourhood, area or one postcode. Decline is recorded in the Bristol South parliamentary constituency in Glyn Vale (which is in the Filwood ward) dropped into the bottom 10% of social deprivation(Bristol City Council, 2019); joining Filwood Broadway (also in the Filwood ward), Ilminster Avenue West (again the Filwood ward), and adjoining Ilminster Avenue East (located in the Knowle ward). Since 2015, Leinster Avenue (Filwood ward) has also dropped into the most deprived decile in Bristol (Bristol City Council, 2019). In addition to the economic decline and social unrest reported in the 1980s (see *Chapter Five*) a picture of an area in social and economic decline in more recent times is apparent. These pockets of particular economic stagnation and decline represent neighbourhood-based deprivation, which is considered to impede mobility across local and social spaces, known as social mobility.

In terms of demographics, Filwood has:

> '… the largest population of children and young people out of all the Bristol wards.' (Bristol City Council, 2009: 21)

This demands particular attention in terms of demand on governmental agencies, planning, and third sector support, for specific services to support families, particularly when combined with the low average household income. This combination could lead to several tailored and specific resultant service and infrastructure needs, such as social services and child poverty action measures. The needs of people living in Filwood will also be impacted by their health and physical needs; numbers of people in receipt of

Incapacity Benefit are double those of Bristol as a whole, at 14.5% compared to a Bristol average of 7.3% (Bristol City Council, 2017).

The 2011 Census for the Forum area states that:

· Population: 12,267

· 22% between 10 and 24 years old

· 27.2 % between 25 – 44 years old

· 21.7 % between 45 – 64 years old

· White ethnic group – 90.4%

· Country of Birth – UK – 91%

· Main language English – 94%

· In good health – 34.8%

· Economically active – 62.9%

· Have never worked – 20.9%

· Semi-detached houses – 63.3%

· Social rented: Council – 38.4%

· No cars or vans – 36.8%

· Gas central heating – 88.5%

1.3.1.2 Multiple-dimensional levels of disadvantage and 'social exclusion'

Knowle West is said to suffer a 'poor image and reputation' (Urban Initiatives, 2009: 20; see also *Chapter Three - section 3.2.1.1 The Broken Society*). 'Major challenges' (Bristol City Council, 2009: 20) have been identified for the Knowle West community, in terms of five life chances areas: income, employment, education, health, and crime. Whilst structural, societal multiple disadvantage refers to individuals or families who experience two or more disadvantages, such as low income, poor health, and no formal qualifications (Cabinet Office, 2010). The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) is the official measure of relative deprivation in England and is part of a suite of outputs that form the Indices of Deprivation (IoD). It follows an established methodological framework broadly defining deprivation, to encompass a wide range of an individual's living conditions. People can be regarded as living in a deprived area if many of the population there lack any kind of resources, not just income.[28] The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) comprises seven distinct domains of deprivation which when combined and appropriately weighted, can reveal red flags, in terms of service provision and infrastructure needs. The Knowle West area has five of these warning areas.

Peter Townsend (1979, 1993) invented the relative deprivation theory of poverty, which placed the definition and measurement of poverty on an international scientific basis, in that poverty is defined as those people whose resources are severely below those commanded by the average individual or family. His work showed how people are, in

[28] See 2019 Technical Report. More information available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/english-indices-of-deprivation-2019-technical-report (Accessed 28 October 2019)

effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities. This thesis uses this framing, in terms of taking into account multiple-dimensional levels of disadvantage and social exclusion. Social justice charity the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) broadens out the framing of poverty from simply financial disadvantage, in this useful definition:

> '… when a person's resources (mainly their material resources) are not sufficient to meet minimum needs (including social participation).' (Matthews and Besemer, 2014: 27)

It is this reference to social participation that speaks to this thesis, in terms of exploring the links with volunteering and neighbourhood planning, which will be unpicked more in *Chapter Two, section 2.3.1.2 - social networks and social exclusion.* It is possible to also examine social exclusion by looking at measures and results around education, skills, and training. Filwood experiences some of the highest levels of educational deprivation[29]. The distribution of deprivation based on this particular domain is more far-reaching than any other of the domains, particularly in the social housing areas of South Bristol (Bristol City Council, 2015) which includes parts of the Knowle West area. Analysis by the National Literacy Trust (2018)[30] calculates the Filwood ward to be in the top 10% of greatest literacy need (see *figure d* below) of all 7,707 of English electoral

[29] Filwood Statistical Ward Profile 2020. More information available at: https://www.bristol.gov.uk/documents/20182/436737/Filwood.pdf/d2f649ea-424e-4f36-a739-f93c79d6c40a
(Accessed 28 October 2019)

[30] The National Literacy Trust's *literacy vulnerability score* combines metrics from the 2011 Census closely associated with literacy need and credit rating agency Experian's socio-demographic classification system, Mosaic. (Mosaic is a classification system of UK households. It is one of a number of commercially available geo-demographic segmentation systems, applying the principles of geo-demographic to consumer household and individual data collated from a number of governmental and commercial sources.)

wards. (Bristol South is ranked 187 out of all 533 English parliamentary constituencies in most need of literacy support.) However, the research from the Trust shows that virtually all English constituencies have issues with literacy, to the exclusion of Richmond-upon-Thames, the Royal Borough.

Literacy in the Bristol South constituency: Ranked 187 in England

In the 2017 National Literacy Trust's *literacy vulnerability score*, the lower the number the higher the literacy need. A ward rank of 1 would mean it is the ward in England that most needs literacy support. A ward decile of 1, such as Filwood ward and neighbouring Hartcliffe, means that is in the top 10% in England, in terms of need.

Wards	Ward rank	Ward decile
Filwood	269	1
Hartcliffe	646	1
Whitchurch Park	785	2
Bishopsworth	1271	2
Knowle (Bristol, City of)	2338	4
Windmill Hill (Bristol, City of)	2496	4
Hengrove	2739	4
Bedminster	3299	5
Southville	3466	5

Figure d: data from the National Literacy Trust[31]

As with many life chances, higher literacy skills impact longer life expectancy (Gilbert, et al., 2018). This has been shown to be worsening since 2010 (Dorling, 2019), with the average age of death decreasing since 2010 (when austerity cuts were brought in by the Conservative-led Coalition government). Literacy rates are linked to a range of positive societal benefits, including having a stronger sense of belonging to society as a whole.

[31] More information available at: https://literacytrust.org.uk/policy-and-campaigns/all-party-parliamentary-group-literacy/literacy-score-mapping-literacy-need-across-england/ (Accessed 20 March 2021)

Literacy is also linked with being more likely to trust others.[32] It is also linked to the greater likelihood to volunteer and being involved in community groups. As mentioned earlier, the most affluent part of England, Richmond-upon-Thames, does not have one local area of high concern re literacy rates. But make no mistake, low literacy levels are not restricted to regions with low income, employment, and social deprivation; 86% of parliamentary constituencies contain at least one ward in the three deciles of greatest need.[33] What this says about our current schooling system and socio-economic prospects in a country that relies on service industry jobs is deeply alarming.

Literacy is specifically a part of this thesis because adults with lower levels of literacy are known to be less likely to believe they have something to contribute (OECD, 2013) to public life (Matthews and Hastings, 2013; Egerton and Mullan, 2008), for example voluntary work. A University of West of England study into literacy (Raphael Reed et al., 2007) revealed *problem-solving* and *literacy* were equally poor in the local population of Filwood and the Knowle West area. As the thesis progresses, particularly when we look at the legal regulatory framework surrounding the policy of neighbourhood planning in *Chapter Three*, then into the data findings chapters, the story of the complexity around this policy and the public participation unfolds. This demonstrates why literacy and problem-solving skills matter for public participation in the democratic process and society we live in, to contribute to decisions about our lives. Social exclusion

[32] Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2013). More information available at: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/education/oecd-skills-outlook-2013_9789264204256-en (Accessed 4 August 2019)

[33] More information available at: https://www.experianplc.com/media/news/2017/86-of-english-constituencies-have-entrenched-problems-with-literacy/ (Accessed 23 July 2021)

can occur without tailored policy interventions to minimise social disadvantage. One local woman, who works for the literacy support charity Read Easy[34] in south Bristol, explained the many ways poor reading and illiteracy impacted her clients. From limiting their ability to be able to take a bus or train, as the inability to follow timetables or read notice board information made travel outside of the locale prohibitive. That is without the issues around accessing information and support online, which so much of modern life now involves. At KWMC, at a community engagement event in 2013 on isolation in young people, I heard testimony from a young lad who said he had all the confidence in the world to communicate across the world with other gamers online, but he felt too intimidated by face-to-face social interaction to communicate to buy a ticket on a bus, to be able to leave his local area.

The government has been criticised for many years by the Trades Union Congress (TUC), trades unions within their own education departments, academics, the Labour Party and others about the digital divide amongst citizens in the UK. This is further exacerbated as a concern regarding the move to digital access only for certain public services such as Universal Credit. This is also a concern regarding the 2020 government White Paper on Planning[35]. Not just for literacy reasons, but for connectivity and digital access exclusion issues too. An estimated 25.9 million[36] people have data issues with pay-as-you go only phones, as became a stark issue during the 2020-2021 CV-19

[34] Read Easy. More information available at: https://readeasy.org.uk/groups/bristol/ (Accessed 15 March 2020)
[35] More information available at: https://www.local.gov.uk/parliament/briefings-and-responses/debate-planning-future-white-paper-house-commons-15-december (Accessed 21 July 2021)

[36] More information available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/technology-55544196 (Accessed 21 July 2021)

pandemic, regarding home schooling and accessing online lessons and materials. While 1.9 million[37] households lack internet connection, which according to market research work I undertook for Lloyds Bank in 2013 might be a conservative estimate as there is also the matter of very poor connectivity quality in many homes and businesses.

In terms of this thesis, neighbourhood planning requires the ability to not only read and process complex information, in order to make a neighbourhood plan (see *section 3.3.1 – The Act and Neighbourhood Planning*) it also involves trust and volunteer numbers, low levels of both being known to be linked to literacy and problem-solving. In addition, the materials provided by the government via non-governmental organisation (NGO) Locality[38] were all digital, as far as I ever saw in my time with KWF and working with them on neighbourhood planning. This is highly exclusive and socially undemocratic.

1.4 Personal and professional rationale – why does this matter?

As I am largely using a constructivist ground theory (CGT) approach (Charmaz, 2000; Ramalho et al., 2015; Dunne, 2011) it is important to mention researcher positionality from the outset. This is in keeping with my epistemological position in this thesis 'revealing the researcher as the author of a co-construction of experience' (Mills, Bonner and Francis, 2006b: 32) of research of this nature. This is in terms of:

[37] More information available at:https://futuredotnow.uk/digital-divide-isolates-and-endangers-millions-of-uks-poorest/
(Accessed 21 July 2021)
[38] More information available at:https://locality.org.uk/services-tools/neighbourhood-planning/
(Accessed 21 July 2021)

> 'Researchers, in their "humanness," are part of the research endeavour rather than objective observers, and their values must be acknowledged by themselves and by their readers as an inevitable part of the outcome.' (Mills, Bonner and Francis, 2006a: 26)

I include details within this thesis of my personal and professional rationale because of my interpretivist approach and ethical and political issues around researcher positionality (Punch, 1986; Thorne, 2005). This is discussed in *Chapter Four* (section *4.2.3 Ontological and epistemological considerations).*

In terms of what led to my involvement and interest in the research area of this thesis, I include a little background information, about familial, workplace and legislative experience. This includes governmental experience working in the Houses of Parliament in the Parliamentary Press Gallery and House of Commons, between 1992-2007, for a government minister, and as an elected Cabinet member for Equalities and Social Inclusion. I was also the Fundraiser and Communications Director for the cross-party John Smith Trust. As an elected Councillor in the London Borough of Merton (2002-2006), I worked to win a marginal seat in Wimbledon for the Labour Party, winning by five votes after a hard-fought campaign. From 2002-07, I was a Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) Executive Committee (EC) member, for the Parliamentary Branch (now Unite the Union). As an executive officer of the TGWU (now Unite the Union) we represented staff in the House of Commons, including parliamentary researchers, cleaners, and staff from constituency offices such as caseworkers and office managers. In 2006-2007, I worked closely on a private member's bill with the TGWU sponsor Paul Farrelly MP (Newcastle-Under-Lyme). The first

reading for the Temporary Agency and Workers (Equal Treatment) Bill[39] was on a Friday. Back then, this was typically, a 'constituency day', therefore this involved an intense lobbying exercise to secure the numbers of MPs to vote for a non-governmental bill, to have a second reading. Working closely with the largest trades unions to secure good attendance, we eventually changed the law.

I was approached by a political friend and former Labour MP back in the summer of 2010, about throwing my convictions into essaying and analysing social policy under the newly elected Conservative-led Coalition. This was in the May, when Labour had just lost power in Westminster. The new political blog site on the left was called Labour Uncut[40]. I wrote about matters that triggered my sense of social injustice, fears around the devastating of public services and equalities issues. Upon winning the ESRC studentship I needed to learn how to be more aware of biases and positionality, the doctoral training meant moving from political opinion to academic writing, as this excerpt from a Labour Uncut blog piece might denote:

> 'When David Cameron coined the phrase "Big Society", no one really seemed to know what he meant. But take a look at new-style Tory Councils and see how the Prime Minister was sign-posting a well-thought-out, ideological intention

[39] Temporary Agency and Workers (Equal Treatment) Bill: A Bill to provide for the protection of temporary and agency workers; to require the principle of equal treatment to be applied to temporary and agency workers; to make provision about the enforcement of rights of temporary and agency workers; and for connected purposes. More information available at:

https://bills.parliament.uk/bills/224 (Accessed 21 July 2021)

[40] More information available at: http://labour-uncut.co.uk/?s=amanda+ramsay (Accessed 21 July 2021)

> to take government back to laissez-faire, sink or swim politics, where the state sits back and does the very bare minimum.
>
> 'It is at local government level that Cameron's cuts will be fought out. So expect to hear free-market buzz words like "outsourcing", "privatisation", "small government" and "consumer choice" as key parts of Cameron's Conservative vision for municipal governance.' (Ramsay, 2010)

This clear partisan positionality, being a Labour member and activist, advocate for Labour policies and trades unionism, and an outspoken critic of the UK Government under the Conservatives at that time (and since) needs to be explicit within this thesis. Very much against the staggering severity of the austerity agenda under the Conservative-led Coalition and Conservative ideological approach, is something taken up when discussing reflexivity within *Chapter Four*. I needed to learn how to write differently to the journalistic / essayist style that I had been familiar with since teenage years as a work placement student in the local Wimbledon Guardian. From the early days as a published writer and commentator my views were hardly hidden or tempered, nor should they be:

> 'Labour people fret over cuts, how they'll affect our lives and the lives of others, through public services and jobs. Cameron's crowd sleep safe in the knowledge that those with private wealth own their homes, can pay for health insurance and public schooling; can afford private care if disabled or ill and enjoy their own pensions.

> 'They live, as Alan Clarke memorably explained, off the interest on the interest. They cut with impunity because they don't feel the pain.'[41]

What I know about the community of Knowle West (and how I know these things) and matters of governance, media communications, the third sector and community organising and campaigning, from before the doctoral research started, then during the process, all form part of the story. For integrity of argument, this is made clear from the outset, for the reader. In the sense that I am acknowledging myself to be very much *in* the research, not just in terms of being located physically in the community setting of south Bristol, but I bring my background, my politics and professional experience, and labour movement passions. These all aroused and inform my interest in the research topic at the heart of this thesis. My interest in social mobility related to education was spiked as a young woman working in the City of London, in banking. I saw graduates fast-tracked and I did not want to face disadvantage, by being excluded from opportunities based on my education and formal qualifications. (My later commitment to the work of my now late supervisor Professor Ros Sutherland and the University of Bristol on *Reversing the Educational Inequality Crisis in Bristol*[42] was very much fuelled by my background, experiences, and political motivations.)

I left the City to pursue higher education and went on to become the first person in my family to be awarded a degree. My paternal Grandad Ramsay had studied at the London School of Economics (LSE) but did not complete his degree. He was, however, published

[41] http://labour-uncut.co.uk/2010/06/07/the-tories-lust-for-cuts-reveals-itself-in-local-government-already-says-amanda-ramsay/ downloaded 11.05.20
[42] https://www.bristol.ac.uk/education/events/2018/reversing-the-educational-inequality-crisis-in-bristol.html downloaded 11.05.20

in Punch[43]. A civil servant in what was the then Department for Environment, responsible for planning and the built environment. In governance terms, this is now the Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG), formerly the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) from whence the Localism Act 2011 originated.

As a first-generation graduate, on the English side of my family at least, navigating the university system through to doctoral level research has been something I have had to fathom alone. For context, my parents were privately educated, and I was fortunate enough to go to a Convent in a leafy London suburb. I was taught languages, including coding through what was then O' level Computer Science. Back in the eighties, this was newly on the curriculum, with BBC computer machines and learning BASIC. I was awarded a commendation for my programming project, however, I was not permitted to continue with coding at the advanced level, as the school system locally only supported boys to pursue this at A' level. This felt like a distinct inequality, a societal, structural injustice. In my private life, I do not have an academic circle to draw on. This has advantages in some ways. In that, I have gained the extra satisfaction of deciphering what is essentially a new system of learning and working.

In my undergraduate days, there was no internet, as amazing as that now seems. Journal articles and newspapers were on microfiche, while photocopies of articles and chapters from hardback books were the mainstay of research. Course work essays were typed on

[43] Punch magazine, political satire and humour (1841-2002): https://illustrationchronicles.com/How-Punch-Magazine-Changed-Everything (Accessed 21 July 2021)

electric typewriters, if you were fortunate enough to have one as I was. There were few and far between very basic word processors on site in the campus, but I wanted to hand write work in the library and then type-up from home. By the time I came to write-up my dissertation I had become Editor of the University magazine, elected the Information and Communications Officer (I&CO) (see page 46 below). This position furnished me with own office and state of the art double-screen Apple Mac. This enabled a word-processed document to be submitted more easily for my dissertation. My O' level days to my under-graduate studies straddled the beginning of the digital age for scholars - but few sections of the general public back then - and huge information and technological (IT) and societal change were underway.

Leaving University back in 1992 with a BSc in Political Science (Hons), my dissertation was a paper discussing Capitalism in Crisis: in relation to the British welfare state and economy in the context of the world depression. I had stood for election in my final year to become a National Union of Students (NUS) student union officer. Winning and becoming Information and Communications Officer (I&CO) which included editing the University of Plymouth's Student Union magazine, being media spokesperson for the union; also representing the students' union at internal university meetings with Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor. During post-graduation life I have worked in the media, the press, public relations (PR), the charity sector, parliament, and research for the Bank of America Merrill Lynch. Before graduating I had been a cleaner, worked in a hairdressing salon, done shop and bar work, and worked in banking in the City of London for Barclays Bank, and Merrill Lynch.

By 2001, I was working in Parliament in a communications and research role, with a broad remit as parliamentary researcher for government minister Graham Stringer MP (Blackley and Broughton). First, when Graham was in the Cabinet Office, then as one of the government whips for England's North West Group of Labour MPs. Supporting Graham as a campaigning backbencher, this included involvement with public transport campaigns included campaign work to re-regulate buses in metropolitan areas of England, such as Manchester, Sheffield, and Bristol. This taught me about the poor state of bus services and socially exclusive high pricing of bus journeys outside of London, where I lived at the time. This informs the thesis as the data reveals much discontent about the state of connectivity and high pricing in buses serving the Knowle West area and parts of Bristol South.

As well as casework, campaigns, and press work in London and Manchester, I attended senior meetings with government ministers and various stakeholders, resolving people's problems and addressing their concerns. This involved liaising with civil servants in Whitehall, Special Advisors (SpAds), and councillors and local government officers and the Leader of Manchester City Council. I was responsible for all diaries and media liaison and representing constituents of Blackley in Westminster. (The addition of Broughton to the parliamentary seat was a constituency change in boundary changes before the 2010 general election). As parliamentary aide I was tasked with the project management of a national public safety campaign. This was overseeing, from inception to second reading, the behind the scenes work for a Private Member's Bill, the Off-Road Vehicles (Registration) Bill [Bill 21 of 2006-07]. Mini-motos were causing havoc on the streets of Blackley, particularly housing estates, and there had been a death of a three-year-old

boy caused by one such vehicle. Working closely with a lawyer from the Greater Manchester Police Authority (GMPA) and the House of Commons Bills Office, myself and Graham collaboratively drafted the bill. This was a fascinating experience and the legislative experience enabled me to understand the complexities of changing the law, first-hand.

To ensure legislative and social change happened, I took a lateral approach and devised a national and local media campaign to support the bill, which needed the backing of fellow Labour MPs, as well as government support. This included speaking directly with parents of children who had died in mini-moto accidents; this highly delicate situation required diplomatic sensitivity to secure the trust and co-operation of the father of a child killed in a mini-moto accident, to make an emotive appeal in the Daily Mirror and through a television appearance on live national breakfast television. I also negotiated a partnership agreement with the Daily Mirror, and the Manchester Evening News (MEN). The idea was to run a public letter-writing campaign to MPs, to appeal directly to the public. Then, they show their support by writing to their MPs, asking that their parliamentary representative to give support.

In 2002, I stood for election again, this time winning a highly marginal Council seat for Labour in the London Borough of Merton (2002-2006), and we kept control of the Council. Within the first year of being a councillor, I was elected by Labour Group colleagues to take a Cabinet post. Tasked with being the first portfolio holder for Equalities and Social Inclusion, this was a complex role across all council departments, with social inclusion and anti-discrimination policy responsibility. This helped me understand the challenge of delivering aspects of equalities and social inclusion when I

was not part of a specific department, no departmental head reported to me, nor did I have access to the local government officers in other departments. I worked with local government officers in the Chief Executive's Office but the governance of this struck me as challenging. Nevertheless, I worked with colleagues in a collaborative approach to ensure the Council was compliant with all equalities legislation coming out of the Home Office, Department for Education, and the European Parliament.

In 2003, I was nominated by the GPMU/Amicus (now Unite the Union) to become the prospective parliamentary candidate (PPC) for the constituency of West Lancashire, along with various local Branch Labour Parties (BLPs). In 2005, I worked on a six-month secondment with Amicus (now Unite the Union after the merger with the TGWU) as one of two Parliamentary Officers. Working closely with the Amicus Parliamentary Group of MPs and Peers and Chair Rt Hon Sir Lindsay Hoyle MP, now Mr Speaker in the House of Commons, we worked to represent millions of members of the public (in terms of Amicus members' needs from across society). This was to make sure issues of importance to all sectors of society and union branch members were effectively represented across both Houses of Parliament. Working to raise the political presence of the trades union's 17 industrial and voluntary sectors in Westminster and Whitehall, this work involved worked closely with ministers and backbenchers through meetings, various subgroups, and conference meetings

Fast forward ten years, by 2013, I had been politically restricted by work during that time but moved to Bristol in 2011. I was nominated by local Labour Party members, the Co-operative Party, and the majority of affiliated trades union branches to the constituency labour party (CLP) in Bristol South (where I live and the area where the thesis research

takes place) to become the PPC to fight the general election in 2015. However, I did not win the candidacy. The reason I mention all this political experience is because of the reflexive nature of this thesis. The author's positionality and experience are *part* of the thesis as will be outlined more fully as the thesis develops and discussed in more detail in *Chapter Four*. For example, I was first aware of prejudice and stigmatisation in the education system when I taught A' level government and politics in London, when I was in my thirties. Teaching at a private retake and sixth form college, one of my students had failed her A' levels and seemed to have been written off by other teachers. She was a retake student of mine and in the staff room I was told by other teachers who knew her that she was never going to pass. This was like a red rag to a bull, as I was determined that this young woman would not be discarded. She needed that A' level to get to university and I felt that she just needed nurturing, and special care, love and attention. With one-to-one tutoring and someone who believed in her and would not give up on her, not only did she pass her A' level government and politics, but this meant she could go to university. I was then delighted to discover that she went on to work in parliament for one of the former Chief Secretaries to the Treasury.

The kind of prejudice (she also happened to be a young black British woman) and 'deficit' thinking in that instance is also well illustrated by the study carried out for Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE): '*Young Participation in Higher Education: a sociocultural study of educational engagement in Bristol South parliamentary constituency*' (Raphael Reed et al., 2007). This recounts one conversation between two teachers, for example, that depicts how the local community of Knowle West is often referred to, stigmatised, dismissed almost, in derogatory, snobbish,

classist ways. In fact, I recently heard a man from a more affluent part of Bristol refer to Knowle West residents as 'white trash'. The 2007 report (Raphael Reed et al.) includes a conversation between two teachers, who had this to say:

> *Teacher A:* *It's a forgotten community – an excuse community.*
>
> *Teacher B:* *Yes…a Vicky Pollard*[44] *community.*

Or a rhetorical question heard in a school staffroom:

> *Teacher C:* *Well, what can you expect? They come from a limited gene pool on this estate.'* (Raphael Reed et al., 2007: 5)

I find this exchange nothing less than enraging. To learn that teachers, paid from the public purse to educate, and considered guardians of young people in Knowle West, to have such an attitude is nothing less than shocking. It does replicate, however, the kind of stigma that I have heard about Knowle West from people living in other parts of Bristol, over the ten years of living in the city. Residents in Knowle West find themselves stigmatised for no reason other than their associations with entrenched economic and spatial forms of exclusion (Rose et al., 2013). Anecdotally, put another way, from snobbery against the working class (Jones, 2012). Discourses shape how people interpret what they see, and how they then respond (Raphael Reed, 1999); they are constituted in relation to experience but are profoundly constitutive of that experience.

[44] Vicky Pollard being a character in a UK television comedy series called Little Britain, a caricature of a white working-class Bristol girl with endless excuses for her behaviour at school.

By 2018, I played a part in University of Bristol's School of Education research *Reversing the Educational Inequality Crisis in Bristol*, contributing to action plan ideas and report writing. A lack of opportunities for young people living in disadvantaged areas like Knowle West has resulted in stark differences in progression rates to higher education. This ranges from 8.6 per cent in the more working-class areas of south Bristol compared with 100 per cent in more affluent areas of the city like Clifton in West Bristol.[45]The report shows how the lack of post-16 provision has an impact on the chances of young people in Knowle West going on to university, far fewer students going on to higher education than predicted by their GCSE results. Young people in Knowle West are also not gaining access to the highest quality apprenticeships in engineering, construction and Information Technology (IT), nor are they getting other training that would improve their life chances.[46] Working with Professor Sutherland, learning from her research and reflecting on my own education demonstrated further to me how vital guidance and advice is for young people, from the age of 13/14 around academic choices, for children to be able to then have access to the degree courses they need to pursue, should they so wish. Such as careers and professions like engineering and veterinary surgery, that require specific academic qualifications at GCSE level, particularly the need for mathematics or sciences at GCSE A' level for example.

My work is informed by a deep concern over the vast differences in opportunities and life expectancy for people in the UK, largely dependent on postcode, formal education, financial status, and connections and social networks. My interest in the research topic

[45] More information available at: http://www.bristol.ac.uk/news/2018/october/educational-inequality.html (Accessed 9 June 2020)
[46] More information available at: https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/education-inequality-shameful-bristol-appalling-2102602 (Accessed 9 June 2020)

for this thesis has been influenced by various social justice issues, local campaign work, as well as personal experiences within the English political system. Since 1992, I have been involved with social justice and politically progressive campaign work, predominantly knocking on doors campaigning for the Labour Party. Known as 'labour doorstep' this is how I first came to know the area known as Knowle West, within the electoral jurisdiction of the Bristol South parliamentary constituency. This is one of the many reasons why the work of Jane Jacobs (1958; 1961; 1969; 1993; 2000; 2016) appealed; grounded in a belief of walking the walk, knowing the patch you are campaigning and advocating on behalf of. Through the notion of 'eyes upon the street' (Jacobs, 1961: 45), we would undertake door-to-door campaigning which is sometimes known as 'blitzing' an area, as a team go out knocking on every door in a specific zone of streets, to ask residents about their concerns and discuss solutions.

Directly elected city mayors for the eleven largest English cities[47] came about as part of the Localism Act (2011). Bristol is one of those cities and voted in a 2011 referendum to have their first directly elected mayoral elections, in the following November 2012. I first knocked on doors campaigning in the Knowle West area for the Labour Party during the mayoral election campaign of 2012. Having moved from London the previous year, I embarked on a research project for Left Foot Forward[48] around the pre-referenda city mayoral campaigns. Since 1992, I had been door-knocking in elections and general

[47] Birmingham, Bradford, Bristol, Coventry, Leeds, Manchester, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Nottingham, Sheffield, and Wakefield.

[48] More information available at: https://leftfootforward.org/2012/03/bristol-elected-mayor-referendum/ - (Accessed 11 May 2020)

Labour Party political campaigning. This door-to-door work is a great way to learn about the country and concerns of others, to better start to understand how other people think and feel, about the nation and politics. I was first introduced to the area of Knowle West once I moved to Bristol and engaged with Bristol Labour Party, campaigning with my local Constituency Labour Party, of Bristol South. This gave me an insight into aspects of thinking about politics and political engagement in my constituency. For example, the voter turn-out in the 2012 directly elected mayoral referendum was just 10% in Filwood Ward, the lowest in Bristol; in affluent Stoke Bishop, near Clifton and the University of Bristol the turn-out was more than double at 26%. 'They just do not want to know', was how this was framed on polling day in Knowle West by the then sitting MP and Deputy Madam Speaker Dawn Primarolo.

It was during this campaigning that some adult residents told me they could not read. This was in response to being offered Labour Party leaflets at their front door. (I later worked with a man at KWMC during my PhD placement, who told me he was illiterate and that it was a common thing on the estate.) Historically, there was a reliance on unskilled work in the local tobacco factories, with the largest in neighbouring Hartcliffe, the next large housing estate. Some people were once part paid in cigarettes, I was told. I also found out during the course of the PhD fieldwork and associated academic reading that there were higher than average literacy problems on the estate; as well as what one KWF member referred to as 'poor readers'. There are some major health challenges, particularly when life expectancy, premature death rates as well as teenage and child health issues are taken into consideration.[49]

[49] Quality of Life in Your Neighbourhood survey, 2005-07.

In terms of other local knowledge and experience, around the same time as being awarded the ESRC studentship, I was busy as Chair of the merger board to save two local charities, Knowle West Alcohol and Drugs Service (KWADS)[50] and Hartcliffe and Withywood Kick Start (HAWKS)[51] due to the Council's contracting policy and funding. At this time, I was an activist with Unite the union and served on the National Industry Sector Committee (NISC) Community, Youth Workers and Not for Profit Sector, representing the South West. It was during my parliamentary selection campaign in Bristol South, during the summer of 2013, that my interest in the work of the Productive Margins (PM) research programme started. I was out canvassing Labour Party members in Knowle West and had seen an alert flash-up on my Facebook timeline a few hours earlier, from KWMC. They were advertising an exciting opportunity (the ESRC PhD studentship) for the research programme PM with the University of Bristol. KWMC was a local organisation that had already caught my attention, having worked in the media for many years and being relatively new to the area, I was really curious to know more.

I had worked in the Knowle West area before as a school governor (Knowle Park Primary in Knowle ward – on the borders with the designated KWF neighbourhood planning, Knowle West area). As well, in a community campaigning capacity for the Labour Party, as a Bristol South Labour Party member. What particularly caught my attention about the PM project was the idea of working with the University of Bristol, but in a community outreach research setting. KWMC had told me a new supermarket and

[50] Knowle West Alcohol and Drug Service, known as KWADS. More information available at: http://www.kwads.org.uk/ (Accessed 13 May 2020)
[51] HAWKS now known as Hawkspring - offering a range of services to anyone who is affected by drug and alcohol misuse, both adults and children. More information available at: http://www.hawkspring.org.uk/ (Accessed 15 May 2020)

possibly a café could be in the offing from neighbourhood planning in Knowle West, which sounded very exciting, as fresh food back then at least was quite limited in availability, without taking a bus or driving a car to another area. I was told that the community had already shown a lot of interest, through previous community engagement work (the Vision 2030 work) in securing a supermarket for the area. The social justice elements around this project appealed to my belief in community activism, to be part of social change. Putting my professional and political skills to good use in this setting really caught my energy and enthusiasm.

It is important to be clear at this stage - given my Labour Party activism and my scepticism to Conservative Party rhetoric in the 2010 general election campaign around the Big Society – it was vital to go into my community placement with an open mind. As an active participant in KWF, my presence in the research is significant and I have chosen a research design that allows for researcher participation. It is worth also adding that I did not turn to the theoretical literature until sometime into my research journey. (My community placement started before my research training even began.) This will be elucidated further in *Chapter Two,* where I discuss my theoretical influences. The literature review was delayed until the theory began to emerge, then used alongside the empirical data (Heath, 2006; Hickey, 1997). Given how new the policy of neighbourhood planning was back when I embarked on this project[52] (the neighbourhood planning regulations and the Localism Act 2011 are discussed in *Chapter Three* within the Political and Policy Context to the Study) journal articles were not yet published on the topic.

[52]The Localism Act 2011 provides a statutory regime for neighbourhood planning. The Neighbourhood Planning (General) Regulations 2012 ("the 2012 Regulations") make provision in relation to that regime.

1.5 A Constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approach using ethnographic data collection methods

My understanding of Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) is that it is first and foremost considered a research strategy (Charmaz, 2000), to aid the discovery of emerging patterns in data, requiring reflexivity, which suited the nature of the research topic and my participant observation role and placement. My epistemological and ontological positions will be presented in more detail in the methodology *Chapter Four*, but I wanted to make my position clear from the outset that this study embraces a subjective inter-relationship between the researcher and participant, in terms of the co-construction of meaning (Hayes and Oppenheim, 1997; Pidgeon and Henwood, 1997). Data are co-constructed by researcher *and* participants in CGT, coloured by the researcher's perspectives, values, privileges, positions, interactions, and geographical locations (Bryant, 2002; Charmaz, 2002, 2006; Thornberg and Charmaz, 2012). In 1993, Jane Jacobs noted qualitative approaches to urban studies evoked:

> '... a methodologically diverse terrain, tenuously drawn together by a reliance on the hermeneutic interpretative process. There are the more familiar, although often marginalized, methods associated with ethnography (such as the in-depth interview and participant observation).' (Jacobs, 1993: 827)

In fact, these are the two main data collection methods used in this thesis, drawing on the ethnographic tradition (Hammersley, 1990; Atkinson et al., 2000; Genzuk, 2003; Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011; Charmaz, 2020). While tenets from the CGT approach aided the discovery of emerging patterns from the data. The CGT approach requires reflexivity, which suited the nature of the research topic and my participant observation

role and placement. (I will return to a summary of my approach re methods in *Chapter Four, section 4.4 - Developing a research design – why CGT and ethnographic methods?)*

The reflexive element to CGT is why I have provided details of my professional and educational career and history. In many ways, these form part of my research base, in terms of reference points about British government, politics and social history, with which to reflect on what I discovered on the ground. To help me understand, but with the ever-present application of 'doubt', so that existing knowledge from the workplace and voluntary experience did not cloud my judgement in assessing and analysing what I was seeing in the field. With the caveat that I am also very much 'in' the research, which will be discussed in more detail in *Chapter Four*, in terms of positionality, reflexivity, and biases, conscious or otherwise.

The process of data collection in such a research paradigm is often described as inductive in nature (Morse, 2001), in that the researcher has no preconceived ideas to prove or disprove, rather than a hypothesis to investigate. Instead, it is the issues of importance to participants that emerge from stories they tell about an area of interest they have in common with the researcher (Mills, Bonner and Francis, 2006b). Storytelling or story capturing in grounded research terms can be seen as presenting 'data with a soul,'[53] bringing depth and colour to a situation, breathing life into it, as it were. Within this approach, a literature review is used in a constructive and data-sensitive way without forcing it on data (Thornberg, 2012). I knew local government and

[53] Brené Brown TED Talk, June 2010. More information available at: https://www.ted.com/talks/brene_brown_on_vulnerability (Accessed 4 August 2019)

the planning system were significantly overhauled by the Localism Act (2011). However, I also knew that both academics and parliamentarians had expressed concerns about devolving decision-making powers, particularly to a neighbourhood scale devoid of conventional democratic mechanisms (Layard, 2012). Lord Maurice Glasman, as Adviser to the Leader of the Opposition on Civil Society, in the Parliamentary *Public Administration Select Committee* (*PASC*) *Report into the Big Society, 2011*:

> 'It is important to note that advocates of the Big Society project say it is not just about community. It is also about social capital, people power, and social entrepreneurs.' (2011: 9)

I was intrigued to know what prospects there were for a grassroots group to succeed with neighbourhood planning, during a period of economic weakness, in an age of 'austerity' and severe public spending cuts to the voluntary sector and local government and associated community job losses. However, my mind was open to what my time in the field may reveal. That time in the field was intended to demonstrate the 'lived experience' of policy, to be part of user engagement throughout the whole process, over two years, investigating neighbourhood planning, from within, as a participant observer. This was conducted in two phases. The various stages of data collection are outlined below in *table i* and in more detail in *Chapter Four*, with a full list of data collected. I came out of the KWF group at the end of February 2015, to become more of an autonomous researcher, to conduct interviews with KWF members. The intention had been to go back to the group with some of the findings of the interviews. The process was aimed at being a potentially transformational process - to help the group

move on with its work, but the group volunteered their powers to cease being a designated neighbourhood development forum before that could happen, in June 2015.

1.5.1 Initial research questions and fieldwork schedule

As is the case with much research the research questions changed throughout my time as a doctoral researcher, acting more as a guide, in keeping with traditional grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006). My starting point was data collection. I return to three final research questions in *Chapter Four* (methodology) and *Chapter Eight* (conclusions). In the early days of the research project, as with many research projects of this nature, the questions below were the loose, guiding research questions:

1. How does regulation help us understand the processes and practices of this new form of neighbourhood planning in the Knowle West area?
2. What do we learn about social capital and co-operation in relation to the neighbourhood planning group of KWF?
3. In what ways has the policy of neighbourhood planning in the Knowle West area resulted in community empowerment?

Fieldwork Table i:

Fieldwork dates	**Nature of fieldwork**	**Data collected**	**Documentary evidence as data**
July 2013 – Feb 2015	Communications Officer for Knowle West Future (KWF).	Field notes as participant observer	Agendas and minutes from 17 KWF forum

	Left group at the end of February 2015, to then undertake the initial batch of interviews and proceed with further analysis, doctoral research training / academic reading.	attending KWF forum meetings, working groups and public engagement events	meetings / six working group meetings Feria report on the KWF project, from 2015
March – June 2015	Interview process undertaken with KWF members	Audio recordings of interviews and transcripts from interviews	
April and Nov 2017. Then another final, 'update' interview in 2021.	Follow-up interviews, with three members of KWMC.	Audio and transcripts from interviews	

1.6 Conclusive comments

Moving from data to the analysis and returning in cycles, I worked carefully to take account of the different positions of all 'actors' within the research and to reflect critically on my position and assumptions as a researcher in the process of analysis. To theorise and understand the data collected, my reflexive approach acknowledges that I drew on my past experiences as a Labour Party activist and Councillor and campaigner on the estate, as well as Chair of a local charity in neighbouring Hartcliffe, along with past chairing work in London for Britain in Europe, and Labour Party meetings. In addition, my experiences as part of the PM Forum shaped my views and understanding of collaborative work. I built strong relationships with people on KWF and am still in contact with two of them in particular, Lawrence and occasionally with Michelle.

When reviewing the literature, in the following two chapters, my research findings are grounded in my political convictions and experience as a Labour activist, which has included the door-to-door canvassing in Knowle West. As well as local community work in the third sector, before the research started, for a debt and addiction charity (HAWKS and KWADS), working to save two organisations from folding due to funding cuts from local government. Layered on top of that foundation lies the broad experiences gained from the 20-months of fieldwork, with KWF and KWMC; as well as being part of the Productive Margins Forum[54] since 2013. This background and contextualisation are explicitly acknowledged here and within the resulting theory, as it is this voice, formed from decades of social justice campaigning, that is showing and talking about the

[54] More information available at: https://productivemargins.blogs.bristol.ac.uk/co-production-hub/productive-margins-forums/
(Accessed 6 July 2021)

researched area (Charmaz and Mitchell, 1996; Clarke, 2005). In this way, the researcher's presence in the research is neither neutral nor undesirable. From defining the topic to the research preparation, data collection, analysis, literature chosen to review, to the final rendering of the research findings, the author is a key element of the whole process (Mruckand Breuer, 2003).

CHAPTER TWO - THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Aims of the chapter

2.1.1 Introduction

2.2 Co-design, collaborative planning and the work of Jane Jacobs

2.3 Localism and neighbourhood planning

2.3.1 Constructing the 'local'

2.3.1.1 Social networks, resources and localism

2.3.1.2 Social networks and social inclusion

2.3.2 Localism and collaboration

2.4 The operation of power in localism and neighbourhood planning

2.4.1 Power *with* others

2.4.2 Power and resources

2.4.3 Power *over* others

2.4.4 Thinking about modalities of power

2.4.5 The relationship between trust and power and collaboration

2.5 Concluding comments

2.1 Aims of this chapter

Neighbourhood planning has been defined as 'a new system of collaborative planning' (Conservative Party, 2009: 3) framed as being all about community empowerment (Painter et al., 2010; Holman and Rydin, 2012; Bradley and Sparling, 2017). Neighbourhood planning is described by the government and scholars as *collaborative planning* and falls within the policy setting of *localism*. The connection with localism and neighbourhood planning, in political terms, is largely the domain of the Conservative-led Coalition of 2010-15, through the Localism Act 2011 and a narrative known then as the Big Society. I have decided to approach the politics that frames this thesis within the following *Chapter Three:* the political and policy background to this study, where you will find an examination of the legal regulations that introduced Neighbourhood Planning in 2012, set against an outline of the contemporary political and economic scene.

The intention is to first explore key conceptual elements - of the *local, social networks, collaboration,* and *co-design* -as well as setting out a theorisation of *empowerment, power, resources,* and *trust* - within the rationale that the rest of the thesis can then draw upon this theoretical framework. To that end, the overall aim of *Chapter Two* is to explore the concept of *localism*, whilst engaging with some of the complexities and resource issues surrounding community-led co-design and working collaboratively.

2.1.1 Introduction to chapter two – the theoretical framework

My research design, which is outlined thoroughly in *Chapter Four* (methodology), needed a slightly different approach than using a pre-conceived theoretical lens. As such, this thesis draws heavily on Charmaz's work on constructivist grounded theory

(2000, 2001, 2003, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2017; Bryant and Charmaz, 2007; 2019), utilising an inductive methodology driven by empirical data, to allow for the development of theorisations without the guidance of a preconceived theory (Mills et al., 2006b). I knew that neighbourhood planning was framed in empowerment terms, by the government and much of the literature (see Painter et al., 2010). However, I had not read theories around power or community empowerment until *after* starting the data analysis. I was in the field before my PhD training even started. I was invited by my community placement hosts KWMC to attend the first meeting of KWF in July 2013, while my studentship officially started with the University of Bristol in September of that year. It was only through being in the field for over a year, immersing myself in the work of an area neighbourhood forum, that I started to think more conceptually. I was heavily involved in demanding practical work. Then, working closely with my data, iteratively going back into the literature, I came to fully realise the usefulness of all the conceptual ideas within this chapter and how they link.

In exploring theories and concepts, ideas around social capital came to my attention early on in my PhD journey, particularly as the Big Society Report by the House of Commons Public Administration Select Committee (2011) specifically linked this social theory with localism. Putnam (2000; 2001) is cited as being significant in relation to the Big Society and localism by the House of Commons[55]. An American theorist who popularised the concept of what he called social capital in the 1990s. According to the House of Commons Public Administration Select Committee report:

[55] The Big Society Report by the House of Commons Public Administration Select Committee (2011)

'The Big Society project … has roots in the theory of social capital.'[56]

However, upon engaging with the literature I realised this was a highly contested concept (Halpern, 2005; Dhillon, 2009; Fine 2010) and an un-unified intellectual endeavour. Nonetheless, it is a concept adopted by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and internationally by policymakers, particularly by international governmental bodies such as the World Bank. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) offers an introductory working definition for understanding their use of social capital, which is relevant to this study as:

> '… networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups.' (2001)

In terms of looking at the types of networks and groups KWF could potentially gain connecting with co-creating a neighbourhood plan, the definition from the Office of National Statistics (ONS)[57]is useful. It broadly defines four main categories for social capital: geographical groups - such as people living in a specific neighbourhood; professional groups – those in the same occupation, members of a local association or voluntary organisation; social groups - such as families, church-based groups, groups of friends; virtual groups - such as the networks generated over the internet on social networking sites like Facebook and in chat rooms, through common interest groups.

[56] See Roots of the Big Society – report on The Big Society 2011. More information available at: https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmpubadm/902/90202.htm (Accessed 19 September 2019)

[57] Office for National Statistics (ONS) http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105232615/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/user-guidance/social-capital-guide/the-social-capital-project/guide-to-social-capital.html

The ONS defines these into conceptual terms, which will be examined in this chapter and developed in the findings chapters:

> '… personal relationships, social support networks, civic engagement, and trust and cooperative norms'.[58]

These definitions are useful to think about how to connect locally, given its collaborative nature of neighbourhood planning, however, I became aware that there was a body of work denying that social capital was not a theory at all (see Fine, 2010; Fischer, 2005) and I, therefore, decided against using this theory directly in my thesis. However, later in my PhD exploration, looking at the work of urban theorist Jane Jacobs (1958; 1961; 1969; 1993; 2000; 2016) helped me understand the theorisation more practically, and in a richer context. In the process discovering that it was, in fact, Jacobs' ideas that went on to become known as social capital (Jacobs, 1961). These were later developed by Bourdieu (1984; 1986; 1996), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (1995; 2000; 2002) and used by Ostrom (1975; 2003; 2009).

I have found it useful to consider and develop some of the key concepts that interlink with these theorisations, in particular, the importance of social networks and what is termed network power (Gallent and Robinson, 2012). That is power *with* others, generated by the relationships and connections that exist among individuals and groups within a community. Jacobs' work (1961) highlights the critical role that trust, and resources play in activating such connections towards collaborative work. Ostrom develops these ideas, to further emphasise trust as being the vital component in

[58] More information available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/releases/thestateofsocialcapitalintheuk (Accessed 19 September 2019)

generating fruitful cooperative, community ventures, developing the ideas by recommending that stakeholder engagement and face-to-face communication (Ostrom, 1975; 2003; 2009). Indeed, Young (2000) argues for the importance of recognising aspects of human, in person communication such as greetings, handshakes, hugs, the offering of food and drink, making 'small talk', all to be crucial to politics, although they may appear peripheral to official structures of political debate and interaction. In a digital age, this seems particularly pertinent to reflect upon, given trust needs to be built through human interaction and repeated positive encounters; to build rapport, familiarisation, and then trust.

Challenging the presumption that governments always do a better job than users in organising and protecting important resources, Ostrom and Jacobs have significantly influenced my understanding of the importance of both local expertise and the concept of trust in collaborative work like neighbourhood planning. I introduce the chapter with a brief discussion of some of the ideas and work of Jacobs (1958; 1961; 1969; 1993; 2000; 2016), set against urban design theory, in terms of collaborative, community co-design. This is to better understand the concepts at stake in community-led planning initiatives linked with neighbourhood planning. This aids a deeper understanding around notions of localism, as well as serves to lay a foundation to later explore what the *local* might mean – in *section 2.3.1.* Given that the government frames localism as being about *empowerment* (Holman and Rydin, 2012; Bradley and Sparling, 2017; Gallent and Robinson, 2012; McKee, 2012; Brownill, 2017), I then continue building the theoretical framework by drawing heavily on theories of power by John Allen (2003, 2004, 2016). This creates a theoretical grounding to then be able to explore community

empowerment, in relation to Mike Kesby's retheorisation (2005, 2007), which links resources with power.

Given this is a very practical, praxis-based study, I include examples from my data, to ground the theory in the data. I will go on to discuss these areas in more detail within those empirical data chapters, to fully explain my observations and present my analysis.

2.2 Co-design, collaborative planning and the work of Jane Jacobs

Urban design theory includes a form of empowered community action, in an urban planning setting, sometimes known as community design or *co-design* (Zamenopoulos and Alexiou, 2018). The politics and practices of co-design are a useful starting point to help develop a conceptualisation of community empowerment in the context of neighbourhood planning. In the sense that this work values community histories, privileges community context, and prizes local knowledge as expertise. In terms of knowledge development, idea generation, and concept development (Sanders and Jan Stappers, 2014), residents are recognised as the experts (Sleeswijk Visser et al., 2005). Here, community empowerment is understood as a process by which individuals gain mastery over certain aspects of their lives through democratic participation in the life of their community (Zimmerman and Rappaport, 1988). A succinct definition of co-design is that of:

> 'A practice where people collaborate or connect their knowledge, skills and resources in order to carry out a design task.' (Zamenopoulos and Alexiou, 2018: 47)

The nature of such collaboration is often conceptualised as an act of co-creation between technical experts and non-technical-experts ('users' – who could be residents or tenants) who bring their creativity together to develop a solution (Zamenopoulos and Alexiou, 2018). This is essentially where KWF was coming from, to work with urban planner Feria in a process of co-design. To utilise the professional expertise from Feria to help with ideas, as well as translate the legal/technical sides of neighbourhood planning and marry them together, with local aspirations for change and revitalisation for the areas in Knowle West.

Some of the earliest writing in the co-design tradition includes Jacobs (1961) critique of post-war planning, in the hugely influential book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961/2000). Her work is of significance to this thesis for several reasons, summarised here and expanded upon in the data chapters. A champion of grassroots urban planning and an advocate of putting local people at the heart of planning (Hospers, 2006; Kanigel, 2016), her work has had considerable influence on contemporary urban design theories and practices (Sung et al., 2015). A journalist and urban, neighbourhood activist in New York City, Jacobs (1958; 1961; 1969; 1993; 2000; 2016) wrote from first-hand experiences. Her work has become part of scholarship in the field of urban planning and development, informing the view that the experts in understanding the dynamics of an area are the residents themselves (Hull, 2001). Jacobs spoke of the importance of 'neighbourhood' (1961: 112-14) and her theories emphasise the value of local knowledge (Wendt, 2009; Sung et al., 2015). She was a champion of utilising that local knowledge and her main argument was that residents' observations should trump those of remote urban planners (Laurence, 2006).

The correlation with neighbourhood planning is interesting, as Jacobs used inductive reasoning to closely observe city life. Drawing on grounded, close observations from within a community she argued, that:

> '… there must be eyes upon the street, eyes belonging to those we might call the natural proprietors of the street' (Jacobs, 1961: 45)

Indeed, her work has become ubiquitous with the notion of '*eyes on the street'* (Jacobs, 1961: 53), a concept that Jacobs insisted was of crucial importance to contributing to the success of vibrant street life, for neighbourhood safety, and in gaining local intelligence for planning work, and the privileging of a community's local expertise. To better understand areas within cities, it is the residents who should be at the centre of any planning vision:

> 'The way to get at what goes on in the seemingly mysterious and perverse behaviour of cities is, I think to look closely, and with as little previous expectation as possible, at the most ordinary scenes and events, and attempt to see what they mean and whether any threads of principle emerge among them.' (Jacobs, [1961] 2000: 23)

Jacobs' ideas were all about small-scale, local plans, which went against the perceived wisdom of the time, which was that planning was to be large in scale and the domain of men (for they were all male then) in departments. She faced much opposition, the predictable sexism of the time, and was ridiculed as being an inconsequential housewife, ill-equipped to comment on such matters. Ironically, her ideas have since become highly influential and *The Death and Life of the American Cities* has become something

of a classic. Six decades later, similar conflicts are still surfacing around power and professional planners, with not dissimilar views emerging regarding the value of local expertise for neighbourhood planning:

> 'In community groups and residents' associations, they challenged the dominant power and knowledge of managerial and professional elites and privileged the neighbourhood as the primary scale from which strategic plans should be developed.' (Bradley, 2015: 99)

Jacobs advocated that policymakers and local government alike needed to adopt an approach of co-design in planning, to prioritise local knowledge. The process needs to be covertly designed to be flexible enough to be sensitive to identify local needs, but also embrace specific solutions. By talking to local people and finding out what is working in their community – and what has not worked too - and building on that, this was all part of her ethos. Her firm advice was that planners should pursue gradual, small-scale projects (Laurence, 2006), in terms of local ideas coming organically from the community. This resonates with my experience of neighbourhood planning, that many KWF activists felt pursuing small plans, anchored in local need, would build trust in the community around the process of neighbourhood planning. Indeed, Jacobs believed that 'little plans' (1961; 2016: 177) were vital in urban renewal, one reason being that she viewed big, sprawling, sophisticated plans (that would take decades to realise) would risk the 'boredom' (1961; 2016: 177) factor, that could cause members of the public to lose interest. By contrast, incrementalism (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo, 2010; Talen, 2005) was her prescription, with small plans building trust through social networks collaborating reciprocally.

One of Jacobs' core beliefs was that the built environment should contain a sufficient concentration and variety of buildings to attract people to the area, for safety and prosperity reasons alike. In the sense that without consumers and footfall, businesses will disappear or never appear in the first place (Wendt, 2009). That local businesses need nearby residents but also depend on the people working in the neighbourhood, who will contribute with their demand to the diversity of retailers and services. By contrast, she developed a critique of bland city planning of 'terrible visual monotony' (Jacobs, 2016: 178), which she felt was the antithesis to nurturing a thriving community.

Developed in her theorisation are three main conditions (Jacobs, 1961: 150-151) seen as being indispensable to restoring or revitalising city districts:

1. The district, and indeed as many of its internal parts as possible, must serve more than one primary function; preferably more than two. These must ensure the presence of people who go outdoors on different schedules and are in the place for different purposes, but who are able to use many facilities in common.

2. The district must mingle buildings that vary in age and condition, including a good proportion of old ones so that they vary in the economic yield. This mingling must be fairly close-grained.

3. There must be a sufficiently dense concentration of people, for whatever purposes they may be there. This includes dense concentration in the case of people who are there because of residence.

The main point being made here is that the physical environment requires diversity, mixed land uses, small blocks, ideally buildings from many eras and sufficient

building densities. The dynamism of a community relies on the presence of three population groups: residents, company employees, and visitors, for the economic sustainability of the area and vibrancy of the street life. In the data analysis chapters, we will see many resonances with Jacobs' theorisation around community-led planning, championing local knowledge, and what might make for appealing urban space, such as building density, mixed-use environments, and the impact of out-of-town supermarkets requiring car use. This creates elements of social exclusion for those who do not have cars.

To Jacobs, the multi-purpose vibrancy of street life – or the sidewalk to use the American vernacular – is vital to what she called 'the social life of city sidewalks' (1961: 55). In that, neighbourhoods thrived where there were multiple reasons to be there, to walk around, and to meet others, to visit, work and take leisure activities. She warned of the opposite and the languid effect of mundane urban plans:

> 'From city to city the architects' sketches conjure up the same dreary scene; there is no hint of individuality or whim or surprise … These projects will not revitalize downtown; they will deaden it.' (Jacobs, 2016: 85)

Instead, to Jacobs' conceptualisation, urban areas are unique, man-made ecosystems. Such an approach called an 'ecological perspective' (Manzo and Perkins, 2006: 336):

> '…engages multiple levels of analysis (individual, group/organization, community/neighborhood, and city/region/ society) and examine multiple environmental domains (i.e., the physical, social, political and economic

> aspects of our communities; see also Perkins et al., 2004).' (Manzo and Perkins, 2006: 336)

The relevance of considering multiple domains and levels in a holistic context is that a more complete understanding of neighbourhood and community can emerge.

> 'This is critical for successful planning and community development efforts since community phenomena happen at all of these levels simultaneously.' (Manzo and Perkins, 2006: 336)

Though Jacobs believed building density would have no positive effect if the buildings were too similar in terms of age and form. She thought that urban vitality needs streets with a 'cross-use' (1961: 152) of activity, a vibrant, dynamic of a continual 'sidewalk ballet' (1961:153) of pedestrian activity, at all hours of the day, to generate the possibility of diverse face-to-face interactions, which in turn increases public safety. This is matched with Jacobs' notion of valuing 'eyes on streets' (1961: 53) for similar reasons and for building local knowledge and trust in others. An interesting resonance with my experiences of neighbourhood planning in Knowle West was Jacobs' observations of the social change attributed to the advent of mass car use, as she described as 'attrition of automobiles' (Jacobs, 1961: 338). She laments the loss of 'vital urban life' (Sung et al., 2015: 117) through the mass use of the car, particularly around – as she framed it - the perils of losing pedestrian activity, what she called 'informal public life' (see Jacobs, 2016 [1958]: 85-103). This resonates with the data chapter on loss, which as Jacobs predicted would be affected by mass car use reducing the chance of meeting informally on the street, which in turn reduces social interaction. Not walking around locally could reduce opportunities to observe the locality by foot, or to build trust through social interaction.

Jacobs considered that a lack of population density would force people to travel out of the area, by private automobile, which would drain the area of critical mass to sustain business ventures. This is exactly what has happened in Knowle West. The once-thriving Broadway shopping area of Filwood (discussed in more detail in the empirical data analysis chapters) is now largely derelict, as the local area has become surrounded by supermarkets that take local custom away. A short drive away in neighbouring Hartcliffe is a large Morrisons supermarket, while a big Lidl and Asda are not much further away by car. Non-car owners must rely on buses, which are reported to be infrequent, as well as costly for those on low incomes. Since my fieldwork, a new Aldi and Marks and Spencer food hall have been developed, nearby, accessible by car or a short walk across a dual carriageway.

2.3 Localism and neighbourhood planning

The connection with Jacobs' work is the local focus of planning, in terms of neighbourhood planning in the context of this thesis, expressed through a framing known as *localism*. Localism is defined largely in terms of decentralising power, a narrative of transferring power concerning decision-making from the centre (Westminster and Whitehall) to the periphery, in this case, to local communities. The term localism is often used interchangeably with the notion of *community empowerment* in relation to neighbourhood planning (Painter et al., 2011). Presented as a strategy to engage local people at the neighbourhood level, under rhetorical banners such as *devolution* and *decentralisation* (Bailey and Pill, 2015), localism is said to be about increasing citizen participation in certain practices of local government (see Painter et al., 2011; Gallent and Robinson, 2012). However, the UK has a system of elected

representative democracy, and a tension emerges within the data set, revealing animosity between local councillors and the advent of localism.

Neighbourhood planning is a decentred regulatory system. It is the relational elements around the legal regulation and power relations that frame the thesis. Relational, in terms of how the policy might change relationships, with the state and local government and between the state and local people (see Gallent and Robinson, 2012). In this sense, the policy is described as 'relational reform' (Padley, 2012: 351). It is this relationality that is integral to this thesis. In the sense that neighbourhood planning is partnership work between members of the public, local government, and the central state. Neighbourhood planning – in localism terms - is principally concerned with a collaborative approach to the policy-making process, between individuals and groups within neighbourhoods (Gallent and Robinson, 2012). It is the neighbourhood planning elements of localism that are under scrutiny in this thesis. Discussions of localism and neighbourhood planning *reinvent* the local as the place where democracy is enacted (Brownill, 2017); and where power is to be (re)located (Davoudi and Madanipour, 2015).

Through localism, the neighbourhood is:

> '… being recast as a place within democratic networked governance (Sorenson and Torfing, 2007; Gallent and Robinson, 2012).' (Cited in Brownill and Bradley, 2017: 146)

But that recasting of power, described by the Conservative Party as *Returning Power to Local Communities* (2009), is not straightforward. It is how this power is activated, the resources and relational expertise required, that will be explored as this thesis

progresses. For the devolution of certain aspects of governance to communities is said to be an integral aspect of the state strategy of localism (Bradley and Sparling, 2016). Just how this might happen and how hard it might be to achieve, is investigated and presented in the following policy and politics *Chapter Three,* then the empirical data findings *Chapters Five, Six, and Seven.*

2.3.1 Constructing the 'local'

But what exactly is meant by the 'local' in localism? The definition of the 'local' draws on different and often competing understandings (Layard, 2012). There is a certain romanticisation and oversimplification of the notion, to the extent that the local has become something of an imagined place (Anderson, 2003; Bernstein et al., 2016). Policymakers have been accused of treating *the local* as places of commonality; of belonging (Bradley, 2015), and consensus. As well as conjuring images of homogeneity, certain politicians appear to envisage a notional place, full of caring people predisposed to volunteering (Brownill, 2016) and able to apply themselves and their spare time to the complex work of issues such as neighbourhood planning. Besides, in the case of neighbourhood planning, sharing a postcode or indeed living or working in the same street does not necessitate commonality in views or shared priorities for their area and lives. If we take a closer look, Uphoff (2013) offers an understanding of the 'local', in terms of thinking about the social landscape, conceptualising various 'localities' within a network of 'communities' and 'groups', with emphasis placed on the spatial. As there is a distinction to be made between the local as a 'spatial unit' (Chaskin, 1998: 12) and the 'closely related term' (Jenks and Dempsey, 2007: 153) of *community.*

A baseline definition of *community* is a group of people who share something in common (Hoggett, 1997; Taylor, 2003; Delanty, 2003; Robinson et al., 2005; Jenkins, 2008). A community can, however, typically refer to a group of people sharing a common interest or identity, such as the same ethnicity or social class, maybe the same religion, sexual orientation, political affiliation, or people who work in the same profession (see Hillery, 1955; Butcher, 1993; Hoggett, 1997; Banks, 2003; Taylor, 2003; Robinson et al., 2005). By any definition, it is a 'social construct' (Minnery et al., 2009: 474) and the word community can also be used about groups of people sharing a geographical place.

In practical, rather than theoretical terms, when the government refers to 'community' - in relation to neighbourhood planning - the phrase refers to all the people living or working in the area designated by the area neighbourhood development forum. That is, the geographic area that has been put forward by the neighbourhood forum, then approved and designated by the Council. How is the local, in this instance, defined and by whom? How is any locality boundary decided upon? Indeed, neighbourhood boundaries are not always easy to define (Minnery et al., 2009). The creation of a neighbourhood planning forum like KWF requires first applying for designation as a legal plan-making institution, to convene as a legitimate plan-making body by the local Council (more details on this follow in *Chapter Three*). The geographical spatial boundaries of the neighbourhood area must be approved by the authority of the Council, having first been agreed by the area development forum themselves, who are proposing to participate in neighbourhood planning.

Bradley's research reveals this is not always a straightforward matter and notes that antagonism about boundaries and political identities can occur (Bradley, 2015). KWF encountered issues when it came to having the boundary of their neighbourhood area agreed (including opposition to even establishing as a forum from various local councillors. One local Councillor even refused to 'allow' *his* ward to be included within the neighbourhood planning boundary for Knowle West). In addition to political matters of territorial control (Bradley, 2015), residents, politicians, and policymakers might perceive neighbourhood spatial boundaries differently and less related to natural and road cues than planners might think (Minnery et al., 2009):

> '… depending on the interplay between different elements involved rather than follow pre-determined spatial logics.' (Brownill, 2016: 90)

In this sense notions of the *local* are not always the same for everyone and defining a geographic, spatial neighbourhood area or locality can be subjective. The definitions are often found to be based on individual rather than group constructs. To account for this, KWF wanted to define seven differently named localities within their neighbourhood area, to aid local engagement, based on local understandings of areas within areas (defined and divided by 'invisible boundaries' as the Chair of KWF put it, as did one of the local Filwood councillors). The KWF group referred to these as 'village hubs'. One such hub was named after a corner shop that was called Jarmans, which had gone decades earlier, but 'Jarmans' was the name local people referred to the area, the vicinity where KWMC and the police station is located. An important piece of local signposting then emerges from local people defining hub areas. This allowed for the local knowledge that suggested that some local people did not consider they lived in Knowle West. Some

would say they were from 'the Novers'[59] (referring to certain areas around Novers Hill) and some would be adamant that they lived in Filwood Park. Some refused to acknowledge that Knowle West existed as an area at all. In contrast, when deciding on a spatial boundary, policymakers are known to often adopt:

> '… an approach of conceptualizing a neighbourhood in terms of its 'core' rather than its periphery.' (Minnery et al., 2009: 489)

Conversely, in the neighbourhood planning work in Knowle West, it was expressed that certain local people would feel excluded if plans were too *core centric.* (This was an issue in the work of the neighbourhood planning forum of KWF - with some members urging the group's focus *not* to be biased towards the 'core' area of Filwood Broadway, in terms of the emphasis of the ideas for their work.) In the end, the 'local' can arguably constitute a variety of 'overlapping communities' (Hull, 2001: 303). These overlaps can be geographical or social, through networks, groups, and social ties. This is a way of unpicking what *neighbourhood* might consist of - when it comes to neighbourhood planning. Overlapping communities points to the diversity and heterogeneous nature of neighbourhood.

The concept of the local is therefore contingent and likely to be dynamic and changeable (Allen and Cochraine, 2010). Indeed:

> 'neighbourhoods are being made across time and space through the negotiations, conflicts and relationships between the diverse elements …' (Brownill, 2017: 158)

[59] More information available at: http://www.northern-slopes-initiative.co.uk/Novers (Accessed 10 January 2020)

A process that Anderson and McFarlane (2011) emphasise can only ever be provisional. Relations may change, new elements may enter or leave, and new conjunctions can be fostered, old ones lost. The changing nature of community means that alliances are not in any way permanent or static, they may be broken:

> '… as actors, interests and agencies of governance negotiate, clash, or form some uneasy alliance over the meanings of places within contemporary policy frameworks.' (Brownill, 2016: 82)

Given this picture of an ever-changing process of change (Anderson and McFarlane, 2011), I want to argue that 'community', 'neighbourhood' and the 'local' in the context of this thesis should denote fluid social constructions, derived from many heterogeneous parts, some of which may change over time and space (Brownill, 2017).

2.3.1.1 Social networks, resources, and localism

In aiming to get to the heterogeneous nature of the local and communities some authors refer to social networks as a key aspect (Wellman, 1999; Gilchrist, 2004; 2009) in understanding community. One way of working collaboratively at a community level is by utilising social networks. As we saw with the ideas of Jacobs (1958; 1961) about community-led planning, neighbourhood planning is said to be about maximising social networks (Gallent and Robinson, 2012; Padley, 2013). Definitions of social networks vary, from knowing a neighbour or shopkeeper with which to say 'hallo', to having strong ties to kin, friends, neighbours, and associates; and other people that individuals can rely on (Matthews and Besemer, 2014). Referring to social networks in this thesis includes formal family, friendship, and work-based relations as well as more informal community

relationships (Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011), such as parents known to each other at the school gate, as well as knowing others through residents' groups and voluntary organisations. The importance being that relationships link individuals to others, which can enable a broader reach for communication; for the sharing and spread of ideas (in terms of knowledge exchange), beyond an individual's immediate social realm. Personal networks can in this way be extended, through the contacts and networks of others, through colleagues, family, friends, and acquaintances (Christakis and Fowler, 2010).

Edwards (2011) argues that building and using common knowledge from collaborative work is an important feature of what can be termed relational expertise - or relational agency (Edwards, 2005) - required for working across practice boundaries on complex tasks. The reason this is important in relation to neighbourhood planning is that social networks can expand the 'asset base' (Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011: 4) by using relationships to engage with other people, in order to share resources, expand opportunities, and challenge dominant assumptions, possibly emanating from the Council as the Local Planning Authority or private developers. Social networks in this way can be seen as a relational resource issue and considered central to delivering the government promises of greater citizen empowerment and community participation, as set out in the Localism Act 2011 (Padley, 2012). In that, they can play a part in enabling and supporting extensive, complex, and dynamic systems of knowledge exchange, influence, and interaction.

There is a growing recognition, in practice and policy, of how networks contribute to the vitality of community life and civil society (Gilchrist, 2009), as a way of activating assets, such as ideas and knowledge exchange. Connections are vital not just in

communicating local knowledge but can serve to import fresh ideas and innovation from the wider community. The community literature suggests members of social groups will bring a variety of values, attitudes, behaviours, and expectations with them, often from other communities to which they belong (Hoggett, 1997; Taylor, 2003; Delanty, 2003; Robinson et al., 2005; Jenkins, 2008; Vigurs, 2009). For example, in terms of innovation, 'catalytic individuals' (Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011: 6) are said to play a crucial role in social networks; persuading, advising, and encouraging adaptation (Gladwell, 2000; Bacon, et al., 2008). Strong individual and relational agency are both necessary for collaborative practice in complex settings (Edwards, 2011), with individual agency being strengthened by working with others in collaboration.

Campaigning alliances can be formed and, if sufficiently diverse, are said to be able to underpin the development of new forms of progressive leadership, because new people can challenge embedded thinking (Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011). And in this way, challenge the old order, sometimes referred to as the 'usual suspects' (Layard, 2012: 140), a notion otherwise referred to as the 'familiar faces' (Bailey and Pill, 2015; Brand and Giffikin, 2007; Vigar, 2013; Brookfield, 2017). Community-level collective action of this nature needs to branch out from those who might be considered the *usual suspects* (see Barnes et al., 2004) to be able to collaborate, to achieve common goals (Eklund, 1999). However, if we examine the dynamic, changing nature of neighbourhood, a dichotomy is revealed. In that neighbourhood planning work is seen as requiring:

> '… a collective identity … in urban areas where the neighbourhood planning regulations allow community groups to establish a neighbourhood forum and apply for designation as a legal plan-making institution.' (Bradley, 2015: 103)

The question is, how does a collective identity form with which to create the priorities and content for a neighbourhood plan, how is it created, by whom, and who decides if such an identity truly represents the local area? The key question being, how is a consensus established and momentum built, to attract interest from the public and grow support for the process of neighbourhood planning in any given area? A collective identity is not something innate in any given locality or neighbourhood, given the diversity of components and factors at play. Yet the initiative of inviting (by the government) public participation through neighbourhood planning is characterised as giving the public a *'voice'* (Hirschman, 1970 in Bradley, 2015: 99). But how does a clear and unified, representative voice emerge? How can it allow for the existence of conflicting interests, especially given such matters as rival political identities, structural antagonisms, or irreconcilable conflicts (Bradley, 2015)? The policy does not clearly allow for such complexities.

In theory, mutual recognition and mutual social support can build up from the fact people live in the same area (Minnery et al., 2009). Whilst a sense of collectivity can evolve in this way, this is not always the case. Indeed, Uphoff (2013) warns that such levels of solidarity and local self-reliance do not just magically happen. Given the heterogeneous nature of the local, this makes it even harder to understand how a sense of *collective identity* (Bradley, 2015: 103) emerges in all neighbourhood planning ventures. Besides, having the ability to mobilise and identify networks, access and manage resources within those networks, requires leadership and in some cases will need institutional backing (Uphoff, 2013). The key point is that:'… localism does not just happen…' (Schragger, 2002: 374) via fiat from central government. How does community-led work such as neighbourhood planning actually manifest? Connecting

social networks, to work collaboratively requires skill and an almost tentacular reach, which begs the question: how is a neighbourhood planning forum like KWF expected to know how to bring social networks together, into the process for the purpose of producing a neighbourhood plan? Given the many resource issues, include leadership and well-connected social networks, having enough volunteers (Putnam, 2000) for the process of neighbourhood planning is also of vital importance. As such, collaboration and co-operation are the only mechanisms by which a successful outcome of a neighbourhood plan could be achieved (Nickson, 2019).

This external stakeholder environment can be conceptualised as a social commons (Willis, 2012). Informed by Ostrom's focus on common pool resource management (Standing, 2019), this thesis highlights the importance of organisations adopting an attitude of mutuality to the external stakeholder environment. It also associates public relations practice with the promotion of a social commons (Willis, 2012):

> 'Furthermore, they expect the users to perform rapidly what government agencies have not been able to do for years. So there is a very grim history out there in terms of donor-assisted handover projects of natural resource systems to local people.' (Ostrom, 2012: 82)

Crucial variables enhancing co-operation concerning collective action are those that enhance reciprocity, individual reputations, and trust (Ostrom, 1998):

> 'Repeated interactions where participants gain trust that others are trustworthy and engage in reciprocal relationships lead to high levels of performance.' (Ostrom, 2006: 161)

2.3.1.2 Social networks and social inclusion

One of the common measures in social network connectivity, in terms of collaborative work, is through membership of organisations and volunteerism. There is a difference in involvement between poor (41 per cent) and non-poor adults (63 per cent) by over 20 percentage points (Matthews and Besemer, 2014). Critically to this thesis, people living in middle-class areas are known to be more likely to be active members of groups that have political influence (Matthews and Hastings, 2013; Egerton and Mullan, 2008). More affluent people are evidenced as being more likely to be involved in organisations that matter in getting things done, such as Parish Councils and school governing bodies (Matthews and Hastings, 2013).

Poverty is known to be multi-faceted, complex, and changing (Walby, 2009; Matthews and Besemer, 2014). The literature shows communities 'at the margins' (McDermont et al., 2020: 2) are often excluded from local decision-making. Theorists of poverty and deprivation, most notably Peter Townsend (1979, 1993), began to define poverty not just in terms of income and goods that a household could or could not afford, but to the extent to which they could participate in society (Dean, 2016). In social exclusion terms, a standard of living then is not just defined around income, but also includes social conditions in which people live including their participation in economic, social, cultural, and political life (Townsend, 1979, 1993, 1987; Gordon, 1998).

Facing multi-layers of disadvantage in a community can act as a barrier to engagement in social networks (Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011). To the extent that the policy of neighbourhood planning fails to consider multiple socio-economic structural barriers that disadvantaged communities face:

> '… in particular ignoring the non-local and macro-level origins of many local challenges that communities face …' (Healy, 2005: 256)

This means being excluded, in terms of being able to question wider structural inequalities through collective action such as neighbourhood planning; for the social networks of people who are already on the economic periphery often magnify poverty and other forms of socio-economic disadvantage (Christakis and Fowler, 2010; Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011). Poorer people often lack the financial means to be able to participate in activities (Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011; Matthews and Besemer, 2014) characteristic of those articulated by localism, volunteerism, and the Big Society. (The Big Society is explored in more detail in *Chapter Three, section 3.2.1.2.*) From transport and childcare costs, to having the spare time, if holding down numerous jobs on poverty pay - volunteering is time-consuming, an extra burden with complex planning work of this nature, which is not always an appealing or practical option for people (Matthews and Besemer, 2014).

2.3.2 Localism and collaboration

Nonetheless, neighbourhood planning fora are conceptualised as 'participatory spaces' (Brownill and Bradley, 2017: 6) for 'collaborative planning' (Conservative Party, 2009: 3). Collaboration can take on a variety of meanings depending upon one's perspective and the context in which it is being used (Glatter, 2003; Huxham, 1996). This point is well illustrated by the contrasting definitions in the Oxford Dictionary (2010), a contrast that will re-emerge later in the data chapters:

> *Collaboration*

(i) *the action of working with someone to produce something;*

(ii) *traitorous co-operation with the enemy.*

In this study, the term is used to refer to a situation where two or more individuals work together to engage in a common project or activity. (Though the second definition of cooperating with the enemy could be how the relationship with the Council appeared to be, given the data around some of the residents' opinion of the local authority, resulting in trust issues.) There is a distinction to be made, however, between collaborative relationships that take place at an individual level, and collaborative relationships that occur between organisations. This study is interested in both, as KWF was comprised of two third sector organisations and individual local residents. Inter-organisational collaborations can be defined as individuals working together across their organisational boundaries on a common project or activity (Huxham and Vangen, 2005). With inter-organisational collaboration, the organisations involved will have some shared aims. At a minimum, this type of collaboration can simply mean one member of staff within an organisation working together with a member of staff from another (Huxham, 1996). This is what we find in the work of KWF.

In essence, the theorisation of collaborative planning surrounds the positive outcomes and benefits of collaborating with a variety of groups (see Jacobs, 1961). For Healey (1996: 230), such a collaborative approach can be viewed as a:

> '… process of facilitating community collaboration in the construction of strategic discourse, in strategic consensus-building'

Another helpful conceptualisation of work of this nature is that of 'networks of shared interest' (Gallent and Robinson, 2012: 4). The reason collaboration and social networks are key are because neighbourhood plans are framed by the government and scholars as being 'a product of network power' (Gallent and Robinson, 2012: 71). But how are networks of this nature in any neighbourhood area identified, mapped out, then brought together and connected? How does power with others come about? This requires knowing how to work collaboratively, which is experienced work (see Mattessich and Monsey, 1992) requiring the skill of being able to build and maintain network power (Gallent and Robinson, 2012).

Asset-based practices have been successful in creating partnerships between the third sector and community levels (Alevizou et al., 2016). One of the central goals of this approach is to provide stronger ties between residents in a locality by providing community engagement tools (O'Leary et al., 2011), also known as community organising. Such work aims to identify communities' possible assets, including social networks and relationships, with individuals and organisations. It is a way of working that recognises the web of human relations in any given neighbourhood. Depicted in this thesis as an *entanglement of relationships* (further developed in a framing of power in *section 2.4.4 – Thinking about modalities of power*) these are seen as relational assets, available to the community group to create conditions for positive change on a social and economic level.

Sometimes known as asset-based community development (ABCD) (Kretzman, 2010; Kretzman and McKnight, 1993; Mathie and Cunningham, 2003), the relevance of such collaborative work in this thesis is the potential for the production of spatial knowledge

(Bradley, 2018) at a neighbourhood level. An ABCD approach to co-creating knowledge production could go towards establishing consensus for land use policies at a neighbourhood level. In that the mapping out of relationships in terms of potential stakeholders to collaborate in order to make a neighbourhood plan, which means:

> 'Asset mapping can generate knowledge that is grounded … a form of knowledge that originates from below and is co-created through interaction among individuals as well as within and by groups.' (Alevizou et al., 2016: 5)

This can be a very useful counterpoint for low-income communities who can often be stigmatised by outsiders (and even by themselves), cast in a deficit model of need and problems. During the Coalition and Cameron's Conservative government the narrative being evoked - discussed in the following chapter - was one of troubled, problematic and deficient neighbourhoods, populated by needy, and deficient individuals (Kretzman and McKnight, 1993). This is known to lead to a negative, needs-based mentality developing in local residents and activists, which can build a negative perception of a neighbourhood. (I heard comments to this effect while working in Knowle West.) For example, focusing on high unemployment, anti-social behaviour and crime, high levels of benefit recipients, illiteracy, child abuse, drug use, and gangs would be considered a dominant deficiency model.

Asset-based practices, on the other hand, offer an alternative path to deficit model thinking; instead of a list of needs, Kretzman and McKnight (1993) suggest a five-step plan to aid communities find the positive attributes and resources that residents already have to create an asset map, to focus on a community's abilities, skills and strengths, through mapping out a community's local institutions (such as businesses and schools

and third sector organisations), community associations (like places of worship and residents' groups), and individual gifts (such as the young people, older people, professionals and artists with specific skills and / or time). Kretzman and McKnight advise creating an Asset Development Organisation, with representatives from local organisations and activists coming together to work collectively for the good of their neighbourhood. KWF arguably started with characteristics of such an organisation. However, for a productive collaborative process to occur, and for KWF to evolve beyond the formation of the neighbourhood planning group itself to actually producing a neighbourhood plan, requires not only the ability to be able to think about and identify *community assets* and resources –including social networks and groups –but crucially the *know-how* to be able to engage in solution-focused *community* change. This is skilled work. Yet the volunteers did not have former experience of co-design work of this nature, nor did they understand how to go about it.

Co-production is also mentioned in the neighbourhood planning literature, in a similar vein to co-design, in terms of being a process through which inputs from individuals who are not in the same organisation can transform services (Ostrom, 1996). However, where was the support, to nurture such an approach to working, for a community wishing to participate in neighbourhood planning, who was unfamiliar with co-production or asset-based working? Ideally, people with experience in community organising would be deployed to maximise on their networking and relationship asset-mapping skills to 'grow' local capacity of volunteers, ideas, and resources. Grassroots projects like neighbourhood planning need community leaders who can tap into and connect social networks. The key point is:

> '… such approaches often present useful tools for public mobilisation and for the co-creation of activities which lead to the unearthing of capabilities and the cultivation of capacities within localities, at the level of the individual, the institutions, the communities or the social system.' (Alevizou et al., 2016: 5)

The purpose is to maximise social relationships to connect the community and people it purports to represent. In examining a collaborative community project like KWF, of individual residents and representatives from the third sector and local voluntary groups, this thesis finds collaboration between organisations - as a means of strengthening social networks - vital in delivering the promises of localism (Padley, 2013). However, one critique of asset focussed ABCD work is that it does not address the complexities associated with local life, such as multiple histories, or the challenges faced by structural inequalities within society (see Healy, 2005), as touched on in relation to social exclusion and public and political life. Indeed, the level of experience required for collaborative work of this nature can exclude communities without the skills to asset-map, or the knowledge of how to operate in this manner.

To nurture the development of collaborative relationships between organisations and individuals, adequate resources, including substantial time and effort from all parties, are required; as well as leadership, good communication skills, and an ability to manage conflict (see Huxham, 1996; Audit Commission, 1998; Hudson et al., 1999; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). These elements will be explored in more detail through the empirical evidence analysis, particularly within *Chapters Five and Six*. Mattessich and Monsey (1992: 12) identify various *Factors influencing the development of 'Successful' Collaboration:*

- Environmental: 'collaborative group, seen as a leader in the community'
- Purpose: 'concrete, attainable goals, and objectives'
- Process: 'development of clear roles'
- Resources: 'sufficient funds and skilled convenors'

However, these key ingredients - considered essential for collaborative work to be 'successful' - were pretty much all absent from the work of KWF through the data set.

2.4 The operation of power in localism and neighbourhood planning

The official government position is that the regulation outlining neighbourhood planning 'gives communities direct power' (DCLG, 2012: 43).

> 'Localism thus becomes one of the ways in which 'new state spaces' of power are being generated (Brenner, 2004).' (Brownill, 2017: 146)

One theorisation is that these new spaces of power bring about *community empowerment*. This is of particular relevance to this study because this is what the government said neighbourhood planning and localism was all about (see Painter et al., 2011; Gallent and Robinson, 2012; McKee, 2012; Brownill, 2017). The Local Government Association (LGA) provides a helpful description of how a co-production model changes the power relations with governance:

> 'Co-production is focused around a relationship in which professionals and citizens share power to plan and deliver support together, recognising that both partners have vital expertise. Overall, co-production is fundamentally about

> seeing people as assets: people are no longer passive recipients of services, but are equal partners in designing and delivering activities to improve outcomes.'[60]

Indeed, neighbourhood planning is conceptualised in this thesis as a shift of regulated spatial power, permitting local people to be more directly involved in some of the decision-making about the areas where they live and/or work:

> '... turning the local into a spatial metaphor for good governance and empowerment.' (Brownill, 2016: 80)

With empowerment being a social process that helps people gain control over certain areas of their lives, by acting on issues they define as important (Page and Czuba, 1999). The concept of empowerment has been a prominent theme in the planning literature for at least three decades (see Hillier and Healey, 2008). Empowerment is very context dependent (Kesby, 2005, 2007), can take different forms, and as such, it is challenging to define (Page and Czuba, 1999). It is a concept that it is subject to much debate in scholarship. Some academics and community workers will no longer even use the term, as it is considered to have been appropriated, particularly by right-wing governments - in both the UK and USA - without necessarily showing an understanding of the histories of the term (see Corbett and Walker, 2013).

[60] More information available at: https://www.local.gov.uk/topics/devolution/devolution-online-hub/public-service-reform-tools/engaging-citizens-devolution-7

(Accessed 24 July 2021)

As a starting point, a definition most consistently used in the literature (Laverack and Wallerstein, 2001) is one of a dynamic process involving collective action:

> '… a process in the form of a dynamic continuum, involving: (i) personal empowerment; (ii) the development of small mutual groups; (iii) community organisations; (iv) partnerships; and (v) social and political action. The potential of community empowerment is gradually maximised as people progress from individual to collective action along this continuum.' (Laverack and Wallerstein, 2001: 182)

Empowerment being presented here as a social process that helps people gain control over certain areas of their lives, by acting on issues they define as important (Page and Czuba, 1999). By any definition, empowerment is a construct. However, to unpack this construct, it is important to first outline the position taken in this thesis on power. Not least because power is theorised differently, in different fields and different ways, by various academics (see Clegg, 1989). Therefore, it is important to make reference to and explain how this thesis posits power. Some commentators consider power to be a 'zero-sum' game, where one group possesses power to the exclusion of others, or where a gain in power for one party can only be achieved if another is willing to accept a reduction in their own power within a particular area (see Hardy et al., 1998). Contrary to this, I am using a Foucauldian (1977; 1983) perspective, rather than a zero-sum approach. In following Foucault (1980), I believe power is not static; it cannot be held or possessed but is only present in action (Latour, 1986). It is not a 'thing' (Allen, 2003: 63) that is held by some and not others, rather it is present in all relations.

To Foucault, power is everywhere and present in all 'social relations' (1977: 194), and social action. In recent decades, social theory's understanding of power has gone beyond concepts of power as something that can somehow be possessed, to stressing its relational, networked, distributed, or immanent nature (Sayer, 2004). In this thesis, the perspective taken is that power is *relational;* that one way it can be activated is through action, (potentially) through the activity of neighbourhood planning, via networks of affiliation (see Gallent and Robinson, 2012). Foucault challenged the idea that *knowledge is power*, saying that the two are related more subtly (Tomley et al., 2015). Coining the framing of 'power/knowledge' (1991: 194) Foucault noted that knowledge creates power but is also created by power (Tomley et al., 2015). Power and knowledge are mutually constitutive and inclusive (Foucault, 1991) and power is a relative concept that cannot be thought of as being apart from knowledge.

Foucault's work informs Allen's theorisation of power (2003, 2004), which in turn illuminates Kesby's retheorisation of community empowerment (2005, 2007). Allen's work on power recommends a focus on both the exercise and effects of power. He presents a useful definition of eight modes of power; categorised within two guises: 'power *with* others' and 'power *over* others' (Kesby, 2005: 2051; see also Maguire, 1987; Wallerstein, 1992; Batliwala, 1994; Chambers, 1994, 1997; Stein, 1997; Allen, 1999). In this theorisation, power has the potential to be enabling, thus representing the: 'positive, creative capacities of power' (Kesby, 2005: 2050). The potentially positive benefits of power are elaborated upon in more detail below.

2.4.1 Power *with* others

What is particularly relevant to this study, given the collaborative nature of neighbourhood planning (see Gallent and Robinson, 2012), is what is known as 'associational power' (Kesby, 2007: 2817), such as collaborative work through social relationships and networks. In this guise, in social relations, power is diffuse, localised and largely invisible and identified as 'power *with* others' (Kesby, 2007: 2817). The two modes are defined as being about *negotiation* and *persuasion.* How these modalities work is explained as follows:

> '*Negotiation* which can take place between agents who have different resources at their disposal, contains no obligation to comply, and is directed towards identifying and achieving common ends; and *persuasion* which requires an atmosphere of reciprocity and equality and uses strength of argument to produce an effect.' (Kesby, 2007: 2817)

These modes illustrate how a cooperative mindset (Sennett, 2012) and relational expertise (Edwards, 2011) not only contribute but are essential - in terms of activating 'power *with* others' - in the process of collaborative work. Communities cannot somehow magically be empowered by others - purely through legislation alone - in terms of being endowed by central government, without adequate and appropriate resources being made available by government. In this case, it would need to be specifically tailored for a community facing multiple levels of social exclusion and deprivation. With the right support, yes, individuals can potentially empower themselves via neighbourhood planning, through actions, and positive interactions with others through networked community work.

This perspective sees the population not as isolated individuals, but that people exist:

> '… within a dense field of relations between people and people, people and things, people and events.' (Rose, O'Malley, Valverde, 2009: 6)

It is by working together collaboratively that power *with* others can be an *effect* of that associational work. In this relational conceptualisation, it is important to note that agency and performance are seen as 'sociospatially relational' (Kesby 2005: 2057). This means that empowerment may or may not necessarily translate to individual transformation of consciousness or agency outside of the location or practice of the empowerment activity (Kesby, 2005). In this way, Kesby calls for:

> '…understanding empowerment as a contextual effect of embedded participatory discourses/practices.' (Kesby, 2005: 2060)

I am working with the notion of community empowerment, in terms of a relational process, that is relative to other individuals or groups whose lives intersect with theirs (Allen and Cochraine, 2010; Bradley, 2015; Brownill, 2017). That is to say, empowerment does not happen in some sort of vacuum (Mason, 2003), but exists within the context of a relationship between people or things. Power does not then exist in isolation, nor is it inherent in individuals. By implication, since power is created in a relationship, power and power relationships can change (Page and Czuba, 1999). This understanding of the potential for power, conceptualised as an *effect*, is explained well by Allen:

> 'Power as a relational effect of interaction is traced through relations of connection and simultaneity which, in turn, open up spaces for political

> engagement that a centred or radically dispersed notion of government may fail to register.' (Allen, 2004: 31)

Allen's theorisation falls down, however, in failing to distinguish power from mere action or change (Sayer, 2004). (In fact, KWF took action but did not achieve change or actualise any power.) Indeed, what is relevant in this thesis is the distinction between power as *potential* and power as exercised. While empowerment can be a process of change (Page and Czuba, 1999) the empowering elements of that process depend on the actual outcomes, of the success of the activity undertaken. In this case, a neighbourhood plan needs to be produced by the neighbourhood planning group, which is arguably a steppingstone towards exercising power with others. Attempting to create a neighbourhood plan is not empowerment in itself, but the process of working collaboratively may produce other effects which give the community more control. In this respect, I theorise localism to be an example of *collective participatory democracy* (Brownill, 2009; Brownill and Downing, 2013), that can potentially lead to community empowerment. For there is nothing guaranteed about neighbourhood planning, in terms of outcomes (Brownill, 2017).

Even if a neighbourhood group is successful in producing a neighbourhood plan, which becomes legally binding through a referendum, for proposed changes to actually happen in their locality funding may be required, as well as the cooperative spirit or political will at the local government level, possibly also involving private developers. Arguably, only then could any sense of empowerment be said to have taken place, through change being realised within the neighbourhood that the community voted for in a referendum.

2.4.2 Power and resources

In Allen's work on the 'whereabouts of power' (2004: 19), is the theorisation around resources and power. Allen's (2003, 2004) work brings resources into his theorisation of power:

> '... of money, information, people, ideas, symbols, technologies and such' (2004: 24).

What is particularly useful as a thinking tool in this thesis is the distinction Allen (2004) makes that resources are not the same thing as power. Using Allen's theorisation, resources are 'the media of power' (2004: 24; see also Giddens, 1977; and Parsons, 1957, 1963). While power is not itself seen as a resource in this analysis, it can be *produced* by the mobilisation of resources. For Allen, resources may travel or flow, but power does not: 'for it is not a thing or attribute' (2003: 63). This distinction is very insightful when matched with the work of theorists on collaborative working (Glatter, 2003; Huxham, 1996; Huxham and Vangen, 2005); thinking of social ties and relationships as resources that can be activated towards creating a sense of community empowerment. This links well with the work of Jacobs (1961; 2016) in terms of community groups seeking to work collaboratively; promoting the notion of sharing ideas, skills, abilities, and knowledge at a community level (Mason, McNulty and Aubel, 2001). Thinking about social networks, social ties, and social relationships as resources, as the 'media of power' but not power in themselves, is what is helpful here. They have the potential for being powerful through collaborative work.

In terms of the whereabouts of power to space, relationships, and resources (Allen, 2004) context is important. Localities will have different assets:

> '… invariably territorially embedded assets and resources … which may be mobilised to great effect, misused, abused or simply wasted.' (Allen, 2004: 24)

The critical point here is that collaborative work requires resources that may include specific expertise and experience to be able to map community assets and resources (see Kretzman and McKnight, 1993). This process may require 'skilled convenors' (Mattessich and Monsey, 1992: 12), to extract ideas and expertise from others, so as not to waste resources or miss opportunities, and to build on existing assets. Individual qualities such as the confidence to articulate ideas and express opinions and expertise (see Kesby 2017) are also a key component of resources, in terms of individual agency.

In the next section, I utilise Kesby and Allen's theorisations of power and empowerment to help develop a more nuanced understanding of the collaborative potential of community empowerment in neighbourhood planning, in the conceptualisation of working towards exercising power *with* others. Allen's work is also useful to examine certain negative aspects around the concept of power at play in neighbourhood planning - in terms of some of the modalities of power defined in Allen's (2003) theorisation of power *over* others - which I explore below (and in the following chapter around the nature and some of the effects of the law, by way of the legal regulations, in *Chapter Three)*.

2.4.3 Power *over* others

These modalities below, within the guise of power *over* others, are arguably the antithesis to notions of empowerment. However, I want to posit that they assist in a deeper understanding of how other aspects of power might relate to neighbourhood

planning. Using Allen's (1999, 2003, 2004) theorisation, six general modes of power over others are defined, being: (i) *domination* – imposing a form of conduct, forcing compliance; (ii) *coercion* - threatening force (and must be able to deliver) to ensure compliance; (iii) *authority*- requiring recognition, which needs to be conceded not imposed; (iv) *manipulation* - which aims to mould the actions of others while concealing intent; (v) *inducement* - promising advantage to people prepared to bring themselves into line in some way; and (vi) *seduction* - an arousal of desire through suggestion, enticement, and through the exploitation of existing attitudes (see also Kesby 2007).

In terms of the legislative setting of neighbourhood planning, while it is helpful to consider the associational aspects of power, the guise of power *over* others is also worth reflecting upon. Some of the regulatory effects of power at play in neighbourhood planning include *inducement* and *seduction*. Also, the concept of *authority* within the regulatory aspects of the Localism Act 2011. These three modes of power *over* others help illuminate the following *Chapter Three* on the policy background to this study. Particularly, in the sense of government rhetoric around the localism legislation, in terms of promises made to communities and parish councils (arguably seductive), which include rights and financial benefits of engaging with neighbourhood planning (arguably inducements to participate). Plus, the power of central government around regulations and inspection are ever-present (a higher authority), in terms of how the state and society engage on issues relating to neighbourhood planning.

2.4.4 Thinking about modalities of power

Thinking in terms of the categorisation of the modes of power is helpful both to analyse where the different guises of power are present and to acknowledge these complexities.

In addition to being able to think about the eight categorisations of power *with* and *over* others, Allen's work (2003, 2004) is also interesting because it allows a more nuanced understanding of how power manifests, mutates and moves, in that:

> 'Allen argues that modalities of power move back and forth, overlap or reinforce each other.' (Kesby, 2007: 2817)

It is the concept of the fluidity of power in Foucault (1977; 1983), Kesby (2005, 2007), and Allen's theorisation (2003; 2004; 2016) that is interesting here; conceptualising empowerment as a process, not a thing to be somehow *given* from central government through legislation. That is to say, it is only through action that power can be activated, but in neighbourhood planning – in this study – action alone is not enough. It is the nexus between knowledge and power, knowing how to work in a collaborative manner and how to build network power (Gallent and Robinson, 2012). This is arguably skilled work that requires experience of such work, along with a range of environmental and resource issues (Sennett, 2012; Kretzman and McKnight, 1993; Mattessich and Monsey, 1992). Allen (2004) also talks about the changeable nature of power and that a mode can mutate. For example, if manipulation is exposed it could mutate into coercion instead. It is in this sense that power can be seen in its relational and context-dependent nature, not fixed or static:

> 'Power in its various guises is mediated relationally through space and time.' (Allen, 2004: 30)

It is the dynamic expression of the presence of power and potential power relations in neighbourhood planning that I find Kesby and Allen speak to. For Allen (2003) - and

before him, Foucault ([1976] 1980; [1982] 1984: 252) - 'power over' is always spatial, while Kesby (2007) extends this spatiality to associational power:

> '... that `power with' [like all social relations (see Lefebvre [1974] 1991)] needs to be conceived of as embedded in space as well as time.' (2007: 2823)

In terms of spatial metaphors, interesting analogies with a *Russian Doll,* of a nested hierarchy of powers or plans, have been conjured up by Bulkeley (2005), while Bailey and Pill (2014) suggest the idea of power in neighbourhood planning as moving up or down a vertical scale, between a variety of levels of governance and down to the neighbourhood. I see a far messier situation than these metaphors suggest. In terms of examining networked power relations (see Healey, 1987; Gallant and Robinson, 2012), my thesis position is to proffer the metaphor of the 'entanglements of power' (Kesby, 2005: 2050). This seems a more satisfying way of expressing the power relations at play in collaborative work of this nature. In that, neighbourhood planning in all its complexities:

> '...needs to be viewed as a more intricate process than decentralisation from the centre to the local (empowerment) ...' (Brownill, 2016: 82)

Like Brownill, I suggest that there is something more intricate than empowerment going on in the process of neighbourhood planning. By that I mean, the process is more sprawling, not horizontal, nor some kind of vertical ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969) with power being bestowed from on high. It is an entangled, messy, complicated process, which is far from linear. A more useful exploration of power in this study is in terms of relationality:

'… as operating through the negotiations and tensions…' (Brownill, 2016: 82)

This relational explanation of the actual encounters of power helps conceptualise the varied and changeable shape and features of power and space within neighbourhood planning. This introduces the idea of the *presence* of power, in terms of a relational arrangement of the geography of power and space at play, through negotiations and interactions:

> '… where power composes the spaces of which it is a part by stretching, folding or distorting relationships to place certain outcomes within or beyond reach.' (Allen, 2016: 13)

Reach is, therefore, a relational arrangement (Allen, 2016) - more about presence - and therefore intensive rather than extensive. In this way, it can be used to enhance an understanding of power in neighbourhood planning, which can be argued as being a site for *potential* power, as there is absolutely nothing guaranteed or inevitable about the outcomes (Brownill, 2017).

This is central to my thesis: reflecting on the promises of community empowerment made by the government is the notion that participation and the concept of empowerment are linked, but participation alone doesn't create empowerment (Alevizou, 2016). It certainly did not in the case of the Knowle West Future (KWF) group, though, I would argue that participation is a form of power (Kesby; 2005). In the sense that participating in neighbourhood planning activity is taking up a position of potential power, so there is a *presence* of power. Power is present, in the form of the local Council involvement, along with members of the electorate with the potential

power to change their neighbourhood through a neighbourhood plan. This certainly fits with Kesby's theorisation that there are:

> '… similarities and entanglements between power and empowerment.' (Kesby, 2007: 2813)

Entanglements is a more accurate metaphor around power and space, to relate to neighbourhood planning. The complexities of defining the local, as well as knowing how to work in a networked, collaborative manner, with local residents, local voluntary groups, businesses, charities, schools, churches, the Council and landlords is entangled, rather than vertical or horizontal in scale as is often suggested. (In addition to these notions of entanglement, there are the many layers of legal regulation, which will be explored in the next chapter.) In this way, Kesby's retheorisation of community empowerment (2007) enables a deeper understanding of associational power, space, and relationality, while Allen's work allows added dimensions around modes, fluidity, and complexity. When contemplating a site of localism and community work such as neighbourhood planning, I want to argue that neighbourhood planning is a site of 'fuzzy power relations' (Brownill, 2017: 158). Kesby's conceptualisation of empowerment is helpful here:

> '…rather than being hierarchical, vertical, dominating, and exploitative, it is reciprocal, lateral, accountable, and facilitating.' (Kesby, 2005: 2051)

In this theorisation, power has the potential to be enabling and facilitating, thus representing the potential 'positive, creative capacities of power' (Kesby, 2005: 2050).

2.4.5 The relationship between trust and power and collaboration

Exploring the idea of entanglement helps us think about the complexity of social networks, social ties, and social relationships, in terms of power *with* others. Allen's and Kesby's work enables us to consider power and resources when working in collaborative settings; with an understanding that resources have the potential to become conduits to creating power through action. Framing resources as the 'media of power' (Allen, 2004: 24), this thesis presents resources as a vital aspect of neighbourhood planning and posits that trust and power link in successful collaborative work. To explore these connections, Tomkins (2001) offers a useful summary of trust, in that trust requires:

> 'The adoption of a belief by one party in a relationship that the other party will not act against his or her interests.' (2001: 165)

This involves an element of vulnerability and relies on four distinctions of trust: sincerity, reliability, competence, and care (Feltman, 2009). Webb underlines the importance of trust when working in collaborative settings and warns of the almost fatal effects if it is not present:

> 'Trust is pivotal to collaboration. Attitudes of mistrust and suspicion are a primary barrier to co-operation between organisations … collaborative behaviour is hardly conceivable where trusting attitudes are absent.'
> (1991: 237)

Ostrom, a Nobel prize winner, devoted over half a century of scholarship to understanding the mechanisms of co-operation in human societies (1975; 2003; 2009).

On understanding elements that affect whether people will communicate and work together a key attribute is learning to trust one another:

> 'There's a five-letter word I would like to repeat and repeat and repeat: Trust,' she said.[61]

However, the role of trust as an essential component for delivering localism is conspicuously absent from government discussions on community involvement (Padley, 2013). This absence ignores a long history of the role of trust as being seen as both a facilitator and product of community co-operation and collaboration (see Taylor, 1982, 1987; Luhmann, 1988; Etzioni, 1995). Back in the 1960's Jacobs spoke of 'social trust' (1961: 67; see also Sennett, 2012) being a critical component in communities and neighbourhoods, fostered through people having regular contact with each other, in terms of developing familiarity. The critical role of social trust is explored through the lens of building relationships, in terms of working in collaboration (Sennett, 2012; Padley, 2013). Indeed, there is general agreement across the literature that trust is fundamental to the establishment and maintenance of successful collaborative relationships (Ostrom, 1996; Skelcher and Sullivan, 2002; Glatter, 2003; Connolly and James, 2006; Woods et al., 2006).

Trust is, however, a complex concept to define and the literature offers a range of definitions. In terms of what it means to trust another party, there is a diversity of theories around how trust can be developed and maintained. These differences are

[61]Indiana University Professor Elinor Ostrom spoke to a worldwide audience 8 Dec 2009 during her Nobel Prize Lecture titled "Beyond Markets and States: Polycentric Governance of Complex Economic Systems."

generally underpinned by contrasting conceptions of human nature and varying assumptions around the motivations for entering into collaborative relationships (Lane, 1998). For example, a *calculative perspective* (see Parkhe, 1993; Srinivasan and Brush, 2006; Williamson, 1993) of trust, most commonly adopted by economists and game theorists is based upon the belief that individuals or organisations will enter into collaborative relationships in the pursuit of self-interested gain.

In contrast, relational trust arises from social relationships when there are strong beliefs about the goodwill, honesty, and the efforts of others in good faith (Popps, Zheng Zhou, Li, 2016). Then, the development of trust is linked to the predictability of the other party's future behaviour and likelihood to behave in a manner that will be deemed beneficial to them (Rousseau et. al, 1998; Lane, 1998; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). The ability to predict another party's future behaviour will, however, rely heavily upon their past behaviour, through previous interactions (Barber, 1983). As such, repeated positive interactions are likely to increase the level of trust between parties; conversely, repeated unsatisfactory interactions lead to greater mistrust (Ring and Van de Ven, 1992: 489; Huxham and Vangen, 2005; Woods et al., 2006).

The *values-based* perspective of trust, in contrast, is more commonly found in the field of sociology (Lane, 1998). This theory is grounded in the belief that social relationships are based upon common values, a sense of solidarity, and the development of a shared vision, rather than the pursuit of self-interest (ibid, 1998). From this perspective, trust is built upon an expectation that the other party will be loyal to the shared vision, feeling a sense of duty or moral obligation towards it. Furthermore, they will suspend their individual interests to ensure the collective aims of the relationship are met (Parsons,

1969). For some theorists, these shared values and concerns will result in the development of an emotional bond (Wicks et al., 1999) between the separate parties, which enables them to develop 'leap of faith trust' (Sennett, 2012: 153). This is commonly referred to as trust based on good faith or goodwill (Wicks et al., 1999: 100; Hardy et al., 1998). By contrast, other writers have emphasised the slow and gradual development of trust, through frequent interactions that increase the opportunity for communication, with the open exchange of information between parties (see Sydow, 1998; Ostrom, 2006; Vangen and Huxham, 2003). Ostrom emphasised the importance of discussions being face to face, and based on trust (Poteete and Ostrom, 2010), hence the importance for chances to meet socially in one's neighbourhood (Jacobs, 1961).

This is seen to enable parties to gain a better mutual understanding of one another and establish a basis upon which shared values can be identified, developed, and agreed (Cropper, 1996; Sydow, 1998). Trust between parties may take on a variety of forms, and in a particular situation may contain a mix of elements from different theories (Rousseau et al., 1998). Given the task-oriented nature of neighbourhood planning, it seems likely that trust based on competence can be seen as a relevant consideration, particularly in situations reliant on each other's technical expertise to solve a problem or achieve a particular goal (see Barber, 1983). It is also possible to conceive of a situation where individuals might approach a collaborative relationship with a mixture of self-interested *and* collective-oriented intentions, more in line with a *realist perspective* of collaborative motives. In this case, elements of both a calculative and values-based perspective of trust may be present at the same time. However, where this is the case, there is likely to be some intrinsic tensions between self-interest, and the collective interests and goals of the broader collaboration (see Thomson et al., 2009). How or

whether these tensions can be reconciled are likely to play an important role in the maintenance of trust between partners and the survival of the relationship. Certain situations might arise where:

> 'The collaboration's goals conflict with the goals of individual partner organisations … [leading to a situation where] individual missions will trump collaboration missions.' (Thomson et al., 2009: 5)

While in other situations, parties may:

> '…agree to forego the right to pursue their own interests at the expense of others' focusing on the collective gains of the collaboration.' (Powell, 1990: 303)

Alternatively, it may be possible to find a middle ground, where collaborating parties can satisfy each other's interests without damaging their own, enabling the collaboration to be sustained (Wood and Gray, 1991). It could be summarised, then, that in situations of cooperative endeavour trusting can mean taking a gamble, on others not acting selfishly or opportunistically (Ring and Van de Ven, 1994). It is important to note that elements of trust and distrust can coexist. In this way, as Gambetta (1988) highlights, the act of trusting requires a willingness to be vulnerable:

> 'Trust is one party's willingness to be vulnerable to another party based on the belief that the latter party is competent, open, concerned, and reliable.' (Mishra, 1996: 5)

This third, broader conception of trust contains elements that overlap with the calculative and values-based theories. Here, trust is based upon expectations around the qualities that another party possesses. This correlates with the relational nature of

power. This can include expectations around the belief that the other party has the technical competence to deliver their role within the relationship, for example, the appropriate knowledge and expertise in a particular subject area (Barber, 1983). (For example, KWF paying to hire the urban design consultants Feria; also agreeing to my involvement - on the recommendation of KWMC – to be the Communications Officer, based on my experience and professional background.)

2.5 Concluding comments

Accomplishing a task such as producing a neighbourhood plan, requires working cooperatively in a collaborative setting. Foundations of trust and strong social networks (Gilchrist, 2009; Rowson et al., 2010; Padley, 2013) are seen as being critical to such work being a success. Through this theoretical framework, this thesis examines power relations in an area of known systemic inequality, by looking at what happened on the ground when this policy of neighbourhood planning was enacted in an area facing multiple levels of deprivation. However, one of the key questions remains, how is power actualised, in terms of voluntary, collaborative work of this nature in this particular setting, without the not inconsiderable resources required to do so? How does the act of neighbourhood planning actually happen, particularly without trained, experienced community development workers or facilitators?

For co-design and community organising require a variety of integral ingredients for collaborative work to be deemed a success, such as 'skilled convenors' (Mattessich and Monsey, 1992: 12). Yet the government's 2012 Neighbourhood Planning Regulations[62]

[62] Neighbourhood Planning (General) Regulations 2012 (SI 2012, No. 637)

essentially leave a blank sheet of paper, for the process of such community work to somehow unfold, organically. For example, there is no guidance on prescribing an asset-based approach, despite the evidence of this being a successful model for co-designed community work of this nature. There is no extra help for people to learn to work across social networks, to build and maintain collaborations across a geographic area, given the complexity of the entanglement of such social and power relations, with the Council and across various interest groups, from parents, schools and youth work, to the retired and newcomers to the area.

Collaborative work requires many elements to be present to be fruitful (Mattessich and Monsey, 1992), such as participants having cooperative mindsets (Sennett, 2012). In this sense, neighbourhood planning groups need volunteers who know how to work collaboratively or who are amenable to working with facilitators, who know how to encourage this to happen. That withstanding, the volunteers who do become involved in neighbourhood planning may discover that the realisation of their aspirations depends on abilities and resources that may sometimes seem beyond their reach (Kieffer, 1984). Time is a key resource, as well as funding, but money might not necessarily be easily accessed, especially in areas of social disadvantage and in an age of 'austerity'. In any case, fundraising requires know-how, skill which might be lacking in the neighbourhood concerned, something that arises in the empirical data analysis about KWF. For example, what if the critical element of trust is missing in the relationships between the neighbourhood planning forum and key partners in the neighbourhood, including the Council? As we see in the empirical data analysis chapters, what if local residents have lost trust in the Council and local community action groups to make a difference?

As Ostrom's extensive empirical research argues, policymakers who ignore the research and attempt to impose one-size-fits-all approaches to managing complex resources (2009), like land use in neighbourhood planning, may produce panaceas that are potentially dysfunctional:

> 'To explain the world of interactions and outcomes occurring at multiple levels, we also have to be willing to deal with complexity instead of rejecting it.' (2010: 665)

Learning to trust others is central to co-operation, but how does that actually happen?

CHAPTER THREE - POLITICAL AND POLICY CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

3.1 Aims of the chapter

3.1.1 Introduction

3.2 Setting the political scene

3.2.1 The State and Society

3.2.1.1 'The Broken Society'

3.2.1.2 'The Big Society'

3.3 The Coalition Government (2010-15) and the Localism Act 2011

3.3.1 The Act and Neighbourhood Planning

3.3.1.1 The 'statutory regime' – the regulatory, legislative framework around neighbourhood planning

3.3.1.2 Multi-level regulation brings 'tests' and new procedural arrangements

3.4 Concluding comments

3.1 Aims of the chapter

The overall aim of this chapter is to provide a brief literature review of the main political and policy issues that frame this research study. Rather than a traditional literature review, this chapter essentially constitutes a 'contextualisation' of the study (see Dunne, 2011; McCann and Clark, 2003). In this way, enabling a better understanding of policy enactment of neighbourhood planning in Knowle West, to prepare the reader for the empirical data analysis chapters.

The main aim of the first section of this chapter (*section 3.2 - Setting the Political Scene)* is to establish a narrative around the contemporary political environment at the time of the policy of neighbourhood planning being introduced in England, under the Coalition government (2010-2015). I provide a discussion of *The Big Society*- in *section 3.2.1.2* - but first, it is pertinent to explain more about the Coalition and their approach to the economy and society. The latter part of the chapter *section 3.3 - The Coalition Government (2010-2015) and the Localism Act 2011* - is intended to demonstrate the complexity of the regulatory environment the group of volunteers in KWF found themselves operating within *and* under. Described as 'the statutory regime'[63] surrounding neighbourhood planning, details of this regulation are provided so as to better understand what the community group was facing in their attempt to make a neighbourhood plan.

While I have consulted academic texts in the legal field as well as planning, amongst many other disciplines, I am not a lawyer, nor do I have professional or academic

[63] The Localism Act 2011 provides a statutory regime for neighbourhood planning. This is the original version as it was originally enacted. More information available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2011/20/contents/enacted (Accessed 29 September 2015)

planning expertise. That is to say, this thesis is concerned more with the perceived impact of the law and regulation in the area of Knowle West from the participants' perspective, rather than providing a running commentary on legal changes and planning theory. Nor does this thesis engage with the amendments to neighbourhood planning that came into law in 2017[64] - new legislation occurring three years after the end of KWF.

It is worth clearly stating at this juncture, this thesis is not in any way intended to be some kind of definitive guide or critique of all neighbourhood plans. There have been thousands of such plans passed into law through referenda[65] since 2012[66]. This thesis considers the broader contextual elements at play in the area of Knowle West, in terms of social change and local complexity, framed by the political environment at the time of enactment of the policy, exploring issues around power, empowerment, co-operation, and co-design. In that:

> 'Power, inequality, conflict, rationales of governments and so on are still major factors that shape and often disrupt or undermine participation.' (Brownill and Parker, 2010: 280)

[64]The Neighbourhood Planning Act 2017 received Royal Assent on 27 April 2017. It introduced a new procedure to allow Neighbourhood Plans to be modified and dealt with the situation where a new Neighbourhood Plan is needed but covering a slightly different geographical area to the previous one.

[65]Data is available based on research by the Ministry for Housing Communities and Local Government (MHCLG) of known designated neighbourhood planning areas across England. Caveat: based on MHCLG research of local authority websites and the relevant local authority websites may have the most up to date information, as the information is taken from internal MHCLG records as of 11 December 2020, via Locality. More information available at:

https://neighbourhoodplanning.org/toolkits-and-guidance/key-neighbourhood-planning-data/

(Accessed 21 July 2021)

[66] Neighbourhood Planning (General) Regulations 2012 (SI 2012, No. 637)

3.1.1 Introduction

Whilst engaging with the academic and grey literature there were some overriding areas of enquiry in my mind: (i) Was neighbourhood planning actually regulation *for* engagement, in terms of the empowerment promises made by the government? (Was there clear, well-resourced facilitation within the regulatory framework to enable engagement with the policy, for *all* communities; not just parish council areas or neighbourhoods with an abundance of civic society voluntary groups, brimming with volunteers, with time on their hands; including professionals with architecture, public relations and law expertise, money in the bank, and fundraising skills (i.e. more middle-class areas)? (ii) In order for a community like Knowle West to operate the policy, was adequate extra consideration made, for areas that could be characterised as being particularly socially and economically disadvantaged, in terms of the government's social indices of multiple deprivation? If so, what was that extra help, and was it sufficient? (iii) Thirdly, what - if any – impact might the austerity agenda and local government cuts have had on the chances of this new type of voluntary work being a success in Knowle West?

I return to these areas in my data chapters and conclusions chapter.

To learn more about neighbourhood planning and localism, I turned to academic texts, as well as reviewing grey literature, such as briefings from the Trades Union Congress (TUC), the Local Government Association (LGA), third sector policy documents and speeches. This also included MPs' and Peers' speeches and statements from the House of Commons, House of Lords, and Commons Select Committees. House of Commons briefing documents are cited, as well as statistics from various government agencies,

including Bristol City Council and the National Audit Office. As well as blog entries from Conservative and Labour blogsites, I reviewed a five-episode BBC documentary called *Thatcher: A Very British Revolution*. I also draw on a more recent piece of work called *Austerity Bites: a journey to the sharp end of cuts in the UK*, by journalist Mary O'Hara[67]. Particularly, as O'Hara's examination of the effects of the austerity agenda[68] coincided with the beginning of my research journey.

I read work to give a sense of the political landscape surrounding the localism agenda of the Coalition government. An outline of some of the most relevant, recent political history introduces the section below. The intention being to build an appreciation of the political climate that enveloped Knowle West at the time of this study, in an era that has become known as the Age of Austerity[69]. This political period included the biggest shakeup of the welfare state in 60 years[70], which is relevant to this thesis given the large number of welfare-dependent households in Knowle West and children living in poverty - 36.3%-48.2% (Bristol City Council, 2019) - and in receipt of free school meals.

[67]O'Hara chronicles the impact of austerity on people at the sharp end, based on her 12-month journey around the country when the first round of austerity cuts were happening and welfare reforms introduced, during 2012 and 2013.

[68] Austerity measures defined government policy over the course of the parliament (2010-2015), the same timeline as this study. It is difficult to measure the scale of cuts precisely as figures tend to be based on a comparison with previous plans (often 2009). The post Global Financial Crisis (GFC) annual increase in spending averaged £2½ billion a year, compared to the four pre-crisis years of around £19½ billion. Under the coalition there was a net injection of demand, although figures suggest spending in the crucial pre-election year of 2014 was stronger (pre 2015 General Election). This means there has been a net reduction of around £17 billion a year in demand across those five years of parliament, or around £85bn in total.

[69] More information available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2009/apr/26/david-cameron-conservative-economic-policy1 26 April 2009. (Accessed 7 November 2019)

[70] The UK Coalition Government introduced its White Paper *Universal Credit: Welfare that Works* in November 2010 (DWP 2010) and launched a range of reforms, the Welfare Reform Bill (DWP 2011) most notably, to prepare for the introduction of Universal Credit in 2013. In the discourses surrounding these reforms, "incentivising work", reducing welfare expenditure and "fairness" towards "taxpayers" are all central themes.

Knowle West is a residential area with a high proportion of single-parent households, such areas have been defined by Conservative Party politicians in the recent past as being on the 'margins' of society (Duncan Smith, 2007: 4). This thesis considers the impact of the stigmatising of an area not helped by Conservative Party rhetoric around what was framed as the Broken Society – ideas which are presented in more detail below in *section 3.2.1.1.*

While this thesis is essentially about community enactment of neighbourhood planning in Knowle West, I am interested in understanding why neighbourhood planning did not work out for that particular community. As well as making the case that areas of complex structural disadvantage (as outlined in *Chapter One*) need and deserve more help to enact policies like neighbourhood planning[71]. Yet research has shown that the most deprived areas have borne the brunt of the cuts (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2015).

3.2 Setting the political scene

The failure of the 2010 general election in the United Kingdom (UK) to produce a parliamentary majority for any single political party led to the formation of a Conservative-led Coalition government (henceforth the Coalition). Made up of the Conservatives and Liberal Democrat Members of Parliament (MPs) this was the first such coalition arrangement in Westminster in 60 years. Localism - and public spending

[71]Interestingly and worryingly for the users of policy, a local Labour Party activist pointed out that the Equality Act 2010 does not overtly protect against class discrimination, in policy terms.

cuts - were central themes of the Coalition (Davoudi and Madanipour, 2015), and the government declared:

> 'Our Conservative - Liberal Democrat Government has come together with a driving ambition: to put more power and opportunity into people's hands.' (Cabinet Office, 2010: 1)

The localism policy agenda became known at the time - particularly in political circles, broadsheet journalism, and academia - as The Big Society. Much of the literature treats The Big Society and localism as near-synonyms, particularly given the close relationship between them in the field of planning (Tait and Inch, 2016):

> 'Both fuzzy and fluid terms, they mark an important shift in ideological assumptions about the imagined role of communities, and the presumed benefits of devolving power downwards to empowered citizens (Wells 2011; Blond, 2010).' (McKee, 2012: 4)

The Big Society at its most basic can be seen as a 'political slogan'(Alcock, 2010a: 379). At its broadest, it is a revolutionary, right-wing ideological move to redefine the relationship between the central state, local government, and citizens. The Big Society is, in essence, a doctrine where citizens are expected to take responsibility for activities that would formerly be the preserve of the state (McKee, 2015).

> '… remodelling the public into providers not consumers of services and the construction of localities as spaces within which … service delivery could be remodelled and the 'public' either accepting or rejecting the role envisioned for it.' (Brownill, 2016: 91)

Localism was presented as a decentralising agenda, promising:

'... a fundamental shift of power from Westminster to people'[72].

Uniting both Conservative and Liberal Democrat politicians was a belief in the decentralisation of power. But what does that actually mean in localism terms? David Boyle, who led an independent review of choice in public services by the Cabinet Office, sees it as being about citizens having the right and ability to challenge their political leaders, with smaller organisations, local businesses, and service users having more responsibility via methods of co-production (Boyle, 2009) in terms of involvement in public services.

This was a stark change from the previous Conservative administrations of Thatcher and Major (1979-1997). These years, by contrast, were characterised by a growth in central intervention, particularly taking away power from local government: in the domains of finance (such as the community charge and the nationalisation of the business rate), service delivery, such as compulsory competitive tendering. In terms of urban policy, development corporations being established over the heads of elected councils (Lowndes and Pratchett, 2012) and council housing transfers from local government to tenant management cooperatives – a sort of decentralisation – and to housing associations. One major criticism of urban regeneration policies during the 1980s and 1990s in England is a perceived failure to reduce the gap between the poorest neighbourhoods and the national average (Hull, 2001). That is, areas of multiple deprivation, in terms of the socio-economic impact of long-term unemployment, crime,

[72]HM Government, *The Coalition: our programme for government*, May 2010: 11

low health chances, and poor educational qualifications, such as is known across Knowle West.

In contrast, in terms of the review of urban policy, during the boom years under New Labour (1997-2010), the Labour government used public sector resources and prioritised areas of greatest need (Hull, 2001; Brownill, 2017). Labour had attempted to identify pathways to social inclusion, which were seen to be missing in previous regeneration attempts (Audit Commission, 1989; DoEE, 2000; in Hull, 2001). New Labour expanded public spending and significantly increased state intervention (Smith, 2014). However, towards the end of the New Labour administration, the country went through a time of acute economic disruption, stemming from the global financial crash (GFC) of 2007/8. This global economic event (Farnsworth, 2011) and subsequent UK recession led to a £175billion public debt accrual (see Talbot, 2009; Taylor-Gooby, 2013). Public sector net borrowing rose to levels not seen since the Second World War (Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2010; OSA, 2014)[73]. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF)[74], the recession was the most crippling economic downturn since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Subsequently, much of the 2010 general election was fought on issues surrounding that recession and the public borrowing deficit. Labour, the Conservatives, and the Liberal Democrats all went to the polls promising to cut the deficit (Lowndes and Pratchett, 2012) through reduced public expenditure.

[73] See also: Office of Budget Responsibility (2014) Working paper No.7 Crisis and consolidation in the public finances. More information available at: http://budgetresponsibility.org.uk/wordpress/docs/WorkingPaper7a.pdf (Accessed 14 October 2019)
[74] IMF twice-yearly World Economic Outlook (WEO) 10 October 2008. More information available at: https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/Issues/2016/12/31/World-Economic-Outlook-October-2008-Financial-Stress-Downturns-and-Recoveries-22028 (Accessed 14 October 2019)

The response to the crisis revealed fundamental differences between Labour and the Conservatives, over the role of the state and the market (Smith, 2010). In summary, the main political solutions on offer can be summarised as:

> 'Labour's answer to the crisis was increasingly a traditional Keynesian and social democratic response whilst the Conservatives raised the prospect of the 'big society' as a mechanism for reducing the size of the state.' (Smith 2010: 1)

Keynes advocated massive government spending in a time of economic crisis to create new jobs and lift consumer spending, to stimulate the economy. As with many other European countries responding to the GFC, the incoming Coalition pursued a series of public spending cuts. This campaign was one of extreme budget-cutting and has become known as the *austerity agenda*. Under the strong economic performance during the Labour Government after 1997, which saw near full employment, underlying rates of economic inactivity remained at around one-fifth of the working-age population (Driver, 2011). With the recession of 2008, levels of welfare dependency grew through unemployment.

After forming a government in May 2010, the Coalition's emergency budget of June 2010 announced within-year reductions in public expenditure of some £5.25billions (Sawyer, 2011). The Coalition's fiscal policy brought massive public spending cuts across local government. This saw central government funding to local authorities fall by a huge 49.1%, from 2010-2011 to 2017-2018[75]. Known as the Local Government Finance

---

[75] National Audit Office: Financial sustainability of local authorities 2018 report. More information available at:
https://www.nao.org.uk/report/financial-sustainability-of-local-authorities-2018/

Settlement, in simple terms, this under-resourcing of local government meant the sector lost 60p in every £1 (HC Deb, 13 December 2018). This has seen Councils going bankrupt, while the most vulnerable in society have been at risk of losing vital services (O'Hara, 2014). This situation is explained well by Oxfam:

> 'Since 2010, austerity – primarily in the form of deep spending cuts with comparatively small increases in tax[76] – has been the UK government's dominant fiscal policy, with far fewer measures to stimulate the economy. The stated aim of austerity was to reduce the deficit in the UK to give confidence to the markets and therefore deliver growth to the economy. While austerity measures have had some impact on reducing the deficit, they have delivered little growth, and public debt has risen from 56.6 per cent of GDP in July 2009[77] to 90 per cent of GDP (£1.39 trillion) in 2013.[78] (Oxfam, 2013: 2)

Central government sets statutory duties for local government to provide services, ranging from adult social care to waste collection, education, protecting children, and preventing homelessness. However, the Centre for Local Economic Strategies (CLES) warned that the cuts meant that:

(Accessed 14 October 2019)

[76] The ratio of spending cuts and tax increases is roughly 85:15 – for every £100 of deficit that is reduced, with £85 coming through spending cuts, with £15 through increased taxes. NB: See Paul Johnson's opening remarks from an IFS event on 27 June 2013, Paul Johnson, British civil servant and economist, currently serving as Director of the Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS), in London. More information available at: http://www.ifs.org.uk/budgets/sr2013/paul_johnson.pdf (Accessed 10 November 2019)

[77] Office of National Statistics (ONS) (2009) 'Statistical Bulletin: Public sector finances: July 2009', http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/psa/public-sector-finances/july-2009/public-sector-finances---july-2009.pdf

[78] Crawford, R. (2010). 'Public services: serious cuts to come', Institute of Fiscal Studies presentation, October, http://www.ifs.org.uk/budgets/budgetjune2010/crawford.pdf

> ‘Many local authorities are pessimistic about their ability to deliver anything apart from the most basic of statutory services.’ (2014: 4)

The impact of austerity on local government expenditure has resulted in a situation in which some local authorities in England have retreated to transactive modes of operation (see Gallent, Hamiduddin and Madeddu, 2013). In the sense of officer-led:

> ‘… centrally devised plans and strategies endorsed and led by mayoral, leader or cabinet style methods of governance.’ (Nickson, 2019: 117)

Before this ‘post-political condition’ (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2012: 89), is well explained here:

> ‘… 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.’ (Nickson, 2019: 217)

This research takes place during a pivotal period in UK political, economic and social history. The Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG), the part of Whitehall responsible for the policy of neighbourhood planning, saw a 27 per cent cut in its local government budget, and lost a massive 51 per cent cut in its communities’ budget over the five-year period (2010-2015) (Lowndes and Pratchett, 2012). Government spending was cut for policing, road maintenance, libraries, courts, prisons, and housing assistance for older people. The impact was felt hardest by the poorest in society, explained here by Oxfam:

> 'The policies have also had far-reaching impacts on the poorest people in the UK. In 2010, the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government announced the biggest cuts to state spending since the Second World War, including significant cuts to social security and the planned loss of 900,000 public sector jobs between 2011 and 2018. Since the 2008 financial crisis began, those already in poverty have seen their impoverishment worsen, and millions more have become more vulnerable.' (Oxfam, 2013: 2)

This at a time when the Conservative party was attempting to rebrand themselves along the lines of what Cameron described as 'compassionate conservatism' (Ellison, 2011: 50).

3.2.1 The State and Society

To fully understand this thesis, in terms of localism, the politicisation of the word *society* and the austerity agenda needs review. The New Labour (1997-2010) government expanded public spending and significantly increased state intervention (Smith, 2014). In contrast, the Conservative administration that preceded the Labour years saw public spending cuts and a shrinking of the welfare state:

> 'The Conservatism of the Eighties was about vigorous individualism: personal prosperity, share ownership, buying your own council house, consumerism, individual aspiration, getting on your bike to look for work.' (d'Ancona, 2010: 1)

Much of the literature suggests almost halcyon communal days of the pre-Thatcher era when the public sector thrived, but in reality, public services were often very poor and public spaces underfunded and neglected. Since Victorian times there has been a tradition in Conservative ideology of believing in small state government (Norton and

Aughey, 1981). This is accompanied by an expectation that rather than the government, the voluntary sector becomes something of a panacea for the problems facing society (Fyfe, 2005). From the era of Thatcherism - during the 1970s-1990s -*society* has become something of a contentious and toxic word in British political life. In a comment that came to haunt her premiership (which was even read out at her funeral) Margaret Thatcher famously declared there was 'no such thing as society' (Thatcher, 1987: 30), in heralding an era of individualism over communitarianism:

> '... too many people have been given to understand that if they have a problem, it's the government's job to cope with it: 'I have a problem, I'll get a grant.' 'I'm homeless, the government must house me.' They're casting their problem on society. And, you know, there is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families. And no government can do anything except through people, and people must look to themselves first.'[79]

With this call for individualism and self-help returned the notion of charity and volunteerism. Thatcher's belief in the free market was accompanied by slashing public spending and borrowing (Parkinson, 1989). Thatcher's prescription for the country during the 1980s often referred to using her phrasing, about rolling back the frontiers of the state. With the state cast as an inefficient service provider, the role of market-led economics rose in prominence, supposedly to avoid waste and economic dependency, while those on benefits were to be stigmatised. In an ideological conflict between

[79] In *Thatcher was right – there is no 'society'*. More information available at: https://www.ft.com/content/d1387b70-a5d5-11e2-9b77-00144feabdc0 (Accessed 15 October 2019)

municipal socialism and the then powerful city governance, local authority spending was curtailed, and a programme of decentralisation introduced.

> '… 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.' (Nickson, 2019: 25)

Cameron's vision of a Big Society is virtually identical when you strip it down (see *section 3.2.1.2 - The Big Society*.) Beneath its promises and 'seductive language' (Coote, 2001: 82) with promises to give power to citizens The Big Society can be seen as an attempt to overturn the post-war welfare state (see Coote, 2011; Corbett and Walker, 2012); to fundamentally reconfigure the relationship between the state and society, between the state and the people. Cameron and Thatcher shared a common desire, to reshape their respective societies according to the neoliberal formula: deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation (Steger and Roy, 2010). Neoliberalism portrays the state as an inefficient service provider, the ideology dictates that public expenditure inhibits wealth creation, creating a dependency culture, and instead the market should be left to provide, unfettered by government or the state. All in the name of unbridled competition and supposed efficiency.

To some, neoliberalism is a postmodern version of the 18th-century notion of *laissez-faire* (Petty, 1690). The belief being that government should not interfere in the natural order of the market; that laissez-faire capitalism could be revived by tax cuts, privatisation, reducing public spending, and deregulation. An economic doctrine that opposes government intervention in commerce and industry and advocates that free enterprise be allowed to operate on its own, in the least regulated manner.

Conservative-controlled Barnet council went one step further and at the outset of the economic crisis said they would slash £15 million in costs, while also keeping council tax down. Based on low-cost, 'no-frills' airline business models, Barnet - or 'easyCouncil' as it became dubbed - allowed residents to pay to jump to the front of the queue for planning consents. Said to be inspired by budget airline Ryanair charging extra for priority boarding and charging customers to use the lavatory while in flight.[80]Regulation plays a central role of states, but since 2010 it:

> '... has become one of the targets of the anti-statist, anti-expert political mobilisations...' (McDermont, 2019: 191)

This has been seen, for example, in the discourse in the UK around the exiting of the European Union (known often as 'Brexit'), led by Nigel Farage and now Cabinet Secretary Michael Gove (Clarke and Newman, 2017) who said the country was fed-up with experts and their expertise.

3.2.1.1 The Broken Society

During the time of the global economic crisis (2007-2008) an idea being advanced by Conservative politicians in the UK, including Cameron as Leader of the Opposition, surrounded what they saw as social and moral decay (Hancock and Mooney, 2012). The narrative centred around 'irresponsibility' and 'problem populations' (Hancock and Mooney, 2012: 58). David Cameron as Prime Minister had used the language of malaise,

[80]More information available at: http://labour-uncut.co.uk/2010/06/07/the-tories-lust-for-cuts-reveals-itself-in-local-government-already-says-amanda-ramsay/ (Accessed 1 May 2020)

of communities being 'sick'[81]. The claim being that 'social breakdown is the greatest challenge we face' (Duncan Smith, 2007: 4). This narrative was backed up by a two-year campaign by The Sun newspaper about Broken Britain[82]. (The only newsagent in Knowle West is known locally as 'The Sun Shop' – as it is sponsored by the tabloid paper – located on Filwood Broadway. This is of local significance in the sense that the community would be influenced by the writing inside the newspaper, being one of the widest read newspapers on the estate, according to the newsagent.)

Five 'drivers' of poverty were identified: economic dependence and worklessness; family breakdown ('dad-lessness' in particular), addiction, educational failure, and living with debt – each intertwined with each other.[83] Cameron built a picture of why the Big Society along with welfare reform was needed:

> '… pockets of our society are not just broken but, frankly, sick … when I say parts of Britain are sick, the one word I would use to sum that up is irresponsibility. […] a complete lack of responsibility, a lack of proper parenting, a lack of proper upbringing, a lack of proper ethics, a lack of proper morals. That is what we need to change. […] it's about making sure we have a welfare system that does not reward idleness.' (Cameron, 2011[84])

---

[81] Cameron, D. (2011) PM statement on violence in England, 10 August. Available at http://www.number10.gov.uk/news/pm-statement-on-violence-in-england/ (Accessed 27 August 2015)

[82] During the same period (2007–2008) The Sun launched a campaign on the theme of "Broken Britain" with a particular focus on crime and anti-social behaviour, which continued until the election of the UK Coalition government in 2010

[83] The idea gained prominence with the publication in 2006 of Breakdown Britain by the Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) driven by former Leader of the Conservative Party, Iain Duncan Smith, whilst in opposition, from the mid-2000s.

[84] https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-statement-on-violence-in-england - downloaded 15 October 2019

This came after the now Prime Minister Boris Johnson's staggering earlier attacks on the working class and single mothers / parents in 1996, in The Spectator[85]:

> 'Most of these single mothers have had the common sense to detect that the modern British male is useless. If he is blue collar, he is likely to be drunk, criminal, aimless, feckless and hopeless, and perhaps claiming to suffer from low self-esteem brought on by unemployment. If he is white collar, he is likely to be little better.' (Johnson, 1995)

In something of a Damascene conversion, by the time of Johnson's first speech as Prime Minister in 2019 pledging to answer 'the plea of the forgotten people and the left-behind towns'.[86] For he and his Conservative colleagues under the premiership of Cameron had targeted social housing estates with the labelling of *Broken Britain* (for a critical commentary see Hancock and Mooney, 2013; Slater, 2014). Socially disadvantaged areas were daubed in territorial stigmatisation (see Wacquant, 2008; 2009) and written-off as 'welfare ghettos' (Hancock and Mooney, 2012: 58). Such areas were represented as problematic (O'Hara, 2020). Young people being processed through early intervention protocols (Butterby, 2018), included the 'Troubled Families' initiative (UK Government, 2012) through the DCLG. This identified, labelled, monitored, and ultimately stigmatised families, many of whom were living in poverty (Crossley, 2017). Under the Troubled Families scheme, councils were paid up to £4,000 to identify families with the

[85] http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/19th-august-1995/6/politics 19 August 1995. Access for subscribers only. Via https://fullfact.org/online/Boris-Johnson-working-men/ Downloaded 21 July 2021

[86] More information available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/boris-johnsons-first-speech-as-prime-minister-24-july-2019 (Accessed 20 July 2021)

most entrenched social problems including unemployment, domestic abuse, and truancy (Johnstone, 2017) though the impact of the scheme was highly criticised. However, the first evaluation carried out by the National Institute of Economic and Social Research (NIESR) for the DCLG could not find that the scheme had made significant or systematic impact (DCLG, 2016).

Disadvantaged working-class communities, where a large proportion of households would be welfare-dependent[87] and classified as living in poverty, such as Knowle West, were stigmatised by Conservative politicians in government:

> 'As the fabric of society crumbles at the margins what has been left behind is an underclass, where life is characterised by dependency, addiction, debt and family breakdown … a state of mind … a mentality of entrapment, where aspiration and hope are for other people, who live in another place.' (Duncan Smith[88], quoted in his Centre for Social Justice report, 2007: 4–5)

In a stigmatisation of somewhat horrific proportions in April 2017 the government decided that low-income families having a third or subsequent child would not be entitled to support for that child through child tax credit or universal credit (Child Poverty Action Group, 2021). This support is worth up to £2,845 per child per year. There are some exemptions to the policy, for example if a child is born as the result of non-

[87] At least 36.3%-48.2% (Bristol City Council, 2019) living on benefits, according to data from the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP)

[88] 'As the minister who brought in the Universal Credit and sowed misery among people with disabilities, there are millions of people who would see Iain Duncan Smith's attempt to portray himself as a warrior for social justices as a bad joke.' Independent, 18 September 2017. More information available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/comment/iain-duncan-smiths-centre-for-social-justice-drops-the-ball-with-latest-report-a7952996.html (Accessed 10 November 2019)

consensual sex, which has become known as 'the rape clause'[89]. Of course, how one proves such a thing, let alone why one should be asked to do so in the first place, is quite another story. Nonetheless, evidence of non-consensual sex related to conception must be provided. The two-child limit affects low-income families who already had three or more children when the policy was introduced. This includes families who were getting child tax credit or universal credit when their third child was born, and those who have needed this support since birth due job loss, ill-health, or family breakdown.

Far from the Conservative's constructed narrative of the *feckless poor* (Pheonix, 2013), what *is* developing in modern Britain is a rapid growth of what has been described as *the precariat* (Standing, 2016). This is a new class of socio-economic categorisation, of people facing income insecurity, moving in and out of precarious work, subject to flexible, insecure labour relations. This precariousness is also typified by types of work that may not offer much meaning to one's life. Social cohesion in the UK surrounds increasing inequalities in income (Dorling, 2010). Growing inequalities, insecurities, and instabilities in society do little to provide ideal environments for time-consuming volunteerism as conjured-up by the Conservative's *Big Society* narrative (see *section 3.2.1.2* below), when an individual's or family's main focus becomes day-to-day survival. This is what has been described as a classification known as the precariat: 'Because the wages of the precariat are increasingly volatile and on a downward trend, the overall result is that they live on the edge of unsustainable debt and in chronic economic uncertainty.' (Standing, 2014: 11)

[89] More information available at: https://fullfact.org/economy/what-rape-clause/ (Accessed 25 July 2021)

3.2.1.2 The Big Society

Credit: Martin Rowson, in the Guardian[90]

The Big Society was an idea popularised by David Cameron, first as the Leader of the Opposition and then as the UK's Prime Minister (2010-2016). Originally the brainchild of Cameron's director of strategy, Steve Hilton (Barker, 2010), the Big Society essentially embodies a critique of big government, with calls for more power to be devolved downwards to the local level, such as neighbourhood planning[91] (see *section 3.3.1* below). Central to localism ideas within the Big Society was an emphasis on community-led

[90] Reproduced by kind permission of the artist, from the Guardian newspaper, 11 October 2010

[91] In terms of UK politics, the Big Society concept applied to domestic policy in England only. The relevant policy areas are devolved in Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, so would therefore be the responsibilities of the Northern Ireland Executive, Scottish Government, and Welsh Government.

solutions, social action, through a vision of community engagement via volunteering (McKee, 2012). With a nod to Thatcher's famed use of the word society, Cameron declared in his 2005 victory speech (upon becoming Conservative Party Leader and then Leader of the Opposition):

> 'There *is* [my emphasis added] such a thing as society, it's just not the same thing as the state.'[92]

When Cameron was elected Prime Minister in May 2010, he announced in his Big Society speech that this project was predominantly about the *empowerment* of citizens:

> 'You can call it liberalism. You can call it empowerment. You can call it freedom. You can call it responsibility. I call it the Big Society.'[93]

This was Cameron claiming to want to disperse power away from central government towards local institutions and active, socially responsible citizens (see Kisby, 2010; Norman, 2010). Indeed, Cameron promised that the Big Society would be instrumental in creating:

> '… a redistribution of power [which] will be felt throughout our politics with people in control of the things that matter to them, … and power redistributed from the political elite to the man and woman in the street …'[94]

[92] More information available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4504722.stm (Accessed 17 July 2019)
[93]Speech by the Prime Minister on the Big Society, 19 July 2010. https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/big-society-speech (Accessed 29 September 2015)
[94] 'David Cameron: A new politics: The post-bureaucratic age', The Guardian, 25 May 2009

Steeped in Conservative ideological history that charities and volunteers rather than the state should provide many public services (Kisby, 2010), Cameron linked the essence of the Big Society with core values of the Conservative Party, declaring that:

> 'This party at its heart is about big people, strong communities, responsible businesses, a bigger society – not a bigger state'[95]

When Cameron talked of a *bigger society*, he was speaking about what is broadly known as civil society. Sometimes referred to as the third sector - or the community voluntary sector (CVS) - the UK's civil society organisations represent a diverse sector:

> '… who carry out vital work in communities across the country and whilst the vast majority of those individual organisations receive no state funding, public investment is a significant source of income to the sector as a whole and comes a close second to individual donations. State funding is particularly significant in some parts of the sector, including employment and training, education, law and advocacy, social services and housing.'[96]

However, this only works because volunteers work alongside and are supported by paid specialists and lawyers but: 'austerity measures threaten to strip out this vital support.'[97] To ground these aspects with the empirical data in this thesis, KWMC and Re:work – two member organisations of KWF – would be classified as third sector organisations. Operating within civil society, these would be typical of the voluntary sector groups expected to fulfil Cameron's social vision of the Big Society. In this case, to help deliver

[95] Cameron, D., Conservative Party conference speech, 2010
[96] The UK Civil Society Almanac. http://www.ncvo-vol.org.uk/almanac
[97] Inaugural lecture, Professor Morag McDermont, Law School, University of Bristol, 21 September 2018

neighbourhood planning on the ground where previously paid, experienced local government officers might be expected so to do. In the context of this thesis, in terms of neighbourhood planning, the Big Society called for more power to be devolved to the local level. It was an invitation for new partnerships between residents, the third sector, and planning and a new relationship between the state and the citizen and society (Bubb, 2010).

The broad idea rested on a belief, assumption, or hope, that rather than a highly centralised government machine (Espiet-Kilty, 2018) civil society was best equipped to understand and solve problems affecting society. With somewhat audacious ambition, considering the lack of associated infrastructure spending and no cross-governmental delivery plan (Moore, 2018), Cameron claimed:

> 'The Big Society is about a huge culture change where people in their everyday lives, in their homes, in their neighbourhoods, in their workplace don't always turn to officials, local authorities or central government for answers to the problems they face but instead feel both free and powerful enough to help themselves and their own communities.'[98]

However, Cameron did not articulate exactly *how* this social vision would actually happen, but his government did focus on welfare reform (Smith and Jones, 2015). In conflating these ideas, Journalist Matthew d'Ancona described how the Big Society was to be delivered through *social responsibility* and a *sense of duty*:

[98] Cameron, D., *The Big Society Speech*, Liverpool, 2010

> ‘The Conservatism that David Cameron proposes is something quite different, though no less demanding [than Thatcherism]. It is not just “individual responsibility” that he champions but – crucially – “social responsibility”: the sense of duty and belonging … the deployment of charities, church groups and voluntary societies (as Iain Duncan Smith has so persuasively advocated) to address the pathologies of the “Broken Society”; enterprise not only as the basis for economic growth but as an engine (as Cameron put it) of “infectious” self-belief in a community.’ (d’ Ancona, 2010: 1)

When neighbourhood planning was debated in the House of Commons an image was conjured of a plethora of volunteers coming onto the frontline of planning practice (Gallent and Robinson, 2012). However, these rather celebratory notions of volunteerism and community cohesion were dismissed as ‘philanthropic fantasy’ (Slater, 2012: 948). The grassroots planning literature tended to assume a citizenry of Gandhian humanists (Campanella, 2011). But Alcock challenged this:

> ‘…where will the well trained and publicly supported ‘army’ of community development workers [to assist the big society initiative] come from?’ (2010: 384)

The notion that communities were brimming with people wanting to volunteer, imbibed with a zeal for community work, was subject to incredulity and outright ‘ridicule’ (Lister, 2015: 352). On an individual level, reported membership of political, voluntary, professional, or recreational organisations declined by five percentage points in the UK between 2011 to 2012 and 2017 to 2018; meanwhile, social networking via the

internet increased by 15 percentage points across the UK between 2013 and 2019.[99] People engaging in unpaid volunteering stood at 19% in 2014 to 2015 (ONS, 2017)[100] compared with 17% in 2010 to 2011. Eleanor Rees, Head of Social Well-being Analysis team, Office for National Statistics (ONS):

> 'Our social capital findings show that we are engaging less with our neighbours but more with social media.'[101]

The evidence suggests that new levels of volunteering did not just magically emerge, spontaneously, because of the withdrawal of the state. In terms of government rhetoric or expectation that *responsible* individuals, voluntary sector groups, and community organisations would dive in and co-ordinate a programme of such breadth and scale of social change as depicted by the Big Society, was described as 'recklessness' (d'Ancona, 2010: 1). At the same time, the third sector was 'being sucked into substituting for the state' (Taylor, 2011: 264). Whilst spending on engaging communities was meagre despite the rhetoric of localism, in terms of austerity cuts in state support and services.

Cameron wanted a revolution of the bureaucracy of the state, including the civil service and local government (McKee, 2015). Local government funding cuts – some 49.1% nationally since the austerity programme first initiated by the 2010 Conservative-led

---

[99] Office for National Statistics (ONS) report on Social Capital in the UK: 2020https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing/bulletins/socialcapitalintheuk/2020 (Accessed 20 February 2020)

[100] Office for National Statistics. More information available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing/bulletins/socialcapitalintheuk/may2017 (Accessed 5 May 2017)

[101] Office for National Statistics (ONS) report on Social Capital in the UK. More information available at: 2020https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing/bulletins/socialcapitalintheuk/2020 (Accessed 20 February 2020)

Coalition government - meant a loss of £200m to Bristol City Council[102] alone. This was Cameron's attempt at redefining the relationship between the state and the citizen – the state and society – the state and the economy. To critics, Cameron's motives were nothing more than regressive, *laissez-faire,* small state Conservatism. Cameron and his Chancellor George Osborne were described by then fellow Cabinet Member William Hague as 'children of Thatcher'[103], overseeing a radical shrinking of the state. Public spending was slashed (Bailey and Pill, 2011; Kisby, 2010; Taylor, 2011; Lowndes and Pratchett, 2012; Wells, 2011), along with the shrinking of the state and the decimation of funding to local government.

Critical to this thesis is the point that prescribing such a retreat of the state fails to acknowledge, let alone address, the fundamental differences with affluent middle-class areas and areas of known multiple deprivation like Knowle West, in terms of social and economic power (Layard, 2012; Corbett and Walker, 2013; Padley, 2013; Jones et al., 2016). If *empowerment* was indeed the driver to the Big Society how exactly was that going to happen in Knowle West? How were communities at the socio-economic margins to be included in the Big Society vision? Raban provides an insightful reflection below, touching on the scepticism as to how the Big Society project, which included policies like neighbourhood planning, might actually work for all communities:

[102] More information available at: http://news.bristol.gov.uk/bristol_city_council_sets_budget_focused_on_protecting (Accessed 3 February 2018)

[103] WikiLeaks: William Hague said he, David Cameron and George Osborne were 'children of Thatcher'. More information available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/wikileaks/8174496/WikiLeaks-William-Hague-said-he-David-Cameron-and-George-Osborne-were-children-of-Thatcher.html (Accessed 15 October 2019)

> 'When Cameron speaks of Britain's 'atomised' and 'broken' society, and calls for a return to a 'broad culture of responsibility, mutuality and obligation', or Blond writes about the 'revival of the associative society', in which the 'common good' is 'cultivated organically from within', it's Ambridge[104] that they have in mind. The rhetoric of both men seems to be shot through with plaintive rural nostalgia for the small, self-contained life of the village; for a world where 'frontline services' are 'delivered' from within the community by the church, the WI and the Over Sixties Club, where no one dies unnoticed by his neighbours, the pub serves as a nightly local parliament, 'ethos' is reinforced by the vicar in the pulpit of St Stephen's and 'mutuality' flourishes in the gossip at the shop.'
>
> (Raban, 2010: 22)

While neighbourhood planning might work for a rural parish council or with an army of skilled volunteers, with lots of time to give, in a mythical village like Ambridge, what was the likelihood of this policy initiative packing out a community meeting on a wet, dark, cold Tuesday night in a sprawling housing estate like Knowle West?

When the Public Administration House of Commons Select Committee's reported on the proposed changes - *'Change in Government: the agenda for Leadership'* – they identified that leadership would be a major factor in making the concepts behind the Big Society work. Their report concluded:

[104] Ambridge is the fictional rural village in the long-running BBC Radio 4 drama, The Archers, which could be argued as typifying 'middle England', in terms of an analogy with Conservative held constituencies and with parish councils, which are predominantly rural and Conservative.

> 'A cultural change to accept new ideas, innovation, decentralisation, localism and the Big Society, necessary if these flagship government policies are to succeed, will only come with leadership and a clear plan.'[105]

However, according to the former Chief Executive of the Big Society Network, there was no cross-government action plan (Moore, 2018). In addition, between 2010-2016, the UK voluntary and community sector (VCS) lost around £911 million in public funding a year (National Council for Voluntary Organisations, 2011). Cumulatively, this meant the sector lost £2.8 billion over the spending review period (2011- 2016). What occurred in the name of the Big Society was the reduction of the state, but without the concordant funding and development of the voluntary sector (Smith and Jones, 2015). In fact, given the withdrawal of nearly £3 billion in public spending over the period that KWF's neighbourhood planning forum existed, what happened could be described as something of a *shock and awe* style approach of government, with community groups and third sector organisations often facing extinction.

The third sector was struggling to keep the lights on, let alone in the position to provide extra voluntary support to new projects like neighbourhood planning. (We saw this within the Productive Margins forum, for example, community groups were struggling, such as Hamilton House[106]; firefighting to keep going, let alone being able to take on extra outreach, partnership work to deliver the promises of the Big Society, such as

[105] Public Administration Select Committee, Thirteenth Report of Session 2010-12, Change in Government: the agenda for leadership, HC 714, para 109
[106] More information available at: https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/end-era-stokes-croft-hamilton-1964706 (Accessed 10 July 21)

neighbourhood planning.) The 'Big Society Audit'[107] concluded, which is borne out by empirical data in this thesis, that while there had been some:

> '… genuinely positive initiatives, the Big Society has not reached those who need it most, people with least power and influence'.

Becoming something of a toxic brand, the Big Society was replaced by the phrase 'Community and Society' (McKee, 2015: 14) and by 2017, once Theresa May was in Downing Street, the political framing had shifted to that of the 'Shared Society'[108].

[107] Civil Exchange. More information available at: http://www.civilexchange.org.uk/whose-society-the-final-big-society-audit (Accessed 24 September 2015)
[108] May, T. *Shared Society Speech*, 2017.

There is such a thing as Society – photo from anti-austerity protests, 2010[109]

3.3 UK Coalition Government (2010-15) and the Localism Act 2011

Cameron launched the Big Society idea in the year before the 2010 general election. The British Coalition Government that formed in May 2010 made localism a core part of its political programme. This was framed as being a key component of the flagship Big

[109] Photo courtesy of Shaun Seymour.

Society policy (Painter et al., 2011) and was presented in legislative terms as a decentralising agenda. The Coalition Agreement of May 2010 declared:

> 'The time has come to disperse power more widely in Britain today.'[110]

The Coalition Agreement stated:

> 'The Government will promote decentralisation and democratic engagement, and we will end the era of top-down government by giving new powers to local councils, communities, neighbourhoods and individuals.' (HM Government, 2010)

The Big Society was launched as a flagship policy of the Coalition in the guise of what would pass into law as the Localism Act 2011. (Henceforth, I will refer simply to The Act, to avoid cumbersome repetition.) The government promised to:

> '… completely recast the relationship between people and the state'
>
> (Cabinet Office, 2010: 8)

The planning system was identified in the first few months of the new Coalition government (Tait and Inch, 2016) as being a key site for localism. Prior to becoming legal instruments through The Act [111] neighbourhood plans were introduced as part of the Big Society concept by the Conservative Party, defined broadly as:

> '…local planning through collaborative democracy'

[110] More information available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/78978/coalition-agreement-may-2010_0.pdf May 2010 (Accessed 9 June 2020)
[111]The Localism Act 2011 provides a statutory regime for neighbourhood planning. The Neighbourhood Planning (General) Regulations 2012 ("the 2012 Regulations") make provision in relation to that regime.

(Conservative Party, 2009: 3)

It was a Conservative Party policy paper entitled *Open Source Planning* that first presented ideas for a re-orientated planning system in terms of neighbourhood planning. This paper explained:

> 'Local people in each neighbourhood… able to specify what kind of development and use of land they want to see in their area … this will lead to a fundamental and long overdue rebalancing of power, away from the centre and back into the hands of local people.' (Conservative Party, 2010: 2)

The localism agenda was presented as offering a new enhanced role for community participation (Holman and Rydin, 2012), particularly in regard to *neighbourhood planning*. The policy under examination comes through legislation and regulations[112] - known as 'the 2012 regulations' - stemming from the Act. (*More details follow below in section 3.3.1 - The Act and Neighbourhood Planning.)*

Described as 'a complex piece of legislation' (Layard, 2012: 1), The Act implements a 'political logic of localism' (Layard, 2012: 134), essentially one that purports to political decentralisation, in terms of offering a new enhanced role for community within the Act (for a critique see Painter et al., 2011; McKee, 2015). This was framed by the UK government as 'a commitment to community empowerment' (Holman and Rydin, 2012: 2) and devolving power. The Act addresses a wide range of planning and local government issues, including housing. When introducing the Decentralisation and

[112] The Neighbourhood Planning (General) Regulations 2012 ("the 2012 Regulations") make provision in relation to that regime.

Localism Bill to the Commons, the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government Eric Pickles explained:

> '… the essence of the Big Society… is trusting people to know what needs doing, with Government enabling them instead of getting in their way.' (Cabinet Office, 2010)

He made some rather sweeping promises about the legislation:

> 'The Bill will reverse the centralist creep of decades and replace it with local control. It is a triumph for democracy over bureaucracy. It will fundamentally shake up the balance of power in this country, revitalising local democracy and putting power back where it belongs, in the hands of the people.'[113]

And further outlined by the then Decentralising Minister Greg Clark as being:

> '… a commitment to decentralise power across every department and every level of government - and return power to the people to whom it rightfully belongs.'[114]

One criticism of The Act, however, is that there was no White Paper discussing the rationale for The Act or the ideology (Layard, 2012) and that localism:

> '… is a normative term that requires justification.' (Layard, 2012: 134)

[113]House of Commons debate, 17 January 2011 col. 558.
[114] Six Steps to Return People to Power, 13 December 2010. More information available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/six-steps-to-return-power-to-the-people (Accessed 1 September 2018)

There is also a danger in a policy that presumes all communities and places are somehow alike (Barton et al., 2012). Communities do not speak with one voice nor are they all equally resourced, nor operating at the same scale. As a result, the Coalition's definition of the term 'localism' is 'marked by inconsistency and incoherence' (Layard, 2012: 135). It implements a political logic of localism; however, a clear definition of just what localism might mean is not addressed by the legislation.

Communities within The Act are understood as residential communities, emphasising the current spatial understandings of 'the local'. Layard (2012: 140) explains one of the key legal changes in terms of this 2011 policy development:

> 'One of the Localism Act's most innovative introductions is to define and categorise a new regulatory scale in planning law: the neighbourhood.' [115]

With neighbourhood planning 'recognising the neighbourhood as the collective locus of participatory democracy' (Bradley, 2015: 107). But as we saw in the last chapter - section *2.2.1 constructing the 'local'* - there are different and competing versions of what might constitute the term *communities* or *neighbourhood*. This apparent ambiguity might be attributed to the political differences between the parties that formed the Coalition Government. This is unpacked well here:

> 'Broadly the Conservatives have a clear interest in the 'nano-local' (promoting neighbourhoods, free schools and GP consortia). In contrast, the Liberal Democrats argue in favour of strengthening local democracy by freeing town halls from central government control. These approaches to not necessarily

[115] Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) guidance to the Localism Act (2011), November 2011. ISBN: 978 1 4098 3225-6 11 HC Deb 17 January 2011 col 558 10

> mesh, despite being framed in a broader cascade of devolution.' (Layard, 2012: 135)

The Coalition was operating under two different political histories and traditions. Was the umbrella term of localism perhaps a central government fudge or compromise? As many of the details were seemingly left to be fought out on the ground by local politicians and in local communities by members of the public. The critical element around the difference between the site of governance of the local, in terms of local government, and citizen-led initiatives like neighbourhood planning was drawn out in the Committee stage of the Bill:

> '… devolution of power both to local government and to local communities are not always compatible aims, and the latter appears to be the Government's priority.'[116]

This is a tension that certainly emerges in the data analysis chapters, between the councillors and KWF.

3.3.1 The Act and Neighbourhood Planning

The purpose of this first section about neighbourhood planning is to provide the reader with a very basic outline of the policy of neighbourhood planning. A critique is started and built upon within the two subsequent sections. *With regard to planning at the community scale, other authors have looked in more detail at how planning is carried out in procedural terms (see Gallent and Robinson, 2012; Parker, 2008; Parker and Murray,*

[116] House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee *Localism: Third Report of Session 2010–2012* (House of Commons: London, 2011) 4.

2012; Parker et al., 2014; Parker et al., 2015; Parker and Wargent, 2017). This thesis is concerned with the participant experiences of neighbourhood planning in Knowle West and the fact the KWF group did not get to the actual stage of creating a neighbourhood plan *(re the latter stages of neighbourhood planning – including independent examination, modifications, community referendum, and post-adoption – see Parker and Wargent, 2017).* The information in this - and the following two sections - is intended to demonstrate the complexities these volunteers faced in *attempting* to make a neighbourhood plan. In this way, this section provides a foundation for engaging with the empirical data findings chapters.

The introduction of neighbourhood planning (NP) in England under The Act was claimed by proponents to be a step-change in the way communities could become involved in planning aspects of land use in their local areas (Parker and Street, 2015). Whilst neighbourhood planning is optional, once passed by an examiner and then ratified by the community through a referendum, known as being 'made' or 'adopted' neighbourhood plans form part of the statutory development plans through the local planning authority (LGA, 2013). Neighbourhood plans are therefore statutory. Known as 'adopted neighbourhood plan status', using latest Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG) data some 2,761[117] neighbourhood plans in England have been adopted.

[117] Based on latest MHCLG research of local authority websites, this information is taken from internal MHCLG records, as of 11 December 2020. There is a spreadsheet available online listing those adopted plans via Locality. (Spreadsheet: Neighbourhood-Planning-Data-at-11-Dec-2020, but please note the relevant local authority websites may have the most up to date information). More information available at:

https://neighbourhoodplanning.org/toolkits-and-guidance/key-neighbourhood-planning-data/

Since the 1960s, the neighbourhood has been the site of innovation and experimentation around the selection of areas for special attention and the piloting of different ways of mobilising residents and delivering better quality services (Durose and Richardson, 2009). Whilst recognising the importance of community engagement in plan-making is not new (see Skeffington, 1969), what was new in the 2012 regulations was government encouragement to communities to initiate plan production (Vigar, et al., 2015). In terms of forming a neighbourhood planning forum, once created local residents – in theory at least - can determine where new buildings should go and what they should look like or designate the future of local green spaces. This could include new homes, shops, businesses, leisure space, cycle and footpaths, and community facilities.

Another way of describing community-led neighbourhood planning can be local 'place-making' (Parker et al., 2017: 450). Explained, in the government's Plain English Guide to Planning:

> 'Neighbourhood planning is a new right for communities and gives them direct power to develop a shared vision for their neighbourhood and shape the development and growth of their local area. For the first time, communities can prepare plans with real legal weight and can grant planning permission for the development they wish to see through a 'neighbourhood development order'. (DCLG, 2015: 11)

There is a difference between a neighbourhood development order (NDO) and a neighbourhood plan (sometimes referred to as a 'neighbourhood development plan').

(Accessed 21 July 2021)

Neighbourhood plans usually set out a vision for an area or site by providing planning policies for the use and development of land (LGA, 2013), commonly referred to as 'land use'. Though such plans could be similar to a Local Plan they will be about *neighbourhood* rather than district-wide issues. In contrast, NDOs grant planning permission for specified forms of developments agreed by the neighbourhood (LGA, 2013). Examples of which could be household extensions, shop fronts, or 'green energy' proposals. Where an NDO is in place planning permission for such things from the local planning authority is no longer required (LGA, 2013). KWF were in the business of attempting to make a neighbourhood plan, which is the focus of this thesis.

Described as central government moving to de-professionalise planning, at the time of the Act becoming law the Rt Hon Greg Clark, who was then Minister of State for Decentralisation, promised:

> '… new rights and powers for communities and individuals; reform to make the planning system more democratic and more effective.'[118]

Explaining the legislative changes to local councillors, the Local Government Association (LGA) described neighbourhood plans - sometimes called Neighbourhood Development Plans (NDP) - as being:

> '… a fundamentally new tool to give communities more control over the type, location, size, pace and design of development in their area.' (2013: 3)

[118] Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) guidance to the Localism Act (2011), November 2011. ISBN: 978 1 4098 3225-6

At the time of launch[119], a neighbourhood planning forum could apply for a grant of up to £9,000 through Locality[120] (the organisation that administers the neighbourhood planning community grants for the DCLG) to kick-start the process. Locality is a national membership network supporting local community organisations with resources for local people to get involved and create change in their community[121]. Locality explains what a neighbourhood plan is:

> '… a document that sets out planning policies for a local area. It's used to decide whether to approve planning applications, including new buildings (e.g. community facilities) or changes to existing buildings (e.g. giving permission to change the upper floors of shops to flats).'[122]

The government definition of neighbourhood planning is framed almost entirely by planning and property, renovating, or new buildings. In terms of what a neighbourhood planning forum can focus on in a neighbourhood plan:

> 'They are able to choose where they want new homes, shops and offices to be built, have their say on what those new buildings should look like and what infrastructure should be provided, and grant planning permission for the new buildings they want to see go ahead.'[123]

---

[119]By March 2018, a new programme was announced through Locality, groups working on a neighbourhood plan could apply for grants of up to £17,000. Professional planning support would also be available to support communities in unparished areas.

[120] More information available at: https://neighbourhoodplanning.org/about/grant-funding/ (Accessed 24 September 2015)
[121] More information available at: https://locality.org.uk/about/what-we-do/ (Accessed 16 October 2019)
[122] Locality. More information available at: https://locality.org.uk/services-tools/neighbourhood-planning/ (Accessed 17 January 2020)
[123] UK government guidance 'What is Neighbourhood Planning?' More information available at: https://www.gov.uk/guidance/neighbourhood-planning--2#what-is-neighbourhood-planning

Localism, in this sense, is restricted to the built environment (Layard et al., 2013) and neighbourhood plans set out land use policies. Developed by a parish council or neighbourhood forum, which then becomes part of the development plan for the area. Planning application decisions in those neighbourhoods then *have* to take into account the policies set out in the neighbourhood plans, statutorily. These plans and orders must have regard to national policies and conform to local strategic policies. (*We will see more details of this statutory regime below, in section 3.3.1.1.)*

This was national government ostensibly legislating for more democratic participation in planning decisions (Inch, 2015; see also Gallent and Robinson, 2012). This is seen as being new in terms of:

> '… the relationship between representative democracy and the bottom-up planning aspirations of the neighbourhood [which] distinguished neighbourhood planning from previous incarnations of community engagement in development decisions.' (Bradley, 2015: 100)

That is to say, as a policy, it integrates elements of participatory democracy, within an otherwise top-down plan-making model within a local authority (Brownill and Downing, 2013). As a concept, neighbourhood planning encapsulates several debates that have been at the heart of city planning and urban governance over the past 100 years (Pinnegar, 2012); introducing a model of co-design (Tait and Inch, 2016; also Zamenopoulos and Alexiou, 2018) and elements of co-production (Parker et al., 2015; Parker et al., 2017). Neighbourhood planning, then, is essentially 'relational reform'

(Accessed 2 September 2018)

(Padley, 2012: 351), in terms of offering a new partnership between the public and planning, relying on people being able to work together across local social networks (McKee, 2012).

In this sense, neighbourhood planning is a model that requires experience of community development work, as co-production is a skilled and strategic intervention (Gilchrist, 2009). As well as leadership, facilitators (Parker et al., 2017), and good communication skills (Ostrom, 1975), networked community groups are considered vital; to be able to work closely with different parts of a community towards a common understanding (Gallent and Robinson, 2012), in order to create a neighbourhood plan. In the DCLG Plain English Guide to The Act, the government claims that neighbourhood planning would make the planning system clearer, more democratic, and more effective. Promising that:

> 'Neighbourhood planning will allow communities, both residents, employees and business, to come together through a local parish council or neighbourhood forum and say where they think new houses, businesses and shops should go and what they should look like.'[124]

However, the policy has been described as a 'light touch' (Parker et al., 2017: 457) approach. In the sense of how these various social networks and interest groups would come together to work together, in terms of the co-production side of this policy, is not clear. As a result:

[124] Page 15 of the Plain English Guide. (Accessed 2 September 2018)

> '… no service standards were created to assist communities to organise co-production relations effectively.' (Parker et al., 2017: 457)

As part of these planning reforms, neighbourhood plans could be created by parish councils or community organisations, like KWF. The neighbourhood planning policy appears to be a response to central government disputes with parish councils over planning policy (see Colenutt, 2012a; Bradley and Sparling, 2016; Jones et al., 2016). Described as being 'highly political' (Colenutt, 2012a: 14), introducing neighbourhood planning was seen as a government response to housing planning permission issues (Jones et al., 2016; Field and Layard, 2017) particularly around rebellious rural parish councils and shire counties, offering financial incentives such as the New Homes Bonus. Colloquially dubbed as *nudging* (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008), this was all about saying 'yes' to development, rather than stopping development plans, at a Council level (Jones et al., 2016: 168).

One professional planner put it like this:

> '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.' (Nickson, 2019: 222)

In this way, Bradley and Sparling (2017) critique neighbourhood planning policy as being all about addressing the housing shortage. The critique being that the design of

local decision-making ensures that the preferences of the centre are pursued by local people (Fussey, 2004). Bringing into question the type of empowerment being pursued by central government, who evoke 'community empowerment' (Bradley and Sparling, 2017: 116) in name, when really communities were being called on to 'sanction' (Gallent and Robinson, 2012: 196) significant levels of housebuilding into their plans (see Sturzaker, 2011). Given that the policy of neighbourhood planning is said to have originally been aimed at rural areas governed by parish councils (Jones et al., 2016), the evidence (see Bradley and Sparling, 2016; DeVerteuil, 2013) suggests that the policy of neighbourhood planning was brought in by central government to overcome opposition to development (see Sturzaker, 2011) - by local councillors or residents or both - to housebuilding[125]:

> '... by devolving limited powers to communities to influence development.'
>
> (2016: 106)

They argue that it was anticipated that by giving communities the right to draw up their own neighbourhood development plans (NDPs) would secure their compliance with a pro-growth agenda (Bradley and Sparling, 2016); thus, increasing the number of sites allocated for housing. As such, a neighbourhood plan will usually identify areas or sites for development, or change of use, and for example, provide guidance on building heights. In this way, an NDP:

[125] In England, community opposition to housebuilding has been cited as one of the key factors in the decline in new housing supply over the last decade.

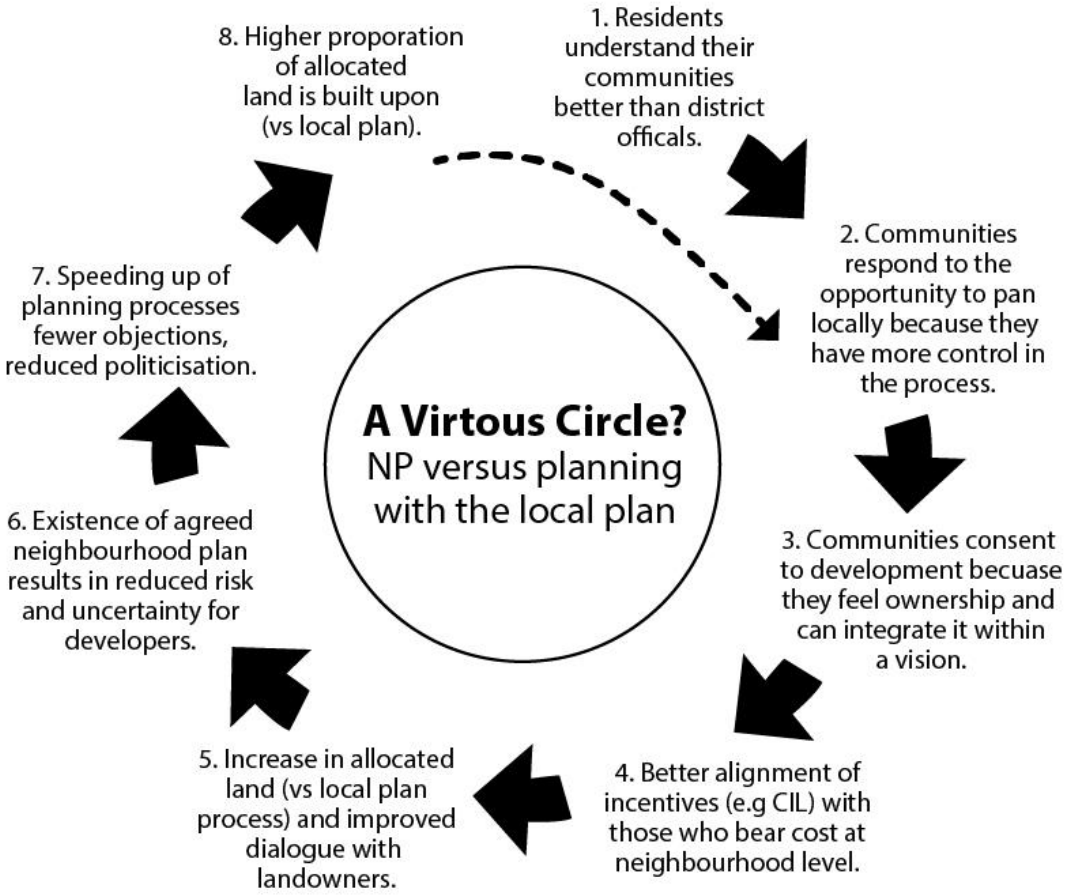
> '… could be useful for planning where new housing and other development should go. General guidance for building design can be set out (e.g. heights, bulk, colours) without going into huge detail.'[126]

Evidence from the planning agency Turley [127] shows that at the time of the KWF launch in 2013, 83% of Neighbourhood Development Plans (NDPs) were produced in Conservative areas, arguably areas with more parish councils, typically very rural, sparsely populated areas (Turley, 2014). This was seen as a reaction to parish council opposition to top-down government housing targets, in rural areas that wanted to resist the urban sprawl of new build housing. In this sense, despite the government's rhetoric around participatory democracy, localism, governance, and empowerment, it is important to note the pro-growth agenda of the government, to encourage communities to 'say yes to growth' (Brownill and Bradley, 2017: 5). While acknowledging that 'a progressive localism that challenges existing power relations' (Brownill and Bradley, 2017: 7) is possible, the overall picture is one of the dominance of a growth-dependent paradigm (Rydin, 2013). A paradigm that arguably sees developers, rather than host communities, becoming the biggest beneficiaries (Tait and Inch, 2016). In this way, the model does not mitigate against the most powerful or affluent dominating or shaping local decision-making and the agenda (see Westwood, 2011; Escadale et al., 2012).

[126] Guide to Neighbourhood Planning, Islington Council (2013). More information available: https://www.islington.gov.uk///~/media/sharepoint-lists/public-records/planningandbuildingcontrol/publicity/publicconsultation/20132014/20131218guidetoneighbourhoodplanninginislington (Accessed 27 August 2018)

[127] Turley (2014), *Neighbourhood Planning –Plan and Deliver?* London, Turley. Turley is a planning consultancy

Figure 1: Government hypothesis of the impact of neighbourhood planning: extract from DCLG academic review[128] meeting September 2013 (from Nickson, 2019: 16)



Those responsible for setting the rules of neighbourhood planning have applied the model above, ensuring, for example, that Neighbourhood Plans must be in conformity with the Local Plan. This simple regulatory action has meant less radical policy choices being proposed within communities as they develop their neighbourhood plan (Nickson, 2019). In addition, an approach to planning that appears to be originally conceptualised for rural areas becomes 'problematic from a governance point of view' (Jones et al., 2016: 168). In that, in attempting to transpose this model onto urban areas

[128]An academic roundtable was formed by DCLG in 2013, including meetings in London and seminars around the country (Nickson, 2019)

such as Knowle West, there is no equivalent governing structure to that of a parish council. That is to say, there is no layer of government below the level of the local authority. Which means decision-making powers are being devolved to a neighbourhood scale devoid of conventional democratic mechanisms (i.e.: non-parish areas) (see Layard, 2012). In contrast, parishes have an automatic right to be recognised as legitimate neighbourhood planning bodies and already have governing structures in place for small settlements in rural areas.

The Act places a legal duty on local planning authorities to support and advise groups wanting to embark on neighbourhood planning. This is called a general *duty to support* and explained below by DCLG:

> 'Where the promoters of a neighbourhood plan are able to demonstrate adequate local support for the proposed plan and the promoters are designated a 'qualifying body', the local planning authority has a duty to provide advice or assistance on, for example, good practice in plan making, and whether the proposals are in general conformity with the strategic policies of the local plan and consistent with national policy and EU law. They will also have a duty to provide practical support - e.g. facilitating community engagement, and helping with consultation with public bodies, landowners and, where appropriate, statutory consultees. There will be no duty on the local planning authority to provide financial assistance but it may do so if it so chooses.' (DCLG, 2012: 6)

With a 'duty to support'[129] written into the legislation, the Council is arguably part of the collaboration of neighbourhood planning, so the relationship with the Council and councillors is an important consideration. How might they have helped or hindered the process of collaboration will be explored in the empirical data chapters, in terms of the participatory aspects of working together as a local group of volunteers in relation with the Council. Particularly as over 90% of neighbourhood plans are led by Local Councils (Parker and Salter, 2017), yet for the community-led neighbourhood plans this rather ambiguous term is matched with clearer direction in the Plain English Guide to the Planning System, that:

> '… councillors have a key leadership role in this process.' (DCLG, 2015: 6)

Without publicly elected representatives, there have been accusations of non-parish area neighbourhood forums lacking 'democratic accountability' (Layard, 2012: 140). In fact, there is scant examination of the internal workings of any such group (Parker, 2015). Contradicting the contemporary regeneration discourse of putting communities in control of planning in their neighbourhoods, Jones et al suggest (2016) neighbourhood planning does little to enable more socio-economically deprived communities to shape changes and see improvements to the areas in which they live. In this respect, by the government manufacturing a narrative of greater rights for communities (Padley, 2013), in terms of what could be a potentially innovative policy

[129] The Localism Act 2011 placed a legal duty on local planning authorities to support and advise groups wanting to do neighbourhood planning, but this did not include financial assistance. More information available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/2010-to-2015-government-policy-planning-reform/2010-to-2015-government-policy-planning-reform (Accessed 11 January 2020)

instrument for community voice in planning, neighbourhood planning has been described as nothing but 'a sop to middle-class NIMBYism[130]' (Jones et al., 2016: 166).

> 'Nor does it engage with questions of spatial justice or provide specific support for poorer communities.' (Layard, 2012: 145)

Social exclusionary issues are a problem with this model of planning:

> 'There is a well-recognised danger that neighbourhood groups without the requisite social or human capital may be structurally excluded from such processes.' (Parker et al., 2017: 448)

In that some communities may be more able than others to articulate their needs and mobilise and command resources. The key point for this thesis being that increasing opportunities for community involvement:

> '… does not guarantee participation across the whole spectrum of society' (Padley, 2013: 345)

While participation in neighbourhood planning groups is open to all who live or work in a forum area:

> '… there is a real concern that these new institutions of local governance will be dominated by the 'usual suspects' and may not develop at all in more disadvantaged communities.' (Layard, 2012: 140)

[130] The acronym 'NIMBY' ('not in my back yard') originates from the USA and became widely used as a derogatory term to condemn the planning objections of citizen groups who admit the social need for development but object to it taking place in their vicinity (Dear and Taylor, 1982; Dear, 1992; from Bradley, 2017: 42)

Indeed, participation in this policy appears to have been more problematic for areas and individuals with limited resources (Brookfield, 2017). Indeed, in terms of lack of diversity of representation, neighbourhood plan group volunteers do not represent the demographics of society; some survey work around the subject of neighbourhood planning identified that participants appeared to be white, middle class, retired men from largely professional backgrounds (see Nickson, 2019). Professional and academic participants suggested that engaging with and motivating marginalised communities is a significant challenge for neighbourhood planning fora:

> '… the challenge is to ensure that often marginalised groups in communities can be represented.' (Nickson, 2019: 117)

In terms of the community context, this will be explored in the data analysis chapters of this thesis. Arguing that without more governmental or third sector support along with extra financial resources the poorer, less 'capable' sectors of society will be disenfranchised from planning (Nickson, 2019). For there is a notion of 'familiar faces' – individuals and areas – that traditionally participate in planning decisions (Bailey and Pill, 2015; Brand and Giffikin, 2007; Vigar, 2013; Brookfield, 2017). The demographic of participation that emerged during the course of this study were:

> '… skewed towards rural, professional, retired, home-owning 'middle-class' participants.' (Nickson, 2019: 137-138)

Worthy of note here is:

> 'It's also a problem, not openly discussed, that the citizens who feel most empowered can also be most difficult for councils – at least where

empowerment is expressed through campaigning and exposing apparent service and system failures. Embracing those residents as an asset, rather than fending them off as a liability…'[131] (Francis, 2018)

3.3.1.1 The 'statutory regime' - the regulatory, legislative framework around neighbourhood planning

The Act provided a statutory regime for neighbourhood planning, through the Neighbourhood Planning (General) Regulations 2012 ("the 2012 Regulations") make provision for the designation of neighbourhood areas and the submission of neighbourhood development plan proposals to local planning authorities, in relation to that regime. A plan prepared by a Parish / Town Council or Neighbourhood Forum for a particular neighbourhood area is commonly referred to as the 'neighbourhood plan'. The Act creates 'a new governance structure' (Jones et al., 2016: 168) in that, neighbourhood planning alters the relationship in England between local government, communities and urban development (Jones et al., 2016). Neighbourhood planning was brought into law in England only[132], as the different nations within the UK have largely separate planning regimes, having devolved powers down to separate governance bodies (Brownill, 2016). Neighbourhood planning in England is now a feature of the statutory land use planning system (see Locality, 2012; Parker, Lynn, Wargent, 2017; Smith, 2014; UK Government, 2012a).

[131] More information available at: https://traverse.ltd/recent-work/blogs/council-future-making-all-us-designers

[132] The Neighbourhood Planning (General) Regulations 2012 ("the 2012 Regulations") make provision in relation to that regime.

Neighbourhood planning is not mandatory, but for a community group to engage with the making of a neighbourhood plan 'strict rules' (Colenutt, 2012b: 2) must be followed. This 'heavily prescriptive environment' (Parker, Lynn and Wargent (2015: 524) is demonstrated by 25 pages of Neighbourhood Planning (General) Regulations 2012[133], from the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG). These outline, that the neighbourhood area itself and the neighbourhood forum drawing-up the plan must first be approved by the local authority; the Neighbourhood Forum must have at least 21 members, comprising residents living or working in the designated area; the neighbourhood plan they produce must conform with the strategic policies of the *Local Plan* in the area; as well as *national* and *European* regulations. In this study, the Local Planning Authority is Bristol City Council.

A neighbourhood plan must conform to the local authority's own statutory plans, laid out in the Local Plan for the area concerned. Neighbourhood plans achieve their legal status within local authority Local Plans, drawn-up by local planning authorities to set out where new buildings, shops, businesses, and infrastructure need to go, and what they should look like. This one action of central government decreeing, that the local plan must be adhered to, denies more radical policy choices being promoted within communities who develop their own Neighbourhood plan (Nickson, 2019).

In addition, stipulations of national policy, principally the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) 2012 - a sixty-five-page policy document - requires that neighbourhood plans must enable growth (within the limits set out in the Local Plan),

[133] These Regulations amend the 2012 Regulations to make further provision in relation to the designation of neighbourhood areas and the submission of neighbourhood development plan proposals to local planning authorities.

or as indicated by other relevant evidence (Parker et al., 2017). The status of neighbourhood plans is, therefore, 'ambiguous against higher tier policies' (Parker and Wargent, 2017: 4). In this way, communities are constrained by a higher authority, while a great deal of control and power is left in the hands of central government and the local authorities (Stanton, 2014). In that, the NPPF 2012 establishes the 'scope for action' (Parker and Street, 2015: 795), particularly in relation to growth and development:

> '… neighbourhood plans and orders should not promote *less* [my emphasis added] development than set out in the Local Plan or undermine its strategic policies.' (DCLG, 2012: 44)

In the sense that the stipulations around national policy - principally the NPPF - and the multi-layer regulatory framework it creates means that:

> 'Neighbourhood planning is weighted down with procedural rules and tests, which provide for top-down control.' (Parker et al., 2017: 454)

To be 'made', a neighbourhood plan must meet certain Basic Conditions, which include that the making of the plan does not breach, and is otherwise compatible with, European Union (EU) obligations (Locality, 2014: 2). One of these obligations is Directive 2001/42/EC[134]:

[134] See EUR-Lex Access to European Law. More information available at: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legalcontent/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A32001L0042 (Accessed 25 January 2020)

> '... on the assessment of the effects of certain plans and programmes on the environment'.[135]

This is often referred to as the strategic environmental assessment (SEA) Directive which:

> '... seeks to provide a high level of protection of the environment by integrating environmental considerations into the process of preparing plans and programmes.' (Locality, 2014: 2)

Locality explains the legislative, regulatory process:

> 'The SEA Directive is transposed into UK law through the Environmental Assessment of Plans and Programmes Regulations (the 'SEA Regulations') and it is these regulations that the plan will need to be compatible with. A key stage in the neighbourhood planning process is determining whether or not SEA is required.' (Locality, 2014: 2)

As such, the neighbourhood planning forum is also required to keep an audit trail, to understand and consider impacts, in case a strategic environmental assessment (SEA) might be required. This is a procedure (set out in the SEA Regulations) that requires the environmental assessment of certain plans and programmes which are likely to have a significant effect on the environment. One of the following documents is required by law, to be included with a neighbourhood plan proposal when submitted to the local planning authority: a statement of reasons for a determination under regulation 9(1) of

[135] Environmental Assessment of Plans and Programmes Regulations 2004 (S.I. 2004/1633). Available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/2004/1633/pdfs/uksi_20041633_en.pdf (Accessed 25 January 2020)

the Environmental Assessment of Plans and Programmes Regulations 2004 that the proposal is unlikely to have significant environmental effects; an environmental report in accordance with paragraphs (2) and (3) of regulation 12 of the Environmental Assessment of Plans and Programmes Regulations 2004. Neighbourhood plans must also show compliance with European human rights laws, in that the making of the plan must not breach, or otherwise be incompatible with, any EU obligation or any of the Convention rights (within the meaning of the Human Rights Act 1998) (s.38A(6)).

In this way, the process can be said to shape the outcome (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Making the policy representative of the paradox of liberalism (Foucault, 1991), whereby respect for individual liberty and freedom exists in tension with the requirement for regulation and control. This is what Foucault refers to in the maxim, the 'conduct of conduct' (Gordon, 1991: 2). Far from being a model of empowered, co-production, neighbourhood planning has the 'design and "rules" imposed' (Parker et al., 2017: 453). To alleviate this Local Planning Authorities should provide clear:

> '… information, support and guidance to allow local communities to develop their plans, without fear of challenge from developers.' (Nickson, 2019: 141-142)

The sum of any neighbourhood planning process is long, complex, and legalistic and 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.' (Nickson, 2019: 266)

In reality, it has been argued that Local Planning Authorities (LPA) do not support those developing Neighbourhood Plans 'adequately' (Nickson, 2019: 142). However, the Cabinet Office states that it is important for partnership work to comprise 'equal players' (2001: 43). Although partnership work like KWF with the Council can be said to represent principles of 'participatory democracy' and equality between partners (Balloch and Taylor, 2001:8), research on public voluntary partnerships suggests that government partners often determine the 'rules of the game' (in this case the Council and the DCLG). The whole process still looks like power *over* rather than power *with* and it is hard to agree with the promise of empowerment through this policy. Indeed, the promise of political empowerment at the local level has become recognised as little more than facadistic (see Bailey, 2003; Geddes, 2006; Raco et al., 2006; Brownill, 2009; Painter et al., 2011; Parker and Street, 2015).

In this respect, in the context of all the rules and various levels of local, national, and European regulation, neighbourhood plans seem more about guiding. As such:

> 'localist empowerment is definitively subordinate to the Government's growth agenda.' (Parker et al., 2017: 455)

It is important to recognise the key policy drivers appear to be:

> '…the restructuring of the policies, practices and governance of planning to enable economic growth, under the ambiguous banner of 'sustainability'.' (Brownill and Bradley, 2017: 5)

In terms of power, the relationship between the community and the local authority can be characterised, therefore, 'as one of "critical dependency"' (Parker et al., 2017: 453), in that:

> '… every stage of the process needs sign-off by the LA and where the NDP must be in general conformity with the Local Plan policies, also devised by the LA. Rather than constituting a truly co-creative relationship, this represents a hierarchical and unbalanced partnership, one that is often complicated by the input of private sector consultants.' (Parker et al., 2017: 453)

In this way, the government invites the public to engage in projects that will ultimately help deliver the state's objectives (Davoudi and Madanipour, 2013). Policy becomes technologically realigned and oriented so as to govern through communities (Rose, 1999). In terms of needing to conform to the Local Plan, this means that central government can appear to increase citizen participation in the practices of local government, rather than promoting true independent community action (Painter et al., 2011). Despite neighbourhood plans being cited as potential routes towards empowerment:

> '… there are considerable qualifications or obstacles to these possibilities' (Parker and Street, 2015: 3)

There were various barriers encountered by neighbourhoods in addressing issues identified by the community (Bradley, 2018). Given that neighbourhood plans must fit in with the local plans and as well as the UK government's National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) for England (DCLG, 2012) Haughton et al refer to the governance

structure of neighbourhood planning forums as being 'soft spaces'(2013: 222). In that, 'there is some apparent community control' (Jones et al., 2016: 168), but neighbourhood planning forums only:

> '... allow for particular demands to be voiced and negotiated, as long as they do not question and disrupt the overarching framework of market-led development.' (Haughton et al., 2013: 222)

To summarise - and bring all of this back to the impact on volunteer participants engaging with this policy in Knowle West - this is a picture of a very detailed regulatory landscape, particularly for a group of novices. To be able to produce a neighbourhood plan, as well as secure given statutory recognition, the plan needed to be produced in a format that fits in with all of these 'formal strictures of the planning system' (Jones et al., 2016: 169). Moreover, for a neighbourhood plan to be lawful it must be drafted in accordance with higher-level policies: European and national designations (e.g. heritage and natural environment).

3.3.1.2 Multi-level regulation brings 'tests' and new procedural arrangements

Alongside, the new neighbourhood planning regulations, this iteration of local planning introduces a new set of procedural arrangements (Parker, Salter and Hickman, 2016). For example, once drafted the Neighbourhood Plan must be formally examined. For this, an independent examiner is appointed by the Local Authority to consider whether the Plan passes the required 'tests' (see Parker et al., 2016; Parker et al., 2017). Critically, neighbourhood plans *cannot* be used to oppose development and as mentioned

previously, must conform to local authority and national planning policies. After passing an external examination, there is more regulated scrutiny as a neighbourhood plan then needs to receive a majority public vote in a Neighbourhood Referendum. Organised by the Local Authority, the referendum acts as a democratic brake. *(For a more detailed explanation of the regulatory side of the neighbourhood planning process see for example Locality, 2012).* During the lifetime of KWF, under the 2012 regulations, a simple majority 'yes' from the local electorate was required to bring a neighbourhood plan into law. As an example, a referendum question to be put to the local electorate could be:

> 'Do you want (Local Planning Authority) to use the Neighbourhood Plan for (Neighbourhood) to help it decide planning applications in the neighbourhood area?' (Dyer, 2016: 10)

Once endorsed through a referendum a neighbourhood plan becomes part of the planning authority's statutory development plan. This means the public's views - as stated via the neighbourhood plan - have to be taken into account in all future planning decisions for that geographic area.

3.4 Concluding comments

In examining the legal regulatory landscape surrounding neighbourhood planning, we see that it amounts to a web of legal regulations – multiple layers of national, regional, local, and European regulatory considerations. The intention of this examination has been to develop a deeper understanding of the complexity and power dynamics encountered by this group of volunteers in Knowle West and the regulatory impact

upon how they operated. A number of constraints affected the residents' ability to fully operationalise the policy, predominantly around community context, regulation, and resources. By examining these multi-layers of legal regulation, the enormity of the task for community groups begins to emerge. The technical and legal knowledge required is considerable, in addition to the know-how of community development work (such as asset mapping) – required for participatory engagement around social networks and local assets of this nature.

The aim of this thesis is to examine and highlight how certain communities face complex socio-economic challenges to be able to fully enact policies introduced at a national level, such as neighbourhood planning. Whilst it is specifically the neighbourhood planning aspects of The Act that concerns this thesis, it is important to note that The Big Society was always *more* than purely a localist agenda (McKee, 2015). It has come to represent a critique of big government and welfare reform. Communities at the sharp end of cuts and welfare reform become further challenged in an age of austerity. I am arguing that a one-size-fits-all policy like neighbourhood planning can cause dysfunctionality. It is a policy designed by the middle class for the middle class and does nothing to accommodate social inclusion in areas of multiple socio-economic deprivation, with complex, multi-level needs. Some areas in Knowle West are classed as the lowest 1% in the socio-economic indices in England. One area there has actually decreased in terms of those measures of government statistics, since 2010-2015. Yet what was being offered to make the playing field more even, for them to be able to participate in this policy?

In that neighbourhood planning is a model of collaborative work which can be said to represent principles of 'participatory democracy' (Balloch and Taylor, 2001: 8), what if a community group like KWF fails to actually make a neighbourhood plan? Where, when and how does their voice get heard? If they aren't able to produce a plan, where is the democracy in that?

The intention of this chapter has been to build a picture of the complexity of the regulation faced by a group of novice volunteers. The myriad levels of regulation they must navigate, in order to make a neighbourhood plan, one that would pass inspection and referendum. Through an understanding of this complexity, we can reflect from the outset on the possibilities (or otherwise) for user engagement (local residents and voluntary sector organisations in the case of KWF) throughout the whole process of attempting to put the localism policy into practice. As such this chapter has laid foundations for the data analysis chapters, where we will hear various voices, including community activists, staff from third sector organisations and local residents.

CHAPTER FOUR - RESEARCH METHODS

4.1 Introduction

4.2 The research approach

4.2.1 Constructivist grounded theory (CGT) as method

4.2.1.1 Research questions - shaping the study

4.2.2 Ethnographic methods

4.2.2.1 Participant observation

4.2.3 Ontological and epistemological considerations

4.3 Researcher positionality: reflexivity, voice, and emotional labour

4.3.1 Positionality and authorial voice

4.3.1.1 Vignettes – voice and community context

4.3.2 Emotional labour

4.3.2.1 Emotive dissonance

4.3.2.2 Researcher's dual role and emotional labour

4.3.2.3 Reflexivity – regarding emotional labour and emotion work

4.3.3 The emotion of participation and voice

4.3.3.1 Emotional geographies and the marginalised voice

4.4 Developing a research design – why CGT and ethnographic methods?

4.4.1 Data collection

4.4.1.1 Reflections on participant observation fieldwork in Knowle West

4.4.1.2 Semi-structured interviews with KWF members

4.4.1.2.1 Anonymity and right to withdraw

4.4.2 Other ethical considerations

4.4.3 Access and informed consent

4.5 Approach to data analysis

4.5.1 Stages of data analysis

4.5.2 Analysis of the interviews

4.5.3 Credibility and generalisability issues

4.6 Concluding comments

4.1 Introduction

Whilst I adopted a largely ethnographic approach to data gathering, this thesis does not claim to be an ethnography nor strictly a grounded theory (GT). The research design draws on aspects from both research traditions. I consider methods within both traditions to be tools to use, to answer research questions – see *section 4.2.1.1 - Research questions shaping the study* - rather than a strict recipe to follow (Charmaz, 2008b). By method, I mean the actual data collection and analysis. By methodology I mean the foundations and the nature of 'reality' (ontology) and knowledge (epistemology) on which these methods are founded (Hoggart et al., 2002: 1, 310). Drawing on the work of Charmaz (2000) and Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) as a research strategy (Charmaz, 2000) and from the theory of inference, meaning, and action of pragmatist philosopher Charles S. Peirce (see *section 4.2.3 - Ontological and epistemological considerations*) this thesis adopts an abductive logic (Charmaz, 2009). Operating under an overall CGT umbrella means that data collection (see *4.4.1 – Data collection*) was conducted without a hypothesis and analysis is non-deductive, in that abduction starts with an observation or set of observations and then seeks the most likely conclusion.

Crotty identifies 'four elements' (1998: 3) as being key ingredients to any research process: methods, methodology, theoretical perspective, and epistemology, to ground its 'logic and criteria' (Crotty, 1998: 7). These components are presented within this chapter to form the gateway to the three empirical data analysis chapters that follow, and subsequent conclusions chapter.

4.2 The research approach

Adopting something of a position of 'methodological agnosticism' (Henwood and Pidgeon, 2006: 350) at the beginning of my research, whilst deeply frustrating at times, enabled me to explore and remain open to a myriad of possibilities (Trahar, 2009). When reflecting on the choice of methodological framework and research paradigm, I was significantly influenced by the over-arching research programme of *Productive Margins*, of which I was part. Due to my being in the field so early on in my PhD journey, in the July before the academic year of 2013-2014 even started, I jumped in at the deep end, so to speak, initially labouring under a community partner's interpretation of 'social action research' (that I was undertaking research in a participatory role that revolved around social action in the community), rather than a purely academic perspective. (In that, the KWF was not actually a site of co-produced academic research, more of a partnership, which will be described in more detail as this thesis progresses.)

Before my placement with KWMC I had never heard of or read about co-production (Ostrom, 1976) as method before, nor heard of participatory action research (PAR), or social action research. As such, I was reading about these methodologies, their histories, various traditions, branches, and application, whilst already embedded in Knowle West. Though I initially committed to using a participatory methodology, almost by default – as *Productive Margins* was an experimental programme into co-produced research. My basic understanding at the outset was that the key feature of action research revolved around the researcher - and sometimes with the participants - seeking to alter a situation by taking an active role.

The research was most definitely orientated towards transformation, in terms of the impact of my work as part of the co-operative endeavour of KWF as Communications Officer in KWF. Later too in my role as interviewer of KWF members, with the explicit aim of taking those findings back to the group, for the KWF forum as a whole to learn more about the views of each other, about individual ideas, what members considered was working and what might be improved upon. (However, this did not happen as the group voluntarily gave up their powers related to being a Neighbourhood Planning Forum in June 2015, before I had concluded analysis of the interview data.) Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) advances social justice research in the public sphere (Charmaz, 2020) as an approach to research that is centred on what matters to participants, which appealed to my need and desire to bring KWF members' voices to the fore. Loretta Lees (2003) draws attention to urban analysis, where 'the voices of the public…. are disturbingly silent' (2003: 110). Matters of voice and marginality influenced the approach taken and the methods used, wanting to privilege the voices of KWF members to enrich an understanding of emotional geographies (Davidson et al., 2005; Jupp, 2013) and their motivations around place-based work (see *section 4.3.3.1 – Emotional geographies, the marginalised voice).* This is due to both my commitment to recognise those often excluded from consideration in policy terms and because of the importance of community context to the findings within this thesis. The thesis argues that to fully understand the processes of localism and neighbourhood planning in Knowle West, the underlying socio-economic and political context in which neighbourhood plans are developed must also be considered.

4.2.1 Constructivist grounded theory (CGT) as method

Assessing methodological considerations – along with constraints in the field around co-produced research - led me to choose to draw on ideas and methods from both CGT (Charmaz, 2000; 2008b) and ethnography (Hammersley, 1990; Atkinson et al., 2000; Genzuk, 2003; Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011; Charmaz, 2020). I draw on Charmaz's writing on constructive grounded theory (CGT) (2000, 2001, 2003, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2014, 2017a; 2017b; Bryant and Charmaz, 2007; 2019) as an emergent research method, that 'begins with the empirical world and builds an inductive understanding of it as events unfold and knowledge accrues' (Charmaz, 2008a: 155). There is a breadth of history to the development of the GT approach, since the 1960s (Bryant and Charmaz, 2019). GT as method means there is no defined research path and certainly no way of knowing what one might find. It is about embracing a process of being able to let go of one's own interests and preconceived ideas, the essence of which embodies trusting in emergence (Glaser, 1978). This requires a mentality and confidence to trust in the process of emergence. An approach that requires the patience and humility to let the research participants rather than the researcher define the research 'problem' (Brown, 2012).

Whereas earlier GT took a more objectivist position (see Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; Strauss and Corbin, 1990/1998) evolving from this heritage came CGT, which is ontologically relativist and epistemologically subjectivist. CGT is described as applying the strategies of traditional GT within a constructivist paradigm, thus rejecting notions of objectivity (Annells, 1997). Charmaz's remodelling with the social constructivist version (2000) of the grounded methodological approach brings this research tradition much closer to the human world and social life within that world. It is the treatment of the data and their analytical outcomes that is the main theme of

Charmaz's (2000) explanation of how researchers undertake studies using CGT (Mills et al., 2006). This includes simultaneous data collection and analysis and the pursuit of emergent themes through early data analysis to help understand social processes within the data (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011: 2).

CGT emphasises theory construction rather than description, or application of current theories (Charmaz, 2006), through nascent interpretations about initial data. A process of labelling fragments of data, then observing tentative theoretical categories through a process of coding (Charmaz, 2017b), was first outlined by Glaser and Strauss (2006/1967) but further developed by Charmaz (2000). Following a process of analysis that proceeds in an iterative way is explained well here:

> 'Theorising is the act of constructing … from data an explanatory scheme that systematically integrates various concepts through statements of relationship.' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 25)

With CGT, no set of rules dictates what a researcher needs to do and when he or she needs to do it (Charmaz, 2008b; Sanders, 1995). Using CGT strategies means responding to emergent questions and new insights, further information, twists and turns in understanding, simultaneously constructing the method of analysis, as well as the actual analysis. CGT conceptualises research as co-constructed by the researcher and respondent, which means the researcher must be open to integrating new insights as they emerge during this co-construction (Charmaz and Belgrave, 2012). The social constructionist tradition views data as co-constructed *with* research participants. By using CGT as a strategic approach in data collection and analysis I am interested in how:

> '… subjective experiences can be abstracted in order to form theoretical insights regarding collective understandings or relationships amongst actors.' (Allen and Davey, 2014: 225)

CGT allows for exploratory and hypothesis-generating studies, driven by empirical data which enables the development of theorisations without the guidance of a preconceived theory (Mills et al., 2006). Timmermans and Tavory suggest:

> '… if we wish to foster theory construction we must be neither theoretical atheists nor avowed monotheists, but informed theoretical agnostics' (2012: 169)

Abductive reasoning aims at developing a theory by moving from specific observations to broader generalisations (Morse, 2001), whereas deductive reasoning aims at testing an existing theory, or hypothesis. Analysis arises from a researcher's social and intellectual positionality but will be further aided by careful methodological data analysis (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012). In the sense that the focus on the actual data collected allows for suspending pre-conceived ideas or notions. According to this perspective, abduction reflects the process of creatively inferencing, then double-checking these inferences with more data (see *section 4.5 - Approach to data analysis*). The constructivist form of GT requires the active role of the researcher *in* the process of conceptual development, emergence, and discovery. This allows for an iterative, fluid process of inquiry - a 'continual back-and-forth between beliefs and actions' (Morgan, 2014: 1049). A CGT approach involves abductively moving between empirical materials (Genzuk, 2003; Bryant and Charmaz, 2019), whereby:

> 'The researcher composes the story; it does not simply unfold before the eyes of an objective viewer. The story reflects the viewer as well as the viewed.'
>
> (Charmaz, 2000: 522)

Such thinking fully implicates the researcher, who does not stand outside the studied process but is very much part of it. The researcher needs to immerse themselves in the data in a way that embeds the concerns and narrative of the participants in the final research outcome. This immersion plays out through an intent that 'helps to keep that life in the foreground' (Charmaz, 2000: 526). Reflexivity is central to the constructionist (Charmaz, 2008b) and my dual role as researcher/observer and participant in the generation of data resulted in a high degree of closeness to the research topic and community. Researcher reflexivity is particularly relevant in this study. In keeping with the reflexive positioning of CGT, some sections of this chapter and thesis are written in the first person singular or plural ('we' being KWF activists and I). By immersing myself within the community of Knowle West – for 20-months as Communications Officer and visiting for many years including the various interviews - so many things happened, and much data was generated. This provided a rich source of data for various stages of analysis, which has been condensed by way of themes into the three empirical data findings chapters that follow this. I have also incorporated certain elements from my empirical data into this chapter, to ground the methodology and contextualise the community setting, as well as my role within neighbourhood planning in Knowle West. My intention is that this brings the study more alive for the reader, to bring life to the data and story.

In terms of using CGT with ethnographic methods (see *4.2.2 - Ethnographic methods*)

> 'Grounded theory methods consist of flexible strategies for collecting and analysing data that can help ethnographers to conduct efficient fieldwork and create astute analyses. No more, no less.' (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011: 2)

It was this flexibility that I needed, as data collection happened without a hypothesis and the organic nature of CGT enables pragmatic decision-making, around research stages and the gathering of a wide spectrum of data (*see section 4.4.1 – Data collection).* In that my understanding of the research topic developed throughout the study. This emanated from the participation in the work of KWF and the various stages of data analysis, including the iterative process of working with data and literature in an abductive manner (Genzuk, 2003). By adopting this approach, theory emerges from active engagement between the researcher and participants during the data collection stages, allowing the researcher to connect theorising with everyday practice and the social worlds encountered through their engagement in the field. This 'bonds the researcher with the researched' (Charmaz, 2017a: 38).

Charmaz (2000) developed the theme of writing as a strategy in CGT in her later work (Charmaz, 2017a; Bryant and Charmaz, 2019), advocating a writing style that is more literary than scientific in intent. Adopting this ethos, I use vignettes and an illustrative narrative scene (Merryfield, 1990) as a data analysis strategy, within my findings chapters, to give the reader a feeling for what it might be like to be at a KWF forum meeting (see also *section 4.3.1.1 – Vignettes – voice and community context*). This is a way of providing a contextual backdrop to the themes being explored in the empirical work. For while constructivist grounded theorists are impelled to be analytical in their

findings, the style of writing needs to be evocative of the experiences of the participants (Charmaz, 2001).

4.2.1.1 Research questions - shaping the study

This approach depends very much on pursuing emergent questions during the study, constructing and revising research questions and the theoretical framework became a process of evolution throughout the data collection and into the analysis stages. This is sometimes necessary in complex qualitative research (Agee, 2009). This becomes part of a process of accommodating and benefiting from an emerging 'methodological self-consciousness' (Charmaz, 2017a: 35). I found a process of revising research questions necessary over the study, to act as guiding ideas but guidance that was to be challenged and adjusted throughout, to assist development in thinking and findings:

> 'During the inquiry process, a researcher needs to see questions as tools for discovery as well as tools for clarity and focus.' (Agee, 2009: 446)

In *Chapter Two* and *Three*, I touched on general lines of inquiry that were guiding my thinking during the time in the field and the various phases of literature review. The research questions this thesis aims to explore within the empirical data analysis and the Conclusions *Chapter Eight* are:

1. How did community context and local history around issues such as loss and trust affect the work of KWF in the policy enactment of neighbourhood planning?

2. How did power and regulatory issues affect KWF's work as a citizen-led neighbourhood planning group?

3. How did resource issues impact the work of KWF?

4.2.2 Ethnographic methods

Typically, ethnographic methods include three kinds of data collection: interviews, observation, and documents (Angrosino, 2007), all of which yielded data that aided an understanding of the process of neighbourhood planning, as well as KWF members' experiences of neighbourhood planning. According to Atkinson et al (2000) early stages of analysis will produce three general kinds of data, namely quotations, descriptions, and excerpts from documents (I return to this in *section 4.4.1. - Data Collection),* all of which complement the nature of the fieldwork and research topic. Genzuk explains the ethos of ethnographic research methods well:

> 'It relies heavily on up-close, personal experience and possible participation, not just observation, by researchers.' (2003: 1)

In keeping with the move away from the anthropological definition of ethnography, most researchers deploying ethnographic methods nowadays do not actually live with the people they study (Hammersley, 2005), but they:

> '… focus on what happens in a particular work locale or social institution when it is in operation, so that in this sense their participant observation is part-time.' (Hammersley, 2005: 4)

Considerable time spent in the field, where routines and activities relevant to the topic of study is considered a crucial aspect to using ethnographic methods (Whitehead, 2005). This allows a researcher to use a data-driven approach to understand the actions, behaviours, and experiences of people within the social context in which a phenomenon

is occurring (Vigurs, 2009). The phenomenon under study here is the KWF group and neighbourhood planning in Knowle West.

The ethnographic tradition of description is to tell stories, to form scenes, describe players, and demonstrate actions that are of particular use in this thesis. Hence, the deployment of vignettes and a narrative scene (Merryfield, 1990) to give the reader a sense of what it was like to be at the KWF neighbourhood planning meetings. Vignettes have been added (see *section 4.3.1.1 – Vignettes – voice and community context*) to illustrate certain key events and thematic findings, largely drawn from events through participant observation field notes and researcher diaries. This is an attempt to make the written work resonate with 'meanings palpable within the research settings' (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011: 22). The overall CGT approach is enriched by drawing on the ethnographic traditions of writing that is symbolic of the world visited rather than purely distilled abstractions (Charmaz, 2020).

4.2.2.1 Participant observation

There are four main categories of participant observation: (1) complete-member-researcher, (2) active-member-researcher, (3) peripheral-member-researcher, and (4) complete-observer (Jung, 2014). Researchers who take an active membership role are not legitimate members of the research setting but are involved with the setting's central goals, activities, and responsibilities (Adler and Adler, 1994). I took an active member position, which gave me something of an *insider* and *outsider* perspective, with both perspectives being important for understanding phenomena under study (Genzuk, 2003). Not living on the estate (but in nearby Bedminster – another ward in the constituency of Bristol South, arguably with a different socio-economic and social,

cultural profile) meant I could keep a curious mind as to the newness of the environ I was working within, also about who I was meeting, what they said to me, and about what I was seeing and experiencing.

This interpretive qualitative inquiry is largely a participant observation led study (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; 2019; Spradley, 1979; Spradley, 1980; Bernard, 2017; Maginn, 2017) complemented by interview data, providing direct quotations from KWF members. Participant observation is considered a core feature in ethnographic methods (Atkinson et al., 2000) which suited the embedded nature of this study, with my placement at KWMC and active role as KWF's Communications Officer. This is characterised by the researcher approaching the participants in their own environment (Spradley, 1980) over an extended period (Aull Davies, 2008), rather than having the participants come to the researcher. This enables the researcher to experience the social phenomena under investigation (Bernard, 2017), through first-hand experience and immersion in the natural setting (Fielding, 2008). Whilst participant observation tries to learn what life is like for an 'insider' the researcher remains, inevitably, an 'outsider' (Spradley, 1980) but:

> 'The purpose of such participation is to develop an insider's view of what is happening. This means that the researcher not only sees what is happening but "feels" what it is like to be part of the group.' (Genzuk, 2003: 2)

Situated learning requires introspection and reflexivity to aid attempts at *emic* knowledge, with the emic approach being defined as the insiders' perspective on culture (from within a specific culture, group, or organisation), which can help provide insight into cultural nuances and complexities (Pike, 1967, 1990). Bernard (2017) identifies

benefits of being embedded in the social context of inquiry as not just helping to identify which questions are most relevant to ask, but also learning how to phrase questions in terms that might make more sense to local people; particularly when the researcher is within a social setting or unfamiliar culture. This enables the collection of a wider range of data, by aiding a more intuitive understanding of the meaning of the data, opening up more areas of inquiry, in an iterative manner.

4.2.3 Ontological and epistemological considerations

As a research paradigm, pragmatism proposes that researchers use whichever methodological approach works best for the particular research problem under investigation (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). Both CGT and ethnographic methods have philosophical underpinnings in pragmatism (Peirce, 1931; 1958) and the research design of this thesis uses an abductive logic, providing context for the research process, connecting the chosen research methods to the data. The ideas of Peirce (1931; 1958) the founder of American pragmatism, have spawned various 'diverse streams' (Crotty, 1998: 72) and nuanced carnations of pragmatism. It was Peirce who first framed abduction as a useful process in the context of social science research. Unlike deductive reasoning, this pragmatic logic yields a plausible conclusion but does not positively verify it. It is the practice itself - being part of something - that verifies the findings, through first-hand experience. A helpful account of the pragmatic philosophy is provided by Rescher:

> 'The characteristic idea of philosophical pragmatism is that efficacy in practical application – the use of 'which works out most effectively' – somehow provides a standard for the determination of truth in the case of statements, rightness in the case of actions, and value in the case of appraisals.' (1995: 710)

I am drawn to pragmatism because of the primacy placed on practice, emphasising knowledge production of human experience in inquiry. In this view of social life and the human world, meaning is constructed, not discovered, and is all about social interactions where:

> '… the meaning of an event cannot be given in advance of experience.' (Denzin, 2012: 81)

The community-based neighbourhood planning work at the core of this thesis lends itself to the Dewey philosophy, that experiences create meaning when beliefs and actions are brought into contact with each other (Morgan, 2014). In turn, it is the interpretation of those beliefs that generate actions, see figure 1 below, and consequently, actions must be interpreted to generate beliefs.

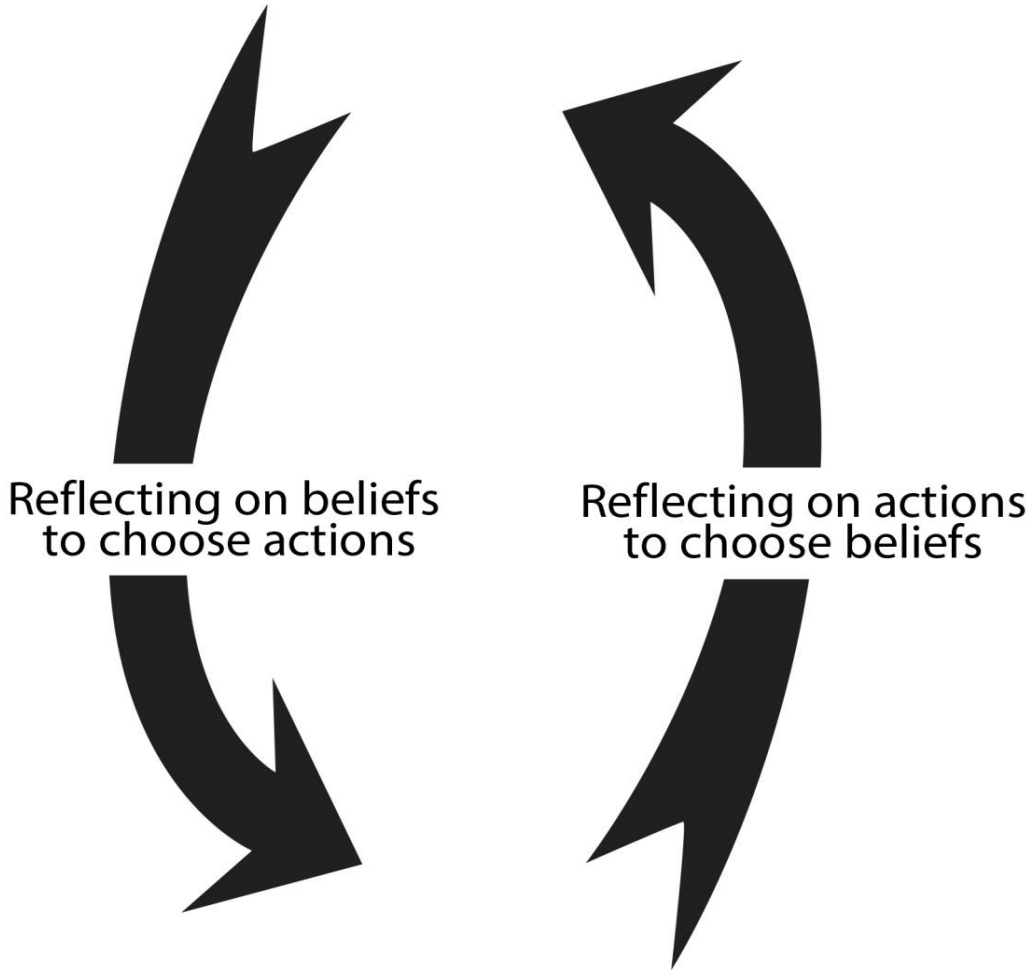


Figure 1 - Dewey's Model of Experience (from Morgan, 2014: 1047)

Pragmatic thinking of this nature is relevant to this thesis because at the heart of the study is human activity, that which is not devoid of emotion, nor context-free. Defining an action based on abstract rules or laws would not necessarily accord with the way an action is defined by actors in any concrete social situation (Flyvbjerg, 2001). In terms of how beliefs and actions operate within the process of inquiry, Dewey identifies five steps in a systematic approach (Biesta and Barbules, 2004; Morgan, 2013; Sturbing, 2007), summarised in figure 2 below:

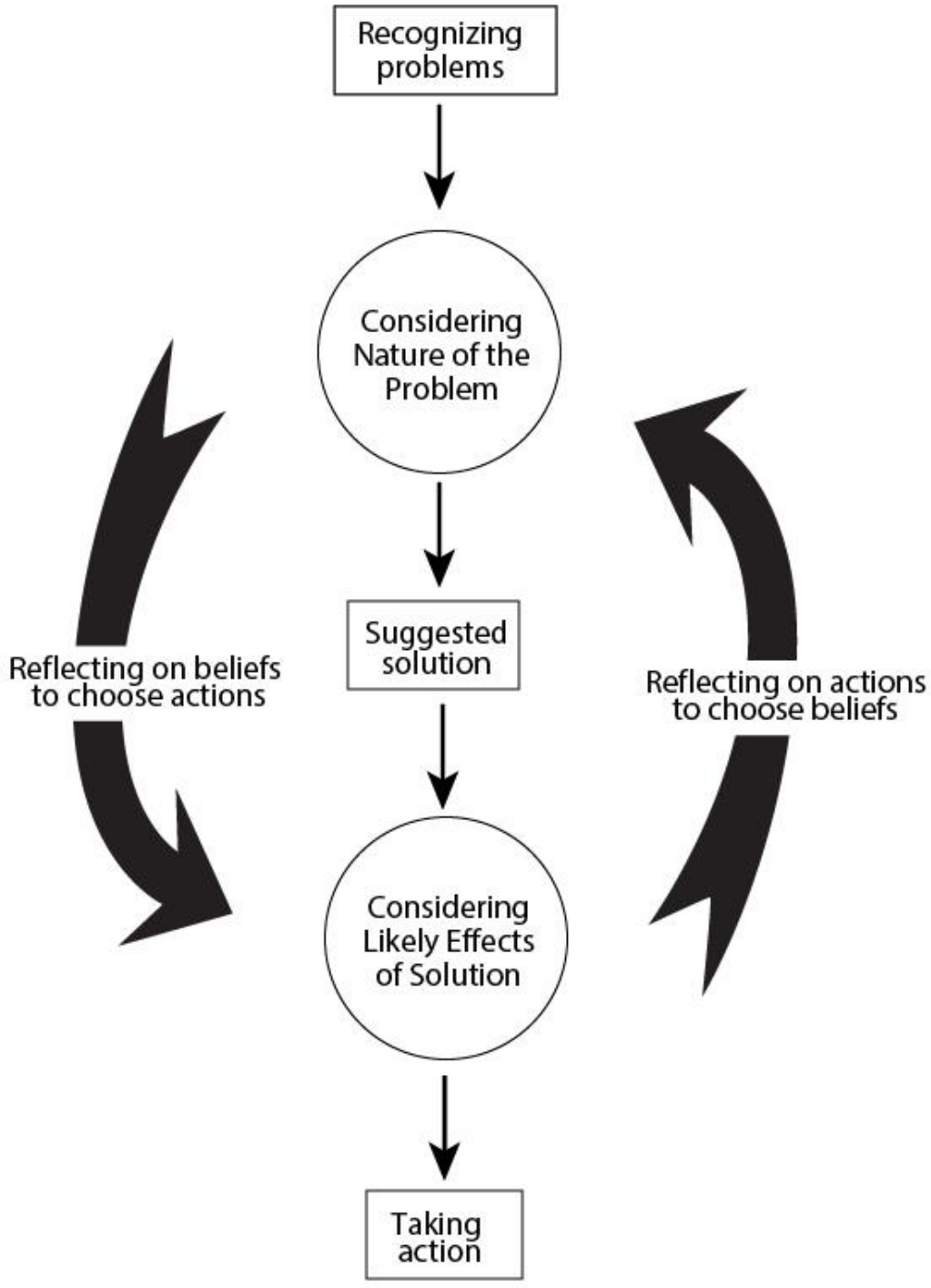


Figure 2. Dewey's Model of Inquiry (from Morgan, 2014: 1048)

Place-based research in a participant role in this sense becomes 'a process of self-conscious decision making' (Morgan, 2014: 1046). Recognising the importance of joining

beliefs and actions in an iterative process of inquiry, that locates research as a very human experience, based on the beliefs and actions and emotions of the actual researcher (Dewey, 1920), rather than an abstract set of philosophical beliefs. This resonates with this thesis, concurring with Dewey's notion that emotions and preferences in a research setting start with a feeling that something is problematic in a situation (that is context-dependent) and those feelings go on to colour every aspect throughout the inquiry process. In this sense, pragmatic thinkers perceive the active self as central to the understanding of the world's meaningful structure. Within this logic we can go on to view the social practice of neighbourhood planning as being conditioned by influences operating at many levels; hence drawing on the theorisation of entanglements of power in *Chapter Two* and then through analysis of empirical data in *Chapter Five, Six* and *Seven*.

This lens of understanding power acknowledges the social world as being enacted in a complex way, in any given community, as well as outside the geographic boundaries of a community, within the city, region, state, along with virtual, digital spaces:

> 'Social practice is, in other words, subject to constraints and empowering forces that, in turn, social practice itself produces, modifies and mediates.' (Wesley Scott, 2007: 18)

Given the complexity of social relations and the human world, taking anything other than a pragmatic approach to what works in any given situation is rather futile (Bryant, 2019). Dewey's pragmatism is interesting given that his central moral value for his version of pragmatism is freedom of inquiry (1925b/2008), whereby:

> '… individuals and social communities are able to define the issues that matter most to them and pursue those issues in the ways that are the most meaningful to them.' (Morgan, 2014: 1050)

As such, I am drawing on pragmatism as a paradigm because of the emphasis on problem-solving and practice-based solutions (Rescher, 1995). Pragmatism, in this sense, provides a way of thinking about the fundamentally practical and political character of this study (Bohman, 1999). Central to Dewey's philosophy, as stressed by Denzin, is that:

> 'Inquiry will always be a moral, political and value-laden enterprise.' (2010: 424)

Within this logic there are political implications of pragmatism being progressivist; for research to provide meaningful, real-life solutions rather than operate in some kind of sterile, abstract bubble. This is explained well here:

> 'Sociologists and psychologists might stop asking themselves whether they are following rigorous scientific procedures and start asking themselves whether they have any suggestions to make to their fellow citizens about how our lives, or our institutions, should be changed.' (Rorty, 1998: 70)

Pragmatics recognises that there are many different ways of interpreting the world and undertaking research. Leading on from Dewey's theory of inquiry and logic, pragmatism views reality as 'fundamentally social and processual' (Charmaz, 2017a: 38), an ontology that allows for 'multiple layered realities' (Charmaz, 2006: 126). This thesis recognises the existence of multiple realities (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011) with the mutual creation of knowledge by researcher and research participants, aiming to provide an interpretive

understanding of the studied world (Altheide and Johnson, 1994; Charmaz, 1995, 2000; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Prus, 1987, 1996; Schwandt, 1994). In this respect, the nature of reality cannot be defined by superimposing one theoretical lens (Firestone, 1987; House, 1994). Pragmatism is not committed to any one system of reality or philosophy (Cresswell and Cresswell, 2018). A pragmatist ontological model 'sidesteps the contentious issues of truth and reality' (Feilzer, 2010: 8), as Crotty elucidates: 'It becomes a world of meaning only when meaning-making beings make sense of it' (1998: 10).

Holding to pluralistic explanations about the social world, pragmatists adopt an epistemology that focuses on the practicalities of what works as the truth, concerning the context of the social project under investigation (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). Through the philosophic framing of pragmatism this ontology and epistemology:

> '… assumes that reality is fluid and somewhat indeterminate …' (Charmaz, 2017a: 38)

Through this fluidity, this thesis draws on Dewey's conceptualisation of knowledge as a conversation; that theorising is an ongoing, dynamic process, with knowledge claims being at best provisional (Bryant, 2009). Epistemologically, Dewey spoke of 'warranted assertions' (1941: 179); rather than knowledge being created, as a result of research, warrants result as outcomes of inquiry.

In this thesis, the ontological position adopted maintains that social phenomena and their meanings are in a constant state of being realised or 'constructed' (Bryman, 2012: 33). Based on the empiricist view that knowledge stems from human experience, the epistemological approach taken in this thesis is constructivist; emphasising the

subjective interrelationship between the researcher and research participants and their co-construction of meaning (Hayes and Oppenheim, 1997; Pidgeon and Henwood, 1997; Mills et al., 2006; Bryman, 2012). Sometimes called constructionism, this way of knowing assumes that all humans, through their own situated perspectives, construct and interpret the realities they participate in (Bryant and Charmaz, 2019). Social constructivism does not seek to explain reality nor provide one single explanation of social reality but recognises that multiple realities constitute the social world (Charmaz, 2006; Saunders et al., 2012). This results in CGT analysis telling a story about people, social processes, and situations through:

> '… the mutual creation of knowledge by researchers and research participants, and aims to provide interpretive understanding of the studied world (Altheide and Johnson, 1994; Charmaz, 1995b, 2000; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Prus, 1987, 1996; Schwandt, 1994).' (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011: 1)

Within this framework, the researcher composes the narrative through descriptive theory based on the belief that, rather than being discovered, concepts are constructed (Evans, 2013):

> 'It does not simply unfold before the eyes of an objective viewer. We can claim only to have interpreted *a* reality, as we understood both our own experience and our subjects' portrayals of theirs.' (Charmaz, 2000: 522-523)

Our way of knowing in the CGT paradigm is that analysis will reflect the co-construction of meaning and the subjective interrelationship between the researcher and participants (Hayes and Oppenheim, 1997; Pidgeon and Henwood, 1997; Mills et al., 2006).

4.3 Researcher positionality, reflexivity, voice, and emotional labour

This acknowledged co-construction of data and the impact that my being part of the group would have on my interpretations and analysis demanded conducting research through a reflective and transparent process (Mills, Bonner, and Francis, 2006). The term reflexivity in the methodological sense is not merely used to mean *reflective*, as the full meaning of reflexivity using CGT and ethnographic methods refers to the researcher being 'thoroughly implicated in the phenomena that he or she documents' (Atkinson, 2006: 406). This means, for example, that interview accounts are considered co-constructed; all data are the product of the interaction between the researcher and a social world, built up through field relationships. Part of the reflexivity, in terms of *reflectivity*, involved exploring doubts and worries within field notes and then data analysis, as a means of identifying and acknowledging the self in the research (Luttrell, 2000; Kleinman and Copp, 1993).

In that I am the author of that meaning (Charmaz, 2006) within this thesis, evolving from a participatory, cooperative venture, with the members of KWF. I was located in the community from the outset; immersed in the lived experience of working in Knowle West through my placement at KWMC and participating in the process of neighbourhood planning through my being Communications Officer for KWF. I was working alongside (Ostrom, 1975) staff of KWMC and the volunteers on KWF, not just observing, but actively involved in certain aspects of work in the KWF group and the wider community of Knowle West. I adopted a reflective approach in my field notes and researcher diaries, using these as instruments of data collection and as tools of analysis around thoughts and activities. Particularly useful was the process of speaking about the difficulties and complexities experienced in the community setting during

supervisions, which I would then transcribe from audio recordings directly afterwards and type up into Word documents. I could then draw on musings from these documents, which often captured things quite clearly as I articulated developing ideas.

Though not co-produced research, in this thesis I position myself and the KWF members as partners in the research process. This thesis is driven by an empirical dataset collected over many years (see *section 4.4.1 – Data collection*), enabling me to maintain a position as the participants' partner in the research process rather than an objective analyst of a distant subject (Bryant, 2017).

Regardless of how reflexive a researcher might be, however, it is not always going to be possible to eliminate emotional tensions in an ethnographic placement. Something Glaser describes as putting the researcher in an emotionally heightened position:

> 'It happens easily in "hot" or "passionate position" issue-oriented research.' (2002: 11)

This thesis posits that community embedded research of this nature is not only emotion-laden and requiring of emotional reflexivity in research practice (Shacklock and Smith, 1998); it can also entail the performance of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983; Jarzabkowski, 2001) which will be discussed in more detail in *section 4.3.2*, below. Indeed, the emotional side of community work of this nature is an element of the empirical analysis within this thesis. Framed as 'emotion work' (Bergman Blix and Wettergren, 2015; 689), the 'feeling of participation' (Jupp, 2008: 331) and 'feeling of doing' (Crouch, 2001: 62) will be elaborated upon within forthcoming sections below, to

explore voice, place, and emotion, framed as emotional geographies (Davidson et al., 2005; Jupp, 2013).

4.3.1 Positionality and autoethnographic voice

In research terms, a focus on the author's experience is sometimes referred to as *auto-* (self), *-ethno-* (the sociocultural connection), and *-graphy* (applying the research process) (Reed-Danahay, 1997). Autoethnography (Ellis and Bochner, 2000; Ellis et al., 2011) invites personal connection (Frank, 2000) as a way of telling a story and is considered more of a philosophy than a well-defined method (Wall, 2006). Vignettes, reflexivity, multiple voices, and introspection (Ellis, 1991) are deployed in this thesis to *invoke* for the reader the 'emergent experience' (Ronai, 1992: 123) of the *doing* of both the work on KWF and neighbourhood planning. I mentioned the presence of elements of autobiography within the methodology earlier (in *section 4.2.1 – Constructivist grounded theory as method*). In CGT, behind the data, analysis, ontology, epistemology of qualitative research:

> '… stands the personal biography of the researcher, who speaks from a particular class, gender, racial, cultural, and ethnic community perspective …' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 18)

In this sense, my values are acknowledged as an inevitable part of the outcome (Appleton, 1997; de Laine, 1997; Guba and Lincoln, 1989; Stratton, 1997; Bryant and Charmaz, 2019). As such, this is my rationale for going into some detail about my personal background here and by way of introduction, in *Chapter One*. Charmaz and Mitchell talk of 'the myth of silent authorship' (1996: 285) and my experiences in politics,

research, community work, and teaching provided me with a number of professional and personal lenses in approaching this research. Recognition of issues such as the researcher's age, gender, socio-economic status, and ethnic background (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Punch, 1986) should be considered, in reflexivity terms in the research. I am a white female, brought up in the Christian tradition. I invariably carry some of the cultural capital of my working-class roots, predominantly middle-class upbringing and higher education. I have never married nor had children, which gives me a freedom of sorts with time (for higher education and volunteer work) that many may not have those luxuries of opportunity or participation. Reflexivity in research is about:

> '... becoming aware of our unearned privileges as well as taken for granted privileges accompanying our positions and roles (see also herising, 2005).'(Charmaz, 2017a: 36)

In terms of hermeneutics, I recognise that 'unavoidable prejudices' (Gadamer, 1975: 446) may exist in my understanding of what I am researching. For Gadamer (1975) and Oakley (1993), prejudice or foreknowledge is universal and to be considered unavoidable. Whilst I wanted to approach my community placement and research with an open mind, I acknowledge my *human-ness* in the research, in terms of the shaping role of my own gaze (Mason, 2002).

> '... grounded theory dispels the positivist notion of passive observers who merely absorb their surrounding scenes. Grounded theorists select the scenes they observe and direct their gaze within them.' (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011: 4)

I do not apologise for my presence in the data; it is all part of the nature of this embedded community-based study and how the findings were made possible. In that sense, my reflections on the role of self in qualitative research draws on Oakley (1993) who refers to:

> '... the mythology of *'hygienic'* research with its accompanying mystification of the researcher and the researched as objective instruments of data production be replaced by the recognition that personal involvement is more than dangerous bias – it is the condition under which people come to know each other and to admit others into their lives.' (1993: 58)

In fact, my position in KWF resulted in my taking on a wide variety of roles, such as communications advisor, evaluator, and theorist, but also one of leadership at times, as well as advocate (Scott and Russell, 2005). At the same time as being the Communications Officer for KWF, I also was part of various Productive Margins forums[136]. This influenced my understanding of community partnerships and outreach scholarship, predominantly in learning to sit with complexity, in organic unfolding, ambitious collaborative projects, often not knowing quite where things were going. Adapting to being able to feel comfortable with the 'beautiful messiness' (Porter et al., 2015: 1) of such environments, while working on KWF and not knowing where it was all heading each week, nor what my research questions might be at the outset. Also, neighbourhood planning was such a new policy that the academic literature was scant at the outset.

[136] More information available at: https://productivemargins.blogs.bristol.ac.uk/co-production-hub/productive-margins-forums/
(Accessed 5 July 2021)

In terms of political positionality, being a Labour member and campaigner, very much against the Conservative ideological approach, is important to acknowledge and discuss. I deliberately pulled back from Labour campaigning door-to-door once I was on the KWF and stepped away from Labour doorstep for some years. I did not want to be seen locally as an overtly Labour campaigner but wanted to be as neutral and fair to the process of being involved and the analysis of the data. However, I could never really leave this behind and I am acknowledging that I am very much *in* the research. My political views and professional and voluntary experience all led to my interest in the research topic, inform my thinking and writing. Having said that, throughout the research process I maintained a mindful approach as to how my background and experiences in the past may impact interpretations of the community research work in which I was involved.

The nuances around self in this research paradigm are explained well here:

> '… transcend experience but re-envis[age] it … bring[ing] fragments of fieldwork time, context and mood together in a colloquy of the author's several selves—reflecting, witnessing, wondering, accepting—all at once.' (Charmaz and Mitchell, 1996: 299)

For I had also developed some local knowledge before being in my KWMC and KWF placements, through political activities locally, and voluntary work in the area. Existing knowledge from being a Labour campaigner and having worked in the charity sector meant I had pre-conceived ideas about how to work and organise in community settings. Whilst acknowledging that this experience is there, it is important to also be

mindful that sometimes an individual is not consciously aware of all of their biases, or even how they might impact upon the research:

> '… thinking about the conditions for what one is doing [and] investigating the way in which the theoretical, cultural and political context of individual and intellectual involvement affects interaction with whatever is being researched.' (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000: 245)

Back at the outset of the studentship in 2013, as a Londoner who had only moved to Bristol in 2011, I was still new to the area. Other than door-knocking as a Labour Party campaigner and my work to save KWADS[137], the drug and alcohol charity set-up in the 1980s when drugs were said to have taken hold of the estate (Tricky, 2019), I knew little history of the estate. I set out to be consciously reflective throughout the time on KWF and picked up early on that there was a lot of animosity towards the Council. This was also expressed against local councillors (both of whom represent the Labour Party) and as a Labour Party member and activist, I did not want there to be a conflict of interests. I deliberately kept my party-political involvement to myself. My community supervisor at KWMC knew of my political campaign work locally - and indeed my activism formed part of my PhD proposal - so it was not some kind of overt secret, I just felt it inappropriate and unnecessary to mention this in the KWF forum. Also, I was trying to build trust with the KWF group and did not want any partisan affiliations to cause potential rifts or prejudices against me, nor limit what might be shared in conversation.

[137] Knowle West Alcohol and Drug Service, known as KWADS. More information available at: http://www.kwads.org.uk/ (Accessed 13 May 2020)

Having said that, this thesis is written with a tacit understanding that my subjective positions will have shaped the research process (Ellis, 2005).

4.3.1.1 Vignettes – voice and community context

Vignettes can be used as a qualitative research method (Miles and Huberman, 1994), but also as a way of documenting data obtained from one's research (Spalding and Phillips, 2007). It is the latter usage of vignettes as a device that has been deployed in this thesis. Vignettes are most typically produced by the researcher alone, in the putting together of the wording, and selection of data that is embedded within the account and the interpretation that has taken place (Spalding and Phillips, 2007). They can be utilised to illustrate a particular point and might be just a couple of hundred words in length (Thomson, 2017). Intended, in this thesis, to provide information about key points of an event or interaction, I draw on this guiding definition from Ely et al (1997):

> 'Vignettes are compact sketches that can be used to introduce characters, foreshadow events and analysis to come, highlight particular findings, or summarise a particular theme or issue in analysis and interpretation. Vignettes are composites that encapsulate what the researcher finds through the fieldwork. In every case, vignettes demand attention and represent a growing sense of understanding about the meaning of the research work.' (Ely et al., 1997: 70)

Vignettes are used in this thesis to allow the voices of participants to come through in a contextualised way and constructed to provide one account of the truth that was representative of certain events, or a snapshot of a situation, or to represent something of a critical incident (Stiegelbauer et al., 1982) that is 'particular incidents that seemed

to have impact' (Stiegelbauer et al., 1982: 15). For example, this was evident in certain KWF forums and working group meetings, or to draw attention to an important aspect of the narrative such as the community desire for a supermarket. Whilst interview data has been used throughout all three empirical chapters, the use of vignettes is intended to add another layer of detail and familiarity for the reader, to aid an appreciation of the overall findings. These short pieces of writing are boxed off in grey highlight, to stand out from the main body of text. They can help formulate core issues and to aid a representation of 'your theory of what is happening' (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 81). For example, in *Chapter Six* vignettes feature as an aid in understanding issues to do with trust within this thesis, in relation to illuminating comments made by different members of KWF. In terms of bringing out the voices of KWF members, direct quotes are used, but the vignette style makes them more contextualised than the use of stand-alone, straight quotations from individuals might have achieved.

Merryfield warns that vignettes can see 'the researcher literally putting words into people's mouths' (1990: 23) in terms of the construction of scenes and dialogues for vignettes. Instead, in terms of considering issues of validity and trustworthiness (Spalding and Phillips, 2007), when constructing the eight vignettes I chose to use words extracted directly from field notes, researcher diaries, and emails from certain KWF members, so that actual data were used, rather than creating literary sketches. Vignettes are 'based not only on raw data but also on the study's major findings' (Merryfield, 1990: 23) and within this thesis represent a:

> '... portrayal of the conduct of an event ... of what was being said and done described in the natural sequence of their occurrence in real time ...' (Erikson, 1986: 149-150)

I have used vignettes to better bring to life the work of KWF, in a way that was representative and typical (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The longest vignette I experimented with is a constructed form of vignette called a *narrative scene* (Merryfield, 1990). These are typically written near the end of the study, 'after findings have largely been worked out' (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 82). I wrote a narrative scene to open *Chapter Six* by way of attempting to convey what being part of KWF and attending forum meetings might feel like, written by someone who was there, to aid an understanding for the reader and at the same time induce more of a feeling for the work of KWF as a group. This is a composite from field notes, reflecting on my experience of being in the group for 20-months, also drawing on comments from KWF members from interviews, about their reflections of the forum meetings and the steering group, as well as from analysis of the formal minutes of the forum meetings. In essence, it is a piece of narrative, being told by myself, as an active participant observer in the group. This is an attempt to add an element of story in an uninterrupted format, using information in brackets to allow the reader to be more informed of the context and it is 2,014 words in length. This scene is designed to illuminate the textual themes embedded in the experience of being at a forum meeting.

4.3.2 Emotional labour

As Dewey (1922/2008; 1925b/2008) argues, experiences always have an embodied and emotional element (Morgan, 2014). The body and emotion are recognised as being

fundamental to social action (Knights and Thanem, 2005), which is motivated by physical and emotional demands and desires, which are realised and made visible through bodily and emotional interactions (Crossley, 1995; Elias, 1991; Shilling, 1993). The fieldwork was made possible through the simple fact of being present together over time, sharing experiences in an embodied, unique way. Crouch calls this 'the feeling of doing' (2001: 62). However, particularly difficult over time, regarding attendance of KWF meetings, was the *emotional labour* and personal toll this kind of voluntary work can have on volunteers and the emotional state of the researcher, which I explore in more detail in this section and in the empirical findings chapters that follow.

Emotional labour is essentially a conceptualisation of the emotional effort or labour that might be required to perform a job (Grandey and Gabriel, 2015). There are three components within this occupational categorisation - emotional requirements, emotion regulation, and emotion performance – which were connected by Grandey (2000) to form the now more dominant 'emotion regulation theory', within the field of psychology (Gross, 1998). Though much cross-disciplinary work has been conducted in this area (see Grandey, et al., 2013), Hochschild's sociological work (1983) highlighted crucial how emotion regulation (Wharton, 1993), otherwise framed as emotional constraint and stress control, can be to work performance (Knights and Thanem, 2005). References to emotional labour in Hochschild's research was in the service industry workplace, whilst it is also argued that emotional labour can be part of the voluntary workforce experience (Kampen et al., 2013).

Emotional labour can also be implicit in the research process (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; McQueeney and Lavelle, 2017; Kleinman and Copp, 1993). I want to argue that

taking on an active participant observer role within a complex community setting can require both surface-level and 'deep acting' (Hochschild, 1983: 557; Ashworth and Humphrey, 1993: 93). This is in the case of face-to-face interaction when one denies their true reactions; instead, attempting to actually experience or display the emotions that one feels they should perform given the researcher role, regarding control of body language, regulating emotional display, and impression management (Knights and Thanem, 2005). For those working closely with others as is the case with neighbourhood planning and participatory-observation as method, feelings about oneself and other participants can require emotion management (see Adams, 1998; Chesney, 2001). This excerpt from my researcher diary shows an example:

> 'As a small side issue, I was surprised to be asked to pay for all of the refreshments for a meeting, out of my own money, by [REDACTED – KWF OFFICERS]. When I attempted to say that I was only on a student stipend, they just said they were only on pensions. I had previously suggested that petty cash be made available for such occasions, but the Chair (who was also the Treasurer after the Treasurer resigned) would not agree to this.' (27 January 2015)

I felt awkward, uncomfortable, and a bit put upon. It seemed strange that a non-resident and non-KWF member would be expected to find the money and buy refreshments for a public meeting. Maintaining a polite demeanour and not reacting to nastiness, rudeness, or aggression in meetings particularly required the regulation of my emotions. If attending KWF meetings as a member of the public I may have either left out of boredom at the nature of the meetings (more on this in *Chapter Six*) or disgust at some of the rudeness (more in *Chapter Seven*). As it was, I had something of a dual role, as

researcher representing the University of Bristol and something of a guest or visitor to the community, as a volunteer worker on the group (see *section 4.4.1.1 – participant observation fieldwork in Knowle West*). As such, I would quite rightly be expected and wanted to be courteous, pleasant, and obliging (Jarzabkowski, 2001). However, through my own desire to retain professionalism, respect, and courtesy, I needed to manage my emotions to adhere to the cooperative values I believe in, that was needed for the collaboration to proceed. From a pragmatic and personal perspective, my emotional behaviour was limited by my desire to make the placement work, for both the community at large and towards my aims in producing research, worthy of publication as a thesis and in other media.

4.3.2.1 Emotive dissonance

I want to argue that emotional labour is a significant feature yet under-reported in certain types of qualitative research, such as working in voluntary community settings. One of the KWF members said that he was amazed I lasted as long as I did, that most people from elsewhere usually only managed about a month or so of volunteering work on the estate. The emotional toll around difficult elements of the community placement work can be described as the:

> '… emotive dissonance between a researcher's persona and sense of an 'authentic' self.' (Bergman Blix and Wettergren, 2015: 689)

In these terms, the focus on emotional labour is that the work involved in neighbourhood planning in Knowle West could be categorised as having high emotional demands (Wharton 1993). Whilst performing emotional labour may improve

interpersonal performance, in terms of maintaining access to the field, there may be trade-offs with personal well-being (Grandey and Gabriel, 2015). In that, the performance of emotional labour can over time become physically and/and mentally harmful, which Hochschild (1983: 90) calls 'emotive dissonance'. The level of emotional difficulty encountered in the field is described well here, in terms of one's own psychological and emotional preparation:

> 'In much the same way that actors "psyche themselves" for a role, a service agent psyches himself or herself into experiencing the desired emotion. Feelings are actively induced, suppressed, or shaped.' (Ashworth and Humphrey, 1993: 93)

This is how it felt before going to many of the KWF meetings, as they could be fraught with tension. There was an angry outburst at the very first forum in July 2013, between [REDACTED – TWO KWF OFFICERS], which resulted in [REDACTED] storming out of the meeting, shouting at [REDACTED]. This kind of emotional tension was not uncommon in my encounters in the field and often I had to sometimes psyche myself up, to be able to attend many of the meetings. The meetings, as will be explored in the findings chapters, were often quite boring in format and nature. There was bureaucratic overload, a tendency for forum meetings therefore to become weighed down in housekeeping and aspects of the running of the forum. These could, in theory, have been dealt with by the officers of the forum - the Chair, Vice-Chair, Secretary, and myself as Communications Officer - away from forum meetings so that the actual fora member meetings could have been more interesting and focussed on developing ideas and building relationships with new people who attended. Or indeed make more of social

connections through exploring asset mapping, to adopt a more networked approach with other groups, networks, and existing projects so as to broaden capacity and reach.

There was also a growing sense of frustration and disappointment at the lack of progress and leadership, matched by frustrations over fundraising, funding, and dwindling numbers of attendees at forum meetings and low numbers of actual volunteers to take on responsibility for clear actions and specific roles.

NB: these redactions are explained in *section 4.4.1.2.1 Anonymity and right to withdraw*, as explained further into this chapter.

4.3.2.2 Researcher's dual role, emotional labour and emotion work

As I hope has been clear from the preceding discussion, my fieldwork was a powerful experience, which was personally transformative, although I would not know exactly how to express more precisely in what ways. Nonetheless, it is undoubtedly recorded within myself, as Judith Okely (1994: 21) writes, 'in memory, body and all the senses', as much as in my fieldwork notes or audio recordings of interviews. These less tangible resources, with which to draw on, have been extremely important in analysing and writing up my findings. I have recollected certain comments, moments, and incidents as being highly significant, which if reading someone else's data I may have skipped over briefly in diary notes or indeed missed altogether. These impacted the writing of the narrative scene (Merryfield, 1990) and all vignettes.

Despite my being the Communications Officer, I did not have voting rights in meetings (as a non-KWF member) nor shared local histories with KWF members. This could be

deeply frustrating, as my communications advice and strategic ideas sometimes felt ignored, despite my professional background and having strong and overt support from various members, particularly Michelle, Susan, Derek, and Lawrence (KWF members who will all be introduced in the introduction to the *B. Findings* section of this thesis, that follows this chapter). In many respects, once in the field many aspects of the research project were totally out of my hands, and it is important to recognise that:

> 'Though researchers have power over the research agenda and the research process, they do not always have power over participants.' (McQueeney and Lavelle, 2017: 101)

Inhabiting something of a dual role meant performing the work of Communications Officer for KWF, whilst representing the University of Bristol as a doctoral researcher. The dualistic nature of this position meant that working with community partners within the KWF forum and being based at KWMC meant I had to bear the emotional labour of hovering in a state of limbo:

> '… by 'standing in the gap' … having to move between community and university.' (Brown et al., 2020: 93)

This 'gap' became evident during a supervision at KWMC in the spring of 2014, when I was reporting my frustrations at what felt like a seeming dysfunctionality of the group. I was told: 'you are a researcher now'. In the sense of rather than reacting with emotional responses to challenging and disappointing situations I was given the advice to instead take the approach of noting 'that's interesting', as an observer. I totally understand that now. However, [NAME REDACTED] was also at the meeting and she and I laughed

about this after the meeting and in the months to come, not mocking my supervisor in any way, but in recognising the difficulty of not being able to react emotionally as an active member within a challenging group. I really wanted the project to succeed, I was not just a researcher observing, I was an activist within the group. In that, such a cool, measured response, as recommended, felt like the antithesis of how it felt in the heat of the moment within forum meetings. Afterwards, at times, [NAME REDACTED] and I would look at each other and joke and say: 'that's interesting' when something alarming happened or something felt odd, or something rude was said.

In a pragmatic sense, I sometimes needed to park my own feelings in order to maintain access to the field, which required:

> '… strategic emotion work to access and continuously secure access to the field' (Bergman Blix and Wettergren, 2015: 689).

This included the emotion work of building trust in not only gaining, but maintaining access (Bergman Blix and Wettergren, 2015), which can arguably be a performance of emotional labour at times. In addition, there was a balancing act to achieve, with the emotional commitment to the University-based academic work (needing to complete various doctoral training modules and pass written assessments and conduct library-based research for literature review work) which required much time and focus. This resulted in something of an emotional and ethical tension around leaving the KWF, for example. The original agreement was that I would work with them for one year, but 18-months into the placement I was still there and decided I would remain with them until the planned public engagement events in the spring of 2015 (see Chapter Seven). As well

as library-based work I still needed to conduct the interviews with the group (see section 4.4.1.2), which would involve securing participants and informed consent, conducting the interviews, plus time for transcription/analysis and writing-up. Despite knowing that practically and emotionally I needed to move on and leave KWF, I also felt somewhat that I was deserting the group, leaving them in the lurch (as there was no one else to take on my role). An element of regret and twinges of guilt crept in, as well as disappointment that the neighbourhood plan was not achieved.

4.3.2.3 Reflexivity - regarding emotional labour and emotion work

I was labouring under the ethical positionality that I was very privileged to be part of KWF; in terms of my own personal benefit as a researcher, and being let into other people's workspace, homes, and community, which is very much my position still. This kind of research is reflexive, multi-layered, and complicated rather than fixed and linear. For the research to retain academic integrity it is important to be honest about the complexity around data collection processes and relationships (Punch, 1986). Particularly, where tensions could run high in meetings (see *section 4.3.2 - Emotional labour section*), managing some of the interpersonal frustrations and behaviours became an issue at times. I found that conducting qualitative research in the community sector involved a continual balance between the 'close' relationships which can allow for difficult truths and uncomfortable data, and a more clinical and reflexive distance (Scott and Russell, 2005).

I had developed a close working relationship with [NAME REDACTED] and gave him lifts home regularly from the evening forum meetings and working group sessions,

which allowed for time to chat in my car. This resulted in a friendship, and we are still in touch now. I was aware that over the course of our working together, for example, that I felt a closer affinity with [NAMES REDACTED], and I stay in touch with [NAMES REDACTED] via community events in and around Bristol and e-mail. I stay in touch with the Chair from time to time, but I felt less of an affinity with him on a personal level during the KWF work. As a result of such conscious biases, constantly questioning why I thought and felt the way I did helped maintain a sense of criticality in my data collection and analysis. The period of time after I left KWF, during which deeper interpretation and analysis was carried out, enabled me to present a more balanced interpretation and explanation of what was going on; rather than blaming individuals, which in the heat of the moment was happening in certain initial experiences. (This was also happening in accounts from certain KWF members – which is touched on in the following empirical data chapters.)

As outlined in *Chapter One*, part of my political interest and motivations around research and campaign work as an individual is driven by a desire and aspiration to want to see improvements in social conditions and equality of opportunity in society. Some of the emotion work (Bergman Blix and Wettergren, 2015) involved with this research project resulted in needing to manage both hopes and frustrations. On the one hand, what I had aspired for our collaborative partnership of KWF to achieve for the community, and how this might impact my feelings and emotions. I felt emotionally invested in really wanting the project to work, especially at the beginning, when I had been told at initial meetings to discuss the Communications Officer role with KWMC of the opportunities for a supermarket and the need for fresh food locally; as well as

possibly linking that to Bristol's European Green Capital[138] bid. This felt like a really exciting and important project to be part of. KWMC had been talking to me about this possibility when I first met to discuss the neighbourhood plan. We discussed the possibility of a supermarket and maybe even an internet-style café, for digital and social inclusion purposes and to aid social interaction. However, none of this materialised and a neighbourhood plan was not conceived, for reasons that will be reflected upon in the empirical analysis chapters and conclusions chapter that follow.

This contributed to a sense of deep frustration and disappointment in my time as Communications Officer. I wanted to serve the local community, in terms of ensuring that the neighbourhood plan could produce lasting, tangible benefits for that community, in terms of policies that may lead to new local assets. Both Doreen Mattingly (2001) and Maureen Reed (2002) discuss research of an 'applied' or 'policy relevant' nature and how feelings of ambivalence or even failure can be ignited when considering projects with hindsight. This is because the researcher and sometimes the other research participants have worked to alter a situation by their taking of an active (and often this is political) role (Hoggart et al., 2002: 288-92). The emotion work involved was as much about deep disappointment that the group was not working out as KWF looked increasingly unlikely to make a neighbourhood plan, as the months went on. Recognition and preparation for encountering such emotions as part of the research process, with training to deal with the cost of that stress, could ultimately assist

[138] In 2015 Bristol became the UK's first ever European Green Capital securing £7million in funding through Bristol City Council for Strategic Grant Fund awards – funding organisations grants of up to £50,000 for work in 2015. More information available at:

https://bristolgreencapital.org/strategic-grant-fund-awards/ (Accessed 20 February 2020)

researchers to prepare for and analyse the research experience and their data better. For example, I noticed that my position towards the emotionally heated side of the work gradually subsided once I left the group in February 2015, which is when I embarked on preparing to interview members of KWF. By the time I came to transcribe the interview with [NAME REDACTED], for example, reflecting on it in supervisions and writing, I started to develop a much more nuanced way of viewing why he may have acted the way that he did as [KWF OFFICER], given the difficult history that was unfolding in the narrative accounts of life on the estate, and loss of assets and places to shop and worship and to meet socially, elucidated in the following chapter. My empathy and respect for [NAME REDACTED] grew as did my humility as a researcher, stimulating self-development and a deeper understanding of the complexity of the community context.

In addition to presenting my work informally during intensive supervisions, I presented reports as part of the research journey, presenting interim findings in a Bristol Doctoral College poster competition in 2015, at King's College Ethnography, Language and Communication (ELC) summer school in London that year, and at a Productive Margins Research Festival[139] in 2017. Each presentation and conversation with academics and members of the public helped my understanding develop more deeply, with each new process of presentation and articulation.

[139] More information available at: https://www.bristol.ac.uk/law/events/2017/productive-margins-festival.html
(Accessed 6 July 2021)

4.3.3 The emotions of participation

In this thesis, I extend the notion of emotion work (Bergman Blix and Wettergren, 2015) to incorporate the 'feeling of participation' (Jupp, 2008: 331). Aspirations to achieve degrees of societal change through neighbourhood planning mixed with constraints around resources available, brought disappointment to both myself and others, amongst many other emotions, in the course of attempting to but failing to make a neighbourhood plan. I want to argue that the researcher's experience in work of this nature can be 'emotionally charged, and uneasy' (Luttrell, 2000: 517), so too for the KWF activists. Indeed, some of the experiences in the field had a negative effect on my emotional state and well-being at the time; emotions that then seeped into the early stages of the data analysis, in terms of being emotionally triggering. Linking with emotional labour is the way that emotional responses and burdens from participating in neighbourhood planning, were predicated by years of voluntary work by many of the members of the KWF group with regard to regeneration and voluntary planning work. The data chapters that follow demonstrate the emotional proximity to place (Jupp, 2013) of KWF members, but first the notion of emotional geographies will be given more framing (Davidson et al., 2005; Jupp, 2008).

4.4 Developing a research design – why CGT and ethnographic methods?

In essence, this thesis is a practice-oriented exploration of the lived experience (Okely and Callaway, 1992) and user engagement throughout the process of engaging with the policy of neighbourhood planning. The rationale to use data collection methods 'associated with ethnography (such as the in-depth interview and participant observation)' (Jacobs, 1993: 827) as investigative research tools is that combining

interviews with observation techniques can help to contextualise the knowledge generated. Using such qualitative methods allowed for the object of study (with neighbourhood planning being a social process) to be given meaning: the experience of attempting to create a neighbourhood plan, which I wanted to understand and explain in a rounded way. By applying participant observation (Spradley, 1980; Guest et al., 2013) as method I was able to experience participating in the preliminary stages of attempting to develop a neighbourhood plan whilst collecting data at the same time. The act of interviewing is critiqued as only providing a static snapshot (Mason, 2002), which can be problematic if used alone to seek to understand social structures and processes. Combining the observational data with the interview data enabled a rounder, richer data set and broader, contextualised analysis.

My understanding of CGT is that it is first and foremost considered a research strategy (Charmaz, 2000), to aid the discovery of emerging patterns in data, requiring reflexivity, which suited the nature of the research topic and my participant observation role and placement. Knowing and reporting about the topic of inquiry (see Atkinson, 1990) though urban research of this nature is complex, dynamic, and fluid (Allen and Davey, 2018). I needed a methodologic approach that not just allowed for flexibility but required it. Several tenets of CGT allowed for that fluidity and have been relevant to this study: the data collection approach, analysis, and interpretation: using elements of historical community context, autobiography, the self, and emotions in my research. One begins with the empirical world and builds an understanding of it; knowledge accrues through the unfolding of events. CGT worked for my study as it is a method that invites comparison of multiple data sets (see *section 4.5 – Approach to data analysis*) which suited my research design of both collecting data in the community whilst part

of KWF, as well as analysis of cross-disciplinary literature and interview transcripts, researcher diaries, and KWF documents like minutes of forum meetings. An iterative process of data analysis was conducted, then further rounds of data collection largely from interviews, staggered over six years in the end, in the form of interviews and e-mail conversations. This enabled a construction of abstract categories and integration of categories into a theoretical framework, to aid an understanding of the causes, conditions, and consequences (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011) of the process of KWF's attempt at neighbourhood planning in Knowle West.

I assume the position of CGT that rejects claims of objectivity, informed by research debates around the use of reflexivity and giving voice to individual experience in the research field (McCarl Neilson, 1990; Walter, 1998). I was not just an observer, I was very much 'in' the research, as an active member researcher (Jung, 2014) in a neighbourhood planning forum; both as a fellow KWF participant, then co-constructing data during the interview stages of data collection. A research stance that can be described as 'a bodily process in space and time' (Charmaz, 1995: 173). As a participant observer (Spradley, 1980; Guest et al., 2013) and then interviewer, inviting participants for recorded 'conversations' (see *section 4.4.1.2 - Semi-structured interviews with KWF members*), I was very much part of the research endeavour, rather than being a passive, objective observer (Guba and Lincoln, 1989; Stratton, 1997).

I wanted a research design that could represent the KWF members' experiences, and our emotional geographies related to Knowle West. Adopting a data-sensitive, flexible approach enabled an almost innocent, holistic, and something of a fresh-eyed philosophy. In the sense that I joined KWF as someone who knew very little about

neighbourhood planning itself, nor the complexion and complexities of the community context in which I was invited to be a guest. Nor did I know anything about the history of other policies and initiatives that might have preceded this work. (See *Chapter One, section 1.2.5 - How neighbourhood planning relates to previous policies and initiatives* and *Chapter Five, section 5.2.4.1 - Knowle West Regeneration Framework (KWRF) and regeneration*.) Because CGT encourages the mindset of remaining open to using *doubt* as a driver to push inquiry, the researcher goes *back and forth* between emerging themes, stories, and analysis and adapts research questions throughout. In this way, new learnings can emerge from the active engagement between the researcher and participants during the various data collection and analysis stages, very much grounded in the context of their community. This was important because I was new to both the community of Knowle West and the policy of neighbourhood planning, as well as the group itself in terms of being part of KWF as the Communications Officer.

The main appeal of CGT for this research project lies in this understanding of the research problem as indeterminate and open-ended (Charmaz, 2008), which enabled me to learn from the community work as I went along as KWF's Communications Officer. In turn, this then directly informed each stage of my research, with the ability to go back for further stages of data collection and verification, if need be, which is what happened in various stages of data collection via interview. Taking a CGT research approach meant proceeding with a desire to want to know the world from all participants' standpoints, through the lived experience of neighbourhood planning. Adopting a qualitative, broadly ethnographic approach to research methods under the umbrella of CGT, appealed in supporting the development of a contextualised account of neighbourhood planning, within a specific urban location. In this sense, this thesis

does not separate research from action (Thorne, 2005). The overall CGT strategy produced a rich data set that facilitated both seeking and seeing tacit meanings and actions, to construct useful grounded theories (Charmaz, 2008b).

4.4.1 Data collection

My methods of data collection followed a qualitative logic so as to be able to examine in-depth and then provide detailed analysis and a descriptive narrative, which fitted well with my personal predisposition to words over numbers and statistics. My empirical data were collected in two phases: acting as participant observer (Spradley, 1980; Guest et al., 2013) from July of 2013 until February 2015 (see *section 4.5.1.1* below), as the Communications Officer for KWF. Then I followed up on this work, once I left the group to complete academic assignments and conduct semi-structured interviews. Methods of data collection included email trails, forum agendas and minutes, written field notes, photographs, digital data from social media account output, audio recordings from meetings and interviews and typed transcripts of interviews; this is so I could examine emerging themes from such data. I refer here to note 'making' rather than 'taking', considering data are 'collected', understandings are 'found' and discovered or uncovered. Data are always constructed, informed by the theoretical and ontological assumptions of the ethnographer, made explicit. While my note-making was detailed and conscientious, I was very much in amongst the action during forum meetings and working groups, so would make notes during and afterwards. The section below comprises a brief summary of the composition of the data corpus, with dates of data collection. (NB: I will go into more detail in *sections 4.4.1.1 and 4.4.1.2*):

1. **Field notes:** made during my time as the Communications Officer (July 2013-February 2015; then into the interview phases of data collection, initially going up until August 2015) during forum meetings, KWF working groups, public engagement events. These were originally in the form of A4 lined notebooks, with a margin down the right-hand side for comments and observations, adjacent to the main body of the note. Then in the form of iPad notes, once I had an iPad for my fieldwork from the ESRC studentship study support allowance. When I left the group and started working on conducting the first stage of interviews (from March 2015 across the spring and summer months), I would make handwritten notes on the paper semi-structured interview script that I would work from during the interview.

2. **KWF documents and artefacts:** forum agendas for the ten months of each calendar year that they met, the accompanying forum minutes, as well as the questionnaire used for the public engagement launch events (from July 2013-February 2015). Also, artefacts created as Communications Officer: KWF logo, press releases, public information leaflets/posters/display boards, columns written for local newsletter The Knowledge; photographs, audio recordings from meetings, social media posts.

3. **Researcher journal notes**: I would make notes in notebooks, or on Word documents once at a computer. This was for informal observations and my thoughts generally about being a doctoral researcher and the research journey.

4. **Interview stages of the study:** once I left KWF, I facilitated conversations over the course of some months, in the form of recorded interviews with members of

KWF. These took place either at KWMC or KWF members' homes; each lasted on average an hour and a half in duration, captured on audio recordings on my iPhone and iPad. [Two years later I secured an interview with the Chair and conducted a second interview with the Group Secretary. In 2021, I conducted a final interview with one of the Directors at KWMC.]

The table below shows how the data collected links to the research questions:

Linking Research Questions (RQs) to Data collected	**Field Notes**	**KWF**	**Researcher Journals**	**Artefacts**	**Interview data**
How did community context and local history around issues such as loss affect the work of KWF members in the policy enactment of neighbourhood planning?	X		X	X	X
How did power and regulatory issues affect KWF's work as a citizen-led neighbourhood planning group?	X	X	X	X	X
How did resource issues affect policy enactment?	X				X

4.4.1.1 Reflections on participant observation fieldwork in Knowle West

Participant observation as a research method came about by my role as Communications Officer, because the role and method allowed for an intimate knowledge of the area of study. Having an active role in the KWF group, as we attempted to make a neighbourhood plan, meant I could learn and write from the perspective of someone who has attempted to enact this policy. Being a participant observer enabled me, through immersion and participation, to develop a deeper understanding of the 'hows' and 'whys' of human behaviour in this particular context (Guest et al., 2013). Despite my role as Communication Officer, I did not consider myself to really be an 'insider' in the setting, particularly at the outset, as I did not have first-hand knowledge of working with any of the individuals or organisations involved, nor did I live there. However, the initial 'outsider' position was beneficial for the research, however, as I did not have to struggle to make the 'familiar strange' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 231), which enabled me to observe the setting, people, and research topic with fresh eyes (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Even though my role came about through personal introduction and a work placement with KWMC, my lack of pre-existing personal connections with the KWF members meant that I had to develop trust and build rapport to work as part of the group and then later to conduct interviews. This can be aided by the participant observer role as the researcher shares in activities of the people in the observed setting. Immersing myself within the community of Knowle West, with office space based at KWMC, the many forum meetings at community centres, working group meetings in people's homes, outreach work on the streets of Knowle West, as well as talking to local members

of the public. My work as Communications Officer was multi-faceted, in terms of both performing a much-needed role for the community group whilst also enabling me to build first-hand knowledge of the research topic. This enabled me to develop familiarity and build trust from local people by working alongside them. As I touched on earlier, this was easier with some people than others, as is my experience of many social and work situations.

The extended time in the field also gave me access to colloquial understandings of how parts of the community operate, or how individuals may think. Such as hearing terms that added layers of local knowledge, like one of the KWF officers referring to local experience showing 'invisible boundaries' existed across which local people did not travel, in relation to public events and meetings. Having a distinct role on the forum meant I had influence and a remit to fulfil, which did eventually enable more of an insider perspective. This facilitated the collection of rich, narrative data, secured with two integrated ethnographic data collection techniques: participant observation and in-depth interviewing. I was able to learn more about local life, shared community histories, and certain sensibilities. Being part of the KWF neighbourhood planning work, whilst in the group and then learning more about the estate and the volunteers' lives through interview, enabled me to draw on a variety of social actors' accounts of their community and activities in neighbourhood planning. This is what appealed from adopting a CGT approach, as an overall method it is does not separate individuals from the social realities in which they exist and the research setting.

This allows issues such as interrelationships and community history to come through in the findings, to reflect the nature and culture of a city space in a local urban setting.

There were sensitivities around cash, for example. People apparently did not carry cash to events, particularly because there was not a 24-hour cash point machine on the estate. One of the KWMC staff explained that local residents would be aggrieved if expected to have cash on them, for say refreshments at a KWF event, if they did not expect to in advance. Such a thing on its own may appear not too significant, but it is indicative of a dominant cultural tendency to stay within the boundaries of the estate and reliance on services within that geographic area. Another member of staff at KWMC told me that he could not read or write and considered that it was quite common on the estate. He also told me about how he hunted locally for food by rabbit trapping, that he had taught his children to do so too. This seemed remarkable to my city girl upbringing and information that, whilst anecdotal, gave depth and character to my understanding of the community context.

To capture nuggets of empirical information like this, throughout my engagement in neighbourhood planning, I kept personal journal entries of my experiences (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Using these as part of my reflexive practice, and with great support from my supervisory team, I benefited from regular challenges to my thinking. I reflected on what was happening, as well as my own values, interests, possible prejudices, and emotional investments. Of particular discussion, was the ethics around communicating difficult conclusions, given the heated and tense nature of many of the KWF meetings, in terms of certain strained relationships and protecting identities. In terms of ethical considerations around harm, the researcher should avoid any negative consequences for the people studied and others (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). I did not want to let down anyone by embarrassing them or causing harm to any reputations or feelings, yet I wanted to relay my findings. (I will discuss the use of pseudonyms and devices to

protect the privacy and safety of participants below in *section 4.4.1.2.1 - Anonymity and right to withdraw.)*

Had I been a local resident and actual member of KWF, I would have arguably had more emotional freedom of expression in meetings, as touched on earlier. However, I was not a resident and that left me in a state of limbo at times. For example, I suggested that experienced facilitators might be of benefit, to help tease out from the group ideas to establish priorities in terms of the direction of travel for policy content for the Knowle West neighbourhood plan (such as a supermarket, children's play area, or youth facilities, top three concerns that had come-up in consultation work with the broader community in 2015). The idea of facilitators was squashed. I was told the ideas should 'come from the residents', which was actually my point. On reflection, I realise I may have had more agency in forum meetings, to attempt to push for things to happen, if I lived locally and was an actual KWF member. As it was, it appeared I was considered an outsider, as I did not live in Knowle West. This meant my position as Communications Officer required building trust, as something of an 'outsider within' (Brent, 2009: 145); working to be trusted to take on the role and be on the forum from the summer of 2013, but not having the organic, shared history of the community or local personalities, nor shared emotional geographies (Jupp, 2013).

4.4.1.2 Semi-structured interviews with KWF members

The second phase of the research took place upon my leaving the community group, to conduct semi-structured interviews. Interviewing was an attempt to situate members of KWF in a more neutral space, away from other group members, where hitherto silent

voices and stories could emerge. Interviews can provide a space where the researcher becomes more of a listener who:

> '… by asking curious questions that help thicken and deepen existing stories… invite the teller into territory beyond what is already known to him or her.' (Etherington, 2007: 600)

This presented the opportunity for stories to emerge in ways that could inform new ways of understanding and knowing (Etherington, 2000, 2003, 2004). Through these narratives I hoped to examine geographically, historically, culturally, and individually located stories. Interview knowledge is socially constructed, by the interaction of interviewer and interviewee; the knowledge not merely *given* but actively *created* through questions and answers, with the product being co-authored by interviewer and interviewee (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009):

> 'The research interview is based on the conversations of daily life and is a professional conversation; it is an inter-view, where knowledge is constructed in the inter-action between the interviewer and the interviewee. An interview is literally an *inter view*; an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest.' (2009: 2)

As mentioned previously, one of the intentions at the outset was that content from the interviews was intended to help the group to move forward in their neighbourhood planning work, which I would present as feedback at a future forum meeting. Issues of power emerge in this dynamic, however, as the research interview is not a conversation between equal partners, because the researcher defines and controls the situation,

introduces the topic of the interview and – critically - follows up on the subject's answers to his or her questions (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). One of the most common errors in designing in-depth interview guides is asking questions that are not sensible to the research participants or that are asked in some form of research lingo rather than the local vernacular. It is important to use the knowledge developed through participant observation to not just know what to ask but *how* to ask it (Bernard, 2006).

To counter this - and to work in the spirit of the co-produced values of the Productive Margins project - the content as well as the language used in the planning of subjects, to use as prompts in the semi-structured interview process, was all co-produced working with one of the Directors of KWMC (then one of my supervisors) and KWMC's Community Engagement Manager. This was because they were people I worked alongside at KWMC and KWF. They were both participants in the Productive Margins project and one was a member of KWF. They knew the nature of the research as well as the residents on KWF and could help me craft from my original list of prompts and themes for the semi-structured interviews. Designed as 'capturing local knowledge and ideas for Knowle West Future' the interviews became framed as a 'lessons learned' session to go back to a KWF forum at a future date, depending on how long an initial analysis took.

As mentioned earlier, letters of invitation to participate were sent out via email and the Royal Mail to all 28 members of KWF, inviting them to take part in the interview stage of my research. The letters by post were to people who were not on email. Examples of the letters, participant information sheets, and informed consent forms are provided in Appendices B, C, and D. The first round of interviews started in March 2015. Nine

interviews were conducted over the coming months, finishing in June 2015. Each lasted on average about one hour and a half in duration, captured on audio recordings on my iPhone and iPad. I would also write researcher journals, with reflections and observations around the interviews, locations, and experiences as a reflexive researcher (Etherington, 2004), directly afterwards when I was at a computer. Because I wanted to be engaged with the interviewee, I did not make the notes while talking, wanting to keep eye contact and focus on my guiding sheet of questions too, but made some notes in the car before heading home or back to the university.

I conducted interviews with ten KWF members in total in the end, as this was the number of people who agreed to take part. Given that the typical level of attendees to KWF monthly form meetings was between five and 12 members I was very pleased to secure ten people, to ensure as wide a spread of views as was possible. Contemplating whether or not this constituted the 'right' number (Mason, 2002: 134) of interviewees depended on what was needing to be compared and considered, and the extent to which the sample generated would enable that. I wanted views from the members about working in KWF and so I was satisfied that ten members agreed to take part. (I was told that the other members - as in not the regular attendees - had been originally secured to fulfil the legal requirement for 21 members, for the forum be able to apply to the Council for recognition at the outset, back in 2012/13.)

I went back to the Secretary of the group for a follow-up interview in 2017 (over 12 months after the first interviews). This was after undertaking several rounds of data analysis, as I felt I needed to go deeper and seek clarification about certain points, once I had delved into the first round of interview data. I had been facilitating recorded

'conversations' with members of the KWF group at a location suitable for the interviewee, that also felt safe for me. This might be in their home, for example, or a mutually agreed venue such as the KWMC. I had free access to pre-booking KWMC meeting rooms, with complimentary refreshments. The follow-up interview in 2017, with the KWF Secretary, was at my home, in my dining room. We needed somewhere quiet, particularly because of the recording element, using my iPad. We had conducted his first interview in 2015 in his home. I would always go where the person felt most comfortable. However, if it was at all possible the KWMC meeting rooms provided a more neutral area for people and quiet space for clear recordings and decent conversation, uninterrupted by homelife or phones etc..

It was crucial for ethical reasons that I used discretion to make a distinction between what people were telling me during interviews as a researcher and what they might be sharing in confidence, particularly when other KWF members were mentioned in a critical or derogative manner, however subtle those comments might be, such as when the formal recordings were over, whilst simply chatting. I had spent a fair amount of time previously with many of the people interviewed and so chatter did take place. I made notes in my researcher journals where needed.

4.4.1.2.1 Anonymity and right to withdraw

The location of communities being written about when ethnographic methods are used are often identifiable to readers, as might some of the participants who feature in the representations of the fieldwork (Vidich and Bensman, 1958). For example, in this study I have not given Knowle West a pseudonym place name, nor changed the name of my host organisation KWMC nor KWF. I wanted to be as true to the details as possible but

also wanted to protect the identities of interview participants as they had agreed to speak to me based on guaranteed anonymity. All data collected during research was anonymised, in terms of KWF members being given pseudonyms. All participants were made aware of their right to withdraw from the interview research process. (See Appendix C.) I explained this verbally and in writing, about the ethical duty on my part to respect their wishes concerning this. During the interview process, I explained that research participants had the right to refuse permission for their data to be used in particular ways, or the use of particular quotes, until data analysis was underway.

Deciding how to protect participants' identities was not straightforward, particularly as many KWF members knew one another, some very well. It was particularly difficult where participants had specific roles within KWF as their identity would be transparently clear to anyone locally who took the time to read this thesis or any publications that might come from it. Similarly, when speaking about those employed by KWMC, or any other third sector organisation, I could have used the term 'community practitioners' or 'community worker'. I considered one way of protecting identities was to refer to those with specific roles on the forum as 'KWF officers' and other people as 'KWF residents'. Protecting the privacy and safety of others by altering identifying characteristics like race, gender, name, place, or appearance is a practice in some academic research.

Alternatively, a strategy of redaction of certain data was an option. Redaction refers to the selection or adaptation (as by obscuring or removing sensitive information) for publication or release, often in thick black blocks of highlight, to obscure certain names, words, or sentences. In academic redaction, it is recommended not to use this technique

for privacy reasons (and software exists that can reverse the redaction to read what is underneath the blacked-out wording). Instead, best practice[140] is to delete all restricted information and replace it with the text string [REDACTED]. This way, redaction is apparent, but the size of the blacked-out space cannot be used to guess the identity or redacted information. However, removing critical data could undermine the credibility and integrity of research, indeed it could leave unanswered questions or open new conundrums as to the validity of the conclusions to the data analysis (Casedevall et al., 2013). While the essence and meaningfulness of the research story are of more importance than any precise recounting of detail (Bochner, 2002; Tullis Owen et al., 2009), researchers are warned to be aware of how protective devices can:

> '… influence the integrity of their research as well as how their work is interpreted and understood.' (Ellis et al., 2011: 282)

After discussion with my supervisory team, it was agreed that for the purposes of examination retaining the pseudonyms and job titles gave the reader a better feel for the characters and realness of the empirical data. They pointed out that this information could be amended before the thesis was actually published. This meant I could protect individuals potentially identifying one another, once the thesis is made public. The device I chose in the end was to use first name pseudonyms as often as I could, using [NAME/S REDACTED] where more discretion was required to protect an individual's identity, feelings, or reputation. I also did not want to cause damage to community

[140] More information available at: https://www.bristol.ac.uk/staff/researchers/etheses/content-which-cannot-be-published/ (Accessed 6 July 2021)

relations amongst residents and each other, nor with local councillors or local government officers, or indeed with anyone, nor any third sector organisations. However, I also did not want to overly 'sanitise' the data by stripping out all pseudonyms and wanted this thesis to be able to *truth tell.* The deployment of [NAME/S REDACTED] and [KWF OFFICER] was a compromise, leaving in pseudonyms wherever possible.

4.4.2 Other ethical considerations

This study was conducted in accordance with the British Educational Research Association (BERA) and the School of Education, University of Bristol, code of ethics[141] which set out the responsibilities as researcher to participants, the wider academic community, educational professionals, policymakers, and the public. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that social research is impossible without the understanding and co-operation of the respondents; that acknowledging the reciprocal relationships between researcher and respondents is part of achieving validity in research. Trust is a part of that reciprocity (Sennett, 2012). Being trustworthy, particularly around confidentiality, discretion, and diplomacy, is an important aspect of practising ethical research. To add to the ethical practice, my primary supervisor at the time, Professor Rosamund Sutherland, attended one of the KWF forum meetings to explain my role as researcher. This gave the group the chance to ask questions if they so wished, but they did not. This was to show the group respect and courtesy and Professor Sutherland's attendance acted as something of a foundation for when I later approached members in the

[141] Please see Appendix A, which provides a copy of my completed School of Education's ethics clearance form

interview stage of the research (see *section 4.5.1.2*), as it grounded my research within the context of the University of Bristol and the School of Education.

My role as Communications Officer may have aided reciprocity and openness (Cresswell, 1998) with the research process. The participant observer role gave KWF forum members the chance to get to know me through my presence in their community work and in terms of interactions with local residents, at meetings and events. In order for KWF members to feel comfortable working with me - and later share their views with me in interview - it was very important that I established rapport and that I was seen as an individual who could be trusted (Gaskell, 2002). Back in the August of 2013, I initiated the idea of a 'get-to-know-you' informal chat over drinks at a pub halfway between Knowle West and my home, in an attempt to break the ice between myself, the Group Secretary, the Chair and the Vice-Chair. I was trying to get to know them and start to build familiarity and more trust. Being introduced in the first place by one of the KWF community partners, KWMC, while it probably helped the process to begin to gain their trust, but I was still essentially a stranger. An early-stage career researcher at a well-known local University may have also helped build credibility and trust, but I was still an unknown quantity and wanted to prove myself and have the chance to be less formal. The four of us went for a drink one evening in the autumn of 2013. It was a relaxed and informal affair, and it felt like a breaking-ice activity, able to speak with these three men away from work and just chat. I noticed a more jovial side of the older men, the Chair and Vice-Chair, both of whom were friends of some decades standing.

I was mindful that much of the literature that explores ethical practices in co-production focuses on the tensions of co-productive partnerships between universities

and ‘communities’ (interpreted as organisations and collectives) and how to operate ethically within what is often a historical and economic power hierarchy (Hart et al., 2013). Whilst my methodology was not co-production in the end, there were still lessons to be learned from the literature. In the sense that the researcher's positionality is affected by issues concerning politics and power, which can influence everything in social research; from the micro-politics of personal relations, to a researcher's institutional base, as well as policies of government (Punch, 1986; Thorne, 2005). To achieve academic integrity (Punch, 1986) it is essential to recognise the multiple factors that influenced the conduct and outcomes of the research including my own personality, and conflict and contradictions experienced within the research setting. Another layer to consider, as well as my role as researcher, was that I was attributed a position of certain power and influence by becoming the KWF Communications Officer. In my later role, as the analyst and evaluator of the interview data attributed a further aspect of power that made the process of data collection and analysis complex, which should be acknowledged in my findings.

When leaving my role as Communications Officer there were ethical concerns about exiting the group in a fair and respectful manner. I did not want to leave them feeling abandoned or with an expertise gap, without my support, as I had been there from the beginning. No one had been found from within the community to then take over the communications work. The exit was organised via my community placement hosts KWMC and I did a hand-over in writing and face-to-face with the Group Secretary, which took place at the KWMC. Having stayed in post for well over six months longer than the original agreement, I did not feel that I was letting anyone down as such, but I did feel a responsibility to them. I passed on some basic information around the KWF

social media accounts and website management, for example. During the hand-over, I went through how to Tweet with the Secretary on a PC and explained the basics, as he was not experienced or confident in this area. As I said before, he and I have remained friends and I have also stayed in touch with the Chair, and three members of staff from KWMC. I see Rowena around too.

4.4.3 Access and informed consent

The researcher's 'closeness' requires ethical sensitivity at all times, particularly around disclosure and the negotiation of access (Scott and Russell, 2005). There were numerous occasions when KWF met in people's homes for working group meetings and I appreciate that gives me a privileged position of access and familiarity. Being part of the KWF group gave me access to the members and their contact details were provided by the Group Secretary. However, I did not want any KWF member to feel any obligation to be interviewed. I knew my access to these local residents was privileged by my having worked for the group for 20-months. In light of this, I did not want there to be any pressure felt to talk to me, especially given my dual role as researcher and Communications Officer. I stressed this in my written invitations and research information sheet, before meeting people for interview, to secure signed, informed consent. (See Appendix D).

One ethical consideration was that of working within a community with known literacy issues – 'poor readers' being the colloquial term that was often used locally, as well as known high illiteracy rates (Raphael Reed et al., 2007) in the area, is language used in research materials. I worked closely with three staff members at KWMC around the phrasing of the written material, to avoid overly academic language and it was suggested

by one of the KWMC Directors (who was also one of my supervisors during the first two years of the studentship) to keep the informed consent form and information sheet as simple and brief as possible. (I was warned by someone at KWMC who said that often University researchers would appear with such detailed and overly long consent forms that it was like residents were being asked to give consent to a life-saving operation or something, which could be off-putting and daunting.)

I made a deliberate effort to choose wording that felt community focussed and not overly complex phrasing. Sensitivity was also deployed around digital equality issues and invitations for interviews to all KWF members went out digitally via email but also in paper format by post through the Royal Mail. When designing the method for seeking informed consent and participants, I made sure there were stamped addressed envelopes enclosed for people to be able to easily reply, mindful of convenience, as well as providing a local landline phone number (with an answer machine) so as not to potentially put off people who may fear the cost of calling a mobile number, or have little data on a contract phone or SIM-only mobile. Having said that I also provided my mobile number, so as to offer accessibility and provide the facility for people who might want to talk through any questions. The contact number for Professor Rosamund Sutherland was also provided, to be on hand to answer any questions or offer any further clarification. Participants were required to give their consent via a duplicate form, where both parties retained a copy. (See Appendix D.) Where photographs were taken during public engagement work of 2015, consent forms were also secured.

I felt comfortable that the people who agreed to be interviewed were doing so because they wanted to have their voices heard for the original idea (before the group folded) of

my feeding back to the group. After all, the interviews were designed to enable KWF members to (see *section 4.4.1.2*) express their thoughts, ideas, and concerns regarding neighbourhood planning and the workings of the group. I felt some members were genuinely pleased to help in my doctoral research, having developed a strong rapport with certain KWF members. Initially, I was disappointed because the Chair did not reply to my invitation, but eventually, after some months passed, I did some more gentle nudging (particularly as my data analysis required additional information). I continued to gently pursue him, just casual, polite lobbying, and follow-up calls, as well as an additional letter of invitation. He did agree to meet at the KWMC, and it was a very fruitful exchange, detailed within the empirical findings chapters.

4.5 Approaches to data analysis

Using Peircean abduction (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012), the approach to data analysis was a creative inferential process aimed at producing new hypotheses and theories. This posits the researcher as participant *and* principal investigator, not a neutral analyst of unfolding events:

> 'Remember that the researcher is the detective looking for trends and patterns that occur across the various groups or within individuals (Krueger, 1994). The process of analysis and interpretation involve disciplined examination, creative insight, and careful attention to the purposes of the research study.' (Genzuk, 2003: 9)

I was able to observe categories around actions (or inaction) taken in forum and working group meetings, comments made in these neighbourhood planning meetings, as well as

from the collated interview data. This enabled an explication of actions and meaning. The CGT research approach allowed for identifying gaps in data. This meant I could go back for more interview data and documentary evidence as and when needed, which resulted in the second interview with the Group Secretary in 2017, the Chair in the same year, then the final interview with one of the KWMC Directors in 2020. For in the preliminary stages of a study, a CGT researcher should:

> '… only make choices regarding the initial gathering of data rather than predetermining the entire procedure of data collection from the outset of the study.' (Kenny and Fourie, 2015: 1270)

A benefit of comparing data as I went along was that I could use emerging findings to inform future data collection, including revising observational focus where need be in meetings, and in the interview phases of data collection. I was also able to critically reflect upon my own interpretation of events and check back with interview participants in relation to emerging pictures. This enabled construction of abstract categories and integration of categories into a theoretical framework, to aid an understanding of the causes, conditions, and consequences (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011) of the process of KWF's attempt at neighbourhood planning in Knowle West.

I was looking for concepts and patterns and anything that seemed significant to the production of a neighbourhood plan, from the local ideas for land use to decisions made by KWF in relation to possible contents for a neighbourhood plan, as well as relational issues within the forum, with the Council, and with each other. Comparing and contrasting raw data with these themes helped me look for patterns, think more analytically, and advance the 'theoretical direction' (Charmaz, 2014:138) of my data

analysis work, without losing sight of the value of individual stories in interview possibly providing important sources of insight into experiences of neighbourhood planning in the Knowle West area. Data analysis started with initial coding, with further categories beginning to emerge from inspection of the interview transcripts and researcher diaries, making tentative groupings of quotes within categories. This started with emerging categories, key quotes, and reflections being noted and in an iterative fashion. This process characterised the shaping of the semi-structured interview question planning.

4.5.1 Stages of data analysis

In what has been described as 'the agony of omitting' (Genzuk, 2003: 9) it should be noted as a reflection that deciding what to omit was challenging at times, in order to present an engaging and credible narrative, or 'story'. Analysts who try to include everything in their data findings risk losing their readers in the sheer volume of the presentation of data:

> 'This process has been referred to as "the agony of omitting". The agony of omitting on the part of the researcher is matched only by the readers' agony in having to read those things that were not omitted but should have been.'
> (Genzuk, 2003: 9)

Mindful of this advice, for both the presentation of my findings and in relaying various stages of analysis, my aim in *Chapters Five, Six* and *Seven* is to provide a flavour from some of the key stages of data analysis. Over prolonged engagement in the field, my analysis work took place over a continuum. Data reduction strategies are essential in the initial stages of analysis (Krueger, 1994). This started with an organic and evolving

assembly of raw materials, to start to gain an overview or total picture of the entire process (Genzuk, 2003). To immerse myself in the data collected in the field, I would sit reading over things for some time in my office, sometimes on the floor with piles of folders all around, making sense of all the paperwork I had collected in my time with the group. I did this before writing my findings chapters, refreshing my memory about what had taken place, when, where, and in which chronological order. Going back through all the agendas and minutes from the forum meetings, I also consulted any supporting documentation from Bristol City Council (BCC), like the Memorandum of Understanding (see Appendix F). Alongside my own observational field notes, after my first read through of notes and KWF / BCC documentation, I went about a mind-mapping process, noting key first impressions and emerging themes and categories, onto a very large piece of yellow card.

I used coloured and highlighter pens, as well as different coloured sticky Post-It notes to remind me of areas of particular interest. I spent some time creating a typed data collation of notes, which resulted in an 88-page report (for an extract see Appendix I) Word document. I separated out each month into two sections, summarising some initial thoughts around: 'what happened?' and then some 'observations'. I colour coded this as an *aide-memoire,* as shown below. Initially, I collated data from one calendar year, from when I first started attending the KWF meetings, from July 2013 - June 2014. (However, during that time I was off sick for three months and was not able to be part of the forum during February, March, nor April 2014.)

This created something of a 'masterfile', known in supervisions and this thesis as the Masterfile database, where key information and critical incidents (Stiegelbauer et al.,

1982; Miles and Huberman, 1994) were chronologically logged. Included was observations and decisions taken at KWF meetings, including data from KWF documentation (such as minutes, agendas). Also, handwritten notes from notebooks and my iPad, that I had taken down during public meetings, where we (KWF members and myself) had been promoting the work of KWF. Those public meetings were predominantly from the summer of 2014 when we launched KWF and neighbourhood planning to the public. I also used this data in order to create a log, kept in Word on my home personal computer (PC), of a 'timeline'. This was a grid of key dates, forum meetings and those of the working group. I then updated it once I had the data from 2015, about the KWF voluntarily giving up their powers related to being a Neighbourhood Development Forum (NDF). I only secured that letter to Bristol City Council in 2021 when digging around for final evidence and documentation from the former KWF Group Secretary. I was then able to use this timeline grid to reflect on vignettes to add to my empirical chapters. The Masterfile enabled me to re-read over and examine the raw pieces of data, together, where before I had been observing emerging themes from the first rounds of data from the summer of 2013 onwards, when initial concepts were emerging around regulation, friction in the KWF group, tensions with the Council and low political trust.

The process of organising KWF documents, such as agendas and minutes in date order, as well as researcher journals and observational field notes from forum meetings, once I had been with the group for a few months, attending forums and working groups enabled me to gain a refresh about what had happened and when. Initial analysis of the Masterfile data entries and observations enabled an exploration of the experience of

neighbourhood planning in the area of Knowle West. Significant issues and observations were included in chronological order and colour coded as follows:

- Significant concepts and themes in yellow, such as power and trust.
- Issues to do with the group admin/functioning in grey.
- Actions to do with my Communications Officer role in green.
- Specific issues for land-use that arose– such as a desire for a supermarket* - ideas for the forum to include for consideration in their neighbourhood plan, in pink. (*as there was little availability of fresh food for sale on the estate, back then)
- References to digital engagement and online mentions were in light blue.
- Where regulatory issues mentioned - including internal regulatory issues around power - were highlighted in red.
- I also highlighted sections where tensions in KWF were evident in purple.
- **Significant organisations and local projects were bolded in black.**

I went through each data entry, line by line, with coloured fine liners and highlighter pens, further coding and memo-making. I created a 'matrix' display (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 240) using a Word document, creating a grid, that was trying to see what themes may emerge within 'land use' ideas for the neighbourhood plan:

Date	**Excerpts from Raw Data File ['evidence of']**	**Commentary – first sift through data on land use and**

		key events, such as appointing consultants ['accounting for']
	ACCOUNT OF (EVIDENCE FOR ARGUMENTS/OBSERVATIONS)	*ACCOUNT FOR – FROM FIELD NOTES*

(For an extract see Appendix J.)

I did the same for the interview data, hand annotating on paper using colour pens, looking for themes and patterns that might link to other interviews or data within the Masterfile or Land Use data grids, in so doing, I was able to spot overarching themes running through, such as regulation, power, trust, loss, and community histories.

4.5.2 Analysis of the interviews

In terms of the interview data, I would make handwritten notes before or after interview, to capture my thoughts 'live'. I also hand transcribed three interviews, from audio recordings made with an iPad, typing them into Word documents. By undertaking hand transcriptions, brought me closer to the data and became the first step in the post-meeting analysis of the interviews in question. The other seven interviews were transcribed by an agency (for time reasons) used by the University for transcription services, encrypted with a password for security and ethical reasons. (Full interview transcripts were offered to be shared with each research participant if requested, with an opportunity for the interviewee to remove or clarify data, before analysis of them began.) Silverman (2005) makes it clear how important this stage is, as

a research process in itself, that the preparation of transcripts is not simply a technical detail *prior* to the main business of the analysis. Atkinson and Heritage (1984) also point to this, that the production and use of transcripts are an integral part of the research activity, with repeated listening to recordings often revealing previously un-noted recurring features of the organisation of talk. I went through each transcript, marking with coloured fine liners and highlighting, coding, and memo-making (a sample of which is included in Appendix K).

Asking myself questions, in consideration of Charmaz (2006)'s suggestions re early and advanced memo questions and seeing where I could turn things into a pithy category, around processes and generally what was going on and what connections I could make, or what might need checking. Reading through all memos and coded notes enabled me to come up with a list of five overarching themes from my initial data analysis:

- Personalities and leadership in creating a neighbourhood plan
- Community histories and loss
- Power: regulation/legislation and its various effects
- Resources/capabilities for making a neighbourhood plan
- Complexity, entanglements of social networks and relationships

By splitting the data into coded and thematic segments, this process enabled me to apply meaning to what particular segments might be about (Birks and Mills, 2010). Deciding how to best present the empirical data was an iterative process, much like the collection and analysis stages, which followed the logic that 'analysis proceeds into the

writing' (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011: 18). I looked through my preliminary data analysis to see what 'story' or 'stories' I might want to tell around these dominant themes across my dataset. For example, a pervasive sense of loss emerged, and the specificity of the community context, loss of opportunity, and loss of agency, in particular, low levels of political trust, a loss of resources, as well as a lack of resources. This resulted in three empirical data chapters, around three overarching themes: community context (trust and loss); power (and regulation); and resources.

4.5.3 Credibility and generalisability issues

To the pragmatic worldview, any individual's understanding of the world is inevitably of their own construction, rather than a purely objective perception of reality. As such, any such construction cannot claim an absolute truth (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). I am not setting out to prove anything implicitly through my research and I do not suggest that my research can be replicated, given the place specificity of the context of being part of a neighbourhood planning forum, but the findings could be transferable or have policy implications for future recommendations. A single study of one attempt to make a neighbourhood plan cannot be representative of all neighbourhood planning, hence the emphasis on the importance of context in this study. Having said this, whilst my *insider* role as Communications Officer in KWF may not be a repeatable method of data collection as such, because of that position and set of circumstances my study provides a unique contribution to knowledge in the field, of citizen-led urban planning.

Place-based research of this nature may mean the findings are limited in their transferability, but nevertheless rich and important in terms of communities in the margins, in terms of similar socio-economic settings. Spending a substantial period of

time working with a community side by side enables an element of trust and knowledge of that community possibly not accessible to the more classical style of researcher and subject and time.

Extensive data were collected from multiple sources over a number of years which allowed me to accurately capture the phenomenon studied, which enhances the credibility of the thesis. Participant observation allows for an intimate knowledge of the area of study, as someone who has directly experienced the social phenomena of interest (Bernard, 2017). The co-presence with my research participants enabled us to develop something which might be called 'trust' or 'confidence' (Banks, 2001: 113-114).

My research design means that theory is building throughout the study, rather than being tested. Claims that the GT/CGT as method actually generates theory are sometimes 'overstated' (Charmaz, 2006: 177). The position adopted in this thesis is explained here:

> '... little that purports to be grounded theory *is* theory. It is grounded description instead.' (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2011: 20)

In my approach, I have followed the CGT method and then attempted to create a narrative from some of the key data. I would be reluctant to regard the outcomes as some kind of fully blown theory; rather, this thesis aims to generate a deeper understanding of how localism and neighbourhood planning was experienced in one community, through theoretical insights and observations. Findings about neighbourhood planning are therefore in the specific context of Knowle West and

systemic, structural, socio-economic barriers experienced when enacting that policy on the ground.

4.6 Concluding comments

This chapter has provided an account of how I designed, developed, and conducted my research. I began with a rationale for how and why I planned and orchestrated this research, acknowledging how each of the settings visited and people encountered enriched my understanding of neighbourhood planning in the locale. Both CGT and ethnographic methods use a pragmatic approach to produce rich descriptions and generate new understanding and explanations of social life. Place-based research of this nature can reveal the attachment and feelings individuals have concerning areas that are well known to them, their homes, streets, villages, towns, and cities, or equally landscapes and environments (Trenttelman, 2009; Jupp, 2013). The rationale for choosing a methodology that allows KWF members to actively participate and have their voices heard in decisions that concern them is to bring the local people to the fore, which is the approach I have taken in the following findings chapters.

This thesis' orientation is towards critically engaging with the policy of neighbourhood planning as well as addressing political concerns about rights and social justice (Morgan, 2014), when it comes to those who succeed in making a neighbourhood plan, the resources that might take, also some of the barriers to that happening. Did KWF have what it takes, or how did they compensate for any gaps in resources or capacity? My research design is predominantly about being able to examine that, interrogate the data, and reveal perceptions and attitudes of KWF group members about neighbourhood planning. Using the backdrop of my own and their experiences in the

group, enabled a truly reflexive approach to the early data analysis and informed initial coding and construction of a theoretical framework for this thesis. Like pragmatism, adopting an overall strategy of CGT assumes an ontological stance that reality is somewhat indeterminate (Charmaz, 2017a) and that, epistemologically, knowledge and meaning within this thesis are assumed as constructed through human world interaction (Piaget, 1995). The findings chapters that follow present reflexive accounts developed between the participant observation and interview data, shaped and produced by me, and represent an *interpretation* of phenomena under study. They are the researcher's representation and reflexivity, in this case, which means acknowledging that this representation is not the 'truth' (Atkinson, 2006), which has been described as knowing 'the boundaries' (Williams, 1990: 38) of one's authority.

B. FINDINGS – INTRODUCTION

B.1 Cast of Characters - the forum and KWF members

B.2 Timeline re key dates in neighbourhood planning in Knowle West

In order to provide a manageable interpretation of the data set, the analysis within this thesis concentrates on three main themed empirical chapters: community context and loss; regulation, power and trust; and resources. Aspects around power, trust, and social networks are embedded within these themes and analysis, as first outlined as conceptual ideas in the theoretical framework, *Chapter Two*. The following three empirical data chapters consider each of these thematic areas in turn to provide a thick descriptive narrative of neighbourhood planning, from the perspective of the voice of the participants (KWF members), and myself as a participant observer. Analysis of the semi-structured interviews is combined within these chapters, with a short summary around each main theme presented at the end of each chapter.

B.1 Cast of Characters - the Knowle West Future (KWF) forum members

The following three chapters will make reference to various characters from within the list below, but using their attributed pseudonyms, which had to be redacted below, as it would be too easy for the individuals to be identified by each other or by other local people. (Anonymity was guaranteed as part of the ethics and consent process, as discussed in *section 4.4.1.2.1 Anonymity and right to withdraw*.) The aim of using anonymised names within the data analysis itself, however, is retained largely, so as to help bring comments to life for the reader and also to make the commentary and

analysis easier to read. This is also to enhance the *realness* of both the words used. Some background detail on the most active KWF members (nine of whom were also interviewees) is provided below, my knowing them from when I worked with them on KWF. This is for the reader to learn more about the membership and who attended KWF forum meetings, working groups and events:

- [NAME REDACTED] Chair: In his 80's. Retired manual worker, married to Lynn. Lived on the estate for decades, since his Grandma first moved into the area in the 30's and he lived with her. No formal further or higher education, left school at 14. Local historian. ([NAME REDACTED] had apparently been in line for this role but turned down due to health reasons.)

- [NAME REDACTED] Group Secretary: In his 50's, a civil servant, undertook environmental work in Wales, educated to Master's degree level. Essentially did virtually all the work on the forum (with me doing the communications work). Came to live in the area for church work in his 20's. Home-owner. By his own description, loved bureaucracy and paperwork. Would email the minutes and agenda to members (or post them out to those members who did not use email).

- [NAME REDACTED] Treasurer: Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Re:work local charity, with offices in Filwood. In her 40's. Particularly interested in housing mix as an issue for neighbourhood planning. Left KWF after a few months, as she went on maternity leave.

- [NAME REDACTED] Vice-Chair. In his 80's. Manual worker, no higher education. Lived on the estate for decades, in a house in the Inns Court part of

the estate, an area that the Council had ear-marked for demolition, prior to the successful residents' campaign around 2009 to seek alternatives. Close friends with the Chair.

- [NAME REDACTED] the Vice-Chair's wife, in her late 70's. Never heard her speak, though she was a regular attendee of forum meetings. Close friends with the Chair's wife.

- [NAME REDACTED] a retired nurse in her early 60's. Lived on the estate nearly all her life. Lived in the same house where born. Very active in campaigning for a local supermarket for the area. Brother had been a Bristol City Councillor.

- [NAME REDACTED] a community worker in her 30's. Educated to degree level. Lived in the same house as she was born, on the estate. Passionate about the development of the area generally.

- [NAME REDACTED] local charity worker based in Filwood, in her 40's, taking-over from [NAME REDACTED] to become acting Chief-Executive of Re:work. Not living in the actual neighbourhood development forum (NDF) area but within walking distance.

- [NAME REDACTED] Founder and Director of Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC), local community media centre based in Jarmans, in her 50's.

- [NAME REDACTED] one of the founding members and a Director of local community media centre KWMC, based in Jarmans, in her 50's.

- [NAME REDACTED] a retired civil servant in late 60's, who came to live on the estate during retirement when spouse offered a pastoral Christian out-reach job there. Quite damning of local people, in terms of viewing them as apathetic; lacking the drive and skills to become involved in this type of community work.

- [NAME REDACTED] a retired bus driver, in his 70's who lived near the much-loved Western Slopes area and had a passion for the green space in the area.

- [NAME REDACTED] a retired postal worker in 50's who had to leave work for health reasons. Lived in Knowle West all her life.

Others (advisors to the group – non-members with no voting rights):

- Amanda Ramsay, volunteer KWF Communications Officer in 40's. Not living in the neighbourhood planning (NP) area, but in another nearby area of south Bristol. Seconded to the group by KWMC, to fulfil a communications role as part of the Productive Margins research project, with the University of Bristol.

- [NAME REDACTED] in late 60's, a retired town planner and voluntary town planning advisor to KWANDF/KWF (and formerly to KWRPG[142]). Urban regeneration consultant, living in Wales. Had been with the group since their early days as the KWRPG, who had informed them about neighbourhood planning, as a new form of citizen-led planning.

- [NAME REDACTED] in 50's, programme manager (regeneration programmes), Bristol City Council.

[142] Knowle West Residents' Planning Group – the group that preceded Knowle West Future

B.2 Timeline re key dates in neighbourhood planning in Knowle West

To help situate significant events for the reader in the lifespan of neighbourhood planning in Knowle West, a timeline is provided below, in addition to the graphic in *Chapter One, section 1.2.3.1 – The community research project: neighbourhood planning with the Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF), known as Knowle West Future (KWF). NB: Formerly, the Knowle West Residents' Planning Group (KWRPG).* This provides a grid reference for some of the key data collection points and dates, around KWF meetings 2013-2015. The group folded in the autumn of 2015. I left the group at the end of February 2015.

Date	Event	Extra detail, such as venue
6 July 2013	First Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF) meeting	Amanda Ramsay (AR) in attendance, as a visitor. Meeting defined what a neighbourhood plan was, by Group Secretary.
August 2013	Role for Communications Officer agreed through Director of KWMC and Group Secretary	Via email

10 Sept 2013	Second meeting of KWANDF	
1 October 2013	Working group met for the first time to decide objectives for the forum to follow in terms of land use/themes/objectives	Housing mix; green space; village centres/hubs; with catalysts/engagement campaigns such as closing the road outside the Filwood Community Centre and making a play area on the green.
8 October 2013	Third KWANDF meeting	
25 Oct 2013	Second working group	
5 Nov 2013	Fourth meeting KWANDF	
14 Nov 2013	Third working group	
3 Dec 2013	Fifth meeting KWANDF	Amanda Ramsay voted for as Communications Officer. KWF adopted communications strategy and Knowle West Future (KWF) as a brand name.

14 Jan 2014	Sixth meeting KWF forum	
Feb 2014	Seventh meeting KWF forum	
March 2014	Eighth meeting KWF forum	
April 2014	Ninth meeting KWF forum	
6 May 2014	Tenth meeting KWF forum	It looked like the group might fold, due to lack of volunteers and funding. Didn't have enough money to employ consultants to create a neighbourhood plan.
May 2014	Social media sites set-up by AR	Twitter and Facebook accounts set-up ready for launch in June
3 June 2014	11th meeting KWF forum	AR instructed to find exhibition stand from the Neighbourhood Partnership office and make new signage to

		attach with new name KWF and new info like social media and email addresses
21 June 2014	Launch of KWF. Start of public engagement work across various 'hub' area community events – to help establish public opinion on land use priorities	Launched at KWMC – at the Make It festival. Had an exhibition stand inside. Conducted questionnaires with the public inside KWMC and outside in street.
1 July 2014	12th meeting KWF forum meeting	
27 July 2014	Public engagement work – to help establish public opinion on land use priorities	Filwood Community Centre summer fayre. Had an exhibition stand inside. Conducted questionnaires with the public inside and outside in street.
18 July 2014	Public engagement work – to help establish public	Set-up a gazebo and stall on Melvin Square and conducted questionnaires

	opinion on land use priorities	with the public, on the street.
25 July 2014	Public engagement work – to help establish public opinion on land use priorities	Set-up a gazebo and stall at Inns Court and conducted questionnaires with the public, on the street.
Sept 2014	13th KWF forum meeting	
Oct 2014	Feria – consultants appointed	
16 Oct 2014	Working group	
Oct 2014	14th KWF forum group	Feria attended
Nov 2014	Feria inception meeting	Consultants meeting with KWF
Dec 2014	15th KWF forum group	
16 Dec 2014	Working group	
Dec 2014	Website work started	AR working with KWMC
Jan 2015	Website live	
6 Jan 2015	Working group	

8 Jan 2015	16th KWF forum meeting	
3 Feb 2015	17th KWF forum meeting	
13 Feb 2015	Public engagement event: Melvin Square	Connaught primary school
13 Feb 2015	Meeting with consultants	Melvin Square – inside the primary school
14 Feb 2015	Public engagement event: Melvin Square	Connaught primary school
End of Feb 2015	Hand-over re communications work with AR and Lawrence *AR leaves KWF*	KWMC
March 2015	Public engagement event: Green Circuit	Held at KWMC
March 2015	Public engagement event: Green Circuit	Held at KWMC
Spring-summer 2015	Interviews organised with KWF members by AR	Held at KWMC and/or individual homes

June 2015	KWF informed Bristol City Council that as of 30 June they would voluntarily be giving up the powers related to being a Neighbourhood Planning Forum (NPF)	Citing lack of resources; and limited support from the Knowle West Regeneration Board (KWRB); landowners and the wider community including councillors

CHAPTER FIVE – COMMUNITY CONTEXT – LOSS AND TRUST

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Community context - helps us understand issues with policy enactment

5.2.1 Societal changes and relational trust: losses to ways of socialising and knowing each other – losing social amenities

5.2.2 Societal changes: losing shops and a local supermarket

5.2.3 Loss around local assets, including a secondary school

5.2.4 Economic decline, mass unemployment, and riots

5.2.5 Regeneration policies and initiatives on the estate

5.2.5.1 Knowle West Regeneration Framework (KWRF) and regeneration

5.2.5.2 When and why KWF formed to make a neighbourhood plan

5.2.5.3 Housing and trust: tensions over regeneration, standards, and demolition

5.2.6 Fears around losing green space and stalled regeneration work

5.2.7 Feeling cut-off and losing bus services

5.3 Loss brings anger and a lack of trust in the Council

5.3.1 Apathy and loss of political agency

5.4 Austerity, young people, and loss

5.5 Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

The rationale for this chapter is to set the scene for the following two empirical chapters and to ensure the 'voices' of those living in the community of Knowle West are represented in this study. The data presented within this chapter aids a more empathetic understanding of the structural inequalities and difficulties faced as a community attempting to make a neighbourhood plan. In particular, it helps understand the strong sense, running throughout the data, of loss as well as a lack of trust in the political system, in terms of how KWF members experienced local government. That sense of loss and low political trust stretches back over many decades and across many levels. Predominantly this is expressed by KWF members around infrastructure losses, referring particularly to the loss of shopping and leisure facilities, including a swimming pool, as well as losing buildings that once housed youth clubs and churches. KWF members also mention macro-level social changes, in terms of broader societal issues, around shopping and car use and ways of knowing each other, such as losing places to meet locally.

The overall aim of this chapter is to set the context for the data on the process of KWF engaging with neighbourhood planning, which is presented in the next two chapters, *Chapter Six* and *Chapter Seven*.

5.2 Community context - helps us understand issues with policy enactment

In interview, KWF members spoke of the loss of local associations, painting a picture of living in an era and area that reflects losses of opportunities for social mixing or networking. There are no privately-owned concerns like restaurants or pubs on the estate and just one small, very basic café that opens for cooked breakfasts and lunches.

Since undertaking the initial field work a new place opened in Filwood Broadway in 2020 selling hot and cold take-out food (take-away only during the lockdown that is) which was utilised during the first 2020 Coronavirus / CV-19 lockdown by local people. I drove to the estate in haste on the bank holiday Friday of the 75th VE-Day commemorations in May 2020. (During lockdown, this was the first chance to visit since England locked-down due to the virus contagion and thesis writing-up.) I had been very concerned about local people given the school closures and scourge of poverty, associated food insecurity and large community reliance on free school meals, during usual term times. Local women on the streets who I stopped to talk with assured me that the community was really pulling together, that hot meals were being provided despite the closed schools. Knowle Health Park also conducted a well-regarded co-ordinated community response and local Councillor Chris Jackson (Filwood) was particularly commended by KWMC's [NAME REDACTED] for his endeavours locally during the pandemic lockdowns.

Despite the new openings here and there, largely there does not appear to be many public places for people to socialise. There are few shops and very little fresh food to be actually bought within the housing estate. In recent years a tiny greengrocer's stall opened on Melvin Square but only seems to trade infrequently. However, there is not a butcher or baker, just little off licence, convenience type stores like Spars. There are a few fast-food places like kebabs, burgers, fish and chips, and a couple of Chinese take-aways. There is not a street-side cash point, which Michelle remarked upon as a bone of contention. She said it meant people did not have cash readily available for things like paying for refreshments at community events. Acute forms of social and economic exclusion find a spatial manifestation in parts of Knowle West (see *Chapter One - section*

1.3.1.1 The other 1% - a socio-economic profile). What Knowle West does have, however, is a noticeably large police station and cells. This built landscape is in great disparity to the urban ideals presented by Jane Jacobs (1961), as outlined in *Chapter Two*.

Having said that, Knowle West is still clearly a place that people feel a strong affinity with. KWF members enjoy living in and a strong sense of belonging comes through the data. I felt the same after years of being involved with the community. Michelle said she loved living there because she could go to the shops in her pyjamas and dressing gown and there was no judgement. She said she could play her music loud if she was having a house party and as long as she warned her neighbours in advance, they were relaxed about it. Susan said how people would stop in the street to help if you looked like you needed a hand with something heavy or with your car or some such issue. Poignantly, John remarked that he didn't know he lived in an area that was seen as 'deprived' until someone told him (referring to the government's social indices of deprivation, see *Chapter One, section 1.3.1.1 - The other 1% - a socio-economic profile),* because he was so fond of where he lived. Indeed, where he lives is a quiet area within the estate, with secluded houses and a lot of privacy in the front and back gardens, free on-street parking, surrounded by beautiful rolling hills and open green space.

Local resident and worker in one of the local third sector organisations, Michelle, felt there was a case for running a public relations (PR) campaign city-wide, to counteract the negative stories and stigmatised image about the estate (such as the Vicky Pollard stereotype in the characterisation of *Little Britain* and stories Tricky tells of drugs in the 1980s – see *Chapter One*). Michelle's vision was to create a marketing campaign to counter the stigmatisation she felt existed about Knowle West. She described what she

felt was needed was a change of image, generating ‘good news stories’ about life on the estate, as well as hosting events to celebrate successes. However, a ‘forgotten area’ is how Colin felt about the Knowle West area and Ursula was very critical too:

> ‘It is in a terrible state and more run-down than I can ever remember. Shops closed, boarded up, streets littered, homes run down. I think they are worse off these days than the 1990s.’

Indeed, Ursula and Colin spoke animatedly about a host of activities for young people at one time, being organised through a youth club and Church of St Giles. Colin said there was once something on every night of the week for children and teenagers and he explained that St Giles was originally a 'mission church' at Inn’s Court (which is now a predominantly social housing residential area of the estate), which started in a barn after World War II. This reference points to the - until relatively recent - agricultural nature of the area, despite being on the outskirts of a city, as the church began life on a farm. Some local people still use horses and horse-drawn carriages and there are stables nearby. Foraging for wild food and rabbit hunting was also mentioned as a current practice, by staff at Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC). In some areas, the rugged green open spaces have a genuine feel of the countryside despite being so close to the city centre. For a city conurbation, this all makes for a captivating and truly unique locale and a fascinating place to undertake research.

5.2.1 Societal changes: losses to ways of socialising and knowing each other

The UK has seen a dramatic decline in church attendance, which has halved since the 1930s[143]. All KWF members who mentioned their religion, during my time with the group and in interview, were all Christians, unsurprising perhaps for a predominantly white, working-class area. Sunday worship aside, opportunities around the social elements associated with church attendance and voluntary outreach work emerge as significant. Members spoke of being motivated to work for the good of the community and being active in service for others. References to Christianity emerged in the data, particularly concerning the motivation of some of the main KWF activist's drive behind their voluntary community involvement. This was explained by Lawrence as being connected to their faith, a notion he described as being 'alongside' - of being there for the community in the spirit of service for others, in a supportive capacity. Lynn had said to him, when discussing the need to give up on KWF in February 2015 (due to various factors including low volunteer numbers and poor public engagement, and ongoing funding issues), the importance of being 'alongside' for people. She felt there was no way of 'forcing' local people into community action but believed in the importance of 'being there for them when they are ready.'

Colin felt that nowadays local people did not have as much chance to know each other. Colin also spoke about how there was once a range of different activities for children and teenagers, from swimming to band practice and badminton, through to the Cubs

[143] More information available at: https://faithsurvey.co.uk/download/csintro2.pdf (Accessed 9 April 2020)

and Brownies, Scouts and the Girls Brigade. Many of these activities were organised through the Church of St Giles. Colin said:

> 'And we finished up and there was something going every day, every night of the week. Mondays we hired the swimming baths, Tuesday night we had the senior Scouts brigade, Wednesday night we used the [Filwood] hall for basketball, badminton, wrestling, all those things we got some money for. Thursday night we had the Scouts, followed by band practice. Saturdays we would either be out with the band across the city because we used to get asked to take part in various things; we went out on the Kingswood Whit Sunday, leading the procession out there. And then the band used to go to what was known as Dr Fox's, that was a nursing home out there and they'd have their days where they'd raise money and we'd go over and play.'

However, this all stopped when a new vicar arrived in the 1980s, according to Colin:

> 'He didn't like the...he was born here, grew up here, he just didn't like the fact of other people saying what they could do, or couldn't do...'

The new vicar that came to Holy Cross (which was the successor church to St Giles) also changed the time of the Sunday worship service from 11am to 4pm. Colin said this led to a dwindling of the congregation (because the afternoon service clashed with people's Sunday lunch and family plans) and the associated donations that kept the church going diminished, so the church was closed in 2017 after the congregation dropped to just 11 people. Colin reflected on his optimistic feelings around the early development of the

area, as we saw detailed in *Chapter One,* tinged with disappointment at a sense of loss ever since:

> '… the swimming baths were built and we thought "we're doing well now" and churches housing association took on the what was originally the shops and houses opposite the cinema side and built some more houses coming down and then, er, they also built it right down to the corner, 'cos there was a supermarket on that corner, but everything went pear-shaped when in the 1990s when they pulled down the old Co-op building and for some reason the shops behind closed, they moved away, there were some good shops on either side in those days …'

The development of the Knowle West area stalled when World War II broke out, Colin explained. It wasn't until the 1960's that a swimming pool was built and the retail area of Filwood Broadway expanded, and a new church was built there, called Christ the King, a Catholic Church. However, since the height of that development work, many members explained that since the 1980s, the area had lost services, businesses, shops, facilities, clubs and associations, and particularly things for young people to do. Colin, who was in his ninth decade of living in Filwood Park, pointed to the societal change of having more women going out to work during the post-war years, which he felt had an impact on neighbours knowing each other, as adult females were then often away from the home environ:

> 'It's a different world altogether now. So, people don't know one another.'

In a striking echo of what Jacobs (1961) wrote about many decades earlier, Colin also commented on the impact of car ownership on the reduced ability to socially mix close-by to the vicinity of their homes, in that cars take people out of their own neighbourhoods, to out of town supermarkets and the like:

> 'You've got to remember even right after the war women didn't go out, I mean they had to go out during the war years, they stayed at home, to look after their children, so they knew one another, shopping etc., but gradually people would die, move off, other people come in. Well, initially you know them, but as the years go by you didn't know them, cos they'd go out to work all day and even in your own home people might be out at work all day, come home at night, they never came out talking to one another. People had cars and they'd gone away to do their shopping, cos they had to, so you don't know anybody…'

Huge changes have taken place in society, technology, and commerce, in the last twenty years, particularly with the advent of large, out-of-town supermarkets and online shopping now characterises many aspects of everyday retail experiences. The impact of this in Knowle West appears to have drained the life out of the Filwood Broadway area, which as we will see below was once a thriving shopping area.

5.2.2 Societal changes: losing shops and a local supermarket

There has been a sharp rise of supermarkets developing in the surrounding areas to Knowle West, almost creating a 'doughnut' effect, with Knowle West the hole in the centre. Neighbouring Hartcliffe has a large Morrisons, while there is a Lidl in nearby Bishopsworth and Brislington, and a large Tesco in Whitchurch, and an Aldi and Marks

and Spencer close by but all requiring car transport to reach. Colin talked about the Filwood Broadway area now and said that the newsagents – known locally as *The Sun Shop* - was one of the only local sources of food supply for his area:

> 'I walk behind people, an older person with a younger one, and I hear 'oh, it was like this in the 90's we had this, that, the other', compared to what it is today. And really unless you get a supermarket here, you're not going to get other small shops opening. We've got a very good one at the moment, it's running The Sun shop, sells newspapers, he wants to extend and take over two other shops, but he's just got a licence to sell, an outdoor licence, he's bringing in more, he's stacking the shelves…'

Susan became so desperate for action for a local supermarket that she took to ringing up supermarkets herself, first as a member of the public, then as a member of KWF, attempting to secure interest for a new store to be developed in the area. There seemed a disconnect between what many local 'Westers' (a colloquial name for people from Knowle West) wanted – for example, a supermarket to be developed at the site of Filwood's derelict cinema – and what the Council was saying, in that it wasn't a viable site. Susan explained that her research had revealed:

> 'The site wasn't big enough, but the swimming bath site, by the swimming baths was, because the new bus routes will stop right outside the swimming baths. They think that's a better place to put it.'

The issue of local demand for a local supermarket and site allocation was explained by [NAME REDACTED], the Regeneration Programme Manager for Bristol City Council,

> *At the 12th meeting of the forum, held in the evening at KWMC in the Jarmans area of Knowle West, the issue of the supermarket was raised by Phil O'Brien, the regeneration programme manager for Bristol City Council.*
>
> *The issue was mentioned as part of an update on site allocations as part of the work of the Knowle West Regeneration Framework: 'Bristol City Council has bought buildings around the old cinema site to facilitate a supermarket development after there was overwhelming support from the public for Filwood Broadway being the desired location, but despite three years of marketing no retailer took-up the offer,' Phil spelled out the issue around private investors.*
>
> *Going on to mention that 'number crunchers' could be brought in and that with 27% out of work residents reliant on benefits and the low density of population in the area the demographics were against the market value of the proposition. He suggested a specialist retail consultant could be brought in – at the Council's expense and that he had the budget for this - to give advice re the Filwood site or advise on alternative sites within the KWF area, with Jarmans being a possible focus.*
>
> *However, no decision was made at the forum on taking-up this offer. It was just left hanging, despite the longstanding expressed desire for a supermarket from the public. After the forum meeting* [NAME REDACTED] *was livid about the forum not taking-up the offer of extra help on the supermarket and told Phil to go ahead with new scoping work for an alternative site.*
>
> *(A composite from 1 July 2014, KWF forum meeting - observational notes)*

at a 2014 forum meeting:

According to the evidence in this vignette, the local demographics around a 'low-density' local population, as well as a substantial percentage of residents relying on in work and out of work benefits meant potential retailers calculated there to be too low a footfall and weak spending power for grocery shopping in the area. This seemed to compound the sense of loss experienced in the community. Those statistical elements meant it was proving challenging to attract new retailers to the area. The anger

expressed by [NAME REDACTED] in the above vignette was echoed by other KWF members about concerns over leadership in meetings, strategy as a group, also lacking a frontperson to act as a spokesperson for the group. (Which is articulated in more detail in *Chapter Seven* – section *7.2 Individual capacity – leadership, confidence, local knowledge as expertise, emotional labour*). In addition to adding to local resources and shopping convenience, achieving a supermarket as part of collaborative work with the Council could have built both faith in the Council and the work of KWF. In that, there are behavioural consequences associated with sufficiently high levels of political efficacy which can include higher levels of political trust and engagement in terms of community volunteerism.

Not securing a supermarket however had led to a shortage of anticipated community development money, called Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL). Lawrence explained this was because:

> 'The Council had stated that the supermarket would unlock money for the rest of the regeneration. In the same way that the Marksbury Road College development would do the same.'

Lawrence explained what this loss meant to him and the work of KWF:

> 'A certain amount of % was meant to be poured back into the Knowle West regeneration.'

This led to something of a stalemate situation, in terms of attracting investment for new local infrastructure. When it came to the supermarket it became apparent that market forces were over-riding any true sense of KWF members feeling that they had agency

through local autonomy around that aspect of future development for their area; a sense of a loss around not being in control of their destiny, made worse by a history of cuts and losses to shops, leisure, and things for young people to do.

5.2.3 Losses of local assets, including a secondary school

It appears that the growth described above of supermarkets in the surrounding areas has contributed to a problem around a loss of consumer spending on the estate, as those relatively new supermarket retail units have taken away local footfall from independent stores that once thrived on Filwood Broadway. This has led to the shrinking of established local businesses and, arguably, associated benefits on the estate for potential partnership work in neighbourhood planning. For example, corporate/social responsibility type fundraising. The neighbouring Bedminster area has a large Asda, as well as Lidl, Aldi, Sainsbury's, Coop, Iceland, and two Tesco Expresses, because that conurbation is very densely populated, in terms of local footfall. Not only does Bedminster have those supermarkets but local businesses invest in something called Love our High Street through a locally raised Business Improvement District[144] (BID) fund. However, due to community context, fundraising opportunities from local businesses was not readily available to KWF, as we see later in findings on resources in *Chapter Seven*.

Michelle remarked how being involved with planning work locally had opened her eyes to a sense of local geographic deprivation:

[144] More information available at: https://www.bedminster.org.uk/loveourhighstreet (Accessed 21 April 2021)

> ‘We didn’t realise how little we had until we started going on trips [as the KWRPG] around Bristol and started to see what other areas had.’

In contrast to neighbouring, now thriving Bedminster and Southville, losses in the Knowle West area include the loss of shops, businesses, a grammar school, churches, and a building that once housed a youth club, for example. Back in 1932, Merrywood Grammar School opened, but it closed in the year 2,000 and now houses a community hub with activities and meeting areas, called The Park Knowle. KWF interviewees spoke passionately – Michelle in particular - against facilities being ‘taken away’; she was aggrieved about not having things for young people to do or places to go, such as a park for the local area. Michelle explained:

> ‘We should have a bigger park with facilities in it. Some of the stories, I don’t know whether they’re true, but a lot of the stories about why our stuff has got taken away, like, people complaining about people hanging out in parks. So, they take away the facilities, so people don’t hang out there. I don’t know how true that is but, either way, it’s like something has gone wrong.’

There is a sense of this community feeling failed by the system. The community has also lost valued physical shared assets, such as a swimming pool, cinema, bingo hall, and a once vibrant shopping area in the Filwood Broadway area. The Broadway is now almost derelict and hosts a food bank charity operation called the Matthew Tree Project, charity outreach shops run by Re:work (KWF member [NAME REDACTED] works there). There is a newsagent (known locally as ‘The Sun shop’), along with many empty retail units, and an old cinema building, smothered in graffiti, with a wild overgrowth of very

tall weeds. Rowena painted a depressing picture of the central area of Filwood Ward as it is now:

> 'You're looking at about a 20-year decline. Filwood Broadway was the place you went shopping. And it had a cinema and then the bingo hall and the swimming pool and lots of things and … people enjoyed spending time here, whereas now it's a sort of wind tunnel with a lot of litter.'

This is dramatically different to the very positive reminiscences from earlier days of life on the estate, particularly from retired residents, who had lived there since childhood. Two very active KWF members, Susan and Colin, explained how the now almost derelict Filwood Broadway area once bustled with life and activity. What is particularly striking in the interview data is the stark difference between the current day and that of the past, hearing how Knowle West was once a thriving, busy area. The feeling is that it has now become something of a ghost town. Even allowing for nostalgia, a story emerges of a once vibrant community hub. A picture is conjured of Filwood Broadway as having been a hive of activity and a core retail area, with its own community hall and various sports facilities. Susan described how it was:

> '… With a Co-op butchers, a Co-op supermarket and a Co-op chemist…At one time it had two green grocers, two butchers. It had a Keep Opals, where they used to sell the school uniform and shoes, Clarks shoes, that type of thing… There was two dress haberdasheries and there was two newsagents and the cinema and two hairdressers, I think, one barber and ladies' hairdressers, and there was also at the same time that the Co-op was there, there was a supermarket called Liptons or Maple, or something, down the end.'

KWF members told me of the background of a drugs problem on the estate, particularly during the 1980s (which tallied with my pre-PhD work with KWADs – Knowle West Against Drugs). Lawrence referred to the history of a 'troubled past' with buses being held up at knife and gunpoint and riots on the streets. Susan and Rowena also spoke about there being a lot of social unrest during the Thatcher years when the only Co-op supermarket left on the Broadway was set on fire. Consequently, the organisation refused to continue trading there. The estate has not had a supermarket since. In the 1960s apparently, a man had smashed up a Co-op store because his son was banned for stealing, according to one KWF member.

5.2.4 Economic decline, mass unemployment, and riots

KWF members told me of a background of a drugs problem on the estate, particularly during the 1980s (which tallied with my pre-PhD experience working with KWADs – Knowle West Against Drugs). Lawrence referred to the history of a 'troubled past' with buses being held up at knife and gunpoint and riots on the streets. Susan and Rowena also spoke about there being a lot of social unrest during the Thatcher years when the only Co-op supermarket left on the Broadway was set on fire. Consequently, the organisation refused to continue trading there. The estate has not had a supermarket since. In the 1960s, apparently a man had smashed up a Co-op store because his son was banned for stealing, according to one KWF member.

> 'When I first came here [in the early 1990s] this community was very run-down. There'd been mass unemployment,' [NAME REDACTED] said.

In terms of local unemployment (see *Chapter One, section 1.3.1 – some history of the estate*) one big impact was the closure in neighbouring Hartcliffe of the Wills Tobacco cigarette factory, the largest in Europe, which closed in 1990 with the loss of some 5,000 local jobs, plus another 20,000 in the supply chain[145]. George, who's maternal grandparents were moved to the estate due to slum clearance re-housing, explained the difficulty with the location of the Knowle West estate in terms of jobs. He connected one of the local issues with housing and employment:

> 'Although the new homes were clearly much better than the ones left behind, other social problems were created. The post-World War II housebuilding programme was, and is, largely seen as a success, but we can also see they repeated the same mistakes of the inter-war period with lots of low-density housing even further away from the jobs located in the city centre.'

It was very moving listening to Colin, who's grandma also moved to the estate when housing was brand new, speak about what amounts to experiencing multiple decades of what he considered to be a legacy of broken promises and abandonment by the local authority. Susan also sounded very aggrieved about the economic decline in the area, which she said had been on the slide since the 1980s. She particularly blamed the Council, claiming that:

> '… they allowed it to go into that decline.'

[145] More information available at: https://thebristolcable.org/2015/07/burning-into-national-consciousness-looking-back-on-the-hartcliffe-riots/ (Accessed 16 July 2021)

As well as the Council, Susan also blamed the economic legacy of the Thatcher era for all the shops going from the Filwood area:

> 'I'll tell you why they all disappeared. Maggie Thatcher's government. That's why they all disappeared; because she closed down so many…there were so many people unemployed. There was no funding in schools. Nowhere for the youth to go and drugs took a big hold.'

This resonates with accounts of taking power away from local government (*Chapter Three - section 3.2 Setting the Political Scene*) under the Thatcher years (1979-1991), when there was high unemployment, and much social unrest.

5.2.5 Regeneration policies and initiatives on the estate

From 1994 to 2002, the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) was the UK government's main regeneration fund intended to enhance the quality of life of local people in deprived areas. During this period, the SRB was the main regeneration fund in the UK. Sandy explained that SRB[146] policies came out of central government as a response to high unemployment and riots, during the Major years of the Conservative administration after Thatcher and before Blair. She described SRB as:

> '… the policy that came in after all the riots [in the early 1990s], the regeneration policies.'

[146] The Conservative government launched the Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund (SRB) in 1994, run by the then Department of the Environment with six annual rounds of funding across 1,000 schemes

However, the SRB funding system was seen by Sandy as being very 'top-down' in nature, almost paternalistic, with the funding available being 'siloed'. Indeed, by the end of the 1980s and the early 1990s, it became clear that it was extremely unlikely that there was going to be a step-change reduction in the problems facing many deprived areas in England 'unless a more holistic and joined-up approach was adopted' (Rhodes, et al., 2003: 1401). Sandy explained that she felt the way central government and the Council allocated money had not been in a way that matched how the community organised itself, in order for them to access funding:

> 'The top-down regeneration policies meant that everything was siloed and there was also this idea that the community needed to be sorted out, or the community was deficit or deficient and needed to be fixed.'

Potential funding however, Sandy said, were only available for very specific categories:

> '… for community safety, targeted money for young people, targeted money for health and wellbeing, it's silos of things where that's not people's experience.
>
> '…they were very siloed; they were around health, or they were around crime, or they were around young people.'
>
> '… the regeneration money was a nightmare to navigate and access, but that's what we did, because it was siloed. It was very siloed, and it was very, um, it doesn't come from the experience of the community. So, it's hard to get money…

In terms of how previous initiatives on the estate might relate to the work of KWF, the only policy work that was mentioned in meetings or interviews, other than when I met with Sandy, was the Knowle West Regeneration Strategy (KWRS). This work started in

September 2009 and most closely frames the neighbourhood planning work. (I will discuss this in more detail below in *section 5.2.5.1 - Knowle West Regeneration Framework and regeneration.*) Sandy explained some of the historical context:

> 'Historically there have been, before the Regeneration Framework, there've been lots of fiddling around, thinking about Knowle West as a deprived community that needed to have stuff done to it, to a move to think about well how do we do this *with* the community?
>
> 'But again, that was dependent on money coming in externally, and a kind of 'doing to' the community.'

5.2.5.1 Knowle West Regeneration Framework and regeneration

Sandy pointed out that when it came to KWF and neighbourhood planning back in 2013:

> 'What was going on at that time was a product, was a result of all the other policy things that had been going on and the experience of the community.'

The Knowle West Regeneration Framework (KWRF) was the most recent regeneration consultation and policy initiative work, she explained, which was undertaken by the Council, directly before the idea of neighbourhood planning came about. The KWRF initiative was described by Lawrence as:

> '… a decision in 2008 to "reconfigure Knowle West" – taken by the Council.'

Known as the Regeneration Framework by some, this was a plan for regeneration work planned to stretch over two decades and described by the Bristol Post newspaper as:

> '… the biggest and boldest facelift of a Bristol council housing estate since the Second World War'[147].

Published in October 2012, the KWRF was outlined in a Baseline Briefing from the Council which identified:

> '… the need for "economic and social restructuring of parts of Bristol and … [improvements to] transport and economic links between the economically successful and less successful parts of the sub-region" (subsection 3). The document promotes "investment in programmes for economic, physical and social regeneration, with an emphasis on encouraging development in the more disadvantaged areas, including south Bristol" (subsection 8).' (Bristol City Council, 2009: 18)

The KWRF was overseen and developed by the Knowle West Project Board[148], which included Bristol City Council officers, ward councillors, resident representatives, and the Home and Communities Agency[149]. They put forward five options to help modernise the area including new housing to be built over a 20-year period, known also as the 'Knowle West Vision 2030'[150]. In one of the options, more than 1,000 homes – mostly in a locale of houses called Inns Court – would be demolished to make way for 3,500 new

[147] More information available at: http://www.bristolpost.co.uk/residents-unconvinced-regeneration-plans/story-11245337-detail/story.html#RoOWx57q0uGHlxZ8.99 (Accessed 15 March 2017)
[148] More information available at: https://www.bristol.gov.uk/housing/knowle-west-regeneration-framework (Accessed 15 March 2017)
[149] This was the successor to the Housing Corporation, the non-departmental public body that funded new affordable housing and regulated housing associations in England. It was abolished in 2008 with its responsibilities being split between the Homes and Communities Agency and the Tenant Services Authority.
More information available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/housing-corporation (Accessed 15 March 2017)
[150] Bristol City Council. More information available at: https://www.bristol.gov.uk/housing/knowle-west-regeneration-framework (Accessed 15 March 2017)

ones. At one end of the scale was what was known as a 'do nothing' approach and at the other the knocking down of up to 1,000 homes, spending £1 billion on a raft of improvements. The Knowle West Residents' Planning Group (KWRPG - the group that preceded KWF) spent more than two years from 2010 putting together alternative ideas, with the assistance of pro bono work from Ferguson Mann Associates. The KWRPG produced their own plan proposing the building of 1,600 homes on what is referred to as 'in-fill sites', which would have saved 900 homes, minimising the demolition to around 100 properties. Known as Option Two, it was this plan put forward by residents themselves that proved to be the preferred option, during the public consultation organised by the Council.

Whereas the Council's preferred option had proposed thousands of new houses. They claimed this increase in the number of residents could have made a new shopping centre viable for the area, in terms of the increase in population density (as touched on in *Chapter One, section 1.3.1 – Some history of the Knowle West Estate*). Colin explained that no private developer could be persuaded to develop a supermarket in Filwood as things stood, with so few people living in the area, in terms of current resident numbers. That was why it was so difficult to provide good quality local services in areas with less housing density, the Council had told him: more local shops, buses and facilities would only work with enough people living in the immediate area to use them. It came across as if the Council was threatening residents with either accepting the status quo, re the lack of facilities (and their wish for a secondary school), or residents agreeing to thousands of new houses and the demolition of old housing stock - which would mean local people losing their homes; that or accept thousands of new houses on the local green space. The Knowle West Regeneration Project Board (KWPB) had said the same

about securing a secondary school for the area, that new housing and bringing in more residents to the area was vital to:

> 'Move Knowle West further towards getting its own secondary school by increasing the number of people living in the area.'[151]

The 13 objectives were collectively known as Vision 2030[152] (for the full list see Appendix L). This was the result of evidence collated by consultants from public consultation work that started in 2009, organised and paid for by the Council. Vision 2030 became something of a marketing, public-facing name for the regeneration plans in the Knowle West Regeneration Framework (KWRF)[153], approved by Bristol City Council's Cabinet in 2012, the year before KWF formed. This was part of the city-wide 'Site Allocations' consultation to decide land-use planning in Bristol for the next 20 years. Resonating with comments by Sandy about siloed initiatives in the past, Lawrence, then a member of the KWRPG (the residents planning group that preceded KWF), felt – unlike fragmented regeneration work of the past - the KWRF:

> '… for once brought together a number of relevant Council initiatives in one place, which we had been trying to get together.'

Sandy reflected on the significance of the KWRF / Vision 2030 consultation work with the community which she said had:

[151] More information available at: https://www.bristol.gov.uk/housing/knowle-west-regeneration-framework (Accessed 15 March 2017)
[152] More information available at: https://www.bristol.gov.uk/documents/20182/34012/KWRF%20Investment%20Principles%20Handout%202.pdf/781e0cd4-f559-4ae2-9ade-15e9b5948132a (Accessed 9 June 2020)
[153] More information available at: https://www.bristol.gov.uk/housing/knowle-west-regeneration-framework (Accessed 4 May 2021)

> '… taken a lot of energy and had taken a lot of time from a lot of people and that framework was always presented, by those who had been quite close to it, it was recognised that there wasn't going to be a load of money that came in to deliver this. But this was the framework which we could use as a community with the Council to really take things a step further when the money did become available.
>
> 'There were a lot of promises around money and that caused a lot of problems, particularly for I think some of the older members of the community who'd been around for a long time.'

Echoing the warnings of Jacobs (1961) and indeed KWF's town planning advisor (see the narrative scene in *section 6.2.1.1 - Narrative scene depicting KWF forum meetings*), Sandy criticised how the way the Council presented the KWRF. This had led to a sense of frustration about how things had not happened as the public had expected and eagerly anticipated. Indeed, Lawrence spoke of abject 'anger' over what he and others saw as the failed regeneration project:

> 'It was presented as a kind of grand plan for the neighbourhood with resources here, resources there, etc, you know, there'll be housing here, housing there; it was never going to be delivered as one fell swoop, it was going to be as developers came forward to develop it, or when the council got all the money.'

Many people felt disheartened about the KWRF regeneration work, which was largely seen by residents to have come to a grinding halt at the time of interviews. Sandy said, for example:

> ‘There had been promises about £40 million, I think it was something like that, a very big promise that was made, to regenerate the Broadway, that never came to anything.’

Work had started on a few projects, including the Filwood Green Business Centre. However, on what else had happened in terms of Vision 2020, Sandy laughed and said: ‘many would say not a lot really!’

Sandy could see that the KWRF was a positive initiative but considered a lot of energy was expended by the community in getting involved only to feel all the consultation work and community’s aspirations appeared to have come to nothing:

> ‘I think the 2012 Regeneration Plan was a really good attempt by everyone to try to do things collectively and co-design but the problem, the challenge was that there were all these consultations and all these designs and not a lot happened.’

Sandy gave some more context to the importance of the KWRF and how the public were left wanting, needing more infrastructure to support them let alone new people being encouraged to move into the area:

> ‘… there was at the time a lot of support for bringing new people into the community … But I think the main point that the community was trying to make was, and that’s why the regeneration plan [KWRF] was quite important, was we can see you’re going to build lots of houses here but that’s no good if we haven’t got great transport, more doctors, a school, really good parks. Where’s the facilities and the resources to support this?’

5.2.5.2 When and why KWF formed to make a neighbourhood plan

KWF formed in the spring of 2013, after the 2012 neighbourhood planning regulations came in *(see also Chapter One, section 1.2.3 – When, why, and how neighbourhood planning came about for Knowle West Future*), a decision by the existing residents' planning group, known as KWRPG. Lawrence felt residents active in the newly formed KWF saw neighbourhood planning as a way of 'looking to the future':

> '… just as the Regeneration Framework was being settled the group [KWF] started to look to the future – eg: what happens next.'

'Decisions being made by local people' was the main driver in the KWF group forming, Lawrence said. One of the driving forces to wanting to embrace neighbourhood planning in Knowle West was for the community to have more say and control over the direction of local planning decisions, in the sense that once a neighbourhood plan is approved by local referendum, it carries statutory force. Of particular concern to residents, Sandy said, was standards and ensuring high quality of new housing:

> 'There has been a history of pretty poor accommodation being built.'

A neighbourhood plan was seen by some forum members as a way to have a direct impact on some of the KWRF regeneration planning decisions. (This is detailed within a discussion on the entanglement of power relations and the regulatory impact of the KWRF in *Chapter Six, section 6.3.2.3 - Bristol City Council, the Knowle West Regeneration Project Board (KWRPB), and the local councillors*.) KWF had originally thought they

could impact regeneration work and the KWRF via a neighbourhood plan, the history of which was articulated by Sandy:

> 'I think KWF saw themselves as being that group who could do some more scrutiny… put detail and scrutiny on some of the developments.'

In turn, how the KWRF may have impacted the work of KWF is explained by Lawrence:

> 'The intention of the neighbourhood plan, in my mind, was not to override the Framework but to complement it – eg: provide more detail in some aspects – or alternatively come up with Design Codes.'

Sandy gives some interesting insight into how the former KWRF initiative impacted how and why the community wanted to make the most of the then new opportunity of neighbourhood planning. This policy initiative, she felt, was seen as a way to rebalance 'power relations', after years of feeling a loss of collective agency:

> 'I think there were people in the Council who were trying to involve the community, but the governance and the power relations were not equal. And this is always the problem. If it's the planners who make the decisions about what goes on in your community and you can't see if you have the power to change those decisions, then you don't have the power, do you?
>
> 'It was the City Council who paid for the consultants to do the Regeneration Framework, and they're holding quite a lot of the land as well, you don't feel like you have a lot of power, so how do we assert the power?'

In this respect neighbourhood planning was all about power for the community. Sandy felt the community desire for KWF to form and go for a neighbourhood plan was also an attempt to:

> '… put detail and scrutiny on some of the developments …'
>
> [coming out of the KWRF].

The experience with the KWRS consultation work and the way the Council consulted the community felt like local government held all the power, this is what Sandy, Lawrence, Michelle, and Colin were saying. Being part of KWF and neighbourhood planning was an attempt to change the relationship to one that was more equal and co-design policies with the community. Attracting a supermarket for the area was certainly one of the big issues for many local residents during the former KWRF consultation work, as outlined below. [NAME REDACTED] highlights below how a supermarket was of particular interest to the community at the outset of KWF's work in 2013, as mentioned in the following vignette:

'KWMC has agreed to take on responsibility to deliver the communications work. KWMC proposes to support the communications role for the forum. The communications strategy will include the development of a website, facilitating links with the Knowledge newsletter and ensuring a mix of digital and physical/text-based methods will be employed to engage the community in the forum's work and delivery relating to the (to be decided) priorities.

'The forum recognises that a key objective of their work is to engage with the wider community, ensuring the community are consulted and involved in decision-making relating to neighbourhood planning.

'A key factor is that a great deal of work has already been done by residents culminating in Bristol City Council's 20 Year Regeneration Framework document.

'There is a real appetite to take the work that has already been done and use this to achieve some lasting change in the community.

'A suggestion at the inaugural July meeting [KWANDF/KWF] was that in October there could be a facilitated session where forum members collectively decide which priorities, they will work on to try to achieve improvements in the area (a recurring demand is for a supermarket in the neighbourhood).'

(A composite from email conversations with [NAME REDACTED] *KWMC, August 2013)*

However, a 'facilitated session' to decide what KWF's priorities should be for a neighbourhood plan, from those 13 objectives within Vision 2030, as mentioned here by [NAME REDACTED] never took place. Instead, the KWF forum spent a year, but without the assistance of facilitators, deciding on what to focus on for the neighbourhood plan, during both working group and actual forum meetings. (See *Chapter Seven* section *7.6.1 - Feria and buying in expertise as resource* – for details.) Sandy highlighted the 'recurring demand for a supermarket in the neighbourhood' and Susan spoke of a long community history around this proposition:

> ‘The supermarket has been on the agenda [since] back in the ’80s. It was high on the agenda … this is why the community aren’t interested [in neighbourhood planning] because believe me they got…every meeting that was going and they were held in the various churches. They had them at Christ the King. They had them over at the community centre [Filwood]. They had them down at Inns Court and they were always well attended. But people got fed up because nothing came through.’

Colin also remarked on how the issue of the supermarket had knocked local people’s faith in the Council to deliver. Connecting to what was said above by [NAME REDACTED] - in *section 5.2.2 Societal changes: losing shops and a local supermarket)* Colin explained the complexity of the situations:

> ‘The point is, it was proposed that the supermarket would go on the bit of land by the side of the cinema and that once that was in, down at the bottom the swimming baths were there, and we knew those were coming out and we proposed a couple of houses could come along south and coming up and the rest of the ground would be for small businesses that could be built. So, nothing’s happened. Then the Council did another, paid for another, the Council got consultants to come in about the cost of the supermarket and that’s why it was decided there and Filwood Broadway was the best place, it was agreed. About a year or so ago it was agreed that another lot of consultants that specialised, not for supermarkets, for financial viability and they came in and looked at the whole estate and we told them about our plan [KWF] and they said having talked to businesspeople and to residents that Filwood Broadway was the best place to put

> a supermarket but on the site where the swimming baths were. Now that's possibly because the Metro bus is due to stop and that was given to the Council because we hadn't dealt with that at all, but when it was decided to have a supermarket up by the cinema … and by this time the recession had come in and nobody wanted to know about it. And what the residents are still saying - when they come up to me saying 'I thought you said this' - is that the supermarkets just don't want to come because it's not viable for them.'

The issue of the supermarket is one example of a protracted situation involving the Council, having been talked about for thirty plus years. This has contributed to a pervading mood of both apathy and political distrust amongst residents and local workers, who regularly spoke of having no faith in the political system. But, in terms of the entanglement of power relations connected to the work of KWF, neighbourhood planning, and KWRF, Sandy pointed out:

> 'There was lots of confusion about the Regeneration Board and who was on it and what powers it had.

However, Sandy said some local people reacted negatively to the KWRF as they:

> '… didn't feel that there was enough community representation on the Regeneration Board.'

Conversely, KWF did not feel the Regeneration Board supported their work. By the June of 2015 KWF had decided to give notice of voluntary closure[154] to the Council. When KWF notified the Council of their decision to voluntarily give-up the powers related to

[154] Under regulation 12 of the 2012 Neighbourhood Planning (General) Regulations

a Neighbourhood Planning Forum (NDF), they cited: 'Limited support from the Knowle West Regeneration Board for the work of the Forum'. Along with 'a lack of resources' and 'lack of enough responses' from the 'wider community including the councillors'. (See Appendix L.) Interestingly, Sandy (whilst she praised the local councillors) commented on the power relations and underlined the difficulties with central government prescribing co-operation and introducing models of co-design (through neighbourhood planning) but pointed out:

> '… it comes back to the issue of how do you get things done in a community that works with the electoral system?'

The entanglement of power relations is touched on here, with the councillors being important actors within the spatiality of power locally. With the tension being that creating a neighbourhood planning forum in KWF was an attempt for residents to initiate their own ideas, to take the lead through a more grass-roots approach, in an attempt to achieve power-*with* the Council. (Rather than just being *consulted* on the Council's plans.)

5.2.5.3 Housing and trust: tensions over regeneration, standards, and demolition

At the heart of this study is a low-density, sprawling housing estate of an estimated 5,500 households. When Knowle West was first built, local people saw the then Council housing stock as very much state of the art, according to both Colin and Simon. He recalled the nervousness and anticipation around his family having to be interviewed

before being permitted to move onto the estate, when the houses were brand new. Colin also recalled the excitement of moving into the new area vividly:

> 'When my Grandmother moved up here, I thought this was moving into a palace. I came in and it was an electric switch, and the light came straight on…and electric stove put in, gas water heater, there was a boiler in the kitchen with a pump and a pipe and pumped it into the bathroom, it was like coming into a palace [laughs], toilet indoors as well.'

However, things are not quite so well regarded now, as Rowena explained:

> '… angry residents trash their homes because they don't want to be there and … instead of making it a nice place where you do want to be.'

On the housing shortage (the waiting list for social housing is believed to be approx. 11,500 in Bristol[155]) Rowena said:

> 'On another occasion, we were asked by the tenant to evict her because she had a child and wasn't being able to find a council tenancy which would give her more stability and a large - because again it's a one-bedroom flat again – and we had to explain to her that the council wouldn't really support her until she was stood on the doorstep with her belongings around her. We were happy to give her notice on her tenancy saying that we needed to do repairs, which wasn't inaccurate; it's much easier to do repairs once the tenant's not present, but that

[155]Freedom of Information (FOI) requests reported in the Bristol Post. More information available at: https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/true-extent-bristols-housing-crisis-1573863 (Accessed 9 June 2020)

> still … they would only offer a hostel place for the baby. There's not a lot of support out there.'

Rowena spoke of a lack of trust in the system, especially around housing:

> 'And they'll [the City Council] do what they did in Inns Court they'll build the smallest you can, they'll cram it as high as you can with the minimum design requirement and then wonder why they have problems.'

The reference to Inns Court is the housing development work that was part of a 20-year Council-led plan to develop new housing in the area. It was an attempt to modernise some of the housing stock, touched on above in *section 5.2.5.1 - Knowle West Regeneration Framework (KWRF) and regeneration.* The residents over-turned the Council's preferred option for house building back in the KWRF consultation period may have caused political tension, as citizens who feel most empowered can be seen as the most difficult for councils (Francis, 2018): '…at least where empowerment is expressed through campaigning and exposing apparent service and system failures. Embracing those residents as an asset, rather than fending them off as a liability… '[156]

KWRPG, and then KWF as the successor organisation, may have been perceived as a barrier to housing development. Sandy spoke of power relations over this issue and expressed that the community felt local land was being exploited:

> '… there are real challenges with the community being exploited actually, and not getting its share of resources.

[156] https://traverse.ltd/recent-work/blogs/council-future-making-all-us-designers

> ‘It’s exploiting the land and there’s no value comes back to the community. I mean, we’re all for there being some development, but if the money stays in the community. Land banking is going on a lot, people sitting on land and waiting for the value to go up.’

As we saw in *Chapter Three*, the literature indicates (DCLG, 2012, 2015, Bradley and Sparling, 2016; Brownill and Bradley, 2017) neighbourhood planning is about growth, but whose economic growth, private developers, or the people of Knowle West?

5.2.6 Fears around losing green space and stalled regeneration work

The local improvements promised through the KWRF and Vision 2030 plans for the area included a supermarket, better transport systems, as well as new homes and community facilities, along with more shops, but by the time KWF formed residents were frustrated with stalled promises and not enough tangible improvement to key facilities:

> ‘There has been money spent in the community, quite a lot of money spent in the community, but probably you would look at that and you’d say, and what did that achieve? Things like the Broadway shops in my lifetime here have been redone about three times, but they’re in desperate need, Broadway, in general,’ Sandy explained.

Lawrence was very downhearted about the whole situation:

> ‘…nothing ever changes. The City Council could have done so much more.’

In keeping with local residents’ priorities, as expressed in the promised Vision 2030 improvements, would have been two new activity parks (and five new play spaces), but

whilst Patrick expressed securing a park on the Western Slopes as a priority, he said the Council wanted the land for housing. Local people had also expressed in the Vision 2030 outcomes an aspiration to develop an urban forest (including orchards and 'edible street trees'), but nervousness was evident within KWF around how this land might end up being used. Lawrence spoke at length about dealing with the Council and his fears over losing green space on the Northern Slopes to new housing development. Demonstrating the emotion work involved, Lawrence said:

> 'It's a fight, it's just a fight… we're running up for it, we know we're going to have a real fight against the housing developer taking more of the Slopes.'

Lawrence felt the community was going to be ignored. He did not trust the Council to protect the land and make good the promises of the Vision 2030 improvements. This speaks to the relational complexity of entanglements around social and power relations in localism KWF had to negotiate. Given what we saw in *Chapter Two* about the complex nature of neighbourhood (discussed in more detail in the following *Chapter Six, section - 6.2.2 - The spatiality of power and community engagement*) there is also a political tension described here. The Council needed land to deal with citywide housing shortages, while some local residents wanted to protect areas of natural beauty surrounding the estate, whilst there were also local people needed housing. Lawrence mentioned this dilemma:

> 'Because Northern Slopes [Initiative], we've been under huge pressure to keep all green spaces and then people are ringing us saying, sorry guys, we need houses, I need a house, why are you hanging on to the green space? And those tensions are always going to be around. But if the forum can pull the trick off hopefully,

we'll get a better situation from the community viewpoint as well as developers and the City Council.'

Neighbourhood planning work seemed to require KWF to act in an altruistic way, whilst listening to demands from those residents looking out for their own self-interest, needing to balance what is best for certain individuals with that of the community as a whole. This embodied elements as discussed in *Chapter Two* of both calculative and values-based perspectives of trust, known as the realist perspective of trust (Thomson et al., 2009; Rousseau, et al., 1998). It was certainly a complex situation for a group of volunteers to navigate, without the professional training the local government housing officers and planners might have, for example.

5.2.7 Feeling cut-off and losing bus services

Public transport comes up often as a negative issue for the area in the data, which is also reflected in the Vision 2030 objectives, particularly around more bus routes to neighbourhood centres. Patrick and Colin spoke of a sense of geographic and social isolation due to cuts in public transport. Patrick lamented the changes since buses were privatised, in terms of there now being less connectivity. When talking about the Western Slopes area, he said: 'there should be a better bus service, because Novers seems to have been cut off.' He claimed that by car, a certain journey could be no more than ten minutes, but if using local buses, the same journey could take anything from two or three hours:

'We could catch a bus from here. The 4 and the 4A. The 4A used to go Creswicke, through Newquay Road, Ilminster and come into Melvin Square. The 4 used to

come from Melvin Square straight down here and stop outside of Inns Court. That was both buses that used to stop outside there, so the best bet was to walk up to there from where we live, and you would get either bus, or Melvin Square, and you could get either bus. Those used to go all the way up to Frenchay Hospital, whereas if you want to do that same trip now, you've got to take two buses.'

Susan pointed out that as no buses go to Filwood Broadway she considered public transport to be 'a stumbling block' to hopes for regeneration plans for the area, referring to the main hub in Knowle West around Filwood Broadway as being 'a bit of a dead end'. Supermarkets are only reachable by car, Susan explained this meant that:

'… a lot of elderly will use the bus service down to Bedminster because it's on a bus, straight outside Asda.'

Colin spoke of social inclusion issues for older people without cars and explained how the conurbation of Knowle West was affected by poor public transport and the need to leave the estate to buy fresh food:

'… just across the road, Symes Avenue, you've got Morrisons, you've got Lidl's the other end, near Bishopsworth, now the firm's taken over Imperial Park and they, is it Lidl's, or Asda or…[pause] Aldi. And they're hoping to build a store just on the outside of there. And you've got Asda across in Hengrove and you've got homes there and all we're told is 'well people have got those stores they can go there' but not everybody's got cars, the buses aren't always direct, and people

have to finish off going downtown, particularly the older people, they've got to push a trolley around to get round and use a bus, they don't have cars.'

As well as the social exclusion issues around shopping, the Knowle West area suffers from poor connectivity in terms of employment opportunities and socio-economic factors relating to unemployment.

5.3 Loss and disappointment bring anger and a lack of political trust

The sense of loss around local assets and facilities has contributed to a low level of political trust and the local Council receives much of the blame. Susan said about the stalled regeneration in Filwood:

'I think the Council's been very, very unfair in not doing something with the Broadway because that makes the area very... It looks deprived.'

Whilst Sandy pointed out there had been investment locally, her voice was a lone one:

'So SRB policy is really a precursor of the things, the money that was available to this community, and a lot of very positive things did happen with that money but it's quite hard for people to see that.'

There is a real sense from all the other interview data, particularly from three of the most active KWF members - the Lawrence, Colin and Susan - of a lack of trust in the Council and feeling neglected by the two local Filwood councillors. [NAME REDACTED] spoke poorly of the councillors:

'I don't think they've done anything really.'

Right from the beginning, when the former KWRPG decided to reconfigure and set up as a neighbourhood planning forum (the membership of KWF being largely the same group of residents who had made up KWRPG) the residents experienced outright opposition from the local councillors, according to [NAME REDACTED] who explained:

> '… for a couple of months, we were in a number of conversations with councillors and in the end, they withdrew their objection and we went through, but with a reduced area involved, because a number of councillors did not want us interfering with regeneration proposals.'

Lawrence explained there was opposition to neighbourhood planning from the local councillors at the outset:

> 'There was a lot of resistance from councillors.'

Trust surfaces as an issue, around residents taking more of a lead on community-led planning surfaces as an issue and a tension within the power dynamics between the Council and residents. [NAME REDACTED] describes having read something in the early stages of neighbourhood planning that indicated that councillors needed to be wary of neighbourhood planning groups. [NAME REDACTED] said:

> 'You could argue that the regeneration board felt that we were competition… there was a piece of guidance from the national association for councillors and it basically said: you need to keep an eye on the bastards.'

Lawrence described there being: 'controversy about having the whole thing' and he spoke at length about the political tension between the community group KWF wanting to participate in neighbourhood planning and the elected representatives:

> '… we didn't talk to the councillors first because I think the view was that the councillors weren't really talking to us, so they objected to the group being set-up.'

This suggests a lack of trust on both sides, from the councillors in not wanting to work with KWF, which in turn contributed to a sense of political disconnection felt by the KWF members interviewed concerning the councillors. However, Sandy felt very differently about the councillors. She said they had 'always been very committed to getting the best for the community.' Nonetheless, a general feeling within the group of repeated historically unsatisfactory interactions with the Council/councillors appeared to have led to an environment of mistrust. Far from collaborative notions around working together in neighbourhood planning, a 'them and us' situation had evolved. Lawrence posits:

> 'There were parts of the community that thought it [the neighbourhood planning forum] was a threat. And I think that's one of the problems. The neighbourhood plan was a threat and I think that's where some of the councillors were coming from.'

Despite KWF apparently reaching out to the two local councillors and constituency MP, seeking their involvement with the neighbourhood planning work, apparently none of them responded to letters. There was no visible support at any of the various public engagement events in 2014 or 2015. On reaching out to the local MP [NAME REDACTED] said:

> '… just never responded. Same as the councillors. Whether we were competition or getting in the way, I just don't know, but we were definitely trying not to step on people's feet.'

[NAME REDACTED] put it like this:

> 'The lack of political support, the lack of support from the regeneration board was a wasted opportunity.'

Indeed, Lawrence spoke about: 'bitterness about what happened.' This anger and absence of trust in the councillors did not bode well for future partnership work, as envisioned by the legislation and the 'duty to support', as prescribed in the Localism Act (2011). Given the councillors apparent refusal to engage, this would have also impacted associated opportunities to work in partnership with others, in terms of social networks directly connected with the elected representatives for the area. Networks, being of importance as they could connect people within Knowle West (for example other local residents, private businesses, the public sector, local or central government) to combine resources to solve problems. Not having councillors involved with KWF also appeared to impact a sense of having an inside track into local planning, an understanding of how things worked at a local governance level. [NAME REDACTED] remarked on this, specifically about not knowing how to hold the Council to account, to make good on the KWRF and the Vision 2030 plans concerning regeneration:

> '… when you see councillors anytime you say…' oh yeah, we're looking into that'… I mean [sighs deeply] … unless you are at a Council meeting you don't know what's happening, do you?'

This lack of know-how of the system could have been compensated for by the councillors being involved, filling a gap in expertise. What is articulated is a sense of a lack of agency, about knowing how to hold the Council to account which speaks to a social exclusion narrative around loss and trust. This frustration has led to anger, with Lawrence explaining that since KWF folded there is: '… a new "generation" of people':

> '… now involved in the Regeneration Framework and are asking angry questions about the "cock-up/disaster/travesty" which is the Regeneration Framework.'

5.3.1 Community context, apathy, and a loss of agency

A sense of powerlessness is expressed by KWF members, diametrically opposite to the notion of relational power - as described in *Chapter Two* – and the empowerment that the government promised, as outlined in *Chapter Three*. This indicates how power is often maintained by state agencies, whatever the surrounding government rhetoric (Jupp, 2008). Neighbourhood planning supposedly offered the opportunity for KWF to create *power-with* the Council within an entanglement of local power relations (as discussed in the following *Chapter Six*). Instead, a scenario emerges - through the eyes of some of the KWF members involved - of rather than working in collaboration *with* local residents, they felt the Council exerted *power-over* the community in terms of their style of the KWRF planning consultation work. Rather than the residents feeling that they were equal partners with the Council, Lawrence explained:

> 'For instance, if you looked at the way the residents' planning group [KWRPG] dealt with the City Council consultants, they were always very critical because the model was that the consultant did it *to* us for the Council.'

There is a raw sense of a distinct loss of agency evident around local decision-making and power, that instead of working in partnership with the Council, the community felt 'done to'. [NAME REDACTED] explained:

> 'That's the predominant narrative from when I arrived in the 90s, was that this was a community that needed fixing, and the paternalistic kind of view of the City Council was that it was going to fix it through choosing the kind of investments. The idea of co-creating our communities is only, I think, gaining some traction now. '

In terms of local democracy, a picture is painted of many local residents' perception that the Council was not really working in the interests of local people. Nor was local governance and planning something many of the KWF members fully understood. In terms of how to make the system work for them, how to lobby and hold the councillors and local government officers to account. On not knowing how to get the Council to make good their promises on regeneration, the [NAME REDACTED] appeared totally perplexed by the lack of action re the regeneration plans at a Council level:

> '… only if there was a way to get the Council to get their finger out. I wasn't aware how to do that…'

An excerpt from an interview with Michelle demonstrates a sense of frustration of not knowing how the system of local governance and planning works when I asked how that might change:

> 'Probably if somebody who's been doing this kind of thing for years got a job in planning in the council, almost like then… or vice versa… because you kind of…

> to make big changes like that, you kind of need to really understand how both sides work and obviously I really only understand ten percent of central city government stuff and mostly about community, but I just know that there is… like things can always be done in a better way because things can always be reworked.'

It seemed that neighbourhood planning was in the end too much for novice volunteers. As well as distinct lack of faith in the councillors and Council being articulated, wide-scale apathy is remarked upon in KWF forum meetings, interviews, anecdotally during my time of the community placement, in conversations with local workers and members of the public, in the questionnaire work in the street and at community meetings. This is against a backdrop of low turn-out in elections, particularly the referendum linked to the Localism Act 2011, regarding an elected city mayor for Bristol, where turn-out was just 10% in the Filwood Ward, the lowest citizen engagement rate in the election in the whole of Bristol. Self-confidence about one's capability to understand politics is known to have a strong effect on all forms of political participation (Hooghe and Marien, 2013), including voting and volunteerism. With social exclusion being defined as multi-dimensional, not just an economic dynamic, with forms of exclusion combining and can include low participation in political processes and decision-making (Madanipour, 1998) Indeed, John described a local 'apathy' which he felt was one of the area's biggest problems, not just with voting but in terms of persuading people to volunteer and get behind community projects like KWF to make a neighbourhood plan.

Rowena used the same phrasing and said:

> ‘There’s a massive amount of apathy here. And they’re not incorrect. They’re not, that’s the thing. Whatever they vote, they’re probably right, there’ll be very little impact on their day-to-day living.’

This is set against a narrative of a history of perceived unfulfilled promises from the City Council. Ursula, who was in her forties, also spoke of the disillusionment felt over things not happening as promised by the Council, remarking:

> ‘This regeneration seems to have been going on since I was bloody born!’

Residents expressed a feeling that the Council was not working in the best interests of Knowle West. What comes across is a political disconnect contributing not only to a lack of trust in the Council but also to a weak sense of political agency, a sense of residents feeling distant and removed from the model of representative democracy. Colin said that when he challenged the local councillors about the slowness around regeneration work, they blamed funding issues for the lack of progress:

> ‘It’s the Council. They don’t have the money. Every time: “We don’t have the money.” … And each time the councillors say, “we don’t have the money, we don’t have the money”, but they can spend it elsewhere… it’s always somewhere else. When is it going to be here? And you can understand why residents lose interest in these meetings.’ *[reference to attending KWF neighbourhood planning meetings]*

Colin highlights the impact delays have had on residents losing faith in community projects like KWF. [NAME REDACTED] also explained that the delays to the

regeneration plans meant there was a sense of 'chaos' in terms of uncertainty for communities and third sector organisations:

> 'There is no timeframe, which is frustrating from a managing sort of the chaos point of view…we're based in a lot of units which will be demolished when the regeneration occurs. This whole side of the street is earmarked for demolition…it costs us a fortune to maintain the flats [above the shops on Filwood Broadway]. There's problems with the roofs, there's problems with … we've had to replace pretty much all the windows…the shops leak water and smell of sewage because the draining systems weren't sorted out after World War Two.'

Whilst the word 'apathy' comes up in the data, about the local population in relation attitudes toward volunteering, civic life, and political engagement, what appears to be articulated is a disconnect with the political system. This is expressed as a distinct lack of trust in the Council delivering changes for the better for Knowle West, which seems very much tied to community histories around loss and feeling neglected and a motivating factor in the KWF members wanting to be involved in neighbourhood planning. Sandy wanted to point out, however:

> 'There's been some really notable exceptions to that. I'd say actually us managing to get the Media Centre [KWMC] built, and the Filwood Green Business Park.'

5.3.2 Emotional geographies and the marginalised voice

As discussed in *Chapter Two*, not all residents of any given neighbourhood will share an identity or common understanding of that place (Jupp, 2013; Bradley, 2015) nonetheless there will be emotional experiences of place (Davidson et al., 2005; Jupp, 2008). For example, it appeared that the area of Filwood Park particularly aroused real feelings of frustration and even despair at times, particularly for Colin, Susan, and Rowena, which seems to demonstrate a feeling of abandonment of the estate by the local authority. What also comes across in the data is a sense of deep disappointment and frustration expressed by some KWF members at their own perceived failure to halt this process of decline, through community activism such as the efforts through KWF. Bitterness and regret come across in some of the data. In this sense, I argue that neighbourhoods have emotional geographies (Davidson et al., 2005; Jupp 2013):

> ' … a sense of emotional involvement with people and places, rather than emotional detachment from them …' (Davidson et al., 2005: 2)

Emotional dynamics that might play a part in linking individual identities to place include feelings of 'affiliation' and 'belonging'. Indeed, experiences of living somewhere 'deprived' - in reputational and experiential socio-economic terms - can lead to ambivalent feelings around both belonging and marginalisation (Jupp, 2013). This was very evident in the interview data from Michelle and Susan, for example, having lived in Knowle West their whole lives, who felt a strong sense of belonging, but also considered the area to be stigmatised, as will be presented in the findings chapters. Interestingly, when it comes to emotional geographies of deprivation and neighbourhood policy, third sector workers and residents are known to have learned to think of and describe their neighbourhoods in the abstract as 'deprived' (Jupp, 2007: 9),

in a pragmatic sense, so as to secure investment, essentially using a regeneration policy discourse (Hastings, 1998).

However, labels of deprivation can lead to places being stigmatised, which has been shown to have negative impacts on residents' lives (Jupp, 2013). It can impact their sense of place and feelings toward their home having a negative reputation. For example, one person in the course of my fieldwork mentioned not putting Knowle West on their CV in order to not be stigmatised in job application selection. Thinking about place as the felt experiences of social life (Jupp, 2013), neighbourhood planning can be argued to be relational, 'feeling work' (Gunaratnam and Lewis, 2001; Hunter, 2012) connecting the individual and the social (Harding and Pribram, 2002). In this thesis I draw together different kinds of meanings and emotions associated with the neighbourhood of Knowle West to draw attention to feelings about space and place, to illuminate the emotional dynamics and fragility surrounding policy interventions in neighbourhoods (Jupp, 2013). Placing the experiences of individual actors at the forefront of analysis by way of but choosing a research design that means their comments guide the emerging themes and over-riding concepts of power, trust and loss that dominate the thesis.

This element of emotion in this thesis allows for an understanding of place as not having a fixed quality (Massey, 2005) but rather representing:

> '… constellations of feelings, resources, potentialities and constraints …' (Jupp, 2013: 533)

Indeed, Massey talks of a 'constellation of relations' (1993: 66) which aids an appreciation of the relational (Padley, 2013; Jupp, 2013) nature of space. This metaphoric

visualisation aids an understanding of the scattered social relations of power to be considered in the enactment of the policy of neighbourhood planning, framed in this thesis's theoretical framework more of an entanglement of power, as first introduced in *Chapter Two*. This is explored in *Chapter Six* around the social processes of place in neighbourhood planning which include a multitude of personal, political and business relationships, all of which bring personal histories and biographies (Hunter, 2012). The emotional dynamics will include a range of relationships within wider governance structures (Jupp, 2012), from the KWF itself, to the local governance at the Bristol City Council level, then with central government and the various departments, such as Whitehall's Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG). The relationality emphasised in this thesis includes complex 'emotional geographies of place' (Jupp, 2013: 532) expressed as feelings around trust and loss, agency and empowerment, deprivation and belonging, as presented in the data findings chapters.

5.4 Austerity, young people, and loss

When KWF officially launched in 2014, questionnaire work conducted in the street revealed 'things for young people to do' as the key priority need as expressed by the public, from what 160 local respondents told myself and KWF members. Indeed, issues around young people came up in much of the data and particularly a lack of things for children and teenagers to do. This echoed the community aspirations for the Vision 2030 objectives from 2012, to:

> 'Develop play and youth facilities by planning with young people • Provide a range of indoor and outdoor play facilities within walking distance • Provide a

range of facilities for young people developed, with them, and in walking distance to homes.'

However, austerity measures were said to have reduced the opportunities available to local young people, including acquiring support from universal youth work services and through the charitable sector. The Council needs to make a further £108m in cuts by April 2023 due to further projected reductions in government funding. Community services have suffered as a consequence, such as local government-funded youth clubs having been axed, also losing the local Neighbourhood Partnership[157]. In 2017, the Council ended its financial support for Neighbourhood Partnerships which meant that particular route to securing local grants was lost (more on fundraising in *Chapter Six* and *Seven).* KWF members lamented losing community outreach workers who were once located on the estate and based in Filwood, but since the austerity agenda, the associated local government cuts in 2014 led to them being taken away from the area.

In contrast, Ursula spoke about what sort of activities used to be available for young people locally:

'I can only draw on what happened to me when I was young. It was Brownies and Guides, Scouts for me brother. We went through from young age – seven, eight – right up to Venture Scouts. Youth clubs. I used to be part of the Scout group down – you know the roundabout, bottom of this road? Straight across on the right-hand side there's a little weird bank of houses, sort of a house circle, just before you get to the school. On that land, where the houses are, used to be a

[157] Bristol City Council: Neighbourhood Partnerships are about decision-making between local people, elected councillors, community groups and service providers and getting things done at a local level.

scout hut there and a church and it used to be there. I know when they pulled that building down – bastards, sorry – the Scout group moved to the Mead or Inns Court Centre, whatever it's called now. I don't know if they're still there. There used to be a Scout group at St Barnabas Church, or opposite in the park, but it was St Barnabas troop. But again, I don't know if they're there and if they are, they're certainly not widely advertised.

I asked her more: 'You said youth clubs. They used to have them, or you just think there should be?'

Ursula: 'They used to have one – I say used to; I don't think it's there anymore, I'm not sure – but one at Broad Plain. That's where we used to go.'

Interviewer (INT): Was it any good?

Ursula: 'Brilliant.'

INT: Where was that?

Ursula: 'Broad Plain, opposite the police station.'

INT: What was brilliant about it?

Ursula: 'It wasn't so much the stuff they did – which was a lot of different stuff – but it was just – how can I explain it? – instead of sitting in front of the telly you can go out, and even if you just sat down in the corner – which I did often, 'cause believe it or not I was quite shy when I was young – and didn't chat to anyone all night, you were out and you were part of something. Again, it brought the respect for rules and your

elders 'cause you knew if you broke the rules you wouldn't be allowed back. So, you behaved yourself 'cause you wanted to come back.'

Colin reflected on how local businesses, as well as churches, had once funded/coordinated youth support activities:

> 'Well, look, Broadplain closed it cos they couldn't afford it. Cos years ago, firms that went, but we're talking about the '20s and '30s, firms used to put money into different groups, you know. Broadplain was run by Hebron Chapel in Broadmead, that was run that way. And, erm, they were funded by businesspeople. Barton Camp is still going, that was funded by them. Hebron Chapel bought the small hall, for residents who moved into the area from Marksbury Road; there was nothing, facilities, for them, so Hebron Chapel paid for Broadplain House and for the those that run it, that was built in 1939, war broke out, but they managed to finish it in the early 40's cos it was interior work and that's when that opened and back then on that issue Hebron Chapel closed some years back now and they passed everything over to Redland Church, and then Redland Church was taking the money to pay for somebody, club leader over there, and the volunteers, and the final straw finished… then Youth Moves took over and two nights a week was all they were doing, was taking around a billiard table and computers, but then they turned round and said 'oh all the fire extinguishers had to be paid for and repaired, we can't afford it' and they stopped and that was the end of Youth Moves, there.'

This account of things to do for youngsters is in stark contrast to the perceived lack of available activities for young people in the Knowle West area nowadays. Young people hanging out on the streets now came up as an issue in the interviews and Ursula said:

> 'We never hung out on streets. I know it was a different age of two, three generations back, but we didn't play on the streets. If we went out to play with our mates it was in a mate's back garden, or the parents took us somewhere. Now all the kids seem to do is just hang about.'

Ursula said, 'every time I leave the house, I see gangs of kids everywhere' and she felt there was a break-down of respect for elders:

> 'The parents are getting younger and younger and younger. They're kids when they're having kids, and then their kids are kids when they're having kids. This is gonna sound really bad, it really is, but I feel there aren't any morals and ethics anymore. I'm not talking about marriage before kids or anything like that. I'm talking about respect for your elders. You have a kid and you raise it correctly. You raise it to respect your elders and be thoughtful to other people. There just doesn't seem to be any of that anymore. It's quite disheartening.'

Including these excerpts, describing how there was once so much for young people to do in the past, with the involvement of the church and business in that provision, and how the estate was once experienced by Ursula reflecting on her childhood. It seemed important to include the detail above as a contrast with the modern-day sense of scarcity and loss around things for children and young people to do.

5.5 Conclusions

Much of the data reflects a poignant sense of loss, mixed with a sense of sentimentality for the past, also a palpable sense of residents feeling neglected by the Council, local politicians, and business. Poor public transport links are a bitter source of complaint and limited bus services and connectivity add to a feeling of being cut off from the rest of the city and amenities. Other losses mentioned include churches, along with losing the community outreach and social activities associated with those parishes. The data illuminate multiple marginalities in terms of social exclusion, with local residents expressing a feeling of separation from the rest of the city, in terms of social, economic, spatial, and political barriers. The impact of intersecting inequalities around social infrastructure and lack of social meeting places and leisure opportunities demonstrates how structural inequalities can both generate and compound loss, as well as weaken or erode a sense of agency and both relational trust and political trust.

Whilst this chapter articulates many elements of loss within the community of Knowle West what is illuminated is the difficulties of implementing neighbourhood planning, given the policy depends on having trusting working relationships with each other, the Council and within social networks, overlapping communities. This overall sense of loss appears to be a motivator for KWF volunteers in their involvement in neighbourhood planning and wanting to see positive change in their community, but decades of losses to social infrastructure and facilities have had an impact on the ability of residents to know each other, to come together socially and to build relational trust, while stalled regeneration plans have contributed to low political trust within the community.

In terms of power dynamics with local government, the data tells an account of a sense within this group of community activists feeling 'done to' by the Council. KWF members conveyed a sense of disconnect with the City Council. This was an agency issue, not always knowing exactly how local government worked, in terms of being able to influence the direction of regeneration and local planning. In this sense, members of KWF hoped for neighbourhood planning to be a vehicle to affect change. A neighbourhood plan, then, was seen as a way of residents engaging within the entanglement of power relations surrounding regeneration plans and local planning, discussed in more detail in the following *Chapter Six*. Interestingly, whilst there was clear antagonism felt toward the Council and residents expressed feeling let down by the local councillors, only one person ever mentioned the absence of the local MP, but no one ever mentioned the huge central government cuts since 2010 (as outlined in *Chapter Three*).

CHAPTER SIX – REGULATING FOR ENGAGEMENT?

6.1 Introduction

6.2 Relational elements - how KWF organised and regulated themselves

6.2.1 Introducing how the forum regulated themselves

6.2.1.1 Narrative scene depicting KWF forum meetings

6.2.2 The spatiality of power and community engagement

6.2.3 Trust and loss and the spatiality of power

6.2.3.1 Related issues of trust within the group and outside the group

6.2.4 Power dynamics and user experiences of the KWF forum

6.2.4.1 Impact of the working approach in KWF and how personality was a block within KWF

6.2.4.2 Overly bureaucratic forum meetings and a lack of decision-making

6.3 Regulation for engagement – enabling power with others?

6.3.1 Regulatory Episode One: How the (legal) regulatory framework impacted the work of KWF

6.3.1.1 The regulatory impact of funding

6.3.1.2 Procedural compliance

6.3.1.3 Power-over - complex legal, external regulatory factors and 'strict rules'

6.3.2 Regulatory Episode Two: The entanglement of power in relation to the State, the Council, and KWF

6.3.2.1 The Council and a 'duty to support'

6.3.2.2 Bristol City Council to offer 'professional advice and assistance'

6.3.2.3 Bristol City Council, the Knowle West Regeneration Project Board (KWRPB) and the local councillors

6.4 Conclusive comments

6.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this chapter is to explore the regulatory influences of the multi-layers of legal regulatory systems, as outlined within *Chapter Three,* emanating from the primary legislation of the Localism Act 2011 and associated 2012 neighbourhood planning regulations[158] - known as 'the 2012 regulations' - stemming from the Act. (*More details are in Chapter Three, section 3.3.1 - The Act and Neighbourhood Planning*.) This is referred to in this chapter and the next as 'the legal regulation' (and in the conclusions *Chapter Eight*). This is said to invite co-operation through people-centred, collaborative planning and as such offers a means of re-enchanting democracy (Healey, 2012). Much of the literature describes what neighbourhood planning *is* - either in theory, according to government edict, or for those actually engaged in plan-making (see Parker et al., 2015), whereas this thesis is dealing with a neighbourhood planning group that did *not* reach the plan-making stage. In light of that, these findings aid an understanding as to why neighbourhood planning might not have become fully operational as a policy in Knowle West.

This thesis draws on understandings developed during the course of my work with KWF, as well as interview data. It is also directly influenced by my involvement with the Productive Margins programme of research that drew on the experiences and expertise of communities, in order to re-imagine regulatory systems and practices (McDermont, 2019; McDermont et al., 2020) and bring those normally excluded from decision-making to centre stage. This empirical data chapter looks at that distinction: the regulation *of*

[158] The Neighbourhood Planning (General) Regulations 2012 ("the 2012 Regulations") make provision in relation to that regime.

neighbourhood planning (with KWF as a regulated site of co-production) and the regulation *by* that process of co-production (Innes et al., 2018), in terms of how KWF regulated itself. From how they organised themselves (how the group regulated itself), in terms of meetings and the division of work, to how the group reported to its members and the Council.

In this way, this thesis highlights some of the 'soft' and 'interactive' (Innes et al., 2018: 20) forms of regulatory aspects of how KWF as a group self-regulated and organised the 'regulatory space' (Hancher and Moran, 1989: 272) that was the KWF forum. The power relations at play in collaborative work of this nature, at stake in that regulatory space, are defined as an entanglement (Kesby, 2005; 2007) of interdependent relationships, between the state, local government, a range of non-state community organisations, and exchanges between individual residents and workers, linked through social networks and in some cases third sector organisations (Lange, 2003), such as KWMC. KWF is presented here as a body that regulates, or seeks to regulate, others (its members, councillors, Council Committees) and is also regulated by, for example, the legal regulation, the Council and other forms of local governance.

Neighbourhood planning is a regulatory system that appears to decentre decision-making. This chapter aims to explore the relational elements arising from the legal regulation, in terms of how the policy might impact relationships, between the Council and local people, and also between the group of volunteers themselves and with other community organisations. These empirical findings show how the legal regulation was experienced by the group of volunteers in KWF. The data herein reflects how the group regulated themselves, how they met as a group, when and where, as well as reflecting

the regulatory impact of the local authority – the regulation *of* KWF - and other actors in the collaborative endeavour. This enables a closer examination of what happened when the policy of neighbourhood planning was attempted to be enacted in Knowle West, in the sense of examining how the legal regulation was experienced by the 'users' (Parker et al., 2015: 519) of the policy of neighbourhood planning.

This chapter also aims to act as a framing for the thesis, to tell a version of the story of KWF, to give the reader a sense of what happened and what it was like to be part of the process. I outline briefly below how the group organised themselves (i.e. how the group regulated itself) in the context of multiple, external layers of legal regulation. In this way, how they regulated themselves as a group is examined, plus regulatory influences such as funding are also explored. This enables an examination of the impact those choices might have had on work outputs and chances of success (to make a neighbourhood plan).

6.2 Relational elements - how KWF organised and regulated themselves

The next section looks at how the KWF group regulated themselves, how they organised as a neighbourhood planning forum, with a formal constitution – *see Appendix E* – and elected officers. They held monthly forum meetings, as well as six working group meetings. I set out some brief detail on how the group went about organising themselves – framed as regulation *by* KWF – and then the user experiences of members in their journey to attempt to produce a neighbourhood plan, with comments on how that organisation was experienced by KWF members, including aspects around the power dynamics at play.

6.2.1 Introducing how the forum regulated themselves

What follows is a version of the story of KWF, how it regulated itself and how it absorbed, integrated, or indeed ignored (whether knowingly or otherwise) the legal regulation pertaining to neighbourhood planning within its working practices. The device of a narrative scene (Merryfield, 1990) is used to attempt to convey what being in the forum meetings might feel like. This is an attempt to add an element of story in an uninterrupted format, using information in brackets to allow the reader to be more informed of the context. This story is designed to illuminate the textual themes embedded in the experience of being at a forum meeting. This is a composite from field notes, reflecting on my experience of being in the group for 20-months, also drawing on comments from members from interviews about their reflections of the forum meetings and the steering group, as well as analysis of the formal minutes of the forum meetings. In essence, it is a piece of narrative, being told by myself, having been an active participant observer in the group and others who took part in KWF.

To make this narrative scene as accurate as possible themes are drawn from field notes from forum meetings, particularly the 6th and 17th forum meetings (14.01.14 and 03.02.15). What is particularly striking is that whilst over a year apart, the group had not made any perceivable progress in that time, in terms of not having a draft plan (despite 2015 being their planned target for producing a plan), nor on the core issue of choosing an approach to their proposal to redesign Melvin Square.

6.2.1.1 Narrative Scene on KWF forum meeting

Attendees referenced: KWF members and advisors

KWF members: Lawrence, Colin, John, Candy, Bill, Rob, Cindy, Susan, Derek, Cala, Michelle, Sandy, Amanda, Rowena, Phil, Dillon.

It was a cold, dark, wet winter's night and the Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF) met for the sixth time, for their monthly two-hour forum meeting in the Filwood Community Centre, starting at the usual time of 6.30pm. The 80-year-old, red-bricked building was locked, as usual. I had to dodge slipping on the muddy grass outside the KWANDF meeting room, to knock on a window (so high-up no one could see in or out), to be let in by one of the forum members. (There was never any information on the entrance door to assist any potential newcomers to help them know about access arrangements, such as a contact mobile number to be able to attract anyone's attention – which demonstrates issues around KWF being something of a closed group.) Lawrence came to let me in, friendly as ever with his warm 'hiya' greeting. (We had built up a good rapport in the first six months of the group, as I always dropped him home after the meetings and we would talk in the car, which is how I discovered that he and the Chair spoke every single night, without fail, at 8pm about the work of the forum.)

Once inside the ground floor meeting room, lit by harsh strip lighting, I was surprised at the contrast with the temperature outside and how incredibly hot and stuffy the room felt; an old gas fire blasting out heat, but there wasn't a window open for any fresh air. As I took my seat, and by way of saying hallo, I smiled at the two KWMC staff members present, who already sat around the long, rectangular meeting table, soon to be joined by ten other KWF / KWANDF members. Council officer [NAME REDACTED] was also there as well as the group's advisor [NAME REDACTED], both regular attendees.

The Group Secretary and Chair, sat next to each other, as always. [NAME REDACTED] sat staring at the table pretty much throughout, looking very tired and distant and, as usual, did not make eye contact with members. This meant that members/speakers could not catch his eye, which as the Chair hampered our ability to indicate the need or wish to speak. In terms of chairing, his only intervention was early on in the two-hour meeting, sounding very agitated, appealing to everyone:

> 'We must end on time, we must. People have been complaining, these meetings have been going on too long, over-running all the time.'

Despite his exasperated warning, he did not implement any chairing interventions, or engage with any aspect of directing the meeting in any way, re timing for speakers, nor call for votes on decisions regarding aspects of the work of the neighbourhood plan-making to continue. (It felt like his involvement went on more behind closed doors, in his daily phone calls with [NAME REDACTED] every night at 8pm, away from the forum. Which did not seem open, transparent or democratic, as he could not be directly challenged. These conversations were never reported to the group, displaying a lack of transparency, whereas emails – in comparison - seemed more professional, in that there was a record of what was being discussed, something on record.)

In front of Lawrence sat a few spare copies of the minutes of the last forum meeting and all those who had been present were asked to approve them as being accurate, before the Secretary was able to distribute them by email (and post to forum members not on email) and the Council. In terms of the biggest presence in talking, as always, the Secretary led the meeting, with an agenda of 13 points to get through. Of the 12 members present (Colin, John, Candy, Bill, Rob, Cindy, Susan, Derek, Cala, Michelle, Sandy) the

Secretary dominated the meeting, in the sense that he did the lion's share of the work and tended to lead the meetings. His behaviour and the way he conducted his work struck me as being more like that of being both Chair and Secretary in one. He introduced each agenda point, going on to speak to virtually each of the agenda items. I noticed that no one was taking formal minutes, but the Secretary (who wrote and typed up the minutes after forum meetings) would occasionally jot very shorthand-written notes on the agenda paper, as he went along.

'Right guys,' is how the Secretary would address us, usually upbeat and chirpy (in the early days at least), in a positive tone:

> '… at the last forum meeting, Amanda presented a communications strategy towards a neighbourhood plan, do you remember, she suggested a shorter 'brand' name for the forum, to help engage locals with neighbourhood planning and the work of the group?'

There were supportive looks in my direction, with nods and smiles from Susan and Derek, who I had worked with in the working group and with whom I had a good relationship. I spoke up about the new name – though I could not go through the Chair, as might have been customary, because he was not making eye contact, with anyone. The idea I put to the group (as I had when I presented *We Got the Power* communications strategy in December 2013 – see Appendix H) was that the name Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF)[159] was somewhat long-winded, in terms of name recognition and to help build community engagement,

[159] Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF) remained the legal, registered name of the group with Bristol City Council.

in terms of marketing and attracting new volunteers. Even the acronym KWANDF was hard to remember, i.e.: neither version was user friendly, or easy for the public to remember, so as to build a presence in the community. The Secretary asked that my idea be voted on and the group agreed unanimously by raising hands that Knowle West Future (KWF) became the brand name, which was shortened to KWF[160].

In terms of developing ideas towards the neighbourhood plan, the Secretary put to the group that ten working groups of volunteers should be established 'to work-up ideas' - around the following topics:

- Melvin Square hub
- Filwood hub
- Inns Court hub
- Jarmans hub
- Newquay hub
- Supermarket policy group
- Housing policy group
- Green Necklace policy group
- Design codes policy group
- Evidence for the neighbourhood plan group

[160] The strapline (Marketing-wise) for publicity purposes was: 'Knowle West Future: Your Voice, Your Choice.'

I was completely taken aback, given that typically five (at the most 12) members typically attended forum meetings, this seemed overly ambitious, especially given that of the most regular forum attendees, very few would ever volunteer to do anything (as in the extent of their volunteerism was limited to attending monthly forum meetings). John commented that the biggest problem they faced in the area was apathy. I was left dumbfounded as to how this ambitious idea of ten working groups even originated, particularly as it was not connected to the reality of the group's resources, in terms of volunteer numbers. I was left wondering if the ten working groups was a decision made by the Chair and Secretary perhaps, in their daily phone calls about the work of KWF.

I noticed Susan looking bemused, as she caught my attention and rolled her eyes, presumably at the complexity of what was being proposed. It was decided that KWF members would be invited in writing, by email or letter to those not on email, to sign-up to the ten working groups, but that the group would also run 'informal meetings to get others not related to the forum involved'. Dillon spoke up, sounding quite aggrieved:

'Can I remind the forum of the original plan of having one working group…'

He sounded bewildered and frustrated. Dillon reminded the group that one working group was meant to be: '…overseeing public engagement events, that was the idea, to discuss ideas…but these plans are more sprawling, rather than becoming more organised.' Dillon was usually listened to by the group and appeared well-respected, especially given the history of working with the group before when it was the Knowle West Residents Planning Group (KWRPG). Colin and Lawrence seemed deferential to his advice, for example. But not on this occasion. Given the group didn't have any funding, I was completely at a loss about this proposed new direction of travel. But with

a show of hands, the ten working groups idea was unanimously agreed. The Chair did not call for the vote, but the Secretary did. Non-members, volunteer advisors like myself, could not vote, as we didn't have voting rights.

The meeting felt very tense by now, especially when Dillon went on to make a sharp intervention, criticising this decision and the Chair, pointing out something that had been concerning me too: 'There's no leadership here.' [NAME REDACTED] had not contributed to any of the discussions and did not respond. Dillon went on to warn of 'the folly of grand plans' and that 'plans that are too big often mean that nothing happens, nothing gets done. Incrementalism is the new thinking in the USA,' he explained. '…take one or two little projects that will produce a lot of effects, this then improves the morale of the neighbourhood, to show what is possible.'

The Council Officer present [NAME REDACTED] was in agreement:

> 'The proposed plans for the Melvin Square hub idea (to connect the central green area to the primary school that adjoins it and pedestrianise a quarter of the square) are too ambitious. It will be very costly and involve Highways and sewage re-working. It's currently a public road area. Civil and traffic engineering work to change a road system is costly, rerouting buses and changing the routes cars can take. This could take years. You're looking at about £100,000, just for Melvin Square and that's not covering the other four hub areas.'

I knew from my time in the group that they were keen to ensure a geographic spread of ideas, to make sure the neighbourhood plan appealed to a cross-section of the entire area of Knowle West, also so the plan would pass inspection and secure a vote in the

referendum. [NAME REDACTED] could speak in quite an aggressive way occasionally and said firmly, 'it can't all be about Filwood'. (The central area that used to be called 'Filwood Park' where the majority of the KWF meetings took place.) The group considered the other hubs (Barnstable, Inns Court, Jarmans, and Newquay) but couldn't think of ideas that could be worked up into designs. Lawrence suggested the group use a professional consultant to make their neighbourhood plan, which in some ways showed a lack of confidence as a group to produce a plan themselves but given the multi-layers of external regulation and legal and planning expertise involved, this seemed perfectly understandable. There were the pressing matters of passing both an external inspection and a public referendum for any plan to pass into law.

Dillon went on to suggest a practical idea:

> 'The group could apply to the Community Development Foundation/Locality for up to £7,000 to pay urban planning consultants to come up with design ideas for one village hub, such as Melvin Square or Filwood Green.'

(This was secured and ended up being used to pay consultants Feria for more public engagement work, which began in 2015, to communicate with the public about three possible options for Melvin Square to be redesigned.)

[NAME REDACTED], in his role as Council representative, jumped in to advise the group of some technicalities. Engineer advice would be needed from Bristol City Council, he said if there were proposals to change anything to do with roads or sewage systems, such as Melvin Square or near Filwood Broadway. The scale of the work being considered seemed substantial for a voluntary group without funding and despite the

vote to form ten working groups (which never met) no one was asked to join one of the working groups, or to volunteer to start community capacity building work around Melvin Square, though Lawrence informed the group they needed to be talking to traders and developers there: 'to win around for the referendum'. He reminded the forum that the plan must be compliant with UK and European legislation.

Everyone was silent.

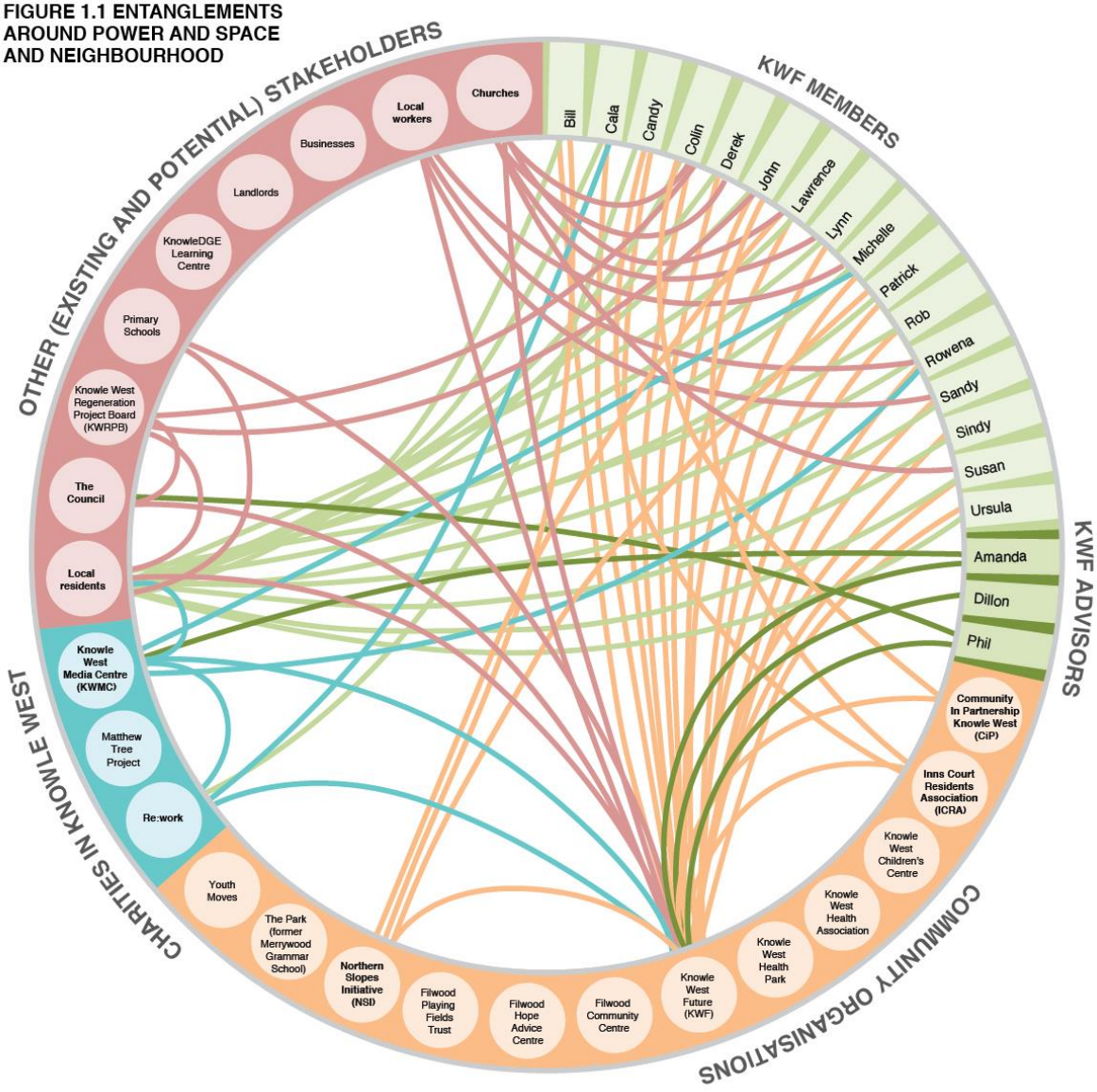
6.2.2 The spatiality of power and community engagement

Those living and working in a designated neighbourhood development area are heralded as being the beneficiaries of new powers through neighbourhood planning, with the policy said to place 'an unprecedented level of influence and power at a very local level' (Clark, 2010). But far from empowerment being *given* somehow by the government, as rhetoric might suggest, as we saw in *Chapter Three*, there is the relational complexity of entanglements around social and power relations in localism to negotiate. Given the complex nature of neighbourhood (see *Chapter Two*, *section 2.3.1 - Constructing the 'local'*) this involves working with others. The collaborative (Conservative Party, 2010) nature of neighbourhood planning meant the KWF group of volunteers needed to work across social networks, to build and maintain collaborations across their geographic area, which to be successful would require complex relational navigation of various human relationships (see *Chapter Two*, section 2.3.2 Localism and collaboration). Expressed in this thesis, within the spatial descriptor of an entanglement of relationships, connections, and resources on which KWF draws, entangled within this sphere are emotional geographies. Within the experiential dynamic of place is an

ever-changing 'sphere of relations, of contemporaneous multiplicity' (Massey, 2005: 148), that can be described as a relational expression of the spatial.

As we saw in *Chapter Two*, community can be defined in terms of social networks and with the need to reach an estimated 5,500 households, working collaboratively in a networked way could facilitate more of a tentacular way for KWF to reach more people. The two major dimensions of spatiality of power are reach and intensity (Allen, 2003), with power being more or less either hierarchical or collaboratively associational. The intensity and reach of power in neighbourhood planning is something of a relational arrangement and more about presence. In the sense that power that is associational through collaborative work is only ever as effective as its effects (in this case producing a neighbourhood plan). To show both the *capacity* for a collaborative endeavour and the complexity of such 'entanglements of power' (Kesby, 2005: 2050) I have used data from across field notes, KWF documents, and interview (below in *Figure 1.1 entanglements around power and space and neighbourhood*). The idea being to provide a visual reference of the entanglement of relationships with *potential and existing* stakeholders in KWF. The diagram aims to demonstrate 'the diverse geographies of proximity and reach' (Allen, 2003: 93) available in terms of social networks, to show the messiness of relational power. Collaborative planning and power *with* others require involving as broad a cross-section of the community as possible, by incorporating elements from that which has gone before, in terms of existing community groups and social networks and their resources. The sprawling nature of the entanglement of social networks, social ties, and social relationships of *potential* associational power Kesby (2007) across community space in Knowle West is depicted:

FIGURE 1.1 ENTANGLEMENTS AROUND POWER AND SPACE AND NEIGHBOURHOOD



Drawing on data from across my study from my data Masterfile, as described in *Chapter Four*, this diagram traces connections within and extending from KWF to other stakeholders. This allows for the concept of overlapping communities and shows some of the interconnectedness of social networks that by working together in coalition or alliance could in theory potentially produce 'network power' (Gallent and Robinson, 2012: 71). Donna Haraway likens this sort of networked approach to a game of 'cat's cradle' (Haraway, 1997: 268) in the way that string figures can be passed back and forth between several players, all of whom add new moves, thus building ever more complex

patterns. As such, the cat's cradle becomes a product of the collective work of interdependent subjects, with no one person able to make patterns alone. The goal being to create new, more interesting patterns (Hunter, 2012), that would not be possible alone. Borrowing from this analogy, a neighbourhood plan should be co-designed by many interdependent networks of affiliation (Gallent and Robinson, 2012). Using this networked governance argument (Gallent and Robinson, 2012; Brownill and Bradley, 2017) this thesis stresses the importance of understanding how power relations run through a particular social body like KWF but are not confined to one particular central site nor located solely within KWF as a group. Associational power is achieved by various stakeholders working together, to produce a form of co-designed knowledge (a neighbourhood plan) that originates on the ground, co-created through both the interaction of individuals as well as within and by groups (Alevizou et al., 2016).

Relationships at stake stretch from within the Council and across various interest groups, including KWF, which had individual residents and workers as members as well as various community organisations, involving representatives from CiP, ICRA, KWMC, NSI, and Re:work (as outlined in *Chapter One*) coming together; plus the potential involvement of parents via the primary schools, for example, as well as specific demographics such as young people via youth work organisations, the retired, as well as new-comers to the area.

As we saw in *Chapter Three*, neighbourhood planning was framed by politicians in Westminster as being a process that *gives* power to local people (DCLG, 2012). But for local people to be more directly involved in some of the decision-making about the space where they live and/or work, they need to know how to work in a collaborative

manner. Neighbourhood planning is a regulatory shift of spatial power, without the associated community organising support. There is no recognition of community groups like KWF needing to support to know how to navigate the sprawling web of relationships that make up community space, as well as navigating power and trust within these relationships. Power *through* neighbourhood planning can only exist through actions within a context of a web of relationships between people and things, it is not a thing (Allen, 2003) to be *given*; associational power of this nature is dependent on many capacity and resource issues (as described in *Chapter Seven).* Furthermore, relational power will be context-dependent and impacted by issues around trust and power within these relationships.

A digital mapping tool such as Commonplace[161] was considered at one stage by KWMC and myself as a potential means of increasing the reach of KWF, to bring in the public into a mapping process of ideas and opinions. Without such a tool, this thesis is concerned with the enormity of the task of connecting complex, sprawling collaborative work and just how KWF might connect a broad enough section of the community to make a neighbourhood plan that would pass inspection. Social networks are a means to access and activate the pooled resources of associational, collaborative networked power, but KWF did not have previous experience of leading networked, asset-mapped, co-produced work.

[161] Commonplace is an online engagement platform that facilitates connections with the whole community, aids the collection of ideas and enables more inclusive decisions about place-making. More information available at: https://www.commonplace.is/ (Accessed 21 July 2020)

6.2.3 Trust and loss and the spatiality of power

This thesis argues for the relational, networked, distributed, or immanent nature (Sayer, 2004) of power in neighbourhood planning, created in relationship. As discussed in *Chapter Two*, the potential for power through interaction and relationships can, however, change (Page and Czuba, 1999), as we see in the example in the vignette below in *section 6.2.3.1 Related issues of trust within the group and outside the group*. KWF was seen as losing the confidence of local community groups. This fluidity and fragility of relations and trust adds to the complexity of understanding the entanglement of such relationships, as players can come and go. This makes the work of creating a neighbourhood plan all the more challenging. KWF would lose resources - and ties to social networks - with the loss of membership organisations, like [REDACTED] wanting to leave. Far from the 'network power' (Gallent and Robinson, 2012: 71) that working collaboratively can produce, as we see in the next vignette KWF was losing partners and with those losses comes an erosion in their modest relational resources and being seen as a group to be trusted to deliver a neighbourhood plan. Trust in others (social/relational) is a key ingredient in successful collaborative work, as outlined in *Chapter Two* and detailed in the work of Jacobs (1958; 1961; 1969; 1993; 2000; 2016), Ostrom (1975; 2003; 2009), Putnam (2000) and Sennett (2012). When it comes to co-operation Sennett describes trust as being one of three key aspects within a 'social triangle' (2012: 148) along with earned authority, and mutual respect. As we saw in *Chapter Two*, trust and power link in successful collaborative work, indeed there is general agreement across the literature that trust is fundamental to the establishment and maintenance of successful collaborative relationships (Ostrom, 1996; Skelcher and

Sullivan, 2002; Glatter, 2003; Connolly and James, 2006; Woods et al., 2006). Similar to power, it is through action that trust is built.

This thesis expands upon this conceptualisation, that relational trust is far messier in nature than a two-dimensional triangle (see Figure 1.2 below); but that relational trust elements can be understood to be fluid, interactive, and in and around more of a collaborative square, which I am calling a quadrant of trust. Conceptualising the elements of trust needed in the collaboration involved in neighbourhood planning, these relational elements are framed as mutual and running across four main domains:

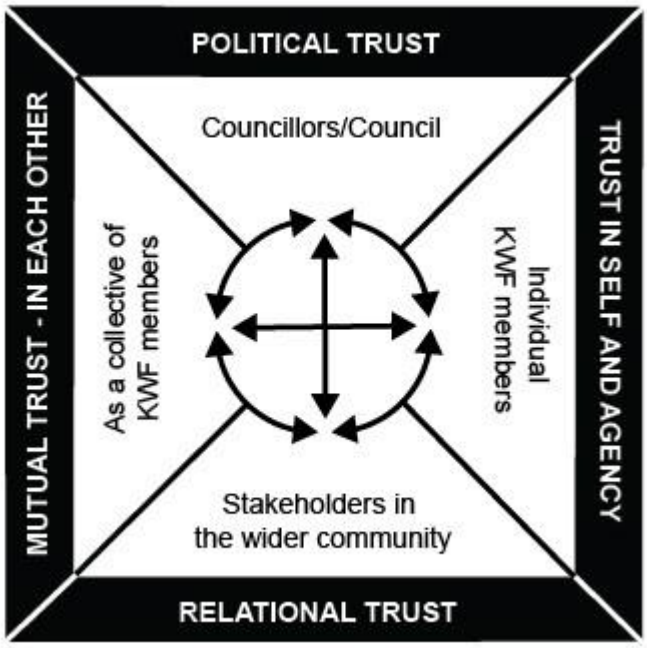


Figure 1.2 Quadrant of Trust in Neighbourhood Planning

The diagram above seeks to represent the various relational elements of trust needed for the collaboration involved in successful neighbourhood planning to happen, which will be discussed in more detail below and in the following empirical chapter that focuses on how resources impacted the work of KWF:

1. Political trust with councillors/the Council (as the local planning authority).

2. Trust in self: individuals (the KWF members) need trust in themselves and a sense of agency, so as to be able to fully participate and understand the politics under discussion (Hooghe and Marien, 2013). Members need to be capable of confidently and clearly articulating ideas, taking on specific roles and managing detailed tasks such as fundraising. They also need strong literacy skills to be able to read complex documentation, the capacity to stick to deadlines, budgets and be able to work collegiately, even when circumstances may be conflictual, tense or difficult.

3. Relational trust in KWF and from and with stakeholders in the wider community (individual residents, third sector organisations, community groups, schools, local businesses etc) to build support for the project.

4. KWF members' mutual trust as a collective in each other (as members of the neighbourhood planning forum/users of the policy of neighbourhood planning), to behave reciprocally, fairly and responsibly.

Given the entanglement of power relations (*see above section 6.2.2 - The spatiality of power and community engagement – Figure 1.1*) in neighbourhood planning, collaborative work of this nature involves maximising social networks (Gallent and Robinson, 2012; Padley, 2013) which in turn requires an environment of mutual trust, to provide a sound platform for a resilient collective response (Magis, 2010). However, the stalling of the regeneration plans as outlined in Chapter Five has not only led to impatience and frustration in waiting for infrastructural changes to the area but also

contributed to an erosion in political trust, a sense of uncertainty and apathy at best and abject distrust of the Council at worst. In contrast, high levels of political trust are associated with higher political interest, volunteerism and civic involvement and more involvement in civic affairs (Putnam et al., 1993; Zmerli, 2014). In an area with diminishing connections between people – as described by KWF members - and the places in which they live, socialise, worship and work, particularly where neighbours are anonymous, people tend not to be committed to working with their neighbours and local agencies in improving the whole neighbourhood (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). The turnout of not even one person to KWF's Green Circuit public engagement events in March 2015 (*see Chapter Seven – section 7.6.1 - Feria and buying-in expertise as resource*) speaks to this absence of support and public engagement.

6.2.3.1 Related issues of trust within the group and outside the group

Of particular concern was the KWF group losing support from member community organisations within the first few months of launching. Demonstrated below in the vignette, this illustrates an issue arising for KWF concerning trust; partners within the collaboration losing trust in KWF's ability to deliver a neighbourhood plan:

I showed up to work at my desk today at Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC) in the Jarmans area of Knowle West for 9am, to be greeted with very worrying and disappointing news. [NAME REDACTED] and I had agreed to meet in our open-planned shared office space up on the first floor so that I could prepare for a meeting that afternoon with Sandy the Director, about using Commonplace as a digital tool, in advance of the September KWF forum meeting.

Then the bombshell hit. [NAME REDACTED] said: '[NAME REDACTED] and I have been talking about pulling out of working with KWF. Five years of working with the group [given the previous time together with the KWRPG before KWF even existed] and it feels like nothing's being achieved.'

[NAME REDACTED] pointed out that [REDACTED] is the last community organisation left: 'CIP left, as did the Knowle West Health Park. Everyone else has left 'cos of inaction and meetings that don't seem to ever achieve anything.'

We had launched as a neighbourhood planning group only two months before this shock announcement. That was the Make Your Neighbourhood community event on a blistering hot June afternoon, when myself, Lawrence, Colin, Susan, Michelle, Rowena and Lynn had all attended too, in order to talk with local residents about a neighbourhood plan.

How do I go on, with this level of scepticism, keep motivated, keep bringing ideas and enthusiasm?

(KWMC, 8 August 2014)

What comes across in this vignette is a lack of trust in KWF to deliver a neighbourhood plan and community groups losing faith in them and leaving the process or wanting to. The evidence in this vignette invites the reader to imagine the tensions in and around the delicate and sometimes volatile inter-related nature of collaborative community work and social networks, to bring the relational aspects of power to a reading of the thesis. Power is a relational phenomenon that can result from people's actions in social networks, but it was the lack of action that seemed to worry community partners who had left the group. Losing such community players knocks the confidence and trust in KWF but also reduced their resources and erodes the potential to create associational power. There is a sense of the delicate nature of relational trust. This depicts the

difficulties involved in sustaining participation in community work; an important lesson for government initiatives (Jupp, 2008) like neighbourhood planning.

On the collaborative nature of neighbourhood planning and 'community engagement' the formal minuted notes of the July 2013 KWF forum meeting state:

> 'It has to be carried out from the earliest stages – and be ongoing – it is a legal requirement.'

This makes the loss of local partners critical. Given the need to complete a Consultation Statement for submission with a neighbourhood plan towards the end of the plan preparation process (which requires good records of community engagement activities, what, where, when, with attendance and outcomes), [NAME REDACTED] was to produce a list of possible people and groups to be approached to be involved with neighbourhood planning, but that did not appear to happen. Such asset mapping relates to the relational phenomenon of power and that collective action can create 'associational power' (Kesby, 2007: 2817). Given the complex, interconnected nature of neighbourhood, working in such a way has the potential to create collaborative, power-*with* (Allen 1999, 2003, 2004; Kesby, 2007) the community, Council and private developers.

The trust people place in others can promote a sense of solidarity and correlates strongly with achieving associational power. Building collaborative relationships with the broader community for KWF in Knowle West would rely on trust and reciprocity, as we saw in *Chapter Two*. Without a clear vision as to what KWF was attempting to achieve (*see Section 6.2.4.2* below) it may have been harder to keep partners on board, as we saw

earlier with [NAME REDACTED] wanting to leave, let alone being able to attract new partners and individual members (as we see detailed below in *section 6.2.4.2 – overly bureaucratic meetings and a lack of decision-making*). Interestingly, trust emerged in the very first working group as an issue locally, articulated here by Susan's comments within the following vignette:

Last month at the monthly KWF forum it was agreed that Susan, Derek, Lawrence and I would form a working group to develop action plans 'to take things forward' with planning community events to promote the catalyst ideas.

We were hosted by Lawrence, who lives in Knowle West. Our meeting took place in his dining room from 7 pm and Dillon also joined us.

There seemed an angry sense of frustration about the long wait - 'nearly three decades!' as Susan put it - for regeneration to start, particularly around new retail units in Filwood Broadway. Susan emphasised the importance of the group needing to make some 'quick wins', to demonstrate deliverable improvements to the area.

She felt this would give local people faith that change can happen, after years of being promised improvements to the area and nothing happening. She cited the lack of a supermarket, despite 28 years of people wanting and needing one for Knowle West.

Susan felt local people may be too disillusioned and therefore apathetic to the neighbourhood planning work, saying: 'we've been promised all this before and nothing happened, so why will it now?'

(First working group meeting, 25 October 2013)

The comments in this vignette represent the sense of disillusionment felt locally and the need for KWF to build trust through showing things can happen, through small projects such as a play area on Filwood Green, for example. Susan's comments were made against a backdrop of what local people reported as endless consultations initiated

by the Council about improvements for the area but never seeing any results. This is what was confirmed by Sandy's analysis:

> 'I think the 2012 Regeneration Plan was a really good attempt by everyone to try to do things collectively and co-design but the problem, the challenge was that there were all these consultations and all these designs and not a lot happened.'

By the time of the second working group, it was four months after KWF first met as a neighbourhood planning forum in July 2013. It proved a challenging meeting and the emotion work and emotional labour (as discussed in *Chapter Four*) involved with working in the group began to become apparent. Having seen [NAME REDACTED] storm out in anger at the very first KWF forum meeting just three months before, I then saw strains in terms of internal relations whilst attending the second working group as this vignette demonstrates:

For the second working group we were given free room hire by KWMC from 7pm. Myself and Lawrence had also been at the first meeting the month before and this time Cala was also able to attend, as well as the Chair, and Vice-Chair. A potential new member was also in attendance, Carol. However, the [NAMES REDACTED] came along and basically changed all the work we had initiated at the first working group meeting, in October.

[NAME REDACTED] talked to Carol quite nastily and aggressively at one point. I wondered if she would ever come back. I had hoped she'd work on KWF social media with me, as she is a Facebook user and as a young mum, I thought her local networks would be a huge benefit to the work of the forum in terms of communicating, also to help attract more volunteers.

[NAME REDACTED] told me afterwards that [NAMES REDACTED] did not like the fact the working group had made decisions away from them, earlier in October. This really surprised me as they were all agreed action points by them as members at the KWF monthly November meeting, just days before.

When I discussed these changes with Michelle she simply said: 'Going around in circles. Nothing's being achieved!'

(Working group meeting, 14 November 2013)

This unpicking of plans impacted important work that had already been voted for by the forum, also affecting the trust Michelle had in the group, but critically impacted the speed at which we could make progress. These power dynamics within the group were confusing to me as a newcomer and I started to feel uncomfortable about how [NAME REDACTED] spoke to the potential new member. The way people were mistreated is a theme in the data and does not make for an environment where trust and goodwill would flourish, as outlined in *Chapter Two*. Evidence of trust being scarce within the group and locally could have contributed to KWF not achieving success in the form of a neighbourhood plan. Building wider collaborations would require a trusting

environment and yet from the second Working Group active distrust was emerging as an issue internally. This is what [NAME REDACTED] said during interview:

> '… behind the scenes, there were a number of concerns about the way the group was operating. People would say to me, you know, I'm not happy with the way I was treated etc., etc., etc..'

This lack of respect seems to be echoed in remarks about the lack of courtesy displayed in the meetings. In terms of emotional labour, this excerpt from my researcher diaries, 3 Feb 2015, was written one night after returning home from a forum meeting. It is telling of the strain, after 18-months on the group:

> 'I feel like I've been bullied. Came home, cried for ages. The forum meetings are dreadful. Was spoken to rudely. [NAME REDACTED] was totally unappreciative and no word of thanks. I've hated every single minute of the community work with that group. Utterly.' (Researcher diary, February 2015)

In hindsight I see this is written in the heat of the moment. However, I am not one for crying, but remember the starkness of how I felt that night still now. Hard to believe now, but it was stark at the time and the emotion work and emotional labour of the involvement with the group was really taking its toll.

6.2.4 Power dynamics in the group and user experiences of the KWF forum

Framing this section of analysis as 'user experiences' of KWF is intended to show how the policy of neighbourhood planning was experienced by those on the ground. With

KWF members as the *users* enacting neighbourhood planning, within the coproduced space of that policy enactment, that is the KWF group. This is to understand civic engagement brought about by the neighbourhood planning policy; to hear from the members about working in the group (the experience that comes from that internal regulation). This thesis examines experiences and views as expressed by KWF members, about working together as a group attempting neighbourhood planning, through a series of recorded conversations, entitled: Capturing Local Knowledge and Ideas re Knowle West Future and local planning. (See Appendix B.)

To undertake the task of producing a neighbourhood plan this group of residents chose to organise themselves as a 'forum' who met monthly for two hours. This would always be on the first Tuesday of each month (but not meeting during the holiday months of August and December). These would be held in various community buildings in the Knowle West area, always in the evening. The style of the forum meetings I would describe as like that of a committee, with members sat around a table, usually rectangular in shape, with a printed agenda, paper minutes from the previous meeting and a Chair. The group had elected officers (Chair, Deputy Chair, Group Secretary, Treasurer) who had already been elected by the time of my involvement in July of 2013. That is when I attended the first meeting of the forum. They went on to meet a total of 17 times as a forum and their working group met six times.

The forum disbanded in 2015, due to funding issues, dwindling numbers of active members, low morale, and a lack of public interest. The forum did not manage to produce a neighbourhood plan during that time. One of the purposes of looking at how KWF was regulated and how they regulated themselves, is to examine why that might

be and what factors may be at play. *Originally feedback from these interviews was going to be taken back to the KWF group by way of a presentation of some sort by myself as feedback to the forum. It is important to keep that in mind, to contextualise the comments. (However, the KWF group folded before that could happen.)*

The idea had been to establish what the members saw as needing improvement about the workings of KWF, so as to be more effective as a group going forward. The interviews conducted with KWF members in 2015 and 2017 revealed predominantly negative feelings about the workings of the group, concerning how it functioned, or didn't function. Michelle felt that there just wasn't the support from the Council at the outset. She wanted guidance about the basics, even how to operate as a neighbourhood planning group: 'there's just not that support and structure.' Michelle spoke about confusion and a lack of knowledge, from how to start, let alone to how they reached the neighbourhood plan-making stage. Michelle articulated that what she felt was missing was a clear idea of a framework for engagement in the policy of neighbourhood planning. She mentioned that template ideas of how to actually operate would have been useful:

> 'It's about having that process from the beginning when we set up; it should have been clear about how it should be run and how the workload should be shared. There's not really that.'

Michelle also reflected on the new nature of neighbourhood planning work as being daunting and expressed a sense of being overwhelmed by the complexity of the task of neighbourhood planning:

'We've had to learn as we go along, make lots of mistakes, as in things are going wrong.'

Far from the 'empowerment' central government ministers spoke of in their rhetoric, Michelle felt neighbourhood planning did quite the reverse in Knowle West and actually 'disempowered' the community. In neighbourhood planning, she felt they were being offered new powers over aspects of their community, but without the appropriate resources needed for that community to actually make a neighbourhood plan, without clear support from local government to enable KWF to work in a new, collaborative manner, Michelle felt this totally disadvantaged them and made the sense of loss around the area worse. [NAME REDACTED] also felt that the way the group chose to operate and regulate itself didn't work for the complex task of neighbourhood planning:

'...the meetings never seem long enough to get everything done'.

Meeting once a month, for a two-hour evening meeting, did not seem ample time to devote to the complexity of the task at hand, which again leads to questions about the lack of practical support around guidance about how they conducted their working practices. Michelle felt help for the group to learn about actually creating a neighbourhood plan was needed:

'... there should be some kind of support around that in the beginning.'

Neighbourhood planning is skilled work. Not just the actual plan writing (which also requires planning expertise) but also knowing how to work in a collaborative, networked manner, to bring others into the process. When discussing co-production in his second interview Lawrence pointed out:

> ‘You’ve got to remember this sort of stuff [co-production] was quite new. And I don’t think many people had bumped into it, but my understanding is that you try to work with as many partners as you can to get the best result you can, for the community.’

Interestingly, the Secretary often talked about ‘going out’ to the public - in a consulting process – through public engagement events in 2014 and 2015, whereas co-production is about bringing in people as well as outreach work. How might past experiences for the officers of the group, of decades of formal meetings being considered as the way things should be done on other community groups have influenced the way KWF self-regulated as a voluntary organisation, in terms of how they operated as a group and affected their ability to enter into coproduced, collaborative work of this nature?

This is discussed in terms of both how they regulated themselves, as well as how the group interacted with external stakeholders in the wider community. Far from being a site of creativity and co-design, a sense of overly bureaucratic meetings was a common theme among interviewee members. Some of the KWF members offered a few possible solutions as to how the group could have worked better, but what was striking was the references to emotion work and emotional labour; most interviewees took the opportunity to vent about their negative experiences and frustrations about being part of KWF. Much of what follows is unpicking why neighbourhood planning was so difficult to get off the ground in Knowle West. Michelle spoke of regulatory issues with the way the group operated as appearing to slow things down. She felt neighbourhood planning was just too long a process for the community:

> ‘… it is just ridiculously slow.’

In terms of the way they regulated themselves and their work, a repeated theme of boredom (Jacobs, 1961; Nickson, 2019) is mentioned by members. KWF meetings, according to Michelle, were: 'very formal and felt quite laborious'. Susan spoke of them being 'bogged down with too much paperwork'. She echoed Michelle's concerns re the overly bureaucratic nature of the meetings, being off-putting and eating away at the time spent at the forum meetings:

> 'I would like to see less of the mundane paperwork keep coming through, because by the time we get through all that paperwork the time's gone.'

She wanted more creativity and for ideas to be developed and campaign issues to be a focus, like securing a supermarket for the area. One of the reasons expressed for their working practices needing to be organised differently was to be able to attract new members, as well as keep the interest of existing ones. Indeed, Susan felt the forum should be 'more interactive'. Michelle felt sub-group work might have been a more productive approach:

> 'It would be better to kind of break up into little groups and get stuff done.'

Rowena also felt smaller action groups was the way forward:

> 'I would like the work to be broken up and I would like some people to hand over responsibility for that. And I understand that people still don't always do it but it's not a group if only two people take on the work.'

Derek felt allocating members specific roles would have been needed, ideally, to progress the level of work required to achieve a neighbourhood plan:

> ‘So, you’ve got, say, I don’t know, four lots of roles within the forum and those people have to decide on what should be done.’

Patrick said he had stopped attending the forum because the meetings were ‘so boring’ and ‘unproductive’. [NAME REDACTED] said of forum meetings: ‘I don’t enjoy the meetings’ and admitted she didn’t want to attend the meetings anymore because of the ‘anger’ at them. The lack of courtesy displayed in the KWF meetings was seen as one thing that may have been driving people away. [NAME REDACTED] spoke about this and a sense of the *usual suspects* dominating the forum. Sandy also said:

> ‘… they didn’t have very good representation from the rest of the community. It was quite a small group.’

Power dynamics in the group emerged in the data. Patrick described the power dynamics as the most active KWF members as being ‘territorial’. Rowena also pointed to territorial power dynamics, as she felt that KWF officers would not delegate more work to people like herself:

> ‘I think they are genuinely frightened of what I would do if they allowed me to have any power and control.’

The relationship with this observation to neighbourhood planning and successfully working in collaborative settings is that work of this nature requires a cooperative mindset (Sennett, 2012), which is the opposite of operating territorially. But power nor empowerment happen in a vacuum (Mason, 2003) and it is by working together collaboratively that power *with* others (Allen, 2003, 2004) can be an *effect* of associational work (i.e.: producing a neighbourhood plan). For when individuals hold

onto control or power too tightly and will not cede or share with others, the potential for achieving power (through a neighbourhood plan) is limited. This could be seen in comments from Susan, who felt aggrieved as she felt [NAMES REDCATED] had stopped her attending a meeting about a potential supermarket for the area:

> 'I had somebody interested in coming out to look at the supermarket bit and he wanted a letter. He wanted to know all about what the forum was doing and contact numbers with the Council and Dillon [planning advisor on the group], he wanted us to arrange a meeting for him, myself, and Phil [Council contact re neighbourhood planning], to arrange a meeting with – and I can't remember the man's name – but he stopped it, [NAME REDACTED].'

Michelle sounded very frustrated during her interview around a lack of action and decision-making in the group:

> 'They should be more focussed on getting things done, making decisions and getting things done.'

There was a perceived lack of leadership, along with a distinct sense of unclear focus as a group, re specific, achievable aims. Having not come together as a neighbourhood planning forum over anyone guiding issue, it then took members nearly 18-months to decide what to champion in their neighbourhood plan. Eventually, the November 2014 working group chose Melvin Square and the concept of the Green Circuit (see *Chapter One*). KWF wanted to explore how the retained areas of open space could be better connected and protected over the longer term from future housing growth. An idea that had initially been put forward by Dillon was then developed by the consultants:

> '… a "green circuit" that could help link the various existing and slightly disparate spaces together into a more coherent whole. This approach would help bind the spaces together and make them less vulnerable to being incrementally lost to development.' (Feria 2015: 25)

But by the time of the first public engagement events on these issues in February 2015, the group was failing to attract public interest. There is a vignette that explains some of the reasons why below:

We had been offered space to conduct two public engagements, on a Friday and Saturday daytime, in the quite large, modern sports hall inside Connaught Primary School on Melvin Square. KWF had paid Feria to run four such events, to present ideas for changes to the square to residents in February and about the Green Circuit idea in March at KWMC.

It was a pretty sad situation by the end of the second Melvin Square event, as only one person turned up, and she was already an existing KWF member. Towards the very end two other new people popped in very briefly.

Towards packing-up time at lunchtime, in between twiddling our thumbs, Lawrence and I had a one-to-one chat. The three other KWF members present - Colin, Lynn, and Rob – had just told him in the kitchen that they felt 'KWF may have to fold'. As well as the absence of the public, the fact that more KWF supporters 'didn't at least pop in' was also concerning them.

I reflected on the now familiar dilemma of hearing that local people continually expressed, the sentiment around local apathy to community activism. This was only eight months since launching KWF. It felt pretty sad to be honest. I could feel a depressing sense of resignation.

Here was a small but dedicated group of residents making the effort to try to change the area for the better and getting no support from the public. Add to that, the hours and hours of meetings and work we had all put in, it was frustratingly disappointing.

(Connaught School, 15 February 2015)

The emotion work involved in this work is very evident in this vignette. The sadness felt by the nucleus of activists at the February public events around the lack of traction with the public was palpable. The group had been losing community partners and now even KWF members were not showing up to support the group. What is interesting is that even with publicity and social media, along with BBC radio coverage, plus paid assistance in the form of 'the experts' as the Chair referred to Feria the consultants, local people did not engage with this set of events. This reminded me of the many times I heard local people say what was the point in getting involved (even with voting in general and local elections), as nothing ever changes, which points to a lack of trust in the Council and the political system generally. This reflects and comes back to the relational networks that were *not* established by KWF – as depicted in *Figure 1.2 Collaborative Square of Trust in Neighbourhood Planning* – and indeed, in evidence regarding Youth Moves, who the group KWF seemed to actively discourage. This will be discussed in relation to the resource elements of 'associational power' (Kesby, 2007: 2817) that working collaboratively across networks of affiliation (Gallent and Robinson, 2012) can produce, in the following *Chapter Seven* (section *7.5.3 - Missed opportunities of working in collaboration with local groups).*

6.2.4.1 Impact of the working approach in KWF and how personality appeared a block within KWF

In addition to the lack of public support, two years into the life of the forum, Susan appeared to feel that the group was overwhelmed by the work. One of the reasons the group might not be attracting new individuals to take on specific roles, or feeling able

perhaps to approach other community groups to initiate partnership work, she felt was down to a lack of confidence in themselves about what they were doing:

> 'I think we need to sort ourselves out first before you can get new members in. I think we as a forum have to know where we're going, what we're at and have clear roles before you can start inviting people in.'

The functioning of the group is widely criticised, but then why or how would they have known how to operate as a neighbourhood planning forum? Community development work is skilled work and there was no reason why they would have that expertise, to aid the working approach. Rowena said:

> 'I would like them [KWF meetings] to be less formal. I would like them to be in the afternoon. I would like them to be shorter. I would like them to break up into sub-groups so that people could deal with things.'

Michelle had also wanted the meetings to be moved to be held in the daytime, so she could attend as part of her daytime working commitments, during paid work time. A vote was taken, and the forum agreed to this time change, but [NAME REDACTED] blocked it from actually happening, wanting them to remain on a Tuesday evening. It seemed amazing to see the will of the group overridden by one person, but no one challenged [NAME REDACTED]. This power dynamic within the group, of [NAME REDACTED] exerting power-over others, is brought up by Michelle who complained about votes being ignored by [NAMES REDACTED]:

> ‘I would like where things were voted on so that they didn’t reappear on the agenda until they got voted the way that some people want to hear them to be voted for.’

Another KWF member used the word ‘vicious’ to describe [NAME REDACTED] treatment of Rowena, when Susan said:

> ‘… [NAME REDACTED] is pretty vicious towards her in meetings. [NAME REDACTED] is to everybody.’

There seemed to be a particular issue with women. This reminded me of the issues around sexism Jane Jacobs came up against in the 1960s when she became involved in neighbourhood planning. Rowena said:

> ‘You have to be very, very tough to survive the [NAMES REDACTED] Show [about KWF officers]. There have been a couple of times where I felt they – [NAME REDACTED] in particular – was very vicious to you and has been to me and you know my predecessor had got to stages of apoplectic rage following the meetings.’

Michelle was also a victim of verbal attacks. I was quite staggered about how she was spoken to at times, very sharp, aggressively and rude. Whilst she was very diplomatic in her choice of words on the subject, she did say:

> ‘We have to be strong. We’ve got to stand up to [NAME REDACTED]. But to be honest, what more can you do?

> 'You do stand up to [NAME REDACTED], but it just goes in one ear and out the other.'

These internal power dynamics did not only frustrate the KWF attendees but impacted engagement in the wider regulatory space, as the vignette in the following section aims to demonstrate regarding meetings feeling off-putting for newcomers.

6.2.4.2 A lack of decision-making and KWF meetings being off-putting to newcomers

Members spoke of neighbourhood planning as offering a means of accessing greater power and say over their community, with Lawrence describing neighbourhood planning as a 'means to influence the Council'. When asked what he would have liked KWF to have done in the neighbourhood plan to influence the Council, Lawrence refers to the Vision 2030 objectives[162] from the Knowle West Regeneration Framework (KWRF) and tensions with the Council:

> 'Basically, we could have got the objectives, 'the 13 objectives'[163] into planning law, end of story. That would have been quick and easy. It may not have been very attractive, we may not have got any support, but to me that would have been the ideal. And from that you can build anything you want, and it would have

[162] The 13 objectives mentioned are what formed the Knowle West Regeneration Framework (see Appendix L and *Chapter One section 1.3.2 Knowle West Regeneration Framework*)

[163] The 13 objectives are: 'Raise income through employment; Improve health and wellbeing; Widen local choice of housing size and tenure; Refurbish existing housing stock; Improve and develop primary school provision; Reinforce a close-knit neighbourhood; Access safe, ecologically rich, open space; Pride of place; Build a future-proof community; Improve access to low-cost transport; Public and community initiatives in advance of private investment; Improve arts and culture; Develop play and youth facilities by planning with young people.' (The Manual: A Public Art Strategy for Knowle West, 2011: 10)

given the community a lot more power, but the Council was against that and as I said the group moved into the on the ground stuff [abandoned neighbourhood planning]. Cos we'll never get support. And we didn't get support anyway.'

Indeed, it was noted back at the second working group meeting in 2013 that the public's views were not being taken into consideration in planning decisions in that:

'…very few planning applications for the area are testing what they are doing against the objectives – or even referring to them (even when told about them). Probably because the objectives are not part of planning policy.'

Alluding to the almost jargonistic sounding nature of some of the aspirations, Dillon had raised the issue of 'language and meaning' re the 13 objectives in Vision 2030. He felt that the Vision 2030 objectives were not written in a way that would 'be clear to members of the public, not involved in neighbourhood planning' (from the May 2014 working group meeting observational notes). In any case, issues around power dynamics had emerged between the KWF group and the Council and councillors and KWF decided not to pursue the 13 objectives, explained by [NAME REDACTED] as being about avoiding conflict with the Council, who [NAME REDACTED] said were against KWF getting involved with these aspects when the Knowle West Regeneration Project Board was already working on them:

'We went through the process of ensuring we weren't stepping on people's toes, to not get opposition…'

This sensitivity to not duplicating the work of others, however, seemed to contribute to a lack of direction in the work of KWF, which was a criticism from various members in

interview. Without a clear focus, the forum meetings appeared to become quite stuck, a reiterative process of discussing and revising what their main aims for a neighbourhood plan should be. Rowena felt this resulted in a lack of clear direction which was a barrier to building power-*with* the community and detrimentally affected the success of the group:

> 'What I want to do is support this group achieve what it wants to do but sometimes I don't think they know what they want to do.'

KWF did not form as a neighbourhood planning group over one specific issue. This appeared to cause frustration in the group around a lack of clear direction. Patrick articulated a common concern, around a lack of decision-making in general, which he found to be lacking in particular around the issue of the Western Slopes:

> 'The forum didn't decide clearly, this or that route. It was all left in the air, and hope it will not show its head again, type of thing.'

He had wanted this issue to be added to the agenda as one of the areas to focus on for their neighbourhood plan, to turn the existing area of natural wildlife into a park:

> 'In actual fact, on that one point, no decision was made. So decision-making was zero.'

Michelle also said she supported the idea of a park being part of the neighbourhood plan, but neither Patrick's nor her idea were taken forward. In the sense, these were examples of ideas that would be discussed, but then rarely were such matters taken to any distinct conclusion. In my experience, this is customarily the role of the Chair, but [NAME REDACTED] did not really show the skills to manage the business side of forum

meetings. Indeed, Patrick described the situation re decision-making and progress as being like hitting a 'brick wall'. The issues of time and momentum were not helped by the [NAME REDACTED] forbidding any decisions to be made in between forum meetings via email (he said it was exclusionary to those members not on email). This slowed the group down as there would be a gap of a whole month between decisions at forum meetings. [NAME REDACTED] also became quite vexed about time management in the actual forum meetings. Members had complained to [NAME REDACTED] that the meetings were regularly over-running. But the insistence on moving through the agenda at some speed, regardless of whether anything had been decided or resolved, appeared to serve to stifle debate. Points of discussion would be left hanging without conclusive votes, in the name of moving on, purely – it seemed - to make progress with the agenda (i.e.: to finish on time).

Patrick had thought there would be more direct action coming from the forum and said the bureaucratic nature of the forum meetings was completely off-putting:

> 'When I saw the way it was going, which was rubberstamping, I got bored and I haven't been for quite a while. I'm unlikely to go again.'

Plans of action would be left undecided, in the rush to get to the end of the agenda on time, like a box-ticking exercise, to keep to the two-hour time duration as a goal in itself. Combined with members criticising poor [REDACTED] of the forum meetings, a distinct lack of leadership emerges. This contributed to a sense of people not knowing what they were doing, losing interest, which led to Michelle having the impression that:

> '… a lot of people I just feel just end up going along with whatever the last person said or what the majority seems to be agreeing with.'

Rowena felt KWF was nothing more than a 'talking shop'. Derek expressed a very similar frustration: 'I don't understand why they must talk about nothing.' While Michelle said:

> 'There are a lot of things that I would like to change… I would like the meetings to be a little bit more welcoming.'

It is the 'dry' nature of the format of forum meetings that is most criticised, which were not inclusive for newcomers. This is illustrated by the following vignette, taken from a field note written directly after the July 2014 forum, a month after KWF launching. Representatives of Youth Moves, a local youth work charity based on the estate, had

This was a particularly tense meeting. It was held in the lovely modern Western Room at KWMC, the main meeting room overlooking the surrounding hills and countryside, but it was a very hot evening, and this didn't seem to help the mood of the forum. [NAME REDACTED] *did not seem to have control of the meeting and was not welcoming to the newcomers.*

There were four new people present, representing Youth Moves. One of them, a young man called Adam, asked whether the consultants who had tendered for our work had made any reference to working with young people but did not receive a reply.

The young people from Youth Moves – who had come along to get involved – said they left because they did not feel welcome and could not understand the business of the meeting. At one point they asked: 'I think we are in the wrong meeting?'

This was particularly frustrating because 'involvement of young people' was on the July forum agenda under the section Delivering the Plan, but the Youth Moves people had left before we'd got to that section of the meeting.

Considering how important it is to bring new people into the work of the forum, I was really disappointed. I'd been pushing the importance of how we welcome newcomers since presenting my communications strategy last December 2013.

(KWF forum, 1 July 2014)

attended but appeared utterly confused by the meeting. No explanations were given to them as newcomers, to catch them up on the nature of the content of the agenda, where we were as a group, nor background to any of the discussion points. To the extent that they were not made to feel welcome or included, one of them actually said they thought they were in the wrong meeting. This vignette illustrates the situation:

I followed up by urging the [NAMES REDACTED] to arrange an urgent peace-making meeting with Youth Moves. It seemed like a golden opportunity to work with this demographic and secure new volunteers, particularly as the 2012 regulations around making neighbourhood plans specifically state that a wide range of the local population needed to be involved, in terms of demographics. The majority of regular attendees to the forum were well into retirement age, [NAME REDACTED] being 84. The young people who attended were not only a valuable source of views from another generation (unrepresented on the forum) but also, in a pragmatic sense, could have provided a potential human resource, in terms of community engagement work. Tensions were emerging in the dynamic of the KWF group, both in forum meetings and behind the scenes. When I suggested going to meet Youth Move's manager to resolve things, an excerpt from a field note (8 August 2014) demonstrates some of the strains emerging:

> 'I had a very abrupt (I felt rude) email from [NAME REDACTED] of KWF saying the forum wasn't just about me! [NAME REDACTED] later told me [NAME REDACTED] refused to have me at the meeting because [NAME REDACTED] didn't like the way I'd phrased an email.'

In the end, Youth Moves never came on board with KWF. There was no clear vision of how to involve them, even though young people were not represented on the forum. Working with newcomers may have just been too much for the officers of the group to grapple with. Michelle pointed to concerns re the lack of volunteers:

> '… the problem is work isn't getting done or it's getting more done by one person.

Indeed, there was a lot of work pressure on [NAME REDACTED], who felt that during the first year (2014) the group was seen to be 'failing' and that:

> 'There were concerns that the group wasn't operating properly in terms of welcoming people and getting people involved and it was too negative and sometimes with groups that are failing you find negativity breeds negativity, breeds negativity, breeds negativity and the message goes out that this group is dying, and nobody ever turns up.'

6.3 Regulation for engagement – enabling power with others?

Analysis from the Productive Margins' Regulation Working Group identified 'four regulatory moments' (McDermont, 2018: 161) in that research programme's work. I have extended that concept to instead use the notion of *episodes* – with an episode being 'an event or a group of events occurring as part of a sequence'[164] - to help illuminate some of the regulatory issues at play within and affecting KWF. I am using the framing of *regulatory episodes* to demonstrate both the complexity of the policy of neighbourhood development planning for KWF and the impact that the legal regulation had on the group. In addition, regulatory episodes around the entanglement of power are

[164] Oxford Dictionary definition

presented, exploring the tensions in the relationship between the Council (and councillors) and KWF. This is to aid an understanding of how KWF was regulated by external relationships, as in with that of the Council. In the sense of how the group's relationship with the Council, as the Local Planning Authority, regulated what KWF was able to do, for example through six-monthly reporting requirements and a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). (See Appendix F.)

What is striking about the data and particularly the interview accounts are how the majority of interviewees acknowledge, although they did not all necessarily talk about 'regulation' *per se*, the presence (and absence) of multiple regulatory influences, the Council, the absence of local councillors, as well as reporting challenges with regulatory issues around fund-raising. In considering issues around regulation, this thesis examines how and *if* the policy of neighbourhood planning is in fact regulation *for* engagement and empowerment in Knowle West, as espoused by the government? Did this regulation in fact 'empower' the community of Knowle West? This thesis is particularly interested in presenting a better understanding of the challenges of how to access regulatory systems, when people might be at the margins of society, economically, socially, or politically, or all three. How does that regulation impact their chances for success? Is it a regulatory framework that promotes mutual problem solving, in the form of neighbourhood planning, or not? If not, why not?

6.3.1 Regulatory Episode One:

How the (legal) regulatory framework impacted the work of KWF

This section looks at user experiences of neighbourhood planning, tied up in the legal regulation. I examine how and where and in what ways this regulatory framework affects the internal regulation of the group, KWF. In *Chapter Three* the legal regulatory framework around neighbourhood planning was detailed, where we saw the context of KWF needing to conform to higher-level planning policy (Parker, Lynn and Wargent, 2015). This regulation can be described as being devolved through 'chains of intermediation' (Abbott et al., 2017: 16), from national legislation (the Localism Act 2011 and the 2012 neighbourhood planning regulations), the National Planning Policy Framework, the Local Planning Authority level, and various European directives.

This amounts to multi-layers of legal regulations which need to be abided by, for any neighbourhood plan to pass inspection. This is communicated from the centre of national government mainly through web-based resources only, supported by the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG), Planning Aid England and the community development organisation Locality (Nickson, 2019). For a community group like KWF that predominantly did not favour digital means of communication - particularly [NAMES REDACTED] and various other KWF members - this regulatory issue alone posed an equalities and social inclusion matter from the outset, particularly for an area with known literacy issues. Set against the backdrop of known literacy issues in Knowle West (Raphael Reed et al., 2007; National Literacy Trust, 2017), as presented in *Chapter One*, higher literacy skills are known to make a person more likely to trust

others[165]. Low levels of trust in the area being confounded by the complexity of the written information, in terms of citizen involvement in neighbourhood planning.

The multi-layers of legal regulation all impact the regulation *of* KWF. The highly regulated space that is a neighbourhood planning forum - and the 'red tape' - is not seen as engaging but as a de-motivating factor, according to Michelle:

> 'I think sometimes red tape or process can really demote the community and it needs to be more thought out about what the community needs and not just how things have to be done.'

What is striking here is an articulation about the problems of one-size-fits-all policy, without addressing what 'the community needs'.

6.3.1.1 The regulatory impact of funding

The regulatory impact of funding regimes will shape an organisation's capacity to make political interventions (McDermont et al., 2020). Regulatory factors and bureaucratic systems around funding influenced the work of the group. This issue was explained well by Lawrence:

> 'We managed to track down some independent funds that could help us but were very dependent on funding from central government through the City Council and Locality.'

[165] OECD (2013). More information available at: Skills Outlook 2013: First Results from the Survey of Adult Skills] (Accessed 4 August 2019)

The group particularly wanted money to pay for consultants, to provide the technical expertise and creative ideas they perceived as necessary to make a neighbourhood plan. (Working with consultants Feria Urbanism[166] is covered in more detail in the context of external resources in the following *Chapter Seven, section 7.6.1 – Feria and buying in expertise as resource.)* Lawrence explained further:

> 'Not having the status of a parish or town council we did not have access to sources of ongoing funding which could be used to support the preparation of the plan; so, we had to bid from various sources. This meant that we had to spend a significant amount of time and energy tracking down funds. Some of the funding was released in batches and was time-limited.'

On the financial incentives offered by central government to agree to housing developments, Lawrence said:

> '… parish councils, which are self-funded, they get 15% of development money, we didn't get anything.'

Lawrence sounds particularly defeated when he spoke about funding and fund-raising:

> '… we really struggled on the funding. Plus, we had to get the funding in. And that's another expertise, which we had, but in small doses. I'm not a good fundraiser.' *[sounds defeated]*

[166] More information available at: http://www.feria-urbanism.eu/ (Accessed 27 April 2020)

Susan also spoke about the bureaucracy and complexity involved with fundraising and recognised that if applications were to be successful experienced fund-raisers would be needed:

> 'You have to know why you're applying for funding, and it has to be for that purpose only. So, with regards to funding, you need somebody knowing what they're doing basically… how to fill the forms out because that's the stumbling block that [NAME REDACTED] had a couple of times. It's not putting the right information on the forms… I wouldn't have a clue.'

Derek explained a dilemma over fundraising:

> '… you have to know what you want if you want the funding, don't you? If they go anywhere for funding, they've got to tell those people what they need the funding for, specific. In the first place, you have to have a direction on what you're going to do with the money, if you don't have that then people are not going to give you any money. Also, you have to have somebody who has some kind of expertise to be able to go along to these people to say exactly what's wanted and for what reason.'

Fund-raising and the regulation around those processes appeared to create a sense of helplessness; depending on funding to recruit consultants, in order to then feel confident and supported enough to make a neighbourhood plan. Lawrence explained:

> 'Basically, you could only get funding in certain slots. You could only apply in certain time scales. And if you missed a time scale you wouldn't get anything for six months. That's why for six months we did bugger all, we couldn't apply for

> anything. And you try and go for other money, that isn't neighbourhood planning related, and you have to make the case which doesn't involve having a plan. Right. Yes, it was painful. And when we didn't get the first tranche of neighbourhood planning money, we were like: that's it, we had to sit there and "when's it coming out next?" "when's it coming out next?"

Here he is referring to spring 2014, just over six months into the life of the group and the regulation around funding seemed to stymie the group: the work being so complicated that they felt they needed consultants to help navigate the multi-layers of national, local and European legislation, but many of the funding grants available would *not* pay for consultancy fees to make a neighbourhood plan. Lawrence touches on the impact of regulations around funding for KWF:

> 'We thought about going to Heritage Lottery, we thought about going separately, but we could never get the money in for having the reason of having outside consultants to develop the plan.'

Money that was secured - from local charity Quartet[167] - was not allowed to be used on consultants, in terms of the way Quartet regulated its giving. (Their grant was used to pay for the production and hosting of a website, paying KWMC £900 to host and assist in my undertaking this work.) KWF not having enough money, to be in a position to hire consultants to actually see through the whole process of making a neighbourhood

[167] The Quartet Community Foundation brings together people who want to help the local community with projects awarding around a thousand grants each year, supporting frontline charities and voluntary groups. More information available at: https://quartetcf.org.uk/ (Accessed 9 June 2020)

plan in its entirety, was a major barrier for the group being able to continue, as explained by Lawrence:

> 'A decision was made to appoint, pending receipt of relevant funds. However, the funds came forward on a different timescale than expected; and did not match the funding we needed to meet the original tender brief, therefore a much-reduced scope of work was negotiated with the preferred bidder, Feria Urbanism.'

Issues around power and expertise are seen here, as well as the financial resource of money. The group wanted to supplement their local expertise with professional support in the form of urban planning consultants, to enable KWF to articulate ideas and influence planning decisions in a professional manner. This is what is described as the 'power/knowledge' (Foucault, 1991: 194) nexus because power and knowledge are inextricably related, with knowledge always being an exercise of power and power always being a function of knowledge, rather than being independent entities. In the cycle of power/knowledge in creating a neighbourhood plan, once recognised in law a plan would serve as an extension of the power of different actors through participation in urban planning (*see section 7.6.1 - Feria and buying in expertise as resource*).

6.3.1.2 Procedural compliance

By far the most active member of KWF, in terms of actual work, was their Group Secretary, [NAME REDACTED]. An assiduous member of KWF, [NAME REDACTED] essentially did all the heavy lifting for the group, including being the one point of contact for the consultants Feria. [NAME REDACTED] arguably knew more about the

work of the group than any other member and contributed by far the most in forum meetings. [NAME REDACTED] spoke of regulatory issues as being 'very strict' around compliance with government regulation.

> 'It was flagged-up that the group needed to consider how to relate to Bristol City Council and the proposed Memorandum of Understanding (which legally designated the forum until 30 June 2018). That the 'council will expect to see continued progress towards key milestones' from the work plan – from the Forum designation letter (1 July 2013) – and 'seek to ensure that forum continues to be compliant with requirements of the Localism Act.'' (Field notes, Sept 2013)

As well as the requirement to report their progress to the Council every six months:

> 'We had to get something done by a certain time and it has to be compliant with the relevant legislation and planning policy and everything else… If we had done the plan and it had gone through everything, it would have become a legal policy document, a legal document. The City Council had to take notice of the neighbourhood plan, if it gets passed in planning decisions.'

The legal regulation appeared to influence the way the group organised their work. The group's work was separated into monthly formal forum meetings and steering groups. The way the work was conducted as described by Michelle was 'very dry' and 'overly bureaucratic'. In minutes from February 2013 (before I was involved with KWF - when they were still KWRPG) it was explained how becoming a neighbourhood planning forum would be different from the existing residents' group, KWRPG, in that the:

> '… difference between Forum and the Knowle West Residents Planning Group – Forum is a legal body with a defined task to do.'

As a group (before I was with KWF), as the KWRPG, they had split the work of neighbourhood planning into three segments: regeneration, conservation, and planning policy ([NAME REDACTED] explained this in interview). Lawrence, as KWF Group Secretary, highlighted at the first forum meeting in July 2013 'land use' was a key element of neighbourhood planning and defined the forum's purpose. Indicating the complexity of some of the legal terms, he said he would put together an information sheet for members, a 'glossary' of terms to:

> '… help people understand' the forum's purpose. He defined three things, from the regulations: (1) what a Neighbourhood Plan is (around land use - regeneration, conservation, planning policy); (2) what a Neighbourhood Development Order is (guiding consideration of planning permission such as extensions to houses); and (3) explaining that 'community engagement' is 'critical' and a legal requirement, as well as 'listening to and communicating with all sorts of people and groups.' (KWANDF minutes, July 2013.)

Considering that a Neighbourhood Development Order (NDO) can grant planning permission for major development schemes (such as a supermarket or the Melvin Square ideas), a few new houses, a new shop or pub, or permit extensions of a certain size or scale across the whole neighbourhood area (DCLG, 2012) this could well have been a better tool to use by KWF than a neighbourhood plan. The fact a neighbourhood plan was what was being pursued by the group, despite an NDO being more appropriate, points to a lack of up-to-date planning expertise. However, to be fair to the

group, Council officials were in attendance of forum meetings and consultants were being paid by KWF to provide expert advice, yet the NDO route was not being discussed in KWF meetings. Expertise as resource is discussed in more detail in the following *Chapter Seven*, particularly buying-in professional support from urban planners Feria.

Lawrence spoke about how the legal regulation impacted the change from KWRPG to KWF, in terms of the bureaucracy involved with neighbourhood planning:

> '… you had to do things a certain way, things were far more formalised [than before when they were the previous residents planning group], there was much more paperwork, because you had to report to the City Council every six months and you had to do things in a certain way, so there was an open election for the Chair and Deputy Chair and Secretary and Treasurer. So, there was more paperwork involved, it was more formalised, and we had to do things in a certain order.'

As a result, procedural compliance - rather than focusing on the more creative, inspirational ideas and specific community aspirations - often became a focus. This led to members repeatedly reporting 'boredom' as one of the main reasons for not enjoying or turning out for forum meetings. In addition, 'to remain up to date with discussions', as Lawrence described it, several hundred emails were transacted during the course of the 20-months I was with the group. Lawrence felt the amount of bureaucracy and detail involved was off-putting for a group of volunteers:

> 'Now, what happens, of course, nobody reads the minutes, nobody reads the emails; somebody said we get too many emails and others say great, press the delete button, off it goes, you don't have to take notice of it.'

The 'boring', bureaucratic 'dry' nature of the forum meetings may have proved off-putting for newcomers, as not one new attendee ever came back again. The dwindling number of volunteers in turn led to fatigue in the active KWF members and to a lack of people to take on specific roles to action work. The length of time involved in embarking on such a project and seeing it through to completion also appeared to be a regulatory issue. Nickson (2019) considers the length of time the process of neighbourhood planning takes, from designation of the NDF status, to inception and plan adoption, off-putting and a barrier to public involvement. This resonates with Jacobs' (1961) theorisation. In that that boredom and the drawn-out time involved in public works of this nature is often off-putting for volunteers, to sustain involvement in voluntary endeavours of this nature. Overall, the time to complete (to get through to the referendum stage) is 'well beyond two years' (Brownill and Bradley, 2017: 81), with an average suggested to be 12-24 months (Locality, 2018). But KWF was nowhere near to drawing up a plan at the outer limit of that timeline.

This thesis suggests there are other regulatory issues that become barriers to enactment as well as time, though duration is clearly a factor. The literature (see Parker, 2015) highlights a dominant reason for engaging professional consultants tends to include regulatory issues over volunteer fatigue. This comes up as a prevailing issue in Knowle West. Sandy remarked on how the key KWF activists '… those people burnt out'. Indeed, Lawrence spoke of the drain on one's energy in voluntary community planning work.

[NAME REDACTED] said that by the time KWF started, they had already spent five years working on housing plans for Inns Court and towards the Vision 2030 work as the former group, the Knowle West Residents Planning Group (KWRPG):

> '.. at one point we got so tired, we took a couple of months off, because we were so knackered... sometimes we met literally every two weeks cos things were so frantic.'

By the time KWF had formed in 2013, the same group of people had already worked together for at least five years on planning issues. Lawrence said the transition from KWRPG (consultative model) to KWF (co-production) was a complicated process:

> '... because neighbourhood planning is very different, and you remember the early stuff was: what the hell do we do here? And basically, it took us a long while to sort it out.'

Given that the support materials were all online and many of the group did not use digital tools, I wonder how the legal regulation and the regulatory framework really supported their needs. As it was, it took six months to set up as a group, to be formally recognised by the Council. It took a year for [NAME REDACTED] to open a bank account. There was a high volume of work requiring significant amounts of volunteer time and energy, processing a steady stream of emails from the Group Secretary and reading of complex, formal documents, many meetings to attend, often twice weekly or more. Volunteers invested a large amount of (free) time and (unpaid) effort into their endeavour, without ever producing a neighbourhood plan.

Essentially what KWF tasked themselves to do was produce a set of policies for their area, so as to inform planning decisions. These policy assumptions would need to be evidenced and the whole process - to develop a neighbourhood plan- takes considerable time, even for capable and experienced former professionals (Nickson, 2019). Michelle explained the resource issue around managing a full-time job in the community with KWF work on top, taking up her evenings:

> 'It's not even just the skills, but you're not doing it as your job. You're doing it in your spare time, so it's about capacity as well.'

This sense of wanting more influence at the Council level, to want 'change' as was commonly articulated, was matched with a lack of tangible support from the Council or local elected representatives. Accessing opportunity was the government rhetoric surrounding the primary legislation, yet without more assistance from the Council, outside expertise in the form of consultants, or more third sector involvement, [NAMES REDACTED] appeared to know quite how to achieve that change. Lawrence felt that something of a *needs-based* mentality (Kretzman and McKnight, 1993) had evolved in the area:

> '… you see people saying there's a list of problems, we've got to do something about it, and it gets so negative that there's no opportunity. So that's the other thing that strike some is there is opportunities and how to get hold of those opportunities and what on earth you do with them is half the issue with any organisation and especially the forum.'

6.3.1.3 Power-over - complex legal, external regulatory factors and '**strict rules**'

As we saw in *Chapter Two*, this thesis draws on two guises of power - power-*with* and power-over - and five modes of power within these two guises: negotiation and persuasion (power-*with*) and authority, inducement, and seduction (power-*over*). To help illuminate the power relations in this thesis, the power of central government through the legal regulations (as a higher authority) - and the requirement of inspection is ever-present - in terms of how the state and society engages on issues relating to neighbourhood planning. In terms of the complexity of legal, external regulatory factors affecting neighbourhood planning, KWF found themselves navigating 'strict rules' (Colenutt, 2012b: 2). This appeared too complex and burdensome for this community group who felt they lacked the know-how to coproduce a neighbourhood plan with the local community, without paying consultants to support them throughout. Returning to the power dynamics and the concept of *authority* – power-*over* – is present here within the regulatory aspects of the Localism Act 2011, described by Parker and Street as 'predetermined parameters' (2015: 795) to neighbourhood planning, set by 'absent others' (ibid), in terms of civil servants, national-level politicians and the Local Planning Authority. Lawrence, explained how the complexity of these parameters impacted the work of the group and highlighted what was at stake:

> '… certain things had to be done in certain ways because if there is any risk that you could be challenged at public enquiry, you weren't compliant with anything, your plan would fall.'

Here was a community attempting to engage with an important area of the public realm so as to not 'just get lumbered with whatever came through', as put by Lawrence. This comment expresses a hope for the community to achieve power-*with* the Council, rather than being just passive subjects of power-*over* from the Council and/or central government when it came to planning. Indeed, when it came to issues of local social exclusion and 'apathy' Lawrence felt motivated to proceed with his volunteering work with KWF because he:

> '… wanted to prove that things can change.'

He spoke of his high hopes about being involved with neighbourhood planning:

> 'It's about influence. It's about empowerment. It's again about ensuring the community gets what it wants.'

However, Michelle explained that local people felt that without more targeted support from the Council, there was a lack of understanding about the political system - and fundraising – which proved barriers to KWF affecting change in planning terms:

> 'A lot of people are really passionate about the neighbourhood, but not really having the ability to make things happen that they might want because they don't have the understanding, they're not getting the support.'

This leads to questions around the policy of neighbourhood planning and the lack of special support for a community like Knowle West with complex socio-economic needs, in order for the empowerment promised by central government to be realised. As Michelle pointed out:

> 'I think sometimes red tape or process can really demote the community and it needs to be more thought out about what the community needs and not just how things have to be done.'

6.3.2 Regulatory Episode Two:

The entanglement of power and trust in relation to the State, the Council, and KWF

In relation to exploring the tensions in the relationship between the Council and KWF, the KWF group was regulated by the Council but also needed to work with the council as a 'partner' (Parker, Lynn and Wargent, 2015: 523). However, despite the central government prescription for a collaborative relationship, there was no involvement from the local councillors in KWF. Instead, the Group Secretary described a regulatory power dynamic where KWF was expected to be 'reporting' *to* the Council, with [NAME REDACTED] needing to send monthly forum minutes, every six months. This speaks to the dynamics of the power-*over* elements within neighbourhood planning as the Council still had the power to oversee work of KWF. Whilst the local councillors held the power to withhold their co-operation and not cede power to the endeavour. Central government had legislated that local government had:

> '… a duty to provide practical support - e.g. facilitating community engagement, and helping with consultation with public bodies, landowners and, where appropriate, statutory consultees. There will be no duty on the local planning authority to provide financial assistance but it may do so if it so chooses.' (DCLG, 2012: 6).

However, the Bristol City Council did not make such provision. As well as contending with layers of legal regulation, there are other skills needed that a more supportive relationship with the Council might have helped foster, such as skills of community organising and capacity building, in order to work collaboratively across the community space. This may have enabled the KWF group to achieve the influence with the Council they wanted, speaking to the concept of associational power. As Sandy explained:

> 'Community engagement skills is a skill!
>
> 'And community facilitation, which is what I've been saying for donkey's years, you don't just stick people in a room and expect them to suddenly become activists, you know, it doesn't work like that.'

6.3.2.1 The Council and a 'duty to support'

In theory, neighbourhood planning provides the statutory framework to integrate participatory and representative democracy in local plan-making (Bradley, 2014). But how does that actually happen? The Localism Act 2011 introduced a 'duty to support'[168] on local authorities re neighbourhood planning. (See *Chapter Three, section 3.3.1 The Act and Neighbourhood Planning.*) However, having been part of the group for 20-months and then interviewing various KWF members, it would appear the 'duty to support' was not fully operationalised, between Bristol City Council and KWF. However, the capacity and willingness of Local Authorities (LAs) to be involved is seen as a key variable influencing the neighbourhood experience (Healey, 2015). The reason local

[168] in S.110 of the Localism Act (2011)

authorities being an active part of the collaboration in neighbourhood planning matters is because they are:

> '… important partners who hold knowledge, resources and power to shape the progress and content of NDPs[169]'. (Parker, Lynn and Wargent, 2015: 523)

Arguably, this is one of the benefits of having councillor involvement, not just to help with ideas and open access to their social networks and Council resources, but to provide guidance and information about local planning. Without the inside track and expertise from councillors, the group felt very dependent on buying-in expertise from outside consultants, but that was frustrated without adequate funding to do so. Planning was a system that KWF members said they did not fully understand, expressed here by Michelle when I asked how she thought things might change:

> 'You need someone who's experienced both [community work and Council work] because I know what's not working, but I don't know how it works on the other side, to understand where it could be flexible and where things could be changed.'

On city councillor involvement the Local Government Association's Planning Advisory Service[170] says:

[169] Neighbourhood Development Plans (NDPs) – some of the literature refers to neighbourhood plans in this way.

[170] Planning Advisory Service (PAS) provides consultancy and peer support, learning events and online resources to help local authorities understand and respond to planning reform. More information available at: https://www.local.gov.uk/planning-advisory-service (Accessed 9 June 2020)

> ‘They don't have to be, but it is advisable and expected. Experience from the neighbourhood planning front runners is that where members [councillors] are involved they play a key role and can help progress the work significantly - giving it profile with the community and within the wider council and helping to access resources for the work.’

Despite the Localism Act 2011 and the Big Society political narrative of democratising planning, some of the legal regulation was ignored, by both the group and the Council. For example, there were no real signs of partnership work with the Council, as the Local Planning Authority, other than legal advice from Council officers at KWF meetings. Despite government regulation prescribing a ‘duty to support’ on the Council, the councillors were nowhere to be seen. The absence of councillors was despite what central government had said in the Plain English Guide to the Planning System, clearly stating that:

> ‘… councillors have a key leadership role in this process.’ (DCLG, 2015: 6)

Yet how do you legislate from the centre to make individuals co-operate, such as the local councillors in Filwood, who might not even agree with the community-led policy of neighbourhood planning?

6.3.2.2 Bristol City Council and ‘professional advice and assistance’

Members of KWF clearly expressed that adequate support was just not there from the Council, around what was then a new form of community-led planning. Despite a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) being set up in 2013 between the Council and

KWF (see Appendix F), agreements to support were not always forthcoming. For example, section 5.b.h – on 'professional advice and assistance' - states that the Council will 'provide and assist' on 'methods of community engagement and consultation' but this was never evident in my 20-months with the group. Though, on reflection, I wonder if these pledges relate to a referendum stage, which the group did not reach. That kind of help was needed with community engagement work to aid KWF in achieving a neighbourhood plan, such as asset mapping, for example. Help in the plan-making stages could have helped build the community capacity required for the participatory engagement work that neighbourhood planning requires. This is where the Council, theoretically at least, could have plugged such gaps in terms of community capacity building work, but that kind of collaborative, symbiotic relationship was just not happening. Instead, the group relied heavily on private consultants to plug this gap in expertise (as will be discussed in *Chapter Seven, section 7.6.1 Feria – buying in resource*).

6.3.2.3 Bristol City Council, the Knowle West Regeneration Project Board (KWRPB), and the local councillors

Another layer of planning regulation to consider in the regulation *of* KWF is the Knowle West Regeneration Framework (KWRF) - see *Chapter Five, section 5.2.5.1 - Knowle West Regeneration Framework (KWRF) and regeneration.* Led by the Council, this framework was created by the Knowle West Regeneration Project Board (KWRPB) (also known as the 'project board'). I was particularly concerned about how KWF's work would fit in with the Local Plan, the Strategic Plan for the area, and the Knowle West Regeneration Framework (KWRF), as well as considerations for navigating these, but it was never articulated in the forum meetings. In keeping with the Nickson (2019) findings, the

Local Strategic Policy and policy from above means neighbourhood planning is weighted down with procedural rules and tests. In the entanglement of power relations this represents dynamics of power-*over* KWF, from both central government and existing local planning regulation (Parker, 2017).

The importance of working in a networked way to enhance the chances of residents via KWF, for example, achieving power-*with* the Council is demonstrated in Feria's report, mentioning the Knowle West Regeneration Strategy:

> 'The Knowle West Regeneration Strategy contains many varied ideas, many very laudable and well-thought out. While not all members of the Forum agree with all aspects of the strategy it does represent an interpretation of Local Strategic Policy from the City Council and any neighbourhood plan will need to be in general conformity with it. On behalf of Bristol City Council, Phil O'Brien expressed no fundamental objection to the concepts and ideas for Melvin Square or the Green Circuit but he did have a concern that they will remain undeliverable unless the neighbourhood plan (into which they will be included) embraces the general approach of the Knowle West Regeneration Strategy. Therefore, the neighbourhood plan will need to actively align itself to the Knowle West Regeneration Strategy.' (Feria briefing note, 2015: 5)

With what we saw in *Chapter Five*, however, regarding the complexity of community context and local histories around regeneration work that aspiration may have been easier to say as outside consultants than actually actioned by KWF on the ground. In interview, Lawrence explained why these things mattered in terms of developers:

> ‘The KWRF influenced the Local Plan. So, if you look at the Local Plan it is the same as that. So, it got into planning policy that way and that influences the developers.’

The KWRF cites the following things as elements being planned for:

> ‘2,000 new and improved homes, new employment opportunities, better transport links, new shops and a supermarket, improved parks and play spaces, better community facilities.’

Lawrence illustrated how KWF could have used a neighbourhood plan to influence the local regeneration work as outlined by the KWRF, explaining:

> ‘Because basically the framework is just a framework, it doesn’t give you any direction about what does occur other than it says there will be 250 houses, it doesn’t tell you how to build 250 houses, it doesn’t tell you what they look like. So, what you could do under neighbourhood plans is those 250 houses will have X amounts of four-storey houses or X amounts of social housing, affordable housing. You could specify how certain pieces of land were used and how plans would be taken forward, the designs etc..’

Indeed, Sandy saw the work of KWF as holding the Council to account:

> ‘I think Knowle West Future saw themselves as being that group who could do some more scrutiny.’

This is illustrated by Lawrence’s explanation why outlining standards for housing and design codes were important re future development:

Amanda Right, yeah. Cos, I remember Dillon [planning advisor] bringing up design codes and saying the Council were already doing things on that.

Lawrence Yeah, they never did.

Amanda So, not even in the framework document?

Lawrence There's been nothing.

Amanda Does that mean the developers can do the bare minimum?

Lawrence Yeah, they can do what they like. That was the danger, that if we didn't have design codes or design principles, more to the point, we would just get lumbered with whatever came through.

Amanda So what about these 2,000 new houses then? Does that come under the Regeneration Framework?

Lawrence Yes. 2,200 under the Regeneration Framework and that's a mixture of Option 2 and Option 3, I think, because Option 5 was 3,500.

A sense of powerlessness comes across about the absence of minimum standards for local new builds - which could have formed aspects of housing policy via a neighbourhood plan - leaving the area vulnerable to developers. It also points to a missed opportunity for their neighbourhood plan, which could have focused on design codes for minimum standards for new housing, or stylistic issues regarding shop frontage, for example. This is articulated by Feria in their final advisory report to KWF:

> 'The neighbourhood plan needs to be seen as a mechanism that is key to delivering the aims and ambitions of the community on the ground, adding

> value, texture and colour to the area so that positive changes can be seen to be happening.' (Feria, 2015: 31)

This report was a result of Feria Urbanism working with KWF (in 2014-2015). Feria highlighted the importance of the community being involved with the KWRF. Feria wrote about the 'Effects of the Knowle West Regeneration Framework':

> 'The framework identifies certain sections of the existing green spaces network that are suitable for new housing development. While this will result in a net loss of open space the sites, if carefully planned, thoughtfully designed and well-built, will add a quality new edge to certain areas of the retained open space… New housing proposals on the Western Slopes, on the western side of Novers Hill, should help open up land that is currently in private management to greater public access.' (2015: 24)

However, Feria reported a key regulatory finding holding back the group:

> 'The neighbourhood plan needed to be seen as a mechanism that is key to delivering the aims and ambitions of the Knowle West Regeneration Strategy, not a *parallel* [italics my emphasis] process.' (Feria report, 2015: 31)

But how could KWF have worked collaboratively with the KWRF, when they were in something of a state of deadlock with the councillors? A distinct sense of disconnect between the Council and the KWF group comes across repeatedly in the data. Lawrence lamented that:

> 'The lack of political support, the lack of support from the regeneration board was a wasted opportunity.'

The councillors could presumably have added much-needed resources as well as providing a greater awareness of the local and strategic positions as they developed. For KWRF would be a work in progress, not a static one-dimensional plan. As explained in a quote used within the Bristol City Council *One City*[171] strategic plan of 2017:

> 'A strategic plan is not a set-and-forget instrument. It's a living and breathing document that guides decision making and helps marshal resources.' (Kenny, 2016: 4)

The resources element mentioned here, of knowledge, money and know-how would be a key aspect, for elected councillors to be able to help this group of volunteers, councillors having more political leverage locally within the community than the paid officers of the local authority. [NAME REDACTED] agreed that with a better relationship between the councillors things could have been very different. [NAME REDACTED] felt that the problem was essentially one of:

> '…a lack of understanding about what was trying to be achieved.'

Whereas central government was claiming to legislate for a much more collegiate scenario. Feria explained the entangled regulatory issues:

> 'The emerging policy themes around public space and landscape strategies needed to be checked against the established Local Plan and the Knowle West Regeneration Framework. The Local Plan represents Bristol City Council's

[171] More information available at: https://www.bristolonecity.com/wp-content/pdf/BD11190-One-CIty-Plan-web-version.pdf (Accessed 1 May 2020)

planning policy ambitions for the Knowle West area including the Neighbourhood Forum area.

'An emerging neighbourhood plan will therefore need to be in general conformity with the Local Plan, but also take into account the Knowle West Regeneration Framework.'(2015: 31)

Presumably, had the funding been adequate to bring the consultants on board more fully, or had there been co-operation from the councillors, this could have helped remedy this discrepancy around legal conformity. There was always the pressing matter of the future examination of any plan to consider too, not to mention winning a referendum. In order to oppose or bring a neighbourhood plan into law, the legal requirement in the Act of a referendum acts as the democratic brake. I asked [NAME REDACTED] why it was deemed necessary to conduct various public consultation exercises from June 2014 to March 2015, when the Vision 2030 objectives already existed. These were ideas that had come out of extensive consultation work, according to Sandy, already conducted with the public (see *Chapter One* and *Chapter Five*):

'… we weren't sure that we would get the support so we decided to test out various things and did you know that 2014 was probably the most successful 'cause it gave us the best assurance we could be heading in the right direction, and we went through the process of ensuring we weren't stepping on people's toes, to not get opposition, and basically off we went.'

The sensitive nature of community work is evident here, with a fear of people within KWF being seen to be interfering or territorial, but this sensitivity may have obstructed progress or action.

6.4 Conclusive comments

In conclusion, the 'duty to support' directive from central government is too vague, in terms of the pre-plan making stage of neighbourhood planning, and easy to avoid by councillors in favour of existing planning commitments. This study develops a critique of the policy of neighbourhood planning, in terms of examining the 'empowerment'[172] promised by the government. Governmental claims that neighbourhood planning would empower communities (DCLG, 2012) and act to form part of a devolutionary control shift (Conservative Party, 2009, 2010; DCLG, 2011), contrast with the many difficulties KWF participants faced on the ground. The modes of power-with in negotiation and persuasion (Kesby, 2007; Allen 2003, 2004) that typify behaviours related with associational power seemed lacking in the way that KWF regulated its relationships with others. This led to poor connections with other community groups and a weak ability to attract new volunteers. These modes illustrate how a co-operative mindset (Sennett, 2012) and relational expertise (Edwards, 2011) not only contribute but are essential to activating 'power with others' - in the spatiality of power. Communities cannot somehow magically be empowered by others, purely through legislation alone, in terms of being endowed by central government. Without adequate and appropriate resources being made available by government, the legislation alone does not

[172] David Cameron, Prime Minister's speech on the Big Society, 19 July 2010.

automatically bring empowerment. In this case, it would need to be specifically tailored for a community facing multiple levels of social exclusion and deprivation.

With the right support, yes, individuals can potentially empower themselves via neighbourhood planning, through actions and positive interactions with others and networked community working practices.

I want to argue that far from empowering (Bailey and Pill, 2015) the community of Knowle West, the policy of neighbourhood planning entrenched feelings of powerlessness, loss, and disengagement with the political system. Declining political trust (Locality, 2018) is a major challenge that needs to be addressed (British Academy, 2021) because it undermines the ability of community initiatives like KWF to mobilise public behaviour to support new ideas like neighbourhood planning. KWF members were left pessimistic about resolving local problems and finding possible solutions. While the complex, multi-layers of legal regulatory factors around neighbourhood planning appear to have done nothing to increase civic and democratic participation (Bradley, 2014; Locality, 2018). By looking at the internal power dynamics within KWF and the entanglement of social and power relations with respect to external power dynamics we can see that power can be held as capacity, a presence of power, and still yet not be exercised (Allen, 2003).

It is by looking at the relational arrangements (Allen, 2016) and fuzzy power relations (Brownill, 2017) within the entanglements of power (Kesby, 2005), mediated through space and time in a relational manner (Allen, 2004), within and outside KWF can we see that the capacity for creating spaces where people work alongside each other lies within a dense field of relations between people and people, and between people and

things (Rose et al., 2009). Urban space is not a static place, but dynamic and socially created through relationships and is transformed through an entanglement of power relations between spatiality, community histories and emotional geographies; a dialectical relation that links the urban space to its past and to its future.

These resource issues are discussed in the more detail within the following data analysis *Chapter Seven*. We see how regulatory factors and systems around funding influenced the work of the group, along with various other resource issues, conceptualising trust as a resource. A lack of trust, as well as capacity issues around professional expertise and community organising experience within the group, understanding how to work collaboratively, impacted the ability of KWF to be an actor in the regulatory space of neighbourhood planning.

CHAPTER SEVEN – RESOURCES FOR ENGAGEMENT

7.1 Introduction

7.2 Individual capacity – emotional labour, leadership, confidence, local knowledge as expertise

7.3 Local knowledge as expertise and community histories as resource

7.4 Resource management – fundraising and volunteers

7.4.1 Volunteers as resource

7.5 Community engagement and building trust

7.5.1 Relational resource of a collaborative mindset, reciprocity, and trust

7.5.2 Relational expertise, asset-mapping, and the spatiality of power

7.5.3 Missed opportunities of working in collaboration with local groups

7.6 Collaboration as resource - Council support and consultants

7.6.1 Feria and buying-in expertise as resource

7.6.1.1 Towards a neighbourhood plan

7.7 Conclusive comments

7.1 Introduction

In regulatory space theory, the resources of the various actors in that space and the relations in between are critical in holding it together (Scott, 2001; in McDermont et al., 2020). Framing resources as the 'media of power' (Allen, 2004: 24), this thesis presents various resource elements as a vital part of the discussion of the spatiality and entanglement of power and KWF's attempt at neighbourhood planning. To assist in an understanding of that entanglement and what might contribute to securing associational power through neighbourhood planning, the aim of this chapter is to present four main categories within the theme of resources, conceptualising my findings relating to those resource elements - in and around the collaboration involved in neighbourhood planning:

1. **Individual capacity:** leadership, agency, time, local knowledge as expertise
2. **Resource management:** such as funding and fundraising, local assets, including volunteers
3. **Relational agency as resource:** social networks, trust, and reciprocity
4. **Collaboration as resource:** the local planning authority (Bristol City Council), Feria Urbanism the planning and design consultants, other community groups, such as Youth Moves

As we saw in *Chapter Two*, collaborative work of this nature requires many elements to be present in order to be 'successful' - *Factors influencing the development of 'Successful' Collaboration* include: (1) Environmental: 'collaborative group, seen as a leader in the community'; (2) Purpose: 'concrete, attainable goals and objectives'; (3) Process:

'development of clear roles'; (4) Resources: 'sufficient funds and skilled convenors' (Mattessich and Monsey, 1992: 12). All of these elements emerge as issues within the data, resources predominantly more so. Indeed, there are a large level of factors, attributes, resources, and circumstances considered key influencers in the success of collaborative work. Without which the possibility for transformative action remains:

> '… circumscribed and accessible to only those individuals with access to the necessary resources, infrastructures, and repertoires.' (Parker and Street, 2015: 806)

Indeed, resources are considered a vital component of something known as community resilience, defined:

> '… as the existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, unpredictability, and surprise.' (Magis, 2010: 401)

However, community resilience in order to survive, let alone thrive in their task of actually producing a neighbourhood plan, seemed beyond the reach of this group of volunteers. Many issues emerge in the data which amount to substantial practical challenges to KWF being able to successfully develop a neighbourhood plan. Having been a participant observer on the group, studied the legal regulation and collected and analysed all the data, the huge complexity of the task of producing a neighbourhood plan is revealed. In terms of the resources and capacities required of communities to be able to run with the opportunity open to them, [NAME REDACTED] spoke of the complexity of the task:

> 'Basically, we were struggling to get through it.'

As a participant observer, with the group for 20-months, I would say that was something of a huge understatement.

7.2 Individual capacity – leadership, confidence, local knowledge as expertise

Successful neighbourhood plans can take several years to complete (Nickson, 2019), in that time a citizen-planner can expect to be confronted with several hundred pages of very detailed information. In addition to the burden of reading materials, KWF met weekly at times, always in the evening, and, occasionally also at weekend events, particularly during the launch period of the group in the summer of 2014. The time and energy required to participate are considerable. In terms of the context of the scale and complexity of the task of neighbourhood planning, both the capacities and skills of participants required are substantial (Gunn, Vigar and Brooks, 2015). Also, a sizable amount of support is suggested to be necessary (Nickson, 2019). This comes through strongly across the data, here Michelle explains her frustration:

> 'You can't just throw people in at the deep end like that… it's great to say you're in charge but if you don't have the right skills to be in charge, at least not straight away, you need to have support in that.'

In terms of looking at what might constitute the *right skills* many resource issues emerge as being important but missing in the case of KWF. With regard to the skills and capacity of participants, a degree of innovation and entrepreneurship is required in even starting a group (Nickson, 2019). Indeed, Lawrence spoke about this and what he felt

was required, in terms of experience and technical expertise, to run a group and create a neighbourhood plan:

> 'Leadership, finance, project management, client, contracts, planning, communications; I mean, you know, it's a small business for all intents and bloody purposes.'

While the complexity and costs associated with neighbourhood planning are cited as a possible reason for not producing a plan Lawrence could see other issues too. He points to the enormity of what is required in his comment:

> '… we had experience, we had drive. We had, you know, we got people that were committed, but maybe it was just too much.'

For Sandy, whilst she felt a lot was learned during the lifespan of KWF, the work was beyond the resources of KWF:

> 'The problem with neighbourhood planning was, that as we know in hindsight, there was a phenomenal amount of work that needed to go on. It was unrealistic for the kind of capacity that that group had, but they wanted to explore it.'

Lawrence was more specific. What he felt they lacked on KWF were the skills of professional people in the group:

> '… you can see from the very long list, you really need skilled people. This is why Old Market [a city centre area of Bristol that developed a neighbourhood plan] managed to pull it off, because they got planners, and finance people and all sorts of people involved.'

In addition to professional expertise, leadership - particularly the ability through that leader to maintain momentum throughout what is a long process - is critical (Nickson, 2019). The nature of that leadership also matters, for in KWF there did not appear to be any real leader or leadership. This is conceded by [NAME REDACTED] who reflected on the absence of having a front-person:

> '… we didn't get it quite right. We didn't have a frontman or lady. We didn't have an Alistair.' *[referring to a Vicar who retired in 2013 - was described as a 'charismatic and popular' community leader by Lawrence]*

Neighbourhood planning groups require a confident and experienced leader to guide discussions, yet with the skill to not be overtly directive; also suitably eloquent, without being too high-brow or overly technical in their choice of language so as not to exclude or confuse; to be able to capture and elucidate complex issues in an appealing, simple and digestible format (Nickson, 2019). Chairing meetings requires fairness in managing both time and managing who speaks and for how long, patience, plus the ability to manage discussions, to ensure meetings do not become local 'talking shops', about which Rowena was critical. (That said, few attendees to forum meetings proactively contributed to any actual discussions, they would simply attend.) In the absence of a strong leader, facilitators (Mattessich and Monsey, 1992) may have been a huge help, to tease out of the group what their focus for their neighbourhood plan should be, to encourage people to take on tasks, or for a community development worker to aid the process of the neighbourhood plan reaching inception stage, right through to community adoption.

Derek suggested training was needed for KWF members. He questioned the abilities of individuals on the forum to deal with the complexities of neighbourhood planning. He felt what was needed was training on the basics of how to run meetings, referring specifically to knowing how to effectively chair meetings, as well as knowing how to operate as a group. [NAME REDACTED] spoke of a lack of leadership and reflected on the capacities needed by a Chair or group leader, regarding managing the agenda in a timely manner, taking decisions through to votes, and delegating work:

> 'Do people on the forum, do they have enough expertise? I would say they don't. All those people on there should have some kind of training… you know, in how a meeting is run…in no time you get so bored…it's up to the Chair to say, well, so and so, you look into that and then carry on.'

In terms of individual capacity, participants ideally need to be confident and articulate to speak up in public meetings. Desirable behavioural traits when trying to establish a group of volunteers include self-confidence, resilience, and self-motivation (Parker et al., 2017). But what if the local people do not fit this profile, why should they be excluded from citizen-led planning? In an area with known issues with literacy and problem-solving skills (Raphael Reed et al., 2007) exclusion from civic life can occur without specific interventions to ensure social inclusion and neighbourhood planning, to minimise further social disadvantage. Neighbourhood planning participants need to be equipped to intellectually handle the complex issues of a neighbourhood plan, over years of meetings and hundreds of pages of detail, but also a working knowledge of what planning involves (McGuinness and Ludwig, 2017; Brownill and Bradley, 2017). Particular knowledge sets known to be valuable in the process of neighbourhood

planning include housing, retail development, or environmental issues (Nickson, 2019). Local people have knowledge of housing as they live in homes, along with retail as they go shopping, but it is the technical expertise required for neighbourhood planning where a gap in professional skills on the group was considered a major resource issue.

This is identified by Michelle concerning the area's socio-economic status (SES). Michelle felt this impacted KWF's chances of success at making a neighbourhood plan:

> 'It's alright in other neighbourhoods where you've got, I don't know, a lot of highly qualified people in the right kind of skills for this type of work, but… if you've got an architect and a city planner, a lawyer and everything in that neighbourhood and they're all on the planning forum, then… we've got a few people with some relevant skills, but a lot of people are just kind of trying to keep up and understand.'

The complexity of the evidence base required for a neighbourhood plan to be collated and understood (Durose et al., 2014; Vigar, Brooks, and Gunn, 2015), then referred to and utilised in creating a neighbourhood plan is not unsubstantial. This was considered a particular burden in an area known to have 'poor readers' (see Raphael Reed et al., 2007; National Literacy Trust, 2017), as [NAMES REDACTED] had put it (as we saw in *Chapter One – section 1.3.1.2 Multiple-dimensional levels of disadvantage and social exclusion*). Hidden costs associated with participation present significant challenges, in shaping this supposedly more democratic form of planning, include the emotional impacts involved in such protracted campaigns (Inch, 2014). On not achieving a neighbourhood plan, Lawrence admitted he was: 'very, very sore'. He spoke of the pain of 'failure' and how it was 'upsetting to me personally and the others involved'. Lawrence

was feeling thoroughly depressed and the emotion work involved was clear. (Though he said that talking it all through with me in interview had really helped him process things better.)

In the case of KWF most of the work fell on the shoulders of just one person, the Group Secretary. Whilst [NAME REDACTED] had at times sought to secure support from other KWF members to take on more specific work, it always ended up with just [NAME REDACTED] coordinating the main work of the forum, as well as being the link contact for the consultants Feria, and the Council. (The planning consultants used by KWF - Feria Urbanism - will be covered in more detail towards the end of this chapter - see *section 7.6.1 Feria and buying in expertise as resource.)* That was on top of ensuring forum meetings were set up, minuted, then paper and digital minutes circulated. In terms of follow-up work regarding actions arising from forum meetings, a sense of it being just the Group Secretary doing pretty much everything emerges. Communications support came from myself, and fundraising efforts by [NAME REDACTED]. Given the Group Secretary's emotional and investment of his time it was no wonder [NAME REDACTED] felt the emotional impact and sense of failure so profoundly.

Development of clear roles for others could have spread the load, but one source of annoyance expressed by members was around active volunteering, in terms of how very few KWF members would volunteer to do anything. In that, interview participants expressed dismay at the limited number of KWF members who would take up any specific tasks, or even attend public engagement events. Of the few people who attended the monthly forum meetings, attending was often the extent to which many members could or would commit to doing anything. As we saw in *Chapter Six*, the relatively small

numbers of the KWF membership who would turn up to KWF public events was also a cause of tension and disappointment, which lowered morale; if their own members would not turn out, what hope had they in attracting new people and growing their reach in terms of public engagement?

7.3 Local knowledge as expertise and community histories as resource

Local expertise is vital knowledge in the process of neighbourhood planning, framed in this thesis as 'expertise-by-experience' (McDermont et al., 2020: 13). Future legal regulation could do more to accommodate, so as to regulate *for* engagement. [NAME REDACTED] had lived on the estate her entire life and had been in both the predecessor planning group [KWRPG] as well as KWF and explained:

> '… there's a lot of knowledge in the group, in terms of the history of all the work that's been done.'

She is referring to the years of work over planning and regeneration and housing as most of KWF had participated in the KWRPG. What KWF appeared to need was a means of translating that local knowledge into policy objectives and a neighbourhood plan, for they had the expertise about their community through their lived experience. Lawrence felt residents working alone on neighbourhood planning in an area with low levels of professional skills was not enough:

> '… we need experts to drive us through the …whatever needs to be done… '

Whilst there was so much understanding about the community within KWF there were other kinds of expertise that are valued in the neighbourhood planning forum that they did not have, the more professional skills like planning, architecture, design, the law,

communications. Indeed, participants in areas that have developed neighbourhood plans are typically from a professional or academic background, including significant senior or executive managerial experience (Nickson, 2019). In contrast with Knowle West, in London's Kentish Town Neighbourhood Forum (KTNF) they pioneered the introduction of an Advisors Team, initially formed by nine architects and planners who lived or worked in the area, in order for KTNF to draw on their expertise during the process. In addition, five different institutions worked with KTNF at different stages of the preparation of their neighbourhood plan, including Planning Aid England, engineers AECOM Infrastructure & Environment UK (AECOM) and Camden Council. The Prince's Foundation and the Royal College of Art addressed the engagement and communication strategy, while AECOM was commissioned to undertake the Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) in support of the emerging Kentish Town Neighbourhood Plan (Cano Piniero, 2020). This level of professional support was simply not available to KWF (see *section 7.6.1* on *Feria and buying in expertise*) without having enough money to pay consultants to supplement local expertise, and for a substantial period of engagement.

Michelle felt that for KWF to harness local knowledge and experience from the estate they needed extra support from Bristol City Council:

> 'A lot of people are really passionate about the neighbourhood, but not really having the ability to make things happen that they might want because they don't have the understanding, they're not getting the support.'

Lawrence spoke of the many years of life experience and local knowledge of local people who sat on the forum:

> '… there's a lot of knowledge and experience in that room.' [sense of a wasted opportunity] …

He felt strongly that there was so much understanding about the community in KWF to draw on, much in the same way Jane Jacobs wrote about, but there are these other kinds of technical, professional expertise that are valued on the neighbourhood planning forum that the group did not have. Because KWF as a group didn't have the more formal skills of knowing how to make collaborative work happen in a locality, like community development expertise, they couldn't draw on the rich local knowledge and community expertise that they did have. This supports the argument about the importance of facilitators (Mattessich and Monsey, 1992), because KWF was in something of a stuck situation, without someone to guide them through the process.

Michelle, Lawrence, and Derek all recognised the need to create a space where that local expertise could come to the fore. This requires developing and maintaining infrastructure that can support the emergence of expertise by experience; that can bring community-level understandings of what might work or otherwise to the fore, and allow space for difference (McDermont, 2019). In addition to personal local knowledge, there is also a need when working cooperatively to pay attention to that which you do not understand (Sennett, 2012). Allowing elements of social justice to be served is a delicate act of working with the intentions of others without always having the privilege or access to the 'background' from which they start (such as myself and the consultants Feria, who like myself had not worked in the Knowle West area before). We did not know the community histories, as the other people on KWF might know, the

good and the bad, what had worked at a community level in the past and what may have not been successful, and why.

As an example of local expertise, that people like me and Feria would not know, an interesting phrase that Colin used a few times was that there are 'invisible boundaries' on the estate, which came up in conversation around the difficulty of getting members of the public to engage with the Melvin Square events in 2015 if they did not live in that specific vicinity. I had also heard this mentioned by George. He had explained that:

> '… both my maternal grandparents' families were moved up to Knowle as a result of slum clearances … Although today, Knowle (or Knowle West), is often seen as one area, then there were distinct neighbourhoods. So, a small group of streets tended to be where the "slum clearance" families were congregated, and they tended to be looked down upon by other areas such as Novers Hill or Inns Court.'

[NAME REDACTED] agreed with the analysis of 'invisible boundaries' and 'distinct neighbourhoods' and pointed to the importance of embracing residents' local expertise to enable an understanding of the distinct culture of those areas, something the Council did not to his mind appreciate:

> 'Well, there's neighbourhoods within neighbourhoods… Well, people my end won't go up at Novers much and Novers people won't come down to my end much, you know what I mean? It's been part of the estate ever since it was built… So, if the Council does a consultation on Knowle West and only focuses on Filwood Broadway, it doesn't make any difference.'

This speaks to the importance of trusting local people in designing participation models and in boundaries that will work for the community, not an arbitrary boundary on a local government map or electoral ward. Rather than more remote local government officers who might not truly understand the culture, capacity and needs of the area, Sandy mentioned the issue of using local expertise and boundaries in relation to government funding too. Regarding previous social inclusion policies, during the post 1997 Labour years:

> 'Neighbourhood Renewal[173], which was this new kind of governance structure and way of funnelling money into communities, but like I said, it was flawed because it didn't reflect the boundaries or the way people understood community and it was very heavy on services and councillors and very bureaucratic, and people hated the meetings.'

This style of very official, formal meetings can be very off-putting for members of the public and not conducive to nurturing coproduced services and mutual trust in relational sense as they are more consultative in nature. There isn't enough trusting in local people to design models of working with the Council that might work might better to suit local needs. Rather than the local authority imposing their way of doing things on the communities, what seems to be missing is true partnership know-how. The how to actually make co-production happen, for associational power to be created through cooperative action with NDFs like KWF that is what seems absent. How does the vital

[173] Neighbourhood Renewal in England was described by the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit as the 'social equivalent of the minimum wage'. More information available at: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20060530091128/http://neighbourhood.gov.uk/page.asp?id=585 (Accessed 18 July 2021)

resource of relational trust get built with the Council? For trust is a two-way street: many of the residents did not appear to trust the Council to deliver in their best interests, conversely the Council did not appear to trust the residents. If they did, they would allow them more power over their area, through a genuine collaborative approach over key decisions such as around housing and retail units. If a more symbiotic relationship with the Council existed there could be more sensitivity to valuing and benefiting from the wealth of local expertise in the way that public engagement work with residents is conducted and reported back. When there is a vacuum of information the public tends to feel nothing is happening, with regard to regeneration and the Vision 2030 objectives for example.

7.4 Resource management – fundraising and volunteers

At the January forum meeting in 2014, Dillon said their fundraising goal should be £30,000 to see KWF through to the actual winning of a referendum stage and pointed out how quickly consultancy fees would be eaten up. From the minutes of the KWF meeting from February 2014, for example, the seed-fund money to get started was mentioned by Lawrence:

> 'Bristol City Council (BCC) receives £5,000 from Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) for the designation of a neighbourhood planning area (NPA). BCC has committed to pass £2,000 of this on to the successful Neighbourhood Planning Forum designated for that area on their designation, as a contribution to the costs of consultation and involvement with the community.'

Given this is described as 'a contribution', I asked Lawrence about funding – and about what he thought would have been needed to take the group through to actually producing a neighbourhood plan and see it through to passing examination and referendum. [NAME REDACTED] explained KWF's financial situation:

> 'I think it [seed funding] was £2,000. I think we got to £10,000, it might have been £8,000 or £10,000, but it was nowhere near enough, to do £19,000 to bring the neighbourhood plan into law… We ended up with just £36.95 [funds left over].'

Susan identified that KWF not having enough funding was a huge barrier to the successful working of the group. She expressed how she found the actual fundraising daunting, pointing to the skill of fundraising as a prohibitive regulatory issue, in terms of proving to be a block to accessing funding:

> 'If we can't get the funding, we can't do the plan. It seems to me that funding is a nightmare. It's a minefield.'

Patrick also spoke of there being 'insufficient' funding, while Michelle mentioned the fundraising aspect of the work 'disempowered' the Knowle West community:

> 'So, you have to apply for funding yourself, but if you're no good at applying for funding, then again, straight away you've just disempowered, like, a whole community based on one fact of whether they had someone who's got that skill in the group.'

[NAME REDACTED] also identified funding as a huge factor for the successful outcome of this kind of community work, particularly because the type of skills needed for

neighbourhood planning – without paid support - was to his mind somewhat exclusory to the nature of the Knowle West community:

> 'People round here can't do anything without money. In other words, they have next to no expertise, so you've got to go outside to get that expertise, that means they need some money to be able to do it. And they don't know… also because there's no expertise, they don't know what they want, that's the other problem.'

This comment alludes to the need for outside consultants to help with the making of the neighbourhood plan. It appears that his comment may show the need for professional facilitation too, in the form of deploying community development methods, so as to develop ideas for the neighbourhood plan with local people. Indeed, Michelle felt the way neighbourhood planning was as a model was not practical for all communities, particularly without substantial funding and support to accompany the change in law:

> 'I don't think it works for a lot of neighbourhoods.'

Michelle expressed frustration that the new opportunities in neighbourhood planning were not matched with enough funding for their needs, to facilitate community-led planning:

> '… it's very difficult that all the power has been handed over but not the funding to run it.'

Equalities and social inclusion issues arise for those living with multiple levels of social disadvantage, from smaller numbers of people known to volunteer (Matthews and Hastings, 2013; Egerton and Mullan, 2008) to professional skills to deploy in

neighbourhood planning, such as fundraising skills and communications (Willis, 2012). Lawrence felt this was an extra challenge in an age of austerity and local council cuts:

> '… the neighbourhood partnerships have gone [due to the austerity cuts] because of the City Council's support for a number of organisations has gone.'

The impact on community groups from local government cuts is also referenced by Lawrence in our discussion in interview about an attempt to develop a youth club in Knowle West, by a local charity:

> 'In fact, they [Youth Moves] didn't get planning permission in the end and they've given up. They are still going but they didn't get the money in, it's all gone a bit pear-shaped, as these things do.'

There seems heavy-hearted experience in the phrase 'as these things do' when Lawrence reflects on the challenges of community work, which reflects a sad resignation to how community projects (including KWF) often don't get off the ground or their work come to fruition.

Complexity emerged as a theme, not just around the planning issues and level of understanding involved, but around fundraising itself. In the end, this work fell on the shoulders of [NAME REDACTED], one of the local third sector workers. The lack of available funding, delays in securing money from Locality and the need to fund-raise are cited by members as regulatory reasons within the group for finding it hard to keep up momentum in the work of the group. The issue of fundraising and lack of funding knocked the morale of volunteers. Lawrence explained:

> ‘I mean, yeah, it gets very dry and especially if we’ve got no money and we’re bogged down in the paperwork and it really is very dry and it gets desperate, how do we get the money in?’

Lawrence also felt that the need to demonstrate results to use as the case for funding in fundraising bids was another difficulty of applying for grants when the group was so new and had no achievements to its name:

> ‘Yeah, cos if you apply for something: well, what have you achieved? Well, we’ve done X, Y and Z. Do you know what I mean? It could be…we really struggled on the funding. Plus, we had to get the funding in. And that’s another expertise, which we had, but in small doses. I’m not a good fundraiser.’ [sounds defeated]

Having secured a government grant (administered by Locality) for £7,000 most of this money was used to pay for consultants, to help the group move towards producing a neighbourhood plan, but this figure was insufficient to meet the total charges of the urban planners who pitched for the work. Although neighbourhood groups could then access up to £9,000 a year in financial support through Locality (Brownill, 2017b), in the end, the reality of what was held in the KWF bank account became so pressing that fund-raising (to pay for outside consultants to aid in the making of a neighbourhood plan) ended up overtaking the actual creative process of deciding what to focus on in the plan itself. This left a distinct sense of disappointment and remorse about the missed opportunities around the whole process, Lawrence said:

> ‘Without support from the community we don’t have a plan. And that’s exactly what happened, we didn’t get support from the community, therefore we had to draw a line under it. And we ran out of money…we ran out of volunteers…’

7.4.1 Volunteers as resource

Throughout the data, a story emerges of the challenges and complexity of neighbourhood planning, surrounding funding and resources generally, including having active members as a human resource. Attracting new members as well as keeping volunteers active in KWF was an issue throughout the lifespan of the group. Despite the legal requirement for 21 active members, there was an average of between four and ten attendees at monthly KWF meetings, usually with only two people active in actual follow-up tasks (one being myself, a non-member, the other being the Group Secretary).

Susan spoke of her dismay about the lack of active members and KWF not seeming to attract new people:

> ‘…we haven’t got enough people…there’s a difference with having people on a list and not having a presence being felt… by all those people [the 21 members needed to set-up the group and make it a legal entity] not turning up to any of those meetings, you can’t really say you have a forum.’

The lack of volunteers matched with the time-intensive nature of the work was a source of great frustration, particularly to Lawrence, who identified as feeling depressed after the poorly attended public engagement events in the spring of 2015.

> ‘…we just didn’t have the support. Not even from the members. If you see the minutes of the last eight months, you can see it’s in decline.’

Lawrence expressed great upset about KWF not being able to attract their own KWF members let alone manage to secure the public to engage with initial ideas, around developing Melvin Square and the proposed green space initiative. Lawrence spoke in terms of finding it hard to keep going because of delays in funding, a lack of volunteers, as well as the waning interest of KWF members. He speaks of the emotional toil and time-intensity required to devote to neighbourhood planning:

> '... it drained our energy and lost our time... just lots of wasted time. As time went on, we had less and less support at meetings etc., etc., etc..'

7.5 Community engagement and building trust

What we see in *Chapter Two* and *Chapter Six* is that relationships are a resource in terms of working together to seek associational power within the entanglement of power and social relations in national and local government and within the community space. The spatiality of power runs across relationships as much as geographic, land-based spaces or individual organisations. The emotional geographies associated with place impacts building trust in collaborative work of this nature. Having a clear purpose and 'concrete, attainable goals and objectives' (Mattessich and Monsey, 1992: 12) is all part of feeling trust in the process and each other in collaborative work. However, Derek felt there was no clarity of an action plan or vision:

> 'I want to support this group but sometimes I don't think they know what they want to do.'

Rowena appeared to think the approach taken was too abstract:

> ‘I don’t think people will come and get engaged with it unless you have emotion and you’re taking … it’s all too rational I’m afraid [laughs] and I think it’s too rational for most people there… There has to be an emotional hook that draws people in. I think it’s because people don’t have that cause and effect understanding about what they will achieve by going [to the forum meetings] and you need the hook to draw them in.’

This was something Sandy also felt strongly about. She felt collaborative work of this nature needed to be ‘bureaucratic-lite’ and trust and co-operation from the community would be built by following local passions:

> ‘It’s got to be based around what people care about, and that’s why there’s a really active Health Park group now that just want to make it better. That’s why the Northern Slopes Group has gone from strength to strength, because people care passionately about the Northern Slopes, and [NAMES REDACTED] and everybody’s done a fantastic job.’

In contrast, Susan spoke of how she felt the KWF group’s lack of a clear purpose was an issue in terms of winning the trust of the public. She spoke of the need for agreeing on modest campaigning points to coalesce around, such as improving a small area known as Filwood Green outside the Filwood Community Centre. Her idea was to make it pedestrianised, to provide a much-needed play area for children:

> ‘You need to get people motivated and the only way you’re going to get people motivated is if they can see something’s being done.’

Going on, Susan said:

> ‘I personally think the forum needed to start off with small bits and achieve small things and once the public could see that they’ve achieved something, then they might get behind them… the forum is struggling because there’s no… The public has got no… They’re not getting behind them. They’re not supporting them, so there’s not enough evidence to support a neighbourhood plan, really.’

This is exactly what Jacobs (1961; 2000) wrote about sixty years earlier. Her firm advice when plan-making was to pursue gradual, small-scale projects (Laurence, 2006). This was echoed by the volunteer, retired town planning consultant on the group. He warned that if they tried to do too much, they may not achieve anything at all. Michelle’s views were similar to this philosophy and in more echoes of Jacobs’ work (1958; 1961; 1969; 1993; 2000; 2016) and the clear recommendation of aiming for small scale, short plans when it came to community-led planning. Both Michelle and Susan felt ‘small wins’ would help build trust with the local community, which could help to bring the public on board by securing small, incremental, demonstrable achievements. Michelle said:

> ‘I know things take time, but I feel like, I don’t know, there should be a better way, do you know what I mean? Like, seeing things happening now down by Filwood, you should have little things like this happening so that you can see that plans… rather than just having plans for a really long time and not having anything happen, I think it should be a bit more iterative so that you can do something and then see that kind of happen, that starts going and then you do the next thing. So, you do the broader vision but then you need to start on getting the balls rolling on little things.’

However, the group instead went for a huge, but unfunded public realm project in the proposed redesign of Melvin Square. This reminded me of Sennett's framing of what he called 'leap-of-faith trust' (2012: 153), that without that type of trust, certain projects will never get off the ground. Sennett uses the analogy of an architect's studio where people stay at their desks, working long hours on projects for months on end, on works that may never see the light of day, for funding reasons or if clients change their minds. That kind of trust just was not evident in Knowle West, to be able to sustain interest in long-term projects that might take five-ten years to come to fruition.

Susan and I felt that becoming more of a campaign group may have helped build trust from the community, in terms of KWF focusing on one main, achievable, and clear idea. For example, campaigning for a supermarket might have been easier to communicate as a benefit of the value of neighbourhood planning and might have proven easier to win the public around, to give them something they could get behind, one single issue to attract support. On the importance of adding 'quality and variety to the mix of open spaces in the neighbourhood', as articulated in the Green Circuit idea, this was decided to be put to the public in early 2015.

Michelle felt it would have been wise to make a clear offering of a park, whilst Susan wanted a new children's play area, both tangible ideas that might catch public attention. Engaging the community around local resource issues, something that could have had an immediate and tangible impact in their lives, such as an urban park, was seen as far more likely to create interest and develop a personal connection with KWF, rather than the more long, drawn-out quite abstract, dry and bureaucratic approach. Rowena felt

the absence of KWF being able to promote smaller ideas and achievable targets was a potential issue contributing to a lack of public interest:

> 'I'm finding it frustrating going to it [forum meetings] because I just see it as consulting and consulting and consulting with less and less people each time.'

Lawrence alluded to not having a clear enough focus in the KWF group itself:

> '… we tried to do too much, and we lose concentration and focus…'

Lawrence explained the significance of not managing to engage the public, as well as the need to attract new volunteers:

> 'Without support from the community we don't have a plan. And that's exactly what happened, we didn't get support from the community, therefore we had to draw a line under it. And we ran out of money…we ran out of volunteers…'

7.5.1 Relational resource of a collaborative mindset, reciprocity and trust

Neighbourhood planning is described as being 'relational reform' (Padley, 2012: 351) in terms of shifting power relations, because it is said to offer a new partnership between local people and their local planning authorities, also between neighbourhood planning forums with other community organisations. Lawrence touches on power dynamics and the issue of trust in his comments about the Council, in that he felt had there been more of a collaborative relationship with the Council the community may 'possibly feel empowered'. This is how Lawrence expressed this idea:

> 'And the City Council may then be able to use the community better in the way it develops things. Cos we've been told over the years about places like Efford in Plymouth where the Council actually works in something called, not co-partnership, co-creation, and basically that doesn't happen much around here.'

In contrast, alluding to the power dynamics at play between external actors to the group such as private housing developers and the Council, Lawrence felt the community was not in a relationship of co-design when it came to the local authority and planning (as we saw in his comments in *Chapter Five* about housing and the Northern Slopes):

> 'It's an attitude of mind for the Council to think … these guys can actually do something and it's an attitude of mind to say that we can do something.'

In terms of trust as resource and reciprocity, community work requires an environment of mutual trust, to provide a sound platform for a resilient collective response (Magis, 2010), in order to create community consensus to produce a neighbourhood plan. Indeed, the centrality of reciprocal trust (Ostrom, 2003; Poteete et al., 2010; Sennett, 2012) is vital in successful collaborative work, as we saw in *Chapter Two*. As a resource, this needed to be present and fluid across a myriad of relationships for the community to succeed in neighbourhood planning, framed by the idea of the entanglement of power involved in Knowle West in community engagement in *Chapter Six*. However, as Lawrence concluded: 'Nobody took us seriously.' This is a far cry from Mattessich and Monsey's definition - in *Factors influencing the development of 'Successful' Collaboration* - that the environment needs to be one of a:

> '… collaborative group, seen as a leader in the community' (1992: 12)

Lawrence did not feel, however, that the community in Knowle West was trusted by the Council for KWF to be treated as a 'leader' when it came to planning. He said:

> 'Developers, do you trust us to make comments about and set a plan out for housing or use the green space which is going to get hit by a good number of houses over the next 20 years?'

In Knowle West, we find an environment that can be characterised as being absent of the vital resource of reciprocal trust, as we saw as being needed for collaborative work to flourish in *Chapter Two*. With the community expressing low political trust, Lawrence felt in turn KWF was not trusted or treated as an equal partner in its relations with either the Council or developers.

7.5.2 Relational expertise, asset-mapping and the spatiality of power

Neighbourhood planning does not happen in a vacuum. Relationships are an integral resource within the entanglement of power relations which includes individual residents, local community groups, the Council, landowners, and developers. As we saw in *Chapter Six*, associational power in neighbourhood planning can happen through maximising connections with social networks across a community space. Indeed, the relational complexity of entanglements around social and power relations in localism and neighbourhood planning and achieving associational power relies on people being able to work together across local social networks (McKee, 2012). This approach would be dependent, however, on KWF managing to take a networked approach with various stakeholders working together – framed in this thesis as the spatiality of power and community engagement. Building and using common knowledge from collaborative

work is an important feature of what can be termed relational expertise (Edwards, 2011) or relational agency (Edwards, 2005), required to successfully work collaboratively and across social networks on complex tasks (Edwards, 2011). The reason this is important in resource terms is that social networks can expand a group or person's 'asset base' (Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011: 4).

Michelle had wanted KWF to maximise on asset-mapping work and saw the value of working across social networks in community work. I would describe Michelle as an example of one of the 'catalytic individuals' (Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011: 6) of the community, said to play a crucial role in terms of social networks, in terms of persuading and influencing and advising others (Gladwell, 2000; Bacon, et al., 2008). The relational agency of the group can be strengthened by individual agency (Kesby, 2007), through that person's confidence, ideas, and contacts. Michelle explained:

> 'I'm involved in lots of different things, mine is more being able to bring and share out with the broad networks that I have and bring ideas and information to the group and help share what the group's [KWF] doing out broadly.'

Michelle is speaking of an approach known as asset-based community development work (ABCD) (Kretzman and McKnight, 1993) (see *section 2.3.2 - Localism and collaboration* of *Chapter Two*). At the core of ABCD work is a focus on social relationships, but this kind of community development work requires expertise and is time intensive. When I raised using ABCD techniques as a way of building support - using the Kentish Town neighbourhood planning example, as touched on earlier - at the working group in December 2014, [NAME REDACTED] shut down the idea. [NAME REDACTED] deferred to the consultants Feria, saying such work should be 'left to the

experts'. However, the client needs to brief the consultants accordingly. Interestingly, the benefits of working collaboratively and in a networked way were in fact articulated clearly by Feria in their final report of recommendations to KWF in 2015. By then it was too late, as the group was disbanding. Feria said that KWF needed to 'reposition itself' to work collaboratively, to allow for the following three things:

> ' 1) Deliver small-scale community-building projects in its own right; the focus should be not on the physical plan but on the change that comes when people work together.
>
> 2) Align itself more closely with other organisations that may well have better-established networks that can gather local opinion more effectively, and;
>
> 3) Create a plan that draws together existing projects from other organisations into an overarching plan, rather than create more new initiatives of its own.' (Feria, 2015: 5)

However, KWF did not adopt an asset-mapping approach and as such there was no strategy introduced to tap into the resource potential of local networks amongst residents, groups, organisations, and institutions. The human resource benefit of tapping into other local networks could have been of huge benefit, in terms of communication reach, and sharing resources, filling gaps in skills and building relationships from other community groups and personal connections, financial assets and professional skills.

[NAME REDACTED] spoke with exasperation at the missed opportunity of not tapping into the resources of other local groups and working together (see also *section 7.6.2 - missed opportunities of working in collaboration with local groups* below):

> ‘Do you know, there’s enough… If this forum fails, I can’t… There are enough groups in and around Knowle or Knowle West for us to be supported. There’s the Health Park. I don’t know all their names, but there’s the Health Park for one. There’s one that meets on Mondays at the community centre [Filwood]. There’s a lot of groups that could all combine, and they could all be involved in the same thing to make one voice and I cannot understand… Because [NAME REDACTED] is on all of them, but [NAME REDACTED] wants to keep it all separate. I can’t for the life of me understand the sense of it.’

However, working collaboratively did not seem to be how the group as a whole seemed to operate. This could be down to preconceived ideas of how KWF should operate, based on past ways of working for example, or difficult community histories that went before, which may have led to a sense of being somehow protective of the work of the group. It’s hard to know. [NAME REDACTED] said KWF was led by someone:

> ‘… very focused on the rules and what could and couldn’t happen.’

Listening to Michelle and Susan there was a distinct sense of the remorse that the group did not focus on being more networked in their approach and maximising on the local assets of other social networks:

> ‘… to develop and improve and make better… based upon the assets and not necessarily what’s wrong with it… develop the assets to make better those things that don’t work rather than just kind of totally focussing on what doesn’t work.’

Asset-mapping work needs relational expertise and community development experience to adopt the approach to asset-map; without interventions such as advocacy

and experienced community organisers and facilitators, this is difficult work for volunteers. When I had suggested paying someone to facilitate such work, facilitators to really draw out KWF's expertise as local residents, the idea was talked down by [NAME REDACTED], who said that the facilitation skills needed to come from within the estate. However, it was for the very reason that those facilitation skills were not evident within the group that I felt it to be a possible solution. In the sense, facilitators could have helped tease out of the group their local expertise. For the kinds of expertise the group *did* have included local knowledge of what has and has not worked in the past and familiarity with their neighbourhoods and neighbours. A facilitator could have aided the process of co-designed (Mattessich and Monsey, 1992) collaborative work, such as helping KWF members focus on priority areas for their neighbourhood plan, as well as aid the process of bringing new people into the co-production process.

Sandy was in agreement, that to achieve relational power as a community, paying people was essential so as to put the community in more of a position of power:

> 'You have to be clear what your values are, and you have to be as transparent as possible, and you have to do the best possible job that you can around communications. And then you have to have some kind of way of collectively prioritising because you can't do everything. And you have to have some relationships with funders to fund you to have the capacity to do it, because you can't do it with volunteers only. That would be my big thing, the community cannot mobilise and organise without paying some people.'

Lawrence later discussed the value of the type of expertise and human resource required for a more networked approach to be taken. This was since having worked with

someone experienced in that kind of work. This was someone called Cecily from a local regeneration consultancy, and she worked on a neighbourhood plan in the north of Bristol [Knowle West is in the south of the city]. Lawrence said:

> 'You know, it's an organisation that needs to be at the top of its game almost. And that's why people like Dillon [voluntary town planning advisor] and Cecily [a Bristol-based community worker who used asset-mapping approaches] are so important 'cos they can open gates that the group cannot.'

On reflection, it was clear Michelle and Susan could really see the benefits of working in a different, asset-based way but in terms of the internal power dynamics, it seemed as if changing the culture of KWF felt out of reach. [NAME REDACTED] was a relative newcomer to the group - the KWF had already been functioning for years as the Knowle West Residents Planning Group (KWRPG) - as was I. Though those on that previous group, KWRPG, spoke about the Council consulting with them, which is very different in power relations terms to the collaborative, co-production power-*with* model of neighbourhood planning.

7.5.3 Missed opportunities of working in collaboration with local groups

Despite the need to work collaboratively being a vital component of neighbourhood planning, as well as losing community partners, as we saw in *Chapter Six,* there were missed opportunities to work with a local youth group, Youth Moves. First in the summer of 2014, see *Chapter Six – section 6.2.4.2, A lack of decision-making and KWF meetings being off-putting to newcomers*. Then in 2015, when the chance of working with

Youth Moves presented itself again when KWF was approached to help secure a youth centre in Knowle West. Youth Moves wanted to use the data collected by KWF during the questionnaire work from the launch activity with the public in the summer of 2014, which showed local people citing activities for young people as being their number one concern for the area. [NAME REDACTED] explained:

> 'They've [Youth Moves] got to support their funding basically with reasons why and … they have to make sure that the public want it in order to get the funding. So, a good way of doing that, because we've already done some work… There was a developer or an architect or something that's willing to do the work providing they can get the funding, and this youth man, Alistair somebody [Manager of Youth Moves], he asked if he could use our work. The man went away with a "no"… "We'll talk about it later, we'll talk about it later." And I said "no". I said "This is important. This could get something done."'

But it seemed [NAME REDACTED] was not listened to within KWF. In terms of power dynamics, community groups can become gatekeepers to others getting involved (McDermont et al., 2020) and entrenched differences between people can emerge in community settings. Indeed, community engagement may require an organisation ceding power over a situation but may also necessitate a group making concessions, to positively influence behaviour within a community. This might involve relinquishing short-term gains (total control) and objectives (control over the focus of direction) for longer-term outcomes (collaborative work and a coalition of support across the community). When asked about the decision not to work with Youth Moves, [NAME

REDACTED] said: 'we wanted to do something distinct from other work'. However, it was this insular approach that seemed to be the undoing of KWF.

In adopting that approach, KWF lost the opportunity for securing much needed local goodwill, the opportunity to potentially build trust between the organisations, plus the social network connection of extra human resource, in terms of collaborating with potential new volunteers, which meant a potential loss of valuable volunteer resource, youth expertise, and new ideas. [NAME REDACTED] was very critical of the missed opportunities of not working with Youth Moves:

> 'I think the under 25's should have had their own forum linked to our forum. They missed the boat, because there's a lot of expertise. There's a lot of energy there.'

The significance of this comment to the concept of resources and the spatiality of power, is missed opportunities for much needed extra resources (new volunteers with time and 'energy') but also in terms of breaking away from the views of people who might be considered the *usual suspects* (Barnes et al., 2004). Operating in more of a networked approach - such as nurturing a closer relationship with the ongoing work of the Council's Knowle West Regeneration Board and seeking to work with other local community groups such as Youth Moves – would be important because social networks could expand the collaboration of KWF's 'asset base' (Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011: 4). Campaigning alliances, if sufficiently diverse, can also produce new forms of progressive leadership, with new people able to challenge embedded thinking (Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011). Group work of a co-designed nature requires a variety of integral ingredients for collaborative projects to be a success (Mattessich and Monsey, 1992),

including strong individual and relational agency (Edwards, 2011). A truly collaborative approach means using relationships to engage with others, to boost collective resources. None of this is easy, however, as Sandy underlined in comments of community organising:

> '… we're talking about the difficulties of how do you mobilise and how do you create collective power when there are so many different views in the community? How do you reach a consensus?
>
> 'How do you arrive at really good decisions?'

7.6 Collaboration as resource - Council support and consultants

Communities who successfully develop neighbourhood plans do so by working across social networks (McKee, 2012) and with other organisations, such as local Councils (Sturzaker and Shaw, 2015; Nickson, 2019). Trust appeared to have broken down, however, between the residents and the Council. Sandy pointed out that it needed to be a 'sense of *we* are doing it, rather than *they* are doing it'. In terms of the power dynamic between the Council and residents, as we saw in *Chapter Five,* KWF members spoke of a sense of feeling 'done to', a phrase which came up often during my time in Knowle West. *Done to* being the opposite of a collaborative relationship with the Council. Power relations of this nature can create something of a dependent, paternalistic dynamic in the relationship between citizens and the state:

> 'When collective endeavours are scuppered because 'real power' resides elsewhere at another level of governance or within the private sector, this

> frustrates community energy and contributes to a sense of powerlessness.' (Locality, 2018: 16)

Conversely, a lack of trust and risk aversion on behalf of public authorities and political leaders is known to dampen community action (Locality, 2018). That was echoed in local people expressing a sense of mistrust and frustration in the Council. Sandy spoke of 'endless consultations' and her analysis of these Council consultations was that:

> 'They always made the mistake of not feeding back in ways that were accessible for people. So, people never felt that they were being heard.'

This left local people feeling frustrated, at a sense of being endlessly consulted, but that nothing ever coming through. ('Nothing ever changes here' is what members of the public would tell me, for example when undertaking questionnaire work in the street and during the launch events in 2014, plus when I was out delivering the newsletter The Knowledge in 2017.) This caused something of a ripple effect; the broader community were then seen as apathetic towards new groups like KWF, as there was a lack of trust in anything coming of new initiatives, a lack of faith in the political system, building-up an image of a 'broken promises' narrative against the Council.

As one example of this Sandy mentioned:

> '[NAME REDACTED] will be the first, he could talk forever about that £40 million, I think it was something like that, a very big promise that was made to regenerate the Broadway, that never came to anything.'

Other KWF members felt let down by the lack of Council support, particularly from the local councillors refusing to be involved. In terms of frustration with the Council in the

present day, [NAME REDACTED] was very critical of what she described as 'the lack of facilities' locally, particularly 'the lack of shops and a supermarket'. Michelle singled out a lack of structured support as a major barrier to success for KWF:

> 'It's just like "you can do it, here you go"... I haven't really seen that solid structured support that feels like, if not a collaboration, then at least a handover period where you are being held for a year and then let go or something. It's not like that. It's just like: "here you go".'

Michelle spoke of not expecting the task of neighbourhood planning to be 'as complicated' or to have to be as 'in depth'. Reflecting on what is very labour-intensive, detailed work, of drawing up a plan and taking it through to the formal approval process, she felt the group was left unsupported and under-resourced:

> 'Giving power to communities that might not have the right skills for that particular job because, at the end of the day, it's a job getting that done. It's a huge job... and it's difficult because where is that resource going to come from?'

Michelle said the group needed external support to help facilitate them to even operate as a group. To help build capacity, attract new volunteers and divide tasks and responsibilities, rather than one person taking it upon themselves to do everything. KWF used the extra resource of having professional assistance from advisors and paid consultants. KWF had three advisors present at most monthly forum meetings: Phil O'Brien (Regeneration Programme Manager, Bristol City Council), Dillon Farmer (town planning advisor, retired town planner/volunteer), and myself (Communications Officer, volunteer via the University of Bristol and KWMC, with a background in public

relations and communication work). Dillon was described by Lawrence as acting in a philanthropic capacity, volunteer role, in terms of being a retired town planner:

'… advising the group on how we do stuff and how we influence things.'

Whereas Phil represented the Regeneration and Planning Department of the Council and was someone with the potential to create a bridge with the resource of the Council, in the absence of the councillors. However, he did not provide creative ideas or offer any hands-on practical, political or community engagement advice, he attended a forum meeting once a month, just observed really and made comments on certain technicalities. Though he may well have been restricted by the remit of his role and other responsibilities (especially in an era of local government job losses). Lawrence described Phil as a 'conduit' between KWF as local residents and the Council as the local planning authority.

7.6.1 Feria Urbanism and buying in expertise as resource

As we saw in *Chapter Two* and *Chapter Six*, the power relations at play in collaborative work of this nature can be conceptualised as an entanglement (Kesby, 2005; 2007) of interdependent relationships. Within that entanglement, resources are framed as 'the media of power' (Allen, 2004: 24). In addition to funding, human resources via networks of affiliation and volunteers are another key conduit of (potential) power in neighbourhood planning, as well as the buying-in of professional expertise. When Foucault used the abridged term 'power/knowledge' (Foucault, 1991: 194) it is to signify how power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, such as the technical and legal expertise offered by consultants specialising in urban design and planning

matters. Indeed, there was an accepted wisdom on the group that to produce a neighbourhood plan professional consultants would be needed. This is in keeping with the national trend, in terms of the majority of community areas - that successfully progressed to completion - eventually collaborating with professional planners (Parker, 2015; Nickson, 2019). Professional planners may be needed, for example, to secure a sufficiently robust evidence body, not just present opinions and aspirations, which a group of novice planners might need to complement local knowledge.

In that sense, local knowledge as expertise is one of the values local communities bring to the plan-making process but they need support to present specific local information and robust evidence, rather than merely express aspirations or opinion, especially if a proposed neighbourhood plan is proposing to veer away from Local Plan policies (Inch et al., 2019). KWF members expressed that they did not feel they had the right level of both new ideas and the technical expertise required to actually produce a neighbourhood plan without professional support.

The tendering process to secure consultants was a bumpy road of delays and disappointments for KWF. As described in the vignette below it was originally agreed by the KWF forum meeting of February 2014 that various consultants with planning expertise would be invited to pitch for the work with KWF to produce a neighbourhood plan. A tendering process started in March 2014 to appoint consultants. A panel of three KWF members (NAMES REDACTED) were chosen to oversee the recruitment process. Consultants would be hired, to take things through to the actual neighbourhood plan adoption stage, which would include 'the work of designs, consultation material and plan preparation.' However, delays in funding arose which changed things entirely.

There was not enough funding available to take things through even to the plan-making stage, let alone right through to adoption. The vignette below demonstrates how lack of funding as a resource issue became problematic for KWF resulting in a 'much-reduced scope of work'. It was the complexity in the 'preparation of documents' and bringing in the public that the group felt they needed consultants to get them through the entire final plan-making stage, explained here:

Throughout my time with KWF and in the years afterwards I would correspond with [NAME REDACTED] the G*roup Secretary, via email. I asked [NAME REDACTED] to summarise how [REDACTED] felt about the tendering process to secure planning consultants and why KWF wanted to do so:*

'Our expertise at the time was relatively strong in some areas of work required for the plan – understanding of the situation, community outreach and communications due to the presence of community members, the involvement of a specific officer from the Regeneration and then Planning Department of the Council; an independent planning advisor with significant experience of how things work; and a specialist communications person…

'However, we were lacking in expertise in the preparation of documents and consultation events in a way which were going to be sufficient to pass examination. Therefore, the decision was taken to appoint consultants to help us.

'We invited tenders from six companies, some of which we had experience of working with before. Feria Urbanism was the only one outside of Bristol but had been recommended to us as being experienced in working in urban areas and was a relatively new consultancy who may have fresh ideas and may see things differently.

'Three companies supplied bids (two companies had in fact merged). These were assessed and all three invited to interview; and a decision made to appoint, pending receipt of relevant funds. But the funds came forward on a different timescale than expected; and did not match the funding we needed to meet the original tender brief; therefore, a much-reduced scope of work was negotiated with the preferred bidder Feria Urbanism.'

(Extracted from email correspondence with [NAME REDACTED], June 2017)

The entanglement within the regulating power of funding regimes is revealed in this vignette. Funding delays - and a shortfall in money needed for consultants even once monies were received - impacted the ability of KWF to fully engage with the policy of neighbourhood planning. KWF did not have enough funds to engage consultants for the entire duration, through to the actual plan-making stage. This was a contributory factor in KWF's inability to enjoy relational power with the Council. KWF's plan at the outset was to get to the point where KWF, with the support of Feria's professional assistance, would have produced a neighbourhood plan and have supporting documents ready by December 2014. However, due to fundraising issues and delays in receiving the first key grant (essentially waiting for a £7,000 grant from the My Community Right Fund operated by Locality) the group only had the £2,000 seed-fund money (via DCLG and administered by the Council) at the time of tendering. Lawrence explained that due to these funding constraints KWF was unable to reach the stage of making a neighbourhood plan:

> 'Due to funding issues, by May of 2014, the tendering process had to be put on hold. KWF had to renegotiate the tender once they found out how much money we actually had.'

By the September of 2014, the Locality money of £7,000 had come through and (as we saw in *Chapter Six section 6.3.1.1 - The regulatory impact of funding)* £2,000 had been awarded by local charity Quartet's Community Planning Fund but it could not be used (within the restrictions placed by Quartet's funding) to pay towards consultants. Feria Urbanism was awarded the contract with KWF, but funding limitations only covered

four months of investigatory work, at a total charge of £7,200 + VAT. [NAME REDACTED] was the link person between KWF as the Contract Manager and Feria. [NAME REDACTED] spoke about why the collaboration with consultants was such an important ingredient within the power dynamic of the KWF group. Feria provided an important resource element for the group, Lawrence explained:

> 'Having consultants was very important. Because we haven't got any technical or legal planning expertise ourselves, it was vital that we had consultants to provide that professionalism and expertise that we have not got and give guidance on.'

It was professionalism as expertise that Feria offered. But the group faced a dilemma around resources:

> 'The main problem was that to get work done to take forward the plan as we had intended, we needed both funding and a range of technical expertise,' explained the Group Secretary [NAME REDACTED].

The significance of these two resource issues is that having more funding would have ensured a longer time working in partnership with Feria, which could have been a vital component in achieving relational power with the Council and community at large. Feria's expertise was bought in by KWF to facilitate, enable, and enhance KWF's capacity to act within the regulatory space of neighbourhood planning. One key impact of the shortfall in funding available for consultants, [NAME REDACTED] said, was that housing had to be taken out of the work Feria did with KWF. [NAME REDACTED] explained why:

> '… it was critical that housing was covered, but when we sat down and worked out what we could really try and do we got into the detail of what we could do… we said no, we can't get into all that sort of level of detail, we just don't have the experience or the professionalism.'

The issue of housing brings up issues around power, trust, and loss (of land), as touched on previously in *Chapter Five, section 5.2.6 - Fears around losing green space and stalled regeneration work*. At the time of KWF's work, there were known plans for the Council to build over 2,000 new homes in the Knowle West area in the coming years. Relational trust relies on strong beliefs about goodwill, honesty, and the efforts of others to act in good faith (Popps, et al., 2016), but Lawrence said he did not trust the Council to protect the land (on the Northern Slopes) from housing developers. This speaks to the tension and relational complexity around social and power relations at stake in neighbourhood planning. The KWF had formed in the shadow of local fears over the demolition of existing housing stock (at Inns Court) and loss of green space (which the group had successfully opposed in their former life, as KWRPG). Sandy explained the fears over poor standards in housing provision for the area:

> 'Inns Court has been built in my time here, although there were lots of design faults with that and lots of work needs to be done on that now, and there has been housing. Unfortunately, a lot of the housing has been poor quality.'

Adopting policies around design codes and minimum standards in a Knowle West neighbourhood plan could have ensured guaranteed standards of new housing. This would be dependent on a neighbourhood plan having been produced, then adopted by the community, which was the ultimate desire of the KWF.

If more money had been held by KWF at the time, Feria could have performed design-based activities that mediated between the context of local knowledge harvesting, toward the creation of tangible ideas to present to residents, then in follow-up technical reports and written policies that could eventually form part of a neighbourhood plan. Here we see how disciplinary technologies – in this case, Feria's planning expertise - can potentially alter power relations, in theory at least, as their expertise as a resource could have been enabling. Yet the shortfall in funding allowed for just four months of consultancy work, limiting KWF's ability to engage fully with collaborative planning and become a productive partnership with the Council, as the Local Planning Authority.

Apart from the social exclusion elements to this, there is a frustrating irony that one of the key drivers for neighbourhood planning being introduced by central government was supposedly to give local communities a greater role in planning for housing (Sturzaker, 2011; Bradley and Sparling, 2017). Neighbourhood plans are said to be a tool for communities to influence or allocate new housing, being able to produce design policies for allocated sites or provide general design policies. Buying-in expertise was also an attempt to compensate for risks associated with amateur policymaking, re possible legal challenges at the examination stage or even through planning inquiries.

The legal regulation laid down by government (*Chapter Three, section 3.3.1 - The Act and Neighbourhood Planning*) required certain things from the group, in order to pass examination. This speaks to the power-over (Allen, 2003, 2004) analysis of the mode of *domination*, when a form of conduct forces compliance, as well as that of *authority* from central government. This sees KWF caught up in an entanglement of power relations where the central governing power and local authority retain power over proceedings,

but due to resource constraints, KWF cannot enter into a collaborative, relational power arrangement with the Council. The power imbalance within the entanglement of power relations is evident when we see that the government made a law for the whole of England but did not build in provision for adequate resources, to ensure a community with known multiple levels of deprivation, like Knowle West, could participate to the level expected. As Sandy explains:

> 'The requirements of producing a neighbourhood plan were too great for the capacity within the organisation … they ended up feeling really unsupported. It wasn't because of them as individuals, because they were great individuals, it was because of the way the system had been set up, which was going to fail them.'

Indeed, Allen (2003; 2004) points out how context is so important to the whereabouts of power in relation to space, relationships, and resources. Gaps in expertise and funding shortfalls left KWF at a disadvantage. These included needing up-to-date knowledge of urban planning, UK and European law, expertise in architecture, graphic design, event management, report writing, public relations, asset-mapping, and community engagement work. This resource list alone highlights just what the group was up against, in terms of structural, societal disadvantage. On not having the local people with those professional skills, known to be more likely to be found if living and working in more middle-class areas, Lawrence explained:

> 'What you need to remember is our abilities didn't really go into architecture, unless we were going to employ a consultant.'

The professional expertise of urban planning and legal counsel regarding neighbourhood planning aside, Lawrence felt the group needed an injection of actual ideas, which was a key reason for deciding to work with an urban planning consultant:

> 'Basically, to give us the expertise and the new ideas that we needed… and basically they had a view of life that was 'refreshing'. You know, they seemed to have new ideas, because basically, you know, we need new ideas.'

In that way, working with Feria was KWF's search for content for the neighbourhood plan as much as providing the technical expertise, as they 'may see things differently', thought Lawrence. In that, employing consultants was not just about buying in technical expertise around planning, but an attempt to bolster the creative side of things. Lawrence explained:

> 'Why should you be bound down by the same old stuff? Cos the tendency is to just talk about the stuff that you know and what you understand. Often, I've moved from the situation where the locals can do everything, where somebody from outside often needs to stimulate the locals, but the locals have to make the decisions; they [consultants] have to make the designs and that is what Feria was starting to do.'

Working with Feria was also about ensuring presentation work to the public was professional, so as to be taken seriously. Also, because any eventual neighbourhood plan needed to be compliant with the local planning authority, UK and EU law and that a plan would pass examination and external scrutiny. Lawrence said:

'… what seems to be the best option is to have specialists write all that sort of stuff.'

7.6.1.1 Towards a neighbourhood plan

There was a forum meeting attended by four KWF members on 16 October 2014 which decided on two policy areas for KWF and the consultants to pursue, the minutes of that meeting showed the reasoning for them being chosen by the attendees against two criteria, positive improvement, and viability:

Village hub name	Positive Improvement	Viability
Melvin Square	Poor quality green space, roads and parking does not work. Shops need renovation and identity improved. Green space between two school fences under-utilised.	No one else seems to be working in this area. Landowner issues around school and shops. Changing road system and green space could bring benefits to the wider estate as well. But where will the funding come from?
Green Circuit	Could create "row of pearls" of green spaces around edge of area – plus link between the edges. Some areas neglected and under used. Other areas already	A number of planning applications in, or on the way. Would need to be discussions on how to relate to Site Allocations –

	valuable, changing – or have aspirations. High potential for various uses of green space – wild, food, meadows, forest etc. Significant amounts of houses – c1,000 extra homes, plus businesses. Pressures on green space regardless of what happens.	and landowners/community expectations.

Public involvement in ideas for Melvin Square – at Connaught School, February 2015[174]

[174] Photo courtesy of Feria Urbanism

The KWF decided to focus on changes in the heart of a residential area known as Melvin Square, as well as developing better countryside access at the edges of the Knowle West area. By early 2015, the forum organised two public-facing engagement events in collaboration with Feria, the first to share ideas on possible changes to Melvin Square.

The second event was aimed at promoting the concept of a Green Circuit, to better connect different areas of green space across the neighbourhood. With the recommendation from Feria that:

> 'The green spaces in the neighbourhood need to be better connected and have greater definition and clarity of purpose.' (2015: 22)

Work with Feria around the idea of a Green Circuit[175]

[175] Photo courtesy of Feria Urbanism

Although the community events were held during both the daytime and evenings and over parts of the weekend, very few people took part in either of the Melvin Square events (the precise numbers are unclear as I was not permitted to collect this data, mysteriously, forbidden by [NAME REDACTED], nor did Feria instigate a data collection system, in order to know who had attended). Not one person attended either of the Green Circuit events. The low level of participation resulted in this observation from Feria's 2015 final report:

> 'The low level of engagement is a critical issue that the Forum needs to address moving forward. It has become clear through the two events, that the Forum (in its current position and/or role at least) does not have the outreach or established communication networks to effectively tap into local opinion.'

The level of attendance was disappointingly low, despite much work by KWF members to advertise both events, using posters, flyers, the local newsletter The Knowledge, social media, and an interview with the Chair as a result of a press release on BBC Radio Bristol. This low level of participation resulted in an insufficient number of individual views that could collectively create a meaningful data set to be used to formulate neighbourhood plan policies. Lawrence spoke about the difficulty of the work in relation to gaining support from the public:

> '… we were talking about play facilities and also for green spaces, we were trying to get people to actually say what they wanted.'

What Lawrence is articulating is the attempt to bring more voices into the neighbourhood planning process, moving beyond mere consultation to a practice of

reporting on the existing state of Melvin Square and envisioning new ways - with the help of Feria - to take ideas for development forward. It was decided that in the process of working with the consultants Feria would report on the four 2015 public engagement events and public responses would be best in the format of policies, that could be recommended in a future draft Neighbourhood Plan. However, Lawrence explained:

> 'Without support from the community we don't have a plan. And that's exactly what happened, we didn't get support from the community, therefore we had to draw a line under it. And we ran out of money…we ran out of volunteers…'

Even with consultants on board, the human resources required for co-producing a neighbourhood plan were substantial. Take land registry as just one example. KWF needed to establish who owned what in the area of Melvin Square, to know who to bring into the conversation about changing the area. There was no help offered from the Council with this. The KWF Secretary was attempting to do this work alone, despite being stretched timewise (even taking paid holiday from work so as to keep up with the responsibilities of the KWF forum). When the Secretary found out the information, many of the landowners for Melvin Square were not Bristol-based and concern was expressed about this leading to a potential lack of connection with the estate. Lack of interest from landowners was one of the reasons for KWF's decision to voluntarily close and give up powers related to being a Neighbourhood Development Forum (NDF), as stated by KWF in a letter to the Council in August 2015, 'along with the wider community including the councillors' and the Knowle West Regeneration Project Board (KWRPB). (See Appendix X.)

However, [NAME REDACTED] felt the ideas chosen by KWF for the consultants to present to the public – particularly around plans to change Melvin Square - were too ambitious, technically, as well as having large cost implications, which the group could not sustain, nor did she feel confident they could raise funding. In fact, Feria said similar things about the Melvin Square proposals in their final report to KWF in 2015:

> 'While there are no defined projects yet in place or agreed, the KWF Forum needs to keep a keen eye on the issues of feasibility and deliverability … much more work is needed to test both detailed feasibility of the design ideas and the deliverability of the possible changes on the ground. Further engagement with Bristol City Council highways team is required to ensure any further design refinements are robust and that the projects can be effectively linked to sources of funding through the neighbourhood plan.' (Feria, 2005: 31)

Susan questioned the feasibility and deliverability of KWF making ambitious plans like a whole scale architectural redesign of Melvin Square, moving a major road, new shop fronts and parking plans:

> 'I don't think they [KWF] are in a position to put the suggestions that they are putting forward into practice, because I don't think the money's there [at Bristol City Council]… I think we'd be better working as part and parcel as advisors on the Council, myself, because I don't think we've got the money, the funding, to take it forward. And there's not enough people. There's not enough people to do the donkey work.'

With such huge cuts to local government funding since the austerity agenda (as we saw in *Chapter Three, section 3.2 - Setting the political scene)* from 2010 Susan was concerned about the Council not finding the money for the changes. She described some of the technicalities, complexities and cost implication concerns:

> 'And I kept saying "You're talking about bus routes. You're talking about pipes and things underground of Melvin Square. It's all going to cost money. You're talking about digging a road up." We haven't got money for that. Let the Council do that. They've got to do all that within their regeneration plan. Why are we doing that? It was almost as though it was set-up to not succeed.'

Sandy, however, was very clear that she did not see the KWF endeavour as a failure and the work positioned the group as having played an important part in the evolution of collaborative approaches to planning on the estate:

> 'I think it's really important to not talk about failure in terms of the people that were involved in Knowle West Future because they did great stuff and are continuing to do great stuff, but differently.'

Ending on an optimistic note, Sandy explained how KWF had played an important role in the grand scheme of things, leading to a new broader coalition across the community forming in 2018, called the Knowle West Alliance[176] (KWA). Sandy described the importance of the progress that had come out from the KWF work:

[176] More information available at: https://knowlewestalliance.co.uk/about-2/ (Accessed 14 July 2021)

> '… the way the council and central government had tried to do regeneration *to* and actually where we've moved to now, having learnt from those experiences, how do we work *with*.'

On the historical importance of the work of KWF Sandy concluded:

> '… what it's done is it's led to one of the most successful community alliances in the city [Knowle West Alliance], I'd say, and it's being used as the poster community alliance at the moment … what's happened is the coming-together of the key organisations and setting up the Alliance and bringing in many, many more residents into that mix and looking at what we've learnt from that.
>
> 'It's much more about starting with where the community is and what its needs are, rather than trying to have a grand plan for the whole area. So, I think it's a really interesting history of attempts to make things work.'

7.7 Conclusive comments

Reaching the stage of actually creating a neighbourhood plan depends on many resource elements. These include an understanding of relational expertise within the neighbourhood planning group and the ability to effectively mobilise local social networks across the wider community (Nickson, 2019). Potential resources and power relations running through a particular social body such as KWF are not confined to one particular central site nor bounded within KWF as a group, more an entanglement or network of human relationships across the community and city, as well as external geographies to Knowle West and Bristol, when the Bournemouth based consultants

Feria are included, as well as some of the landowners (for example in Melvin Square who were located outside Bristol) in that spatiality of power relations.

The resources KWF accessed, such as funding and buying-in professional expertise, were not enough and remained *potential* conduits to power. KWF needed additional financial, organisational, collaborative, and technical support to fully engage with the policy of neighbourhood planning. KWF needed to be able to draw on relational resource elements necessary to fully engage with the legislative change in power relations that neighbourhood planning promised: between KWF as a neighbourhood planning forum, with other community groups and local social networks, with Bristol City Council as the local authority, as well as developers, in order to evolve as key community stakeholders in the neighbourhood planning process. However, it appears that the resource of local expertise that KWF did have as a group was not enough without community development know-how around asset mapping and working with others, along with the technical expertise that the legal regulation required. Needing to know how to work in a cooperative, asset-based manner may exclude communities who do not understand how to navigate such collaborative modes of working. Particularly of concern to this thesis is that strong links with other groups and organisations tend to be found more in neighbourhoods of higher socio-economic status (SES) which allows for greater success when mobilising to improve their neighbourhoods (Altschuler et al., 2014).

Evidence suggests KWF could not access the opportunities this new model of coproduced governance offered through neighbourhood planning without additional resources. This included having enough funding for consultants until the end of the

plan-making process, as well as assistance in community development work to tease out KWF's local expertise and assist with bringing-in other social networks for a truly collaborative effort as a neighbourhood area. This suggests that neighbourhood planning as a policy does not adequately accommodate all community contexts - such as the Knowle West area - with Filwood ward classified as being among the most socially and economically deprived 1% of England (Bristol City Council, 2015). The levels of socio-economic complexity meant the community needs were greater, therefore the government support around targeted resources should have been greater too.

The empirical data in this thesis enriches an understanding of emotional geographies (Davidson et al., 2005; Jupp 2013) and the marginalised voice in the context of community involvement in regeneration initiatives and neighbourhood planning. The three empirical chapters reflect some of the reasons why neighbourhood planning did not work for the community at that time, from the perspective of KWF members and myself, as a participant observer and the Communications Officer. In this thesis I have drawn together different kinds of meanings and feelings associated with the neighbourhood of Knowle West framed as emotional geographies, to draw attention to feelings about space and place, to illuminate the emotional dynamics and fragility surrounding policy interventions in neighbourhoods (Jupp, 2013). Inviting consideration for community context in policy enactment terms, through the empirical data, to invite empathy and a deeper understanding of the complexities involved in the attempt at neighbourhood planning in Knowle West to be facilitated.

CHAPTER EIGHT – CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

8.1.1 Revisiting the abstract - the hub of the thesis

8.2 Findings against the research questions:

8.2.1

RQ1: How did community context and local histories, around issues such as loss and trust, affect the work of KWF in the policy enactment of neighbourhood planning?

8.2.2

RQ2: How did power and regulatory issues affect KWF's work as a citizen-led neighbourhood planning group?

8.2.3

RQ3: How did resource issues impact the work of KWF?

8.3 Contribution to knowledge

8.4 Implications for further research

8.5 Limitations of the research

8.6 Concluding note

8.1 Introduction

This thesis reports findings and theoretical conclusions drawn from research observations and analysis, over six years. The research raises important issues around social inclusion for various stakeholders, particularly policy-makers and policy-users. This chapter concludes the thesis in four main sections. Firstly, I revisit the abstract, to refresh the overall research framing for the reader. This final chapter then responds by way of summary in answering the three research questions, as first posed in *Chapter Four*. The contribution to knowledge made by this thesis is considered; along with an appraisal of implications for further research; plus, a discussion on limitations of the research; concluding with a few final reflections.

Robson (1993: 403) suggests the appropriate criteria for assessing qualitative research can be thought of in terms of 'credibility', 'confirmability' and 'transferability'. Credibility requires the researcher to demonstrate 'that the enquiry was carried out in a way which ensures that the subject of the enquiry was accurately identified and described' (ibid). Confirmability sees that the readers of the research being provided with enough information to 'judge the adequacy of the process' and 'assess whether the findings flow from the data' (ibid: 406). Transferability is relevant to the impact of the work, as it means that the research could 'be used in the development of further studies in a variety of settings' (ibid: 405). My aim was for this research to be credible, confirmable, and transferable using this framing, particularly pertinent to *section 8.4 - Implications for further research.* In suggesting the way that this research could be taken forward I also raise some limitations of this study. The context-based nature of the research is arguably its strength but also means the findings are not necessarily totally transferable, though there are learnings to be had for future neighbourhood planning

forums, either in Knowle West or elsewhere and for policy makers around issues to do with social inclusion.

8.1.1 Revisiting the abstract - the hub of the thesis

This thesis examines citizen engagement in neighbourhood planning. The research offers first-hand experience of participation, through a 20-month community placement volunteer role as the Communications Officer, with an area neighbourhood development forum (NDF) known as Knowle West Future (KWF), in the attempt to produce a neighbourhood plan for an area of south Bristol known as Knowle West.

Employing participant observation as method, the research findings were also facilitated by including layers of data from semi-structured interview data. This enables an understanding of policy enactment in the context of community history, with a sense of the emotional geographies told through the marginalised voice around societal loss. The overall aim of the thesis is to present rich, nuanced empirical data to facilitate a rounded and in-depth understanding of one attempt at neighbourhood planning. This research offers an analysis of some of the complexities surrounding this decentred model of governance. The thesis examines how entanglements of power and trust around loss and community context can impact policy implementation.

This study develops a critique of the policy of neighbourhood planning, in terms of examining the 'empowerment'[177] promised by the government. However, several constraints affected Knowle West residents' ability to fully operationalise the policy and KWF did not make a neighbourhood plan. Resource issues including relational agency,

[177] David Cameron, Prime Minister's speech on the Big Society, 19 July 2010.

trust, and multi-dimensional levels of socio-economic disadvantage within the locale are analysed and presented as part of the web of complications faced by this group of novice volunteer citizen planners.

8.2 Findings against the research questions

This doctoral study started with some initial, guiding research questions (as detailed in pp 61). Whilst these served a useful purpose in the earlier stages of the project, as further data were collected and analysed, and as my understanding evolved, the focus changed to what is presented within the final research questions below (as first detailed in pp 160). For example, the original questions included considerations around social capital and co-operation, yet over time I found it more useful to reflect on some of the key concepts that interlink with these theorisations, particularly how critical trust and co-operation are between social networks in neighbourhood planning, towards achieving network power. It became ever more apparent during the various stages of data analysis that the thesis was fundamentally about power (and resources) and trust (and loss) around community context and histories.

It was by exploring citizen enactment of the policy of neighbourhood planning, throughout the community placement in the Knowle West area, as well as various rounds of interviewing, that enabled me to prosecute the research questions below, aided by a first-hand understanding of some of the challenges facing the group of volunteer citizen planners, KWF.

8.2.1 RQ1: How did community context and local histories, around issues such as loss and trust, affect the work of KWF in the policy enactment of neighbourhood planning?

Place-based research of this nature reveals the attachment and feelings individuals develop for areas that are well known to them (Trenttelman, 2009) and an appreciation of these emotional geographies (Davidson et al., 2005; Jupp, 2013) and connection to place - like the notion of community itself - will be multi-faceted, complex, and changing (Walby, 2009; Matthews and Besemer, 2014). Urban space and the practice of neighbourhood planning cannot be understood as a static place, but dynamic and socially created through relationships. Allowing for this fluidity, policymakers and participants, users engaged with the policy of neighbourhood planning need to move beyond unproblematic, homogenous notions of 'community' to view localities as complex configurations, with invisible boundaries, encompassing an entanglement of relations, representing multiple subjectivities. Knowledge of the fundamentals of community organising, around relationship work and asset mapping to build associational power, is vital in the policy enactment of neighbourhood planning, to allow for the relational expression of the spatial. Whether that be from paid assistance, third sector organisations volunteering to lead on the role, or from individual volunteer help, community organising practice was one of the vital elements missing in the community context and working environment of KWF.

The relational understanding of voice and place in this thesis includes complex 'emotional geographies of place' (Jupp, 2013: 532) expressed as feelings around trust and loss, agency and empowerment, deprivation, and belonging. These sentiments can help

an understanding of the drive and motivations for volunteering within KWF and involvement with neighbourhood planning. The sense of loss felt and associated low levels of political trust and lack of faith in seeing regeneration working in terms of local services, facilities and shops for the area stretches back over many decades. This appeared to be a motivator for KWF members starting up a NDF in the first place. In that neighbourhood planning appeared to be seen as a vehicle in which residents could have more say in local development plans, to have more power. However, community histories and residents' disillusionment with the political system appeared to have created the opposite of a collaborative environment with which KWF members could pursue avenues of partnership work with the Council and councillors.

In an area where there was a prevailing narrative of feeling forgotten, residents' recent negative experiences with the KWRF further dented people's faith in the Council to deliver on regeneration in a way that would benefit existing local residents. A loss of trust in the Council had developed over stalled regeneration plans and residents felt positive action had largely stopped. This was particularly disappointing and disillusioning after many years of public involvement in consultation work. On top of that, there appeared a lack of trust in the Council to protect local land from housing developers. There was also a fear around the Council not providing adequate provision for infrastructure to accommodate thousands of new people that were potentially moving into the area.

The policy enactment or attempt to make a neighbourhood plan in Knowle West, nestles against a backdrop of recent regeneration policies. Those being from central and local government, that residents reportedly felt disconnected from at best, excluded

from (in the case of KWF's attempt at neighbourhood planning) or the tangible impacts of policy and funding was hard for the public to see. Disillusionment in the political system, very low trust in the Council to deliver on regeneration promises in a way that worked for the community (and did not exploit local land), impacted the work of KWF. Activists came up against apathy and resistance in attempting to engage the public, from volunteering to even attending meetings; about redeveloping the Melvin Square area, nor creating a Green Circuit of better-connected, protected open space.

There is a unique character and history of the area of Knowle West. To capture the complexity of what it might mean to be a member of that community, it is important to consider issues around economic and life chance inequalities, and how these factors over time may have affected community confidence, impacted their sense of agency and trust concerning attitudes to political engagement and voluntary work. Messy in relational terms, trust runs across four main domains in this thesis. In addition to political trust with councillors/the Council (as the local planning authority), the other three key elements of trust in these findings include trust in self: as individuals (the KWF members) needing trust in themselves and a sense of individual agency; relational trust in KWF, as well as from and with stakeholders in the wider community; KWF members' having mutual trust as a collective in each other. Without reciprocal, evolving fluidity of both agency and trusting relationships within the entanglement of power and social relations KWF was left somewhat insular and limited in their operation as a community group.

The community context as background helps provide a descriptor for acute forms of social and economic exclusion that find a spatial manifestation in parts of Knowle West.

Multiple levels of social and economic complexity, defined by the government as extreme deprivation, positions communities like the Knowle West area as living on the 'margins' or as 'other' to other more dominant economic social groups. Yet central and local government fails to acknowledge both the complex make up of such communities in the policy of neighbourhood planning, nor accommodate for the wealth of local expertise that could be utilised. I suggest that the use of terms such as 'disadvantaged' and 'marginalised' about Knowle West, whilst accurate on many levels of official government social and economic indices, can dampen political engagement and fails to capture the true nature and spirit of the community. With the right support, in community organising along asset-mapping lines, to maximise on social networks and relationships, the strengths of the locality may have better come to the fore. In that, the positioning of local knowledge (Jacobs, 1961) and priorities need to be supreme.

The residents of Knowle West were excluded from this form of participatory democracy (neighbourhood planning) because their expertise and local knowledge is not captured by the way the regulation was set up. Localism and neighbourhood planning was not regulation *for* engagement for that group of volunteers at that time, but arguably regulation for disempowerment. Social exclusion and societal disadvantages, in terms of life chances, mean the local community context of policy enactment made the failure to make a neighbourhood plan all the more stinging a loss for the KWF group. This added to an already poignant political disconnect, felt starkly in a locale already facing multiple levels of socio-economic deprivation. KWF members ended up feeling, and in effect being, excluded from neighbourhood planning due to several resource issues related to community context and local histories.

8.2.2 RQ2: How did power and regulatory issues affect KWF's work as a neighbourhood planning group?

Within a web of multi-level legal regulatory frameworks (as described in *Chapters Three* and *Six*) KWF found themselves endeavouring to achieve associational power with the local planning authority, Bristol City Council, but failing. Far from empowering (DCLG, 2012; Bailey and Pill, 2015) the community of Knowle West, the complex, multi-layers of legal regulatory factors around neighbourhood planning appear to have created blocks (Bradley, 2014). The way the legal regulation is constructed and experienced by KWF did not allow for community context or the capacities within the group to come to the fore (see *RQ3 - section 8.2.3* below).

Without adequate means and resources to match the powers and responsibilities outlined in the legal regulation, KWF was unable to realise the potential of 'empowerment' as promised in the localism agenda. Co-production is said to be about sharing power[178] and fundamentally about seeing people as assets, positioning people as equal partners in both the design and delivery of activities surrounding neighbourhood planning. However, if volunteers involved in neighbourhood planning are not familiar with the mindset and practices of co-production, nor adept at collaborative working

[178] More information available at: https://www.local.gov.uk/topics/devolution/devolution-online-hub/public-service-reform-tools/engaging-citizens-devolution-7 (Accessed 24 July 2021)

practices in general and trust-building modes of working with others, communities can end-up being excluded from neighbourhood planning.

To appreciate the whereabouts of power in relation to neighbourhood planning, the framing of the spatiality of power (Allen, 2003, 2004) aids an appreciation of the relational, networked, distributed or immanent nature (Sayer, 2004) of power. Without a background in community organising, or an understanding of the importance of working in a collaborative, networked manner it is hard to see how a group of novices would fathom the nature of co-production organically. An understanding of the fluidity of the spatiality of power, concerning space, relationships, and resources (Allen, 2003; 2004) being an ever-changing 'sphere of relations, of contemporaneous multiplicity' (Massey, 2005: 148) means a flexible working approach is needed to accommodate change and embrace newcomers. That requires the capacity for creating spaces where people work alongside each other face-to-face and remotely within a dense field of relations (Rose et al., 2009). However, KWF worked in quite a fixed and rigid way that did not facilitate new relationships. The way KWF regulated themselves in the space of forum meetings and working groups did not help new people feel welcome or necessarily even understand the content of meetings in some instances.

There was a regulatory impact of not knowing how to make the best use of each other's assets, networks, and resources to achieve better outcomes and improved efficiency (Parker et al., 2014). Without those elements being present in the approach in how KWF worked, in terms of how they regulated themselves, there was a limit to what could be achieved collaboratively.

Rather than increasing community power through civic and democratic participation, the user engagement with the policy of neighbourhood planning left users frustrated. The experience of policy enactment in Knowle West left KWF members feeling disappointed, depressed, angry, disempowered, disillusioned, and in some cases dejected. Community context becomes a regulatory influence in terms of these emotional factors, affecting confidence, motivation, relational and individual agency, and impacting trust in themselves as well as in the political system. Neighbourhood planning was seen by residents as about seeking more equity in power and decision-making about the area where they lived and/or worked. KWF had hoped to utilise the neighbourhood plan as a way to have a direct impact on some of the aspirations expressed by the community during the KWRS regeneration consultation work, through their own neighbourhood plan. However, they found a challenging environment to develop collaborative relationships with the Council, let alone the elected councillors. Political trust and tensions locally with elements of local government made it hard to envision a neighbourhood plan working in conjunction with the existing Knowle West Regeneration Board (KWRB) as there seemed to be a lack of collaborative opportunity or spirit.

Whilst the desire to have more say over local decision-making was a motivator for the actual KWF members, issues around social inclusion and poverty in the area became regulatory aspects because of the decreased likelihood of people from lower socio-economic groups participating in volunteering (Matthews and Besemer, 2014). Declining political trust (Locality, 2018; British Academy, 2021) affected the ability of community initiatives like KWF to mobilise public engagement and civic participation (Bradley, 2014; Locality, 2018). Without an appreciation of the importance of how to

build power-*with* through relationships, through community organising expertise, KWF were unable to activate associational power due to the community's capacity issues at the time. This contributed to feelings of powerlessness, loss, and disconnection from the political system within KWF. This was particularly acutely felt around fears around exploitation by private developers of local land. Therefore, the empowerment rhetoric around neighbourhood planning as a policy by central government is more about the presence of *potential* power for a community, than actual power residing within an NDF itself. Power is not somehow immanent within an NDF.

NDFs are theorised then as being soft spaces of power, which regard to KWF only holding *potential* power. In contrast, the Council (local government) or legislation from Parliament (central government) have *actual* power; being able to raise taxes, for example. The empowerment espoused by central government is then only *potential* power, with the legislation placing NDFs in a complex web of relations and regulatory layers that need careful negotiating so as to achieve associational power through a neighbourhood plan. KWF found themselves regulated *by* the Council but also needed to work with the organisation in collaboration (Parker, Lynn and Wargent, 2015). In terms of power relations then, when it comes to neighbourhood planning, central and local government retain formal ownership of the rules (Parker and Street, 2015; Parker et al., 2017). Knowing the neighbourhood plan needed to be in line with the existing Local Plan - and the local planning authority work with the KWRF - meant that paying for planning consultants (buying in expertise) was a way for KWF to engage with an attempt to create power-*with* the local planning authority. Neighbourhood planning work requires expertise across planning skill capacity and legal technicalities.

Regulatory factors and bureaucratic systems around funding influenced the work of the KWF group. Delays in receiving funding from Locality affected the procurement process of appointing consultants and even caused KWF to consider folding in their first year of operation. KWF found that the way funding was regulated by one of their local donors (Quartet) meant that the financial award could not be used for the group's main expenditure need, that of planning consultant support. Even fundraising expertise itself became a regulatory factor for KWF, as raising money was seen as overly complicated and cumbersome by members of the group. Without more funding, KWF felt unable to fully participate in neighbourhood planning by not being able to secure consultants for longer. A lack of financial power experienced by KWF, around funding regimes and timings of monies arriving, coupled with low fundraising expertise, all had regulatory impacts on the work of the group. In this respect, the government introduced a new model of co-design (Tait and Inch, 2016; Zamenopoulos and Alexiou, 2018) but without the requisite resources for the needs of all communities, such as tailor-made training, adequate financial support for more planning consultancy time, nor paid support in the form of community organisers and facilitators.

8.2.3 RQ3: How did resource issues impact the work of KWF?

KWF faced a myriad of resource issues that impacted their work. From the complexity of the actual task of neighbourhood planning to a lack of funding, as well as a shortage of volunteers, particularly those with the confidence, desire or skills to take on specific roles in the production of a neighbourhood plan. Evidencing the experiences of user engagement throughout the process of the KWF attempt at neighbourhood planning

and using ethnographic data collection methods enabled me to identify a primary contradiction in the government rhetoric around empowerment without the appropriate resources to facilitate their needs. Kesby's retheorisation of empowerment links resources with power (2005, 2007) and this study shows gaps in resourcing for KWF proved a major barrier to achieving the empowerment as promised by central government. Resource issues stymied the community group, as is considered the case with communities who may find elements of co-production (Parker et al., 2015; Parker et al., 2017) too much for them. Without any former knowledge of co-production, it is hardly surprising.

I propose that the kind of power at stake in neighbourhood planning is based not just on resources and professional attributes but rooted in the social and cooperative relationships in which people are a part by virtue of living within a society made up of social networks and groups. Without community organising expertise KWF did not have the understanding nor skill to navigate or draw on the entanglement (Kesby, 2005, 2007) and web of potential relationships, connections, and resources within the community. Doing so could have helped reach more local power over certain land-use matters through a neighbourhood plan. Community organising is skilled work, which means having the finances not just for planning consultants, but enough to pay people to assist in the building of power locally, through associational, networked power. For KWF to build associational power with the Council, as the local planning authority through making a neighbourhood plan, additional funding (for planning consultants, communications expertise, and community organisers) would be required. The reason

local authorities are important in terms of resource elements is that they 'hold knowledge, resources and power' (Parker, Lynn and Wargent, 2015: 523).

Similarly, to the majority of NDFs (Nickson, 2019), KWF wanted professional support to boost their planning skills to be able to better engage with the local authority. However, the funding they could obtain - and then the timing of receiving payments - did not furnish them with enough monies to secure the level of professional support they needed from a planning consultancy. Fundraising expertise became a resource issue for KWF and support from a mentoring scheme of some sort might help in this regard, in addition to more funding from central government according to local needs. (The area has some of the top 1% of social and economic need in England and the financial support needed to accommodate the unique local additional needs.) Neighbourhood planning and volunteer work of this nature is not only about self-expression of one's own planning priorities but also involves establishing a networked dialogue with others, complex work requiring expertise of that way of working.

Neighbourhood planning participants need the personal resource of being able to negotiate both their own individual wishes as well as accommodating collective identities and desires as a community. This requires the resource of leadership and knowing how to work collaboratively with each other as members of the NDF, along with various stakeholders in the wider community (other local residents, third sector organisations, private businesses, the public sector, governmental agencies). This type of relational expertise was not, however, a resource KWF appeared to have in ready supply. The plentiful resource of local expertise that KWF *did* have as a group, such as

knowledge of community context and neighbourhood histories and strong bonds to the area, is at odds with what the legal regulation required of them. Such as needing technical expertise, which required paying for consultants to supplement KWF's planning skill capacity. In addition, resource impacts on KWF's work included their lack of knowledge of co-production and organisational capacity-building, volunteer recruitment, and fundraising skills. To accommodate and translate the complexity and diversity of what local people have to say into policy priorities takes skill and experience in planning capacity, project management, local government, and communication skill.

A vital resource in community work of this nature, that impacted the work of KWF, is relational agency, needed to facilitate collaborative neighbourhood planning work. The resource of knowledge of community organising is a resource skill that can facilitate working collaboratively, by helping create local dialogue to co-produce a neighbourhood plan. Working collaboratively also enables the pooling or sharing of certain resources and ideas to solve or resolve shared community problems. However, that resource of community organising knowledge was missing from the working practices of KWF. In terms of relational expertise and communication skills, needing their own communications expertise (in terms of how to relate to others) impacted the group. In that sense, my role as Communications Officer was answering a resource need for the group. In the spirit of the reflexive nature of this thesis I conclude, on reflection, that my comparatively basic online organising skills in social media and digital networking would have been a resource impact on the work of KWF.

Whilst I had much more experience than others on the group in these areas, which meant I could run regular social media posts and make a basic website for them, for example. I could work with designers to produce a logo and facilitate branding work, deal with copywriting and proofreading of posters and literature. I knew how to set up social media accounts then curate regular content and take digital photographs at events etc.. I had basic training and experience in community organising from Co-operative Party summer school in 2013, from Acorn's Introduction to Community Organising workshop training, and working as a Labour Party activist for many years but had no real first-hand experience of digital organising[179]. By that, I mean community organising online, which can strengthen community engagement and enhance network reach, particularly useful when finances are an issue and budgets are tight.

Digital space and how to navigate that spatiality became a resource issue for KWF, as this was not a part of community life that seemed familiar or even interested many of the members. Digital tools need to be part of the resource mix when considering asset mapping for connections and relationships, linking through and across other social networks as a neighbourhood planning forum. Whilst I caveat this comment with the point that although there was some resistance within the KWF group to embracing digital tools, I feel digital organising would need to be explained by professional trainers. In conclusion, and to underline the importance of relational expertise as a digital

[179] More information available at:
https://nationbuilder.com/how_to_keep_your_community_close_through_digital_organizing
(Accessed 21 July 2021)

resource issue on the impact of the work of KWF, I would go as far as saying when it comes to neighbourhood planning: ignore community organising (Rathke, 2009) and digital organising at your peril.

Face-to-face interaction is nonetheless very important for collaborative endeavours (Ostrom, 1975; Young, 2000), however Knowle West is seen as having limited opportunities to meet socially in public places in the vicinity of the designated neighbourhood development area at least. This is one of the reasons digital tools are a key aspect in addition to offline interactions and connections with individuals, organisations, and social networks. Especially relevant in the discussion on the resource of trust is that it is said to develop (Ostrom, 2006) where participants in collaborative endeavours can engage in reciprocal relationships. Community organising is a way of working that could aid the development of trust locally, aiding familiarity by repeated interactions with others. Hence why social networks and an asset-mapping approach with both offline and digital relationships and organisations is so important. This will be the case for any community but particularly where people are not known to be socialising locally in local pubs, restaurants, parks (for there are none if not few of these opportunities in the Knowle West area).

Another resource matter that impacted the work of KWF surrounded weak levels of trust. This thesis positions trust as being both a facilitating element and a much-needed by-product of community co-operation and collaborative work (Taylor, 1982, 1987; Luhmann, 1988; Etzioni, 1995). The absence of trust in neighbourhood work is considered to be 'a disaster' (Jacobs, 1961: 67). As a resource, trust impacted KWF's ability to connect with organisations, such as Youth Moves. This weakened the available

associational resources that partnership work can bring, including more volunteers, new ideas, and possibly extra financial resources too. Trust as a resource issue also impacted political engagement with neighbourhood planning. Trust was a resource issue for KWF, despite trust being known to be a vital resource needed in collaborative work (Ostrom, 1996; Skelcher and Sullivan, 2002; Glatter, 2003; Connolly and James, 2006; Woods et al., 2006).

In the face of numerous resource issues, the policy of neighbourhood planning just did not work for KWF at that time. Resource needs were compounded by a history of communities 'at the margins' (McDermont et al., 2020: 2) feeling excluded from decision-making, which had an impact on political trust. This then impacted involvement levels with KWF. More funding and specialised support as outlined in this chapter would need to be necessary, to enable more people from non-dominant communities to participate in and engage their community with the practice of neighbourhood planning. The impact of intersecting inequalities around finances, expertise, social infrastructure, and meeting places reveals how structural inequality can both generate and compound loss. To conclude, multiple levels and layers of resource issues impacted KWF's ability to produce a neighbourhood plan. Of these, resource elements - which were but not exclusively financial - relational agency and trust were significant contributory aspects.

8.3 Contribution to knowledge

This study develops a critique of the policy of neighbourhood planning, in terms of examining the 'empowerment'[180] promised by the government. This thesis contributes to knowledge by demonstrating just how complex and messy the entanglement and spatiality of power (Allen, 2003, 2004) at stake is within the enactment of neighbourhood planning. Where this thesis stands out from other literature is the level of detail in aiding an understanding as to why neighbourhood planning might not have become fully operational as a policy in Knowle West. This is a story of neighbourhood planning *not working* for one community, in Knowle West's first attempt to make a neighbourhood development plan. Informed by the literature review and the empirical findings from this study the complexity involved in neighbourhood planning is revealed. The empirical evidence marshalled from this study contributes to knowledge by offering unique and detailed accounts of neighbourhood planning from a group of novice neighbourhood planners' perspectives. The extent and complexity of the barriers and burdens (Parker et al., 2020; Lord and Mair et al., 2017; Jones et al., 2016) of citizen-led neighbourhood planning on policy users are revealed. Based on empirical evidence, this thesis also contributes to an understanding of just how challenging volunteering and neighbourhood planning can be.

Conceptualising neighbourhood planning as an example of 'emotion work' (Bergman Blix and Wettergren, 2015; 689), this is expressed through the 'feeling of participation' (Jupp, 2008: 331) and 'feeling of doing' (Crouch, 2001: 62) that emerges in the data. Told through emotional geographies and the marginalised voice, this thesis contributes to

[180] David Cameron, Prime Minister's speech on the Big Society, 19 July 2010.

knowledge by the level of detail about the range of barriers experienced. This adds to an understanding of what might have prevented an NDF from being successful. The research recognises the importance of the knowledge that is harvested from lived experience, in this respect, and this thesis makes a significant contribution to ongoing debates about social exclusion and barriers to community involvement in neighbourhood planning (Layard, 2012; Parker, 2014). Contributing to knowledge by demonstrating the importance of accounting for community setting in policy-making terms (by central government and actual enacting of policy on the ground in the community). Without tailored interventions to allow for and accommodate existing social disadvantages, further social exclusion can occur.

Further, in light of these findings, this thesis argues that many a community group may struggle to make a neighbourhood plan, *regardless* of socio-economic demographic. In the sense that: this is not easy work. Community context and challenging levels of socio-economic deprivations aside, neighbourhood planning and co-production are complicated models of working, that in many ways defy uniform prescription. Co-produced models of working require professionals working *alongside* community volunteers, critically in power relations terms, as equal partners (Ostrom, 1975). However, by presenting detailed accounts of the complexity involved with neighbourhood planning, particularly in *Chapters Three, Six* and *Seven,* this thesis provides evidence that policymakers need to heed (regarding structural, systemic disadvantage in areas of greatest need).

Policymakers need to recognise that legislating for one size fits all policies (Ostrom, 2009) does not always work on the ground. In that, there is a danger in national policy

making terms to presume all communities and places are somehow alike (Barton et al., 2012). Given the place-based context of the research, this being very much a praxis-based thesis – working alongside community members as they engage throughout the whole process – this thesis facilitates deeper ways of understanding the complexity of co-production within collaborative community work of this nature, through the lens of neighbourhood planning.

Whilst my role as the Communications Officer in one neighbourhood planning forum may not be a directly repeatable method of data collection (because of the individual nature of the circumstances) this study provides a unique contribution to knowledge in the field of neighbourhood planning and community-led regeneration policy. The adoption of ethnographic data collection methods in this research offers a uniqueness that enables this thesis to make a distinctive contribution to knowledge in the field of urban research and localism. This thesis offers an interpretation of the interplay and interaction between specific individuals involved in the implementation of that public policy in one locale. The significance of this research is what it contributes to the literature in terms of detailed empirical evidence of the 'lived experience' of policy, explored through voice, place, and emotion, framed as emotional geographies (Davidson et al., 2005; Jupp, 2013). In this respect, the thesis offers evidence that speaks to recommendations within the work of Parker, Wargent, Salter, Dobson, Lynn, and Yuille (2020) in their work on the impacts of neighbourhood planning in England. In that, financial exclusion (Parker et al., 2020) needs to be addressed and funding to assist needs to be more generous for those in most need. This is of particular importance if the NDF needs to commission external consultants for a substantial period, to supplement planning skill capacity, fulfil environmental and sustainability assessments.

More financial support and targeted training is also needed for community organising and engagement work too.

This thesis also contributes to the conceptualisation of various elements of trust needed in collaborative work (Ostrom, 1996; Skelcher and Sullivan, 2002; Glatter, 2003; Connolly and James, 2006; Woods et al., 2006). Trust in neighbourhood planning, is to be understood as mutual, messy, and running across and between four main domains (see *Figure 1.2. Quadrant of Trust in Neighbourhood Planning. Chapter Six, section 6.2.3 - Trust and loss and the spatiality of power*). One impact of the research is that relational trust in neighbourhood planning needs to be understood as being fluid, interactive, changeable, and fragile. Trust sits within the framing of the media of power, enabling and nurturing within the myriad entanglement of relationships and organisations at stake in neighbourhood planning. Relational trust between the public and councillors, the Council, as well as between third sector organisations and KWF is delicate in nature. This contributes to the understanding of some of the difficulties involved in sustaining participation in community work, which is a key finding for government initiatives of this kind.

8.4 Implications for further research

Co-production and genuinely people-powered policy innovation[181] from the UK government requires further research. As to how to harness the wealth of community

[181] Policy Lab is said to be focused on 'people-powered' policy innovation through a multidisciplinary team working openly and collaboratively across the UK government. More information available at: https://openpolicy.blog.gov.uk/about/ (Accessed 21 July 2021)

experience and local expertise to re-imagine the regulatory systems and practices (McDermont, 2019; McDermont et al., 2020) of neighbourhood planning, with the view to improving social inclusion. Research is needed into interventions and initiatives to improve community engagement with neighbourhood planning. Research into imaginative and adequately funded schemes suitable for the specific geographic and sociocultural contexts within which they are intended to apply is required. With the view to widening participation, particularly across different age groups and demographics, this thesis posits that further research into creative participatory modes should be explored (Manuel et al., 2017). There is scope for more research into digital preferences for community participation in issues of local governance rather than a presumption from the centre that this is to be the way. With issues of connectivity and data capacity (pay as you go phones) in millions of households, particularly in lower-income areas, the digital messaging coming out of central government (see Adult Social Care White Paper 2021, Planning White Paper 2020, Welfare Reform Bill 2011 that introduced Universal Credit) may be off the mark for many users. Whilst the use of digital tools and digital organising can aid social networking there are social inclusion issues for those with low or no data capacity or internet connection[182].

An appreciation of the spatiality of power in relation to space, relationships, and resources (Allen, 2003; 2004) might help academics examine neighbourhood planning but how do we translate that learning into practical research that helps communities in the processes and workings of co-production? A more overt recognition of the co-produced nature of neighbourhood plans would be beneficial (Parker et al., 2020) and

[182] More information available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/technology-55544196 (Accessed 21 July 2021)

further research into the 'how to' of neighbourhood planning could help future policy and NDFs. How does a neighbourhood plan manifest, how does successful community engagement actually happen?

Further research into university and third sector partnerships could help to devise collaborative protocols aimed at assisting fledgling neighbourhood planning groups would be helpful. Co-production of neighbourhood planning involves not only a willingness to enter into partnership work but knowledge around how to 'do' community organising. In that, research is needed into how to better assist communities to facilitate the actual co-production side of the policy of neighbourhood planning. Assistance in the early stages on the 'how to' of local asset mapping of stakeholders, for example, around the mapping of local social networks and relationships would be useful. Particularly useful if a community is struggling with the policy of neighbourhood planning could be co-production models through some kind of national mentorship scheme, providing emergency toolkits, and include critiques of current best practice so as to help policymakers and user engagement with policy enactment alike. More research is needed into the kind of spatial knowledge that can help facilitate co-produced neighbourhood planning.

Difficulties arise in implementing neighbourhood planning when levels of trust are low in a community, in terms of the policy relying on collaborative relationships which depend on trust in working relationships with local government, social networks, and with each other as volunteers. Future research on trust-building in community, across and between the four domains (see *Chapter Six, section 6.2.3 - Figure 1.2 Quadrant of trust in neighbourhood planning*) of trust in neighbourhood planning would be useful.

This would be helpful for Knowle West, indeed for other communities where voter apathy and trust in the political system may be weak. This is considered an issue in so-called 'red wall' (Cutts et al., 2020) areas, identified since the British general election of 2019. Now the sloganising has moved from Big Society to Levelling Up (Jennings et al., 2021), but how does that actually happen in areas of complex, long term, multiple levels of socio-economic disadvantage? Given the known literacy issues across nearly 90% of English parliamentary constituencies (National Literacy Trust, 2018), what is the government's solution to tackle this aspect of life chances, which also impacts life expectancy due to health literacy (Gilbert et al., 2018)[183]? With the move by central government to digitise access to policy and force people online, issues with poor reading and low problem-solving skills (Raphael Reed et al., 2007) are more important than ever.

I would like to see research on *how* to build political trust through policy initiatives around regeneration and neighbourhood development that genuinely facilitate co-design with the public. Political trust could be strengthened by finding new ways to harness local 'expertise-by-experience' (McDermont et al., 2020: 13) and in so doing build mechanisms for co-design and models for nurturing working environments of reciprocal trust, particularly important when working with local planning authorities and local councillors.

More research into knowledge exchange, from the experiences of those who participate in *successful* community-led neighbourhood planning forums, to explore how novice

[183] Association between low functional health literacy and mortality in older adults: longitudinal cohort study, *BMJ* 2012; 344 doi: https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.e1602 (Published 15 March 2012) Cite this as: *BMJ* 2012;344:e1602

planners deal with the complexity of the process, to identify how the process could be made less onerous (in terms of time) and more flexible (in the way neighbourhood planning is 'done', the style of meetings and roles needed, for example, the approach taken regarding facilitators and paid support). This information could become enabling for other NDFs through peer learning, possibly via a network of 'critical friends' and mentoring schemes. Volunteering as the Communications Officer for the KWF area neighbourhood development forum - whilst frustrating and deeply disappointing in our attempts to produce a neighbourhood plan but not succeeding – deepened my understanding as to how the legislation was not inclusive in design.

Looking at the 'real world' impact of the way the neighbourhood planning regulation (2012) and the Localism Act 2011, the complexity of the policy enactment demonstrates why literacy and associated problem-solving skills matter. In an area known for low literacy and problem-solving (Raphael Reed et al., 2007) skills, the policy initiative needed to be supplemented with extra help for those community needs, particularly around community engagement with complex histories, but research into exactly what kind of extra help would be useful. What could be offered by way of facilitating interventions, from government agencies, and the third sector, via extra funded support from central and local government?

Other areas of research that could lead on from this research:

- In an age of digital connection, I would also like to see more research into digital inclusion, digital organising and neighbourhood planning in England, particularly in areas of low social interaction in public places like Knowle West.

- Research on local governance and how modes of co-production and co-design *with* the community can work in harmony and operate *within* the elected representative model of electoral wards within parliamentary constituencies would be welcome.

8.5 Limitations of the research

Firstly, in considering the limitations of this research, I would have liked the research to be more participatory and a more co-productive form of research could have suited the nature of situated learning within a neighbourhood planning forum (i.e. research undertaken *with* rather than *on* people in more of a collaborative, iterative process of shared learning[184]). There are always concerns when researching 'others', and particularly when researching 'marginalised' or non-dominant communities. Although I had campaigned and knocked on doors in the community in which I completed this study, I did not have in-depth knowledge of the histories and cultures of the groups and individuals involved. Also, my own position of power connected with the research subjects presents a limitation of this research, despite my interest in social justice and the centrality of the voice and highlighting the concerns of the research subjects within my research design.

Although the research that took place in a relatively long timescale, which allowed me to develop a deeper understanding of the community and KWF group, including background factors that may have influenced the project, this was not finite. It would have been extremely useful to explore more, through learning and long-term

[184] More information available at: https://esrc.ukri.org/research/impact-toolkit/what-is-impact/ (Accessed 23 July 2021)

participation in the practice of volunteering within Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC). But the pressures of various complex academic training units and written, graded assessments, including my upgrade examination which happened just after the 2015 interviews had taken place, all of which that I had to pass to become a PhD candidate, meant that I felt I needed to leave my desk at KWMC in the February of 2015.

In addition, whilst I endeavoured to speak to a broad spectrum of local people, out on the streets with questionnaires with other KWF volunteers, in cafés, at KWMC and the actual KWF members (recording their comments in KWF meetings as well as from interviews), in the scheme of the thousands in the local population, my research represents the opinions of a small number of people. However prominent some of them may have been in terms of local community work, or length of time on the estate, whilst they offered extensive local knowledge in terms of expertise, their comments are still their perceptions and opinion rather than any positivist claim to a definitive truth. For example, the low political trust that was clearly expressed within the empirical data cannot be representative of a whole community. Having said that, it resonated with what I had heard whilst campaigning in the Mayoral election of 2012, door to door in Knowle West. I feel one limitation of the research is not hearing from the two local councillors. I felt on this occasion I wanted to privilege the voice of the actual public and that was the research design, given the emotional geographies around feelings of political trust, stigma, marginalisation, and agency.

While I conducted my research into one neighbourhood planning forum, it may have been beneficial to have explored other neighbourhood planning forums in other parts of Bristol or indeed other parts of England. For example, I only examined a

neighbourhood planning forum that failed to make an actual neighbourhood plan. It would have been interesting to have spoken to people behind the successful plan from the area of Old Market for example, in the city centre of Bristol. It could have been of particular interest to speak to a forum that had been successful in getting a neighbourhood plan through to adoption who were of a similar socio-economic profile, to hear how they overcame resource issues that KWF reported as being insurmountable. Similarly, interviewing a forum located in a very affluent part of England that succeeded in having a plan adopted could have provided an interesting contrast, to highlight differences between them.

I consider the research to be limited by not hearing from local government officers involved in regeneration at Bristol City Council. I would like to have interviewed the two local councillors, and Deputy Mayor with responsibilities for communities, equalities and public health, Councillor Asher Craig[185]. The research could have benefited from hearing from local councillors and local government officers directly involved with a successful neighbourhood plan. I would particularly like to have known more about how neighbourhood planning and regeneration policies at a city level can live together. I would have liked to learn more about collaborative relationship success stories, being able to ask questions from the positionality of having first-hand experience of having been part of an NDF for 20 months.

Generalisations to other contexts may be possible but must be viewed as tentative or hypothetical rather than conclusive. As we saw in *Chapter Four*, epistemologically,

[185] More information available at: https://democracy.bristol.gov.uk/mgUserInfo.aspx?UID=611 (Accessed 22 July 2021)

Dewey spoke of 'warranted assertions' (1941: 179); rather than knowledge being created as a result of research warrants result as outcomes of inquiry. I acknowledge my position within the research as a limitation, recognising that my own perspectives have undoubtedly influenced the way that the research was conducted and how it has been finally constructed in this thesis. My view on accuracy is that whilst one attempts to be faithful, the thesis is framed by the realisation that the research is coming from a position, and the findings are an interpretation.

I also think this research would be enriched by adding a national dimension to the narrative (which I will be doing in my forthcoming book based on my thesis for the Real Press). Interviews with parliamentarians would be useful particularly to discussing social inclusion issues arising from this research from a national perspective, such as Clive Betts MP, as Chair of the Select Committee on Housing Communities and Local Government (HCLG), and the former Cities Minister at the time of the Localism Act 2011 and the 2012 regulations for neighbourhood planning, Greg Clark MP, now Chair of the Science and Technology Select Committee. Other areas of broadening out the research with parliamentarians, could have included members of the All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Left Behind Neighbourhoods[186] and the Select Committee for HCLG[187]. I believe there is learning from interviewing politicians such as

[186] The All-Party Parliamentary Group for 'left behind' neighbourhoods is committed to developing practical policy solutions that help build community confidence and capacity, delivering improved social and economic outcomes for local residents. More information available at:

https://www.appg-leftbehindneighbourhoods.org.uk/ (Accessed 21 July 2021)

[187] The Committee scrutinises the policy, administration and spending of the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, and is comprised of MPs from across the House of Commons.

shadow secretary of state for the Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Lisa Nandy MP (Wigan) and academics involved with the Centre for Towns[188]. This would be to discover shared areas of interest and co-produced learning around innovative policy solutions, such as new approaches to community communication, social inclusion, and governance. Similarly, parliamentarians in the APPG Poverty[189]. Their secretariat is run by the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG)[190] and the Equality Trust, which works to improve the quality of life in the UK by reducing economic and social inequality. This is because of the socio-economic profile of Knowle West and the surrounding areas, as well as the other parts of England in the top ten most vulnerable areas, in terms of financial insecurity and social disadvantage. New ways of revitalising society are needed in order for political trust to be renewed and social ills to be reduced.

Given the policy enactment element to this thesis and discussions around social inclusion, interviewing someone with relevant senior civil service experience would also add depth to the research. Baroness Louise Casey[191], for example, former Director

[188] The Centre for Towns is an independent non-partisan organisation dedicated to providing research and analysis of our towns. Whilst our cities receive a good deal of attention, we believe that there should be equal attention paid to the viability and prosperity of our towns. More information available at:

https://www.centrefortowns.org/about-us (Accessed 9 August 2021)

[189] The APPG Poverty aims to increase understanding of poverty among parliamentarians and to seek all-party solutions while drawing on a range of outside people and knowledge. More information available at: http://www.appgpoverty.org.uk/ (Accessed 9 August 2021)

[190] Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) is the charity campaigning for an end to child poverty in the UK and for a better deal for low-income families. More information available at:

https://cpag.org.uk/ (Accessed 9 August 2021)

[191] Casey joined the civil service in 1999 from housing charity Shelter in a role to tackle homelessness. She served under four prime ministers, with a high-profile role at the helm of the Troubled Families programme from 2011.

General of the Department for Communities and Local Government (2011- 2017). Discussing community organising with someone such as Nick Ballard, head organiser for Acorn, could also add value to what the research could offer on the national stage.

8.6 Concluding note

Involving the public in decision-making in local planning has been a central component of planning policy over the post Second World War period (Nickson, 2019) but the nature of citizen participation has been characterised as a never-ending struggle (Inch et al., 2019). Delivering localism was portrayed by the government as being dependent on the existing strength - or the rebuilding - of the core social economy of family, neighbourhood, community, and civil society (Padley, 2013; Cahn, 2000; Stephens et al., 2008; Boyle and Harris, 2009; Boyle, 2010) but with no explanation as to how this would happen. The actual *how-to* of neighbourhood planning is not clear, often described in the abstract and seemingly expected to happen organically.

Working across social networks, to connect people with others (local residents, third sector organisations, private businesses, the public sector, governmental agencies) is skilled work. Whilst the combining of resources and ideas can help resolve problems co-production is skilled work that requires facilitation. Given both the complexity of community organising and the agentic complexities of governance (Hoggett, 2000; Stephenson and Papadopoulos, 2006) power is often maintained by state agencies, whatever the surrounding government rhetoric (Jupp, 2008). For while neighbourhood planning is said to offer a means of re-enchanting democracy (Healey, 2012), resource issues of many varieties impacted the ability of KWF to fully engage with this relatively new form of decentred community-led planning. The NDF in Knowle West did not

make a neighbourhood plan, with KWF members expressing that it was such a huge undertaking, particularly without adequate support and resources needed for that particular community setting. The multiple levels of socio-economic complexity in Knowle West meant the community needs were greater, therefore government support around targeted resources needs to be greater too.

This thesis examines various practical aspects involved with citizen-led planning and challenges the celebratory tone of volunteering as espoused in the Big Society rhetoric, of the Cameron premiership and Conservative era of government. The thesis concludes that the empowerment promised by government was not achieved in Knowle West, exacerbating concerns over democracy and inequality (Davoudi and Madanipour, 2015). The right mix of resources at community, third sector, and local government level need to be made available for equitable enactment of policy. Though it is worth noting that in May 2021 the government launched a pilot[192] - 'to test whether a simpler form of neighbourhood planning could empower more communities to play a direct role in shaping their neighbourhoods, particularly those in urban and deprived areas'. It will be interesting to see where this takes the debate and whether there is a real conviction in the heart of government that the best people to shape their communities are those most local to the area.

[192] More information available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/notes-on-neighbourhood-planning-edition-26/notes-on-neighbourhood-planning-edition-26 (Accessed 19 July 2021)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott, K., Levi-Faur, D. and Snidal, D. (2017). Theorizing regulatory intermediaries: The RIT model. ANNALS of the *American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 670: 14–35.

Adams, J. (1998). The wrongs of reciprocity: Fieldwork among Chilean working-class women. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 27(2), 219-241.

Adams, T. E. (2008). A Review of Narrative Ethics. *Qualitative Inquiry*. 14 (175): 175–191.

Agee, J. (2009). Developing qualitative research questions: a reflective process. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 22:4, 431-447

Albrechts, L. (2013). Reframing strategic spatial planning by using a coproduction perspective. *Planning Theory*, *12*(1), 46–63

Alcock, P. (2010a). 'Building the Big Society: a new policy environment for the third sector in England, *Voluntary Sector Review*, 1:3, 379-89.

Alcock, P. (2010b). A Strategic Unity: Defining the Third Sector in the UK, *Voluntary Sector Review*, 1:1, 5-24.

Alcock, P. (2010c). Devolution or Divergence? Third Sector Policy across the UK since 2000, in Lodge, G. and Schmuecker, K. (eds), *Devolution in Practice* 2010, London: IPPR.

Alevizou, G., Alexiou, K. and Zamenopoulos, T. (2016). *Making sense of assets: Community Asset Mapping and related Approaches. Working Paper.* London: The Open University and the AHRC.

Allan, H.T. (2006). Using participant observation to immerse oneself in the field: The relevance and importance of ethnography for illuminating the role of emotions in nursing practice. *Journal of Research in Nursing*, *11*(5), pp.397-407.

Allen, J. (1999). Spatial assemblages of power: from domination to empowerment, in *Human Geography Today* Eds D Massey, J Allen, P Sarre (Polity Press, Cambridge) pp 194 - 218

Allen, J. (2003). *Lost Geographies of Power.* (Blackwell, Oxford)

Allen, J. (2004). The whereabouts of power: politics, government and space, Geografiska Annaler: Series B, *Human Geography*, 86:1, 19-32,

Allen, J. (2016). *Topologies of Power: Beyond territory and networks.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Allen, J. and Cochrane, A. (2010). Assemblages of State Power: Topological Shifts in the Organization of Government and Politics. *Antipode* 42(5) 1071-1089

Allmendinger, P. and Haughton, G. (2012). Post-political spatial planning in England: a crisis of consensus? *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *37*(1), pp.89-103.

Allmendinger, P. and Haughton, G. (2015). 'Post-Political Regimes in English Planning: From Third Way to Big Society', in Metzger, J., Allmendinger, P. and Oosterlynck, S.(eds.) *Planning Against the Political,* London, Routledge, pp.29-54.

Allen, N. and Davey, M. (2018). The Value of Constructivist Grounded Theory for Built Environment Researchers. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* v38 n2 (2018 06 01): 222-232

Altheide, D.L. and Johnson, J.M. (1994). *Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in qualitative research.*

Alvesson, M. and Sköldberg, K. (2000). *Reflexive methodology: New vistas for qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Angrosino, M. (2007). *Doing ethnographic and observational research*. Sage.

Amin, A. (2005). 'Local community on trial.' *Economy and Society* 34(4): 612-633

Anderson, B. (2003). *Imagined Communities.* (Verso: London, 2003),

Anderson, B. and McFarlane, C. (2011). Assemblage and geography. *Area*, 43(2), 124-127.

Angrosino, M. (2007). *Doing ethnographic and observational research*. Sage.

Annells, M. (1997). Grounded theory method, part I: Within the five moments of qualitative research. *Nursing Inquiry* 1997; 4: 120–129.

Arnstein, S. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35 (4): 216–224

Ashforth, B.E. and Humphrey, R.H. (1993). Emotional labor in service roles: The influence of identity. *Academy of management review*, *18*(1), pp.88-115.

Atkinson, P. (2006). Rescuing autoethnography. *Journal of contemporary ethnography*, *35*(4), pp.400-404.

Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. eds. (2000). *Handbook of ethnography.* Sage.

Aull Davies, C. (2008). *Reflexive Ethnography,* 2nd Edition, Abingdon: Routledge.

Audit Commission (1989): *Urban regeneration and economic development: the local government dimension*. HMSO, London.

Bäcklund, P. and Mäntysalo, R. (2010). Agonism and institutional ambiguity: Ideas on democracy and the role of participation in the development of planning theory and practice-the case of Finland. *Planning theory*, *9*(4), pp.333-350.

Bacon, N., Faizullah, N. Mulgan, G. and Woodcraft, S. (2008). *Transformers: How local areas innovate to address changing social needs.* London: NESTA.

Bailey, N. and Pill, M. (2011). The continuing popularity of the neighbourhood and neighbourhood governance in the transition from the 'big state' to the 'big society' paradigm. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 29, 5, 927-942.

Bailey, Nick and Pill, M. (2015). Can the state empower communities through localism? An evaluation of recent approaches to neighbourhood governance in England. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy.* 33 (2), pp. 289-304.

Balloch, S. and Taylor, M. (2001). 'Conclusion – can partnerships work?' in Balloch, S. and Taylor, M. (eds) *Partnership Working. Policy and practice*, Bristol: The Policy Press, pp. 283-8

Banks, Marcus (2001). *Visual methods in social research.* London: Sage

Banks, S. (2003) 'The concept of community practice' in Banks, S., Butcher, H., Henderson, P. and Robertson, J. (eds) (2003) *Managing Community Practice. Principles, policies and programmes,* Bristol: The Policy Press, pp. 9-22

Barber, B. (1983). *The Logic and Limits of Trust.* Rutgers University Press

Barker, A. (2010). Westminster Blog: The Steve Hilton Strategy Bulletins, 5 January. Available at: blogs.ft.com/westminster/2010/01/the-steve-hiltonstrategy-bulletins/#more-15331 (accessed on 20 January 2014)

Barnes, M. (2008). Passionate Participation: Emotional Experiences and Expressions in Deliberative Forums, *Critical Social Policy*, 28(4), pp. 461–481.

Barnes, M., Newman, J. and Sullivan, H. (2004). 'Power, participation and political renewal: theoretical perspectives on public participation under New Labour in Britain' *Social Politics* 11 269-279

Baron, S., Field, J. and Schuller, T. (2000), *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*, Oxford University Press

Barton , H., Horswell, M. and Millar, P. (2012). Neighbourhood Accessibility and Active Travel. *Planning Practice and Research*, Volume 27, 2012 - Issue 2

Barzun, Jacques (2002). *A Stroll with William James.* Chicago: Chicago University Press

Batliwala, Srilatha. (1994). The Meaning of Women's Empowerment: New Concepts from Action. In *Population Policies Reconsidered: Health, Empowerment, and Rights,* ed. Gita Sen, Adrienne Germain, and Lincoln C. Chen, 127–38. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Beatty, Christina and Fothergill, Stephen. (2013). *Hitting the poorest places hardest: the local and regional impact of welfare reform. Project Report.* Sheffield, Sheffield Hallam University.

Benn, M. (2001). The Urban Scholar. *The Guardian newspaper*

Bergman Blix, S. and Wettergren, A. (2015). "The Emotional Labour of Gaining and Maintaining Access to the Field," *Qualitative Research*, 15(6), pp. 688–704.

Bernard, H. (2006). Participant Observation. Field Notes: How to Take Them, Code Them, Manage Them. In *Research Methods in Anthropology.* New York: AltaMira, 342-386;387-412

Bernard, H.R. (2017). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Bernstein, Richard J. 2010. *The pragmatic turn*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bewley, H., George, A., Rienzo, C. and Porte, J. (2016). *National Evaluation of the Troubled Families Programme: National Impact Study Report: Findings from the Analysis of National Administrative Data and Local Data on Programme Participation*. [The National Institute of Economic and Social Research (NIESR), for the DCLG.]

Biesta, G. and Barbules, N. (2004), *Pragmatism and Educational Research*, New York, NY: Rowman and Littlefield.

Birks, M. and Mills, J. (2010). *Grounded Theory: a Practical Guide.* Sage.

Bernstein, R., Layard, A., Maudsley, M., and Ramsden, H. (2016). in *After Urban Regeneration: communities, policy and place.* Edited by O'Brien, D and Matthews, P. Policy Press.

Bevir, M. (2009). *Key concepts in governance*. Los Angeles, California: SAGE (SAGE key concepts).

Black, J. (2001). Decentring regulation: Understanding the role of regulation and self-regulation in a "post-regulatory" world. *Current legal problems - researchgate.net*

Blond, P. (2009). *The Ownership State: Restoring excellence, innovation and ethos to the public services*, London: ResPublica/NESTA.

Blond, P. (2010). *Red Tory: how Left and Right have Broken Britain and how we can fix it*. Faber and Faber.

Bochner, Arthur P. (2002). Perspectives on inquiry III: The moral of stories. In Knapp, Mark L. and Daly, John A. (Eds.), *Handbook of interpersonal communication* (3rd ed., pp.73-101). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bogdan, R. and Biklen, S.K. (1998). *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Method. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon*.

Bohman, James. (1999). Theories, Practices, and Pluralism: A Pragmatic Interpretation of Critical Social Science. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences,* 1999 29: 459

Booher, D. and Innes, J. (2002). Network power in collaborative planning. *Journal of Planning, Education and Research*, 21: 221-36

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital, in Richardson, John G., ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. (1996). *The rules of art: Genesis and structure of the literary field*. Stanford University Press.

Bovaird, T. (2007). Beyond Engagement and Participation: User and Community Coproduction of Public Services. *Public Administration Review, 67, 846-860.*

Boyle, D. and Harris, M. (2009). *The challenge of coproduction. How equal partnerships between professionals and the public are crucial to improving public services. Discussion paper.* London: Nesta.

Boyle, D. (2010). 'Local economics and co-production', *Development*, 53, 3, 319–24.

Boyle, D., Slay, L. and Stephens, L. (2010). *Public Services Inside Out: Putting Co-production into Practice.*

Boyle, D. and Harris, M. (2009). *The Challenge of Co-production*, London: NESTA.

Bradley, Q. (2015). The political identities of neighbourhood planning in England. *Space and Polity*, 19:2, 97-109

Bradley, Q. (2014). Can neighbourhood planning breathe new life into local democracy? *Town & Country Planning.,83 (9).* 380 - 383. ISSN 0040-9960

Bradley, Q. (2015a) 'The political identities of neighbourhood planning in England'. *Space and Polity, 19(2): 97-109.*

Bradley, Q. (2015b). *The political boundaries of neighbourhood planning in England: post-politics and the return of antagonism to localism.* CUDEM Centre for Urban Development and Environmental Management, Leeds Metropolitan University.

Bradley, Q. (2018). Neighbourhood planning and the production of spatial knowledge. *Town Planning Review.* Volume 89: issue 1.

Bradley, Q. (2017). Neighbourhood planning and the impact of place identity on housing development in England. *Planning Theory & Practice*, *18*(2), pp.233-248.

Bradley, Q. and Sparling, W. (2017) The Impact of Neighbourhood Planning and Localism on House-building in England. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 34:1, 106-118

Bradshaw, J., Gordon, D., Levitas, R., Middleton, S., Pantazis, C., Payne, S. and Townsend, P. (1998). *Perceptions of Poverty and Social Exclusion.* Townsend Centre for International Poverty Research

Brand, R. and Gaffikin, F. (2007). Collaborative planning in an uncollaborative world. *Planning Theory* 6: 282–313.

Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. (2002a). Preface: From the "New localism" to the spaces of neoliberalism. *Antipode* 34(3):341–347

Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. (2002b). Cities and the geographies of "actually existing neoliberalism". *Antipode* 34(3):349–379

Brenner, N. (2004). *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood.* Oxford: OUP

Brent, J. (2009). *Searching for Community: Representation, Power and Action on an Urban Estate.* Policy Press.

Bristol City Council. (2009). *Knowle West Regeneration Framework baseline briefing.*

Bristol City Council. (2015). Deprivation in Bristol. S*ummary findings of the 2019 English Indices of Deprivation within Bristol Local Authority Area*, October 2019

British Academy. (2021). *The COVID decade: Understanding the long-term societal impacts of COVID-19,* The British Academy, London

Brookfield, K. (2017). Getting involved in plan-making: Participation in neighbourhood planning in England. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 35(3), pp.397-416.

Brooks, D. (2009). The Long Voyage Home, *New York Times*, May 4

Brooks, F. and Kendall, S. (2013). *Making sense of assets: what can an assets based approach offer public health?*

Brotheridge, C.M. and Lee, R.T. (2003). Development and validation of the Emotional Labour Scale. *Journal of Occupational Organisational Psychology*. 76:365–79

Brown, B.B., Perkins, D. and Brown, G. (2003). Place attachment in a revitalizing neighborhood: Individual and block levels of analysis. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 23: 259–71.

Brown, B. (date unknown). *Trust in Emergence*: Grounded Theory and My Research Process https://brenebrown.com/the-research/ (Accessed 13 February 2020)

Brownill, S. (2009). The dynamics of participation: Modes of governance and increasing participation in planning. *Urban Policy and Research*, 27(4), 357–375.

Brownill, S. (2016). Assembling localism: Practices of Assemblage and Building the "Big Society" in Oxfordshire, England in Rydin Y, Tate L (ed.), *Actor Network Theory and Planning* Routledge. Pp.79-94

Brownill, S. (2017). Assembling neighbourhoods: topologies of power and the reshaping of planning. *Localism and neighbourhood planning: Power to the people*, pp.145-162.p.23-42.

Brownill, S. (2017b). Neighbourhood planning and the purposes and practices of localism. pp.19-38. In Brownill, S. and Bradley, Q. (Eds.). (2017). *Localism and neighbourhood planning: Power to the people?* Bristol: Bristol University Press

Brownill, S. and Downing, L. (2013). Neighbourhood plans – is an infrastructure of localism emerging? *Town and Country Planning,* 82(9), 372–376

Brownill, S. and Parker, G. (2010). Why Bother with Good Works? The Relevance of Public Participation(s) in Planning in a Post-collaborative Era. *Planning Practice and Research* 25, no. 3: 275-282. Routeledge

Brownill, S. and Bradley, Q. (Eds.). (2017). *Localism and neighbourhood planning: Power to the people?* Bristol: Bristol University Press

Bryant, A. (2009). Grounded Theory and Pragmatism: The Curious Case of Anselm Strauss. Forum: *Qualitative Social Research*. Volume 10, No. 3, Art. 2 – September 2009

Bryant, A. (2019). Senior Editor's Introduction. In Bryant, A. and Charmaz, K. (eds.) (2019), *Handbook of Current Developments in Grounded Theory*, Sage

Bryant, A. and Charmaz, K. (eds.) (2007). *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory* London: Sage Publications Ltd

Bryant, A. and Charmaz, K. (2007b). Grounded theory in historical perspective: An epistemological account. In Antony Bryant and Kathy Charmaz (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of grounded theory* (pp.31-57). London: Sage.

Bryant, A. and Charmaz, K. (eds.) (2019). *Handbook of Current Developments in Grounded Theor*y, Sage

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Bulkeley, H. (2005). Reconfiguring environmental governance: towards a politics of scales and networks. *Political geography*. Vol 2, pp875-902

Burger, J., Ostrom, E., Norgaard, R., Policansky, D. and Goldstein, B.D. eds., (2001). *Protecting the commons: a framework for resource management in the Americas*. Island Press.

Busco, C., Riccaboni, A. and Scapens, R.W. (2006) Trust for accounting and accounting for trust, *Management Accounting Research*, 17, pp. 11-41.

Butcher, H., Glen, A., Henderson, P. and Smith, J. (eds) (1993) *Community and Public Policy,* London: Pluto Press.

Bubb, S. (2010). *The Big Society: moving from romanticism to reality*, Association of Chief Executives of Voluntary Organisations, 27 May 2010.

Butterby, V. (2018). *Nothing to lose*? *A constructed grounded theory of loss in the lives of young people who offend.* Doctoral Thesis, Durham University

Butterfoss, F.D., Goodman, Robert M. and Wandersman, A. (1996). Community Coalitions for Prevention and Health Promotion: Factors Predicting Satisfaction, Participation, and Planning. *Health Education Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (February 1996), pp. 65-79

Butterfoss, F.D. (2007). *Coalitions and partnerships in community health.* John Wiley & Sons.

Cabinet Office (2001). *A new commitment to neighbourhood renewal,* London: Cabinet Office/Social Exclusion Unit.

Cabinet Office (2010). *Big Society – Overview*, http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/content/bigsociety-overview - accessed 20.09.19

Cahn, E. (2000). *No More Throw-Away People: The Co-Production Imperative.* Washington: Essential Books.

Cameron, D. (2010). Speech: *Mending our Broken Society*, 22 January 2010.

Cameron, D. (2011). *PM statement on violence in England*, 10 August. Available at http://www.number10.gov.uk/news/pm-statement-on-violence-in-england/ (accessed 27 August 2015).

Campanella, T. (2011). Jane Jacobs and the death and life of American Planning. *Places Journal*, 2011 https://placesjournal.org/article/jane-jacobs-and-the-death-and-life-of-american-planning/?cn-reloaded=1 – downloaded 17.07.19

Camus, A. (2000 [1951]). The Rebel. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Cannella, G., and Lincoln, Y. (2007). Predatory vs. dialogic ethics constructing an illusion or ethical practice as the core of research methods. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *13*, 315-335.

Cano Piniero, Almudena (2020). Thesis, *The potential of design in neighbourhood planning: A design-led reconstruction of the Kentish Town case* PhD thesis, Royal College of Art.

Casadevall, A., Enquist, L., Imperiale, M.J., Keim, P., Osterholm, M.T. and Relman, D.A. (2013). Redaction of sensitive data in the publication of dual use research of concern. *American Society for Microbiology (ASM) Journals.*

Centre for Local Economic Strategies. (2014). *Austerity Uncovered*, report for the TUC.

Centre for Social Justice (CSJ). (2007). *Breakthrough Britain: Ending the Costs of Social Breakdown* (London: Centre for Social Justice). Available at: http://www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk/client/downloads/overview.pdf (Accessed 26 August 2015).

Chambers, Robert. (1994). "Participatory Rural Appraisal." *World Development* 22(9): 1253–68.

Chambers, Robert. (1997). *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last*. London: Intermediate Technology.

Charmaz, K. (1983). The grounded theory method: An explication and interpretation. In Emerson, Robert M. (Ed.), *Contemporary field research: A collection of readings* (pp.109-125). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland.

Charmaz, K. (1995). The body, identity, and self: Adapting to impairment. *Sociological quarterly*, *36*(4), pp.657-680.

Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 509-535). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2001). Qualitative interviewing and grounded theory analysis. In Gubrium, J. and Holstein, J. (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 675-694). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2003). Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods. In Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds.) *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Charmaz, K. (2008a). The legacy of Anselm Strauss for constructivist grounded theory. In N. Denzin (Ed.), *Studies in symbolic interaction* (Vol. 32, pp. 127-141). Bingley, UK: Emerald Group.

Charmaz, K. (2008b). Constructionism and the grounded theory method. *Handbook of constructionist research*, *1*(1), pp.397-412.

Charmaz, K. (2014) *Constructing Grounded Theory*. 2nd ed. London: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2017a). The Power of Constructivist Grounded Theory for Critical Inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry* v23 n1 (201701): 34-45

Charmaz, K. (2017b). Special invited paper: Continuities, contradictions, and critical inquiry in grounded theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *16*(1), p.1609406917719350.

Charmaz, K. and Mitchell, R. (1996). *'The myth of silent authorship: self, substance, and style in ethnographic writing'.* Symbolic Interaction, volume19 issue 4 (1996) 285–302

Charmaz, K. and Mitchell, R. (2001). Grounded theory in ethnography. In Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J., and Lofland, L. *Handbook of ethnography* (pp. 160-174). SAGE Publications Ltd

Child Poverty Action Group. (2021). briefing: *Understanding the latest data on the two-child limit.* Available at: https://cpag.org.uk/policy-and-campaigns/briefing/understanding-latest-data-two-child-limit

Colenutt, B. (2012a). What localism means for civic organisations: the case of Neighbourhood Planning. Invited Presentation presented to: *Outsourcing and Austerity: Civil Society and the Coalition Government,* TUC, Congress House, London, 05 October 2012.

Chesney, M. (2001). Dilemmas of self in the method. *Qualitative Health Research*, 11(1), 127-135

Christakis, N. and Fowler, J. (2010) *Connected: the amazing power of social networks and how they shape our lives.* London: Harper Press.

Civil Exchange Big Society Audit (2015). Available at: http://www.civilexchange.org.uk/whose-society-the-final-big-society-audit accessed 24.09.2015

Clark, G. (2010) *Six steps to return power to the people.* Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/six-steps-to-return-power-to-the-people

Clarke, J. and Newman, J. (2012). The Alchemy of Austerity. *Critical Social Policy* 32: 299–319.

Clarke, J. and Newman, J. (2017). People in this country have had enough of experts: Brexit and the paradoxes of populism. *Critical Policy Studies*, *11*(1), pp.101-116.

Clarke, N. and Cochrane, A. (2013). Geographies and politics of localism: The localism of the United Kingdom's coalition government. *Political Geography* v34 (201305): 10-23

Clegg, S, R. (1989). *Frameworks of Power.* SAGE

Cloke, P. (1999). Self–other, in: Cloke, P., Crang, P. and Goodwin, M. (eds) *Introducing Human Geographies*, London: Arnold, 43–53.

Cloke, P., Cooke, P., Cursons, J., Milbourne, P. and Widdowfield, R. (2000). Ethics, reflexivity and research: Encounters with homeless people. *Ethics, Place & Environment*, 3(2), pp.133-154.

Chaskin, R. J. (1998). Neighborhood as a unit of planning and action: A heuristic approach, *Journal of Planning Literature*, 13(1), pp. 11–30.

Christakis, N. and Fowler, J. (2010). *Connected: the amazing power of social networks and how they shape our lives*. London: Harper Press.

Coleman, J.S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital, *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, pp. 95-120.

Colenutt, B. (2012b). A conditional right: the Localism Act and Neighbourhood Plans, in TUC (ed) *Localism: threat or opportunity,* London: TUC, pp 14-16

Collins, H. and Evans, R. (2009). *Rethinking Expertise.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Connolly, M. and James, C. (2006). Collaboration for School Improvement. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership,* 34, 69-87.

Conservative Party (2009). Control Shift: Returning Power to Local Communities, London. Conservative Party.

Conservative Party (2010). *Open Source Planning*, Policy Green Paper No 14, London: Conservative Party.

Co-operatives UK. (2010). *The Formula for Co-operation.*

Coote, A. (2011). Big Society and the New Austerity (New Economics Foundation) in *The Big Society Challenge.* Edited by Marina Stott

Corbett, S. and Walker, A. (2012). The Big Society: Back to the Future. *The Political Quarterly* v83 n3 (July-September 2012): 487-493

Crang, P. (1992). The politics of polyphony: reconfigurations in geographical authority, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 10, 527–549.

Creswell, John, W. and Creswell, J. David (2018). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. SAGE: Thousand Oaks.

Cropper, S. (1996). Collaborative working and the issue of sustainability. *Creating collaborative advantage*, pp.80-100.

Crossley, S. (2017). *Making trouble: a Bourdieusian analysis of the UK Government's Troubled Families Programme, A Kind of Trouble*.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The Foundations of Social Research.* SAGE

Crouch, D. (2001). Spatialities and the feeling of doing, *Social & Cultural Geography*, 2(1), pp. 61-75.

Curtis, B. (1995). Taking the State Back Out: Rose and Miller on Political Power. *The British Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 46, No. 4 (Dec., 1995), pp. 575-589

Cutts, D., Goodwin, M., Heath, O. and Surridge, P. (2020). Brexit, the 2019 general election and the realignment of British politics. *The Political Quarterly*, *91*(1), pp.7-23.

d'Ancona, Matthew (2010) *Sunday Telegraph* column, Sunday 3 January 2010

Davidson, J., Bondi, L., and Smith, M. (2005). *Emotional Geographies*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Davies, J. S, and Pill, M., 2012, Empowerment or abandonment? Prospects for neighbourhood revitalisation under the big society, *Public Money and Management* 32(3) 193-2000

Davoudi, S. and Madanipour, A. (2015). Localism and the 'Post-social' Governmentality, in S Davoudi, A Madanipour (eds) *Reconsidering Localism*, London: Routledge, pp 77-102

Dean, Hartley (2016). Poverty and social exclusion. In: Platt, Lucinda and Dean, Hartley, (eds.) *Social Advantage and Disadvantage.* Oxford University Press, Oxford

Dear, M. (1992). Understanding and overcoming the NIMBY syndrome. *Journal of the American planning association*, *58*(3), pp.288-300.

Dear, M.J. and Taylor, S.M. (1982). *Not on our street: Community attitudes to mental health care* (Vol. 9). Routledge.

Dear, M. and Flusty, S. (1998). Postmodern urbanism. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88, 50-72.

Delanty, G. (2003) *Community.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1988) *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia.* London: The Athlone Press

Denzin, N. K. (1978). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Denzin, N. (2010). Moments, mixed methods, and paradigm dialogs. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *16*, 419-427.

Denzin, N. (2012). Triangulation 2.0. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, *6*, 80-88.

Denzin, N. (2015). What is critical qualitative inquiry? In G. Cannella, M. Pérez, and P. Pasque (Eds.), *Critical qualitative inquiry: Foundations and futures* (pp. 31-50). Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (1994). 'Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research', in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, pp. 1–17. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (2000). The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In *Handbook of qualitative research*, eds NK Denzin and YS Lincoln, 1–28. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Denzin N. K. and Lincoln Y. S. (2013). *The landscape of qualitative research* (4th ed.). Sage.

Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG). (2006) *Strong and Prosperous Communities,* Cm 6939-I

DCLG. (2008) *Communities in Control.*

DCLG. (2011). *A Plain English Guide to the Localism Act,* Department for Communities and Local Government

DCLG. (2012a). *Localism Act: Neighbourhood Plans and Community Right to Build Impact assessment.*

DCLG. (2012b). *National Planning Policy Framewor*k, Department for Communities and Local Government (The Stationery Office, London)

DCLG. (2012c). *The Troubled Families Programme*. London: Stationery Office.

DCLG. (2015a). *Plain English Guide to the Planning System.*

DCLG. (2015b). *English indices of deprivation 2015: research report.*

Department of Education and Employment, 2000: *Report of Policy Action Team 2: Skills.* Social Exclusion Unit, London.

Desrochers, P. (2018). Eyes on the Street. *The life of Jane Jacobs.*

DeVerteuil, G. (2013). Where Has NIMBY Gone in Urban Social Geography? *Social and Cultural Geography* 14 (6): 599–603.

Dewey, J. (1920). *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, New York: Henry Holt and Co.

Dewey, J. (2008). Reconstruction in philosophy. In Boydston, J and Ross, R (Eds.), *The middle works of John Dewey, 1899 1924* (Vol. 12, pp. 77-202). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1920)

Dewey, J. (2008). Experience and nature. In J. Boydstono and S. Hook (Eds.), *The later works of John Dewey, 1925-1953* (Vol. 1, pp. 1-437). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1925a)

Dewey, J. (2008). The public and its problems. In J. Boydston and J. Gouinlock (Eds.), *The later works of John Dewey, 1925-1953* (Vol. 2, pp. 235-372). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1925b)

Dewey, J. (1941). Propositions, Warranted Assertibility, and Truth, *Journal of Philosophy* 38 7 (1941): 169-186.

Dhillon, J.K. (2009). The role of social capital in sustaining partnership, *British Educational Research Journal*, pp.1-18.

Dorling, D. (2010). *Injustice: Why Social Inequality Persists,* Bristol: Policy Press.

Dorling, D. (2013). *Population Ten Billion.*

Dorling, D. (2014). *All That is Solid and Inequality and the 1%.*

Dorling, D. (2015). *Injustice: Why social inequalities still persist.*

Dorling, D. (2016). Brexit: the decision of a divided country. *British Medical Journal (BMJ)*; 354

Dorling, D. (2017). *The Equality Effect Improving life for everyone.* New Internationalist Publications

Dorling, D. (2019). Austerity bites: falling life expectancy in the UK. *The BMJ opinion.*

Driver, S. (2011). Welfare Reform and Coalition Politics in the Age of Austerity. In: Lee S., Beech M. (eds) The Cameron—Clegg Government. Palgrave Macmillan, London

Economist, February 2009 https://www.economist.com/printedition/2009-02-21 - accessed 15.09.19

Dunne, C. (2009). The place of the literature review in grounded theory research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*. Volume 14, 2011 - Issue 2

Durose, C. and Richardson, L. (2009). Neighbourhood': a site for policy action, governance … and empowerment? in *Changing Local Governance, Changing Citizens* Eds C Durose, S Greasley, L Richardson (Policy Press, Bristol) pp 31 - 52

Durose, C., Mangan, C., Needham, C., and Rees, J. (2014). *Evaluating co-production: Pragmatic approaches to building the evidence base.* Political Studies Association Conference, University of Birmingham, April 2014.

Dyer, M. (2016). Neighbourhood planning in practice. *National Association of Local Councils (NALC) presentation*

Edwards, A. (2005). Relational agency: Learning to be a resourceful practitioner. *International journal of educational research*, *43*(3), pp.168-182.

Edwards, A. (2011). Building common knowledge at the boundaries between professional practices: Relational agency and relational expertise in systems of distributed expertise. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 50(1), pp.33-39.

Egerton, M. and Mullan, K. (2008). Being a pretty good citizen: an analysis and monetary valuation of formal and informal voluntary work by gender and educational attainment. *British Journal of Sociology* 59(1): 145-164.

Eklund, L. (1999). *From Citizen Participation Towards Community Empowerment – An Analysis on Health Promotion from Citizen Perspective,* Academic Dissertation, University of Tampere. Available at: http://tampub.uta.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/66576/951-44-4701- 8.pdf?sequence=1. Accessed: 7 September 2014

Ellis, C. (1999). Heartful autoethnography. *Qualitative health research*, *9*(5), pp.669-683.

Ellis, C. (1991). Sociological introspection and emotional experience. *Symbolic Interaction*, 14 (1), 23-50.

Ellis, C. (2005). Touching Back/Receiving gifts. *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Ellis, C. (2009). *ReVision: Autoethnographic reflections on life and work.* Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Ellis, C., Adams, T.E., and Bochner, A.P. (2011). Autoethnography: an overview. *Historical social research/Historische sozialforschung*, pp.273-290.

Ellis, C. and Bochner, A. P. (1996). *Composing ethnography: Alternative forms of qualitative writing.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Ellis, C. and Bochner, A. P. eds. (2000). *Ethnographically Speaking: Autoethnography, Literature, and Aesthetics.* Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

Ellison, N. (2011). The conservative party and the "big society". *Social Policy Review: Analysis and Debate in Social Policy,* 2011. ed. / Chris Holden; Majella Kilkey; Gaby Ramia. Vol. 23 Bristol: The Policy Press, 2011.

Ely, M., Vinz, R., Downing, M., and Anzul, M. (1997). *On writing qualitative research: Living by words.* London: Routledge Falmer.

England, K. (1994). Getting personal: reflexivity, positionality and feminist research, *Professional Geographer,* 46, 80–89.

Ennis, G. and West, D. (2010) Exploring the potential of social network analysis in asset-based community development practice and research, *Australian Social Work*, 63 (4), 404 – 417.

Erickson, F. (1985). *Qualitative methods in research on teaching* (pp. 119-62). Institute for Research on Teaching. In Wittrock, M.C. (1986). *Handbook of research on teaching*. Macmillan Publishing Ltd.

Escadale, W., Jackson, M. and Speeden, S. (2012). Responsible Reform: Open Public Services for All, *Manchester: Centre for Local Economic Strategies.*

Espiet-Kilty, R. (2018). Cameron and Big Society. May and Shared Society. Same Party: Two Visions? *Observatoire de la société britannique*, (21), pp.213-233.

Etherington, K. (2004). *Becoming a Reflexive Researcher. Using Our Selves in Research.* Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Etherington, K. (2007). Ethical research in reflexive relationships. *Qualitative inquiry*, *13*(5), pp.599-616.

Etzioni, A. (1995). *The Spirit of Community*, London: Fontana.

Etzioni, A. (1997). *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society,* London: Profile

Evans, Gary L. (2013). A Novice Researcher's First Walk through the Maze of Grounded Theory: Rationalization for Classical Grounded Theory. *Grounded Theory Review* 12 (1): 37–55.

Facer, K. and. Enright, B. (2016). *Creating Living Knowledge: The Connected Communities Programme, Community-University Relationships and the Participatory Turn in the Production of Knowledge*

Farnsworth, K. (2011). From Economic Crisis to a New Age of Austerity: The UK. In *Social Policy in Challenging Time: Economic Crisis and Welfare Systems,* edited by K. Farnsworth, and Z. Irving, 251–270.Bristol: Policy Press.

Feltman, Charles. (2009). *The Thin Book of Trust. An essential primer for building trust at work.* Thin Book Publishing Company.

Field, M. and Layard, A. (2017). Locating community-led housing within neighbourhood plans as a response to England's housing needs. *Public Money and Management*, *37*(2), pp.105-112.

Fielding, N. (2008). Ethnography, in Gilbert, N. (ed) *Researching Social Life,* 3rd Edition, London: Sage, pp. 266-284.

Fine, B. (2010). *Theories of Social Capital: Researchers Behaving Badly*. IIPPE

Finlay, L. (2016). "Outing" the researcher: The Provenance, Process, and Practice of Reflexivity. *Qualitative Health Research*, 12(4), 531–545.

Flick, U. (2016). Challenges for a New Critical Qualitative Inquiry: Introduction to the Special Issue. *Qualitative Inquiry.* Volume: 23 issue: 1, page(s): 3-7. Article first published online: June 28, 2016; Issue published: January 1, 2017

Flyvbjerg, B. (1998). *Rationality and power. Democracy in practice.* University of Chicago press, Chicago.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001). *Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How It Can Succeed Again.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Foucault, M. [1976] (1980). Questions on geography, in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, 1972 - 1997 Ed. C Gordon (Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead, Herts) pp 63 - 77

Foucault, M. (1977). An interview, *Radical Philosophy*, (16) 10–15.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* trans. A. Sheridan. London: Allen Lane.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge*, ed. C. Gordon. Brighton: Harvester.

Foucault M, [1982] (1984), Space, knowledge and power: an interview with Michel Foucault', in *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought* Ed. P Rabinow (Penguin, London) pp 239 - 256

Foucault, M. (1983). The Subject and Power. In *Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, edited by H. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow, 208-226. The University of Chicago Press

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power, in Dreyfus, H. L. and Rabinow, P. (eds): *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutic*. Brighton: Harvester, pp. 208–226.

Foucault, M. (1984). *The History of Sexuality, Vol 1: An Introduction.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1988a). On power, in Kritzman, L.D. (ed.): *Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture.* London and New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, pp. 96–109.

Foucault, M. (1988b). The ethic of care for the self as a practice of freedom, in Bernauer J. and Rasmussen D. (eds): *The Final Foucault.* Boston, Mass: MIT Press.

Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality, in Burchill, G., Gordon, C. and Millier, P. (eds): *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, pp. 87–104.

Foucault, M. (2001). Omnes et Singulatim: toward a critique of political reason, in *Foucault, M: Power, Essential Works,* Vol. 3, ed J.D. Faubion, trans. R. Hurley. Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, pp. 298–325.

Frances, J., Levacic, R., Mitchell, J. and Thompson, G. (1991). Introduction, in Thompson, G., Frances, J., Levacic, R. and Mitchell, J. (eds) *Markets, Hierarchies and Networks. The Coordination of Social Life.* London: Sage, pp. 1- 19

Francis, R. (2018). *The Council of the Future - Making us all into Designers*. Traverse Available at: https://traverse.ltd/recent-work/blogs/council-future-making-all-us-designers (Accessed: 17 July 2019)

Freeman, J. (2000). The Private Role in Public Governance. *New York University Law Review* 75, Part 3 (2000): 543-675

Friedmann, John. (1998). Planning Theory Revisited. *European Planning Studies* 6 (3): 245–53.

Fremeaux, I. (2005). New Labour's appropriation of the concept of community: a critique, *Community Development Journal*, Volume 40, Issue 3, July 2005, Pages 265–274

Fussey, P. (2004). New Labour and New Surveillance: Theoretical and Political Ramifications of CCTV Implementation in the UK; *Surveillance & Society,* 2(2/3) pp.251-269

Fyfe, Nicholas, R. (2005). Making Space for "Neo-communitarianism"? The Third Sector, State and Civil Society in the UK. *Antipode* v37 n3 (June 2005): 536-557

Gadamer, Hans-Georg. (1975). Hermeneutics and Social Science. *Cultural Hermeneutics,* Volume: 2 issue: 4, page(s): 307-316. Issue published: December 1, 1975

Gallent, N., Hamiduddin, I. and Madeddu, M. (2013). Localism, down-scaling and the strategic dilemmas confronting planning in England, *Town Planning Review,* 84(5): 563- 582.

Gallent, N. and Robinson, S. (2012). *Neighbourhood Planning. Communities, Networks and Governance.* Policy Press

Gallent, N. (2013). Re-connecting 'people and planning': parish plans and the English localism agenda. *Town Planning Review*. Vol 84 (3)

Gaskell, G. (2002). Individual and group interviewing, in Bauer, M.W. and Gaskell, G. (eds) *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound,* London: Sage, pp.38-56.

Genzuk, M. (2003). *A synthesis of Ethnographic Research.* Centre for Multilingual, Multicultural Research University of Southern California, Occasional Papers Series

Gerwyn Jones, Richard Meegan, Patricia Kennett, and Jacqui Croft (2015). The uneven impact of austerity on the voluntary and community sector: A tale of two cities. *Urban Studies*, vol. 53, 10: pp. 2064-2080.

Giddens, A. (1977). *Studies in Social and Political Theory.* London: Hutchinson

Gilbert, L., Teravainen, A., Clark, C. and Shaw, S. (2018). *Literacy and life expectancy.* National Literacy Trust.

Gilchrist, A. (2004). *The Well-connected Community,* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Gilchrist, A. (2009). *The Well-Connected Community,* 2nd edition, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gilchrist, A. and Kyprianou, P. (2011). Social networks, poverty and ethnicity. *Programme paper, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York*.

Gladwell, M. (2000). *The Tipping Point.* New York, NY: Little, Brown, and Company

Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity.* Mill valley.

Glaser, B. G. (2002). Constructivist Grounded Theory? [47 paragraphs]. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *3*(3), Art. 12, http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0203125. Downloaded 12.04.15

Glaser, B., and Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research* (Reprinted 2006 ed.). London, UK: Aldine Transaction.

Glatter, R. (2003). Collaboration, collaboration, collaboration: the origins and implications of a policy. *Management in Education*, *17*(5), pp.16-20.

Glesne, C. (2006). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Allyn & Bacon/Longman.

Glesne, C., and Peshkin, A. (1992). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction.*

New York: Longman.

Goddard, R. D. (2003). Relational Networks, Social Trust, and Norms: A Social Capital Perspective on Students' Chances of Academic Success. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* Spring 2003, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 59–74

Goldfarb, J.C. (1991). *The cynical society: The culture of politics and the politics of culture in American life*. University of Chicago Press.

Gordon, C. (1991). Governmental Rationality: An Introduction, pp1-51 in Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (eds.) *The Foucault Effect,* Harvester Wheatsheaf, London.

Grandey, A. A. (2000). Emotion regulation in the workplace: a new way to conceptualize emotional labor. J. *Occupational Health Psychology*. 5(1):95–110

Grandey, A.A. (2003). When "the show must go on": surface and deep acting as predictors of emotional exhaustion and service delivery. *Acad. Manag. J.* 46(1):86–96

Grandey, A.A., Diefendorff, J.M., Rupp, D.E., eds. (2013). *Emotional Labor in the 21st Century: Diverse Perspectives on Emotion Regulation at Work*. New York: Routledge

Grandey, A. A. and Gabriel, A. S. (2015). "Emotional Labor at a Crossroads: Where Do We Go from Here?," *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 2(1), pp. 323–349.

Grbich, C. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis: an introduction.* SAGE

Gregory, L. (2014). Resilience or Resistance? Time Banking in the Age of Austerity. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 22:2, 171-183

Gross, J.J. (1998). The emerging field of emotion regulation: an integrative review. *Rev. Gen. Psychol.* 2(3): 271–99

Guba, E.G and Lincoln, Y.S. (1989). *Fourth Generation Evaluation.* SAGE

Guba, E.G. and Lincoln, Y.S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, *2*(163-194), p.105.

Guest, G., Namey, E.E. and Mitchell, M.L. (2013). *Collecting Qualitative Data. A Field Manual for Applied Research*. Sage.

Gunaratnam, Y. and Lewis, G. (2001). Racialising emotional labour and emotionalising racialised labour: anger, fear and shame in social welfare, *Journal of Social Work Practice, 15*(2), 131 - 148.

Gunn, S., Brooks, E. and Vigar, G. (2015) The community's capacity to plan: The disproportionate requirements of the new English Neighbourhood Planning initiative, in: S. Davoudi and A. Madanipour (Eds) *Reconsidering Localism*, pp. 147–167. (London: Routledge).

Gunn, Z., Vigar, G. and Brooks, E. (2015). The community's capacity to plan: is it there, and is it enough. Reconsidering Localism. Abingdon: Routledge, pp.168-189.

Habermas, J. (1984). *The theory of communicative action Vol. 1: Reason and the rationalization of society.* (J. McCarthy, Trans.). Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Halpern, D. (2005). *Social Capital*, Cambridge: Polity.

Hancher, L. and Moran, M. (1989). Introduction: Regulation and deregulation. *European Journal of Political Research.* Vol 17 (2). Pages 129-136

Hancock, L. and Mooney, G. (2013). "Welfare Ghettos" and the "Broken Society": Territorial Stigmatization in the Contemporary UK. *Housing, Theory and Society.* Volume 30, 2013 - Issue 1. Pages 46-64

Hannerz, U. (1980). *Exploring the city. Inquiries toward an urban anthropology*. Columbia University Press.

Hansard Society (2019), *Audit of Political Engagement 16: The Report*, Hansard Society.

Haraway, D. J. (1997). *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan©_Meets_OncoMouse™:* Feminism and Technoscience. *Women's Philosophy Review,* London: Routledge.

Harding, J., and Pribram, D. E. (2002). The Power of feeling: Locating emotions in culture, *Cultural Studies, 5*(4), 407-426.

Hardy, C. and Phillips, N. (1998). Strategies of engagement: Lessons from the critical examination of collaboration and conflict in an interorganizational domain. *Organization science, 9*(2), pp.217-230.

Harris, N. (2002). Collaborative planning: from critical foundations to practice forms, in P. Allmendinger and M. Tewdwr-Jones (eds) *Planning Futures: New Directions in Planning Theory.* Abingdon, Routledge, pp 21-43

Hasan, M. (2010). The sham of Cameron's "big society". *New Statesman*, 18 November 2010

Haughton, G., Allmendinger, P. and Oosterlynck, S. (2013). Spaces of neoliberal experimentation: soft spaces, post politics, and neoliberal governmentality. *Environment and Planning A*, *45*(1), pp.217-234.

Hayes, R., and Oppenheim, R. (1997). Constructivism: Reality is what you make it. In T. Sexton & B. Griffin (Eds.), *Constructivist thinking in counseling practice, research and training* (pp. 19-41). New York: Teachers College Press.

Hammersley, M. (1990). *Reading Ethnographic Research: A Critical Guide.* London: Longman.

Hammersley, M. (2005). *Ethnography: Problems and prospects.* Paper presented at CCIG conference, Open University, Milton Keynes, UK, 7 December 2005

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, 2nd edition. London: Routledge.

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography,* Third Edition, Abingdon: Routledge.

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (2019). *Ethnography: Principles in practice.* (4th ed.) London: Routledge

Harrison, Jane, Lesley MacGibbon, and Missy Morton. (2001). Regimes of Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research: The Rigors of Reciprocity, in *Qualitative Inquiry* 7 (3): 323–45.

Hart, A., Davies, C., Aumann, K., Wenger, E., Aranda, K., Heaver, B. and Wolff, D. (2013): Mobilising knowledge in community – university partnerships: what does a community of practice approach contribute? Contemporary Social Science: *Journal of the Academy of Social Sciences.*

Hastings, A. (1998). Connecting linguistic structures and social practices: a discursive approach to social policy analysis, in *Journal of Social Policy* 27 191-211

Healey, P. (1987). *Collaborative Planning.* London: Macmillan

Healey, P. (2003). Collaborative planning in perspective. *Planning Theory*, 2, 101-23

Healey, P. (2012). Re-enchanting democracy as a mode of governance. *Critical Policy Studies.* Vol 6 (1), pages 19-39

Healey, P. (2015). Civic capacity, place governance and progressive localism, in: S. Davoudi and A. Madanipour (Eds) *Reconsidering Localism*, pp. 105–125. (London: Routledge).

Healy, K. (2005a). *Social work theories in context: Creating frameworks for practice*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave.

Healy, K. (2005b). The strengths perspective. In: *Social work theories in context: Creating frameworks for practice*, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave.

Helleman, G. and Wassenberg, F. (2004). The renewal of what was tomorrow's idealistic city: Amsterdam's Bijlmermeer high-rise. In: *Cities*, 21 (1), pp.3-17

Helleman, G. (2015). *Arrival cities: the need for precision*. Blog Urban Springtime.

Henwood, K., and Pidgeon, N. (2003). Grounded theory in psychological research. In P. M. Camic, J. E. Rhodes, and L. Yardley (Eds.), *Qualitative research in psychology: Expanding perspectives in methodology and design* (p. 131–155). American Psychological Association.

HM Government, *The Coalition: our programme for government,* May (2010), p.11

Hertz, R. (1996). Introduction: Ethics, reflexivity and voice. *Qualitative sociology*, *19*(1), pp.3-9.

Hibbitt, K., Jones, P. and Meegan, R. (2001). Tackling social exclusion: The role of social capital in urban regeneration on Merseyside—from mistrust to trust? *European planning studies*, *9*(2), pp.141-161.

Honig, B. (1993). *Political Theory and the Displacement of Politics*, New York, Cornell University Press.

Herising, F. (2005). Interrupting positions: Critical thresholds and queer pro/positions. In L. Brown & S. Strega (Eds.) *Research as resistance: Critical, indigenous & anti-oppressive approaches* (pp. 19-36). Toronto, Ontario: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Hillery, G. A. (1955). *Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement*

Hillier, J. and Healey, P. (2008). Contemporary movements in planning theory: *Critical essays in planning theory.* Vol 3. Aldershot: Ashgate

Himmelman, A.T. (1996). 'On the theory and practice of transformational collaboration: from social service to social justice', in Huxham, C. (ed) *Creating Collaborative Advantage*, London: Sage, pp.19-43.

Hochschild, Arlie. (1983). *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hoggart, K., Lees, L. and Davies, A. (2002). *Researching human geography*. London: Arnold.

Hoggett, P. (ed). (1997). *Contested Communities,* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Hoggett, P., Mayo, M., and Miller, C. (2008). *The Dilemmas of Development Work: Ethical Challenges in Regeneration.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Hohmann, R.P. (2013). *Regenerating deprived urban areas*. Policy Press.

Holman, N. and Rydin, Y. (2013). What Can Social Capital Tell Us About Planning Under Localism? *Local Government Studies* Volume 39, 2013 - Issue 1. Pages 71-88

Holt, L. (2008). Embodied social capital and geographic perspectives: performing the habitus. *Progress in Human Geography* v32 n2 (04/2008): 227-246

Hooghe, M. and Marien, S. (2013). A comparative analysis of the relation between political trust and forms of political participation in Europe. *European Societies*, *15*(1), pp.131-152.

Hospers, Gert-Jan (2006). Jane Jacobs: her life and work, *European Planning Studies*, 14:6, 723-732

House of Commons (2011). *The Big Society - Commons Public Administration Select Committee report*

Huchzermeyer, M. and Misselwitz, P. (2016). Coproducing inclusive cities? Addressing knowledge gaps and conflicting rationalities between self-provisioned housing and

state-led housing programmes. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, 20, pp.73-79.

Hudson, B. and Hardy, B. (2002). Chapter Four. What is a 'successful' partnership and how can it be measured? in Glendinning, C., Powell, M. and Rummery, K. (eds) *Partnerships, New Labour and the Governance of Welfare.* Bristol: Policy Press. pp. 51-65

Hull, A (2001). Neighbourhood renewal: A toolkit for regeneration. *GeoJournal* 51: 301–310 overlapping communities

Hunt, A. and Wickham, G. (1996). Foucault and law: Towards a sociology of law as governance. *Social and Legal Studies*, 5 (4). pp. 565-567.

Hunter, S. (2012). Ordering Differentiation: Reconfiguring Governance as Relational Politics, *Journal of Psycho-Social Studies* 6(1): 3–29.

Huxham, C. (1996). Collaboration and Collaborative Advantage. *In:* Huxham, C. (ed.) *Creating collaborative advantage.* Sage Publications Limited

Huxham, C. and Vangen, S. (2005). *Managing to Collaborate.* London.

Inch, A. (2015). Ordinary Citizens and the political cultures of planning: In search of the subject of a new democratic ethos. *Planning Theory.* Vol 14(4) 404-424

Inch, A., Sartorio, F., Bishop, J., Beebeejaun, Y., McClymont, K., Frediani, A.A., Cociña, C. and Quick, K.S. (2019). People and Planning at Fifty/'People and Planning' 50 Years On: The never-ending struggle for planning to engage with people/Skeffington: A view from the coalface/From participation to inclusion/Marking the 50th anniversary of Skeffington: Reflections from a day of discussion/What to commemorate? 'Other'

international milestones of democratising city-making/An American's reflections on Skeffington's relevance at 50. *Planning Theory & Practice*, *20*(5), pp.735-759.

Innes, J. And Booher, D. (2003). *The Impact of Collaborative Planning on Governance Capacity*, Berkeley, Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California.

Innes, M., Davies, B. and McDermont, M. (2019). How co-production regulates. *Social & Legal Studies*, *28*(3), pp.370-391.

Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) *Election Briefing Note* (2010)

Jacobs, J. (1958). Downtown is for People. *Fortune Classic.*

Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities: The Failure of Town Planning*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd.

Jacobs, J. (1993). The city unbound: qualitative approaches to the city. *Urban Studies* 30, 827-48.

Jacobs J. (2000). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Pimlico, London.

Jacobs, J. (2016*).* In *Vital Little Plans, the short works of Jane Jacobs* (eds Zipp S. and Storring, N.) Penguin Random House

James, William (1890). *Principles of Psychology.* New York: Henry Holt.

James, William (1902, 1982). *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* London: Penguin Books.

James, William (2000). ed. Giles Gunn. *Pragmatism and Other Writings.* London: Penguin Books.

Jarzabkowski, L. (2001). Emotional labour in educational research. *Queensland Journal of Educational Research,* 17(2), 123-137.

Jenkins, R. (2008). *Social Identity.* Third edition. Abingdon: Routledge

Jenks, M. and Dempsey, N. (2007). Defining the neighbourhood. Challenges for empirical research. *Town Planning Review*, 79(2), pp. 153–177.

Jennings, W., McKay, L. and Stoker, G. (2021). The politics of levelling up. *The Political Quarterly*. Vol. 92, No. 2, April-June 2021

Jessop, B. (2002). Liberalism, neoliberalism, and urban governance: A state-theoretical perspective. *Antipode* 34(3):452–472

Jevons, R. and Madge, J. *(1946). Housing Estates. A Study of Bristol Corporation Policy and Practice between the Wars.*

Jewkes, Y. (2012). Autoethnography and emotion as intellectual resources: Doing prison research differently. *Qualitative inquiry*, *18*(1), pp.63-75.

Johnston, C. and Whitehead, M. (2004). Horizons and barriers in British urban policy. In C. Johnstone and M. Whitehead (eds) *New Horizons in British Urban Policy.* (Pp 3–21). London: Ashgate

Johnstone, R. (2017). Louise Casey to Leave Government. *Civil Service World.* 24 April 2017. Available at: https://www.civilserviceworld.com/professions/article/louise-casey-to-leave-government (Accessed 21 July 2021)

Jones III J. P., Woodward K. and Marston S. A. (2007). *Situating flatness. Transactions, Institute of British Geographers* 32(2): 264–276

Jones, K. (2007). Knowle West Pages.

Jones, O. (2020). *Chavs: The demonization of the working class*. Verso.

Jones, P., Layard, A., Lorne, C., Speed, C. (2016). Localism, neighbourhood planning and community control: the MapLocal pilot. In *After Urban Regeneration. Communities, Policy and Place.* Edited by Dave O'Brien and Peter Matthews. Policy Press, University of Bristol.

Jordana, J. and Levi-Faur, D. (2004) *The politics of regulation: institutions and regulatory reforms for the age of governance*. Cheltenham, UK: E. Elgar (The CRC series on competition, regulation and development).

Joseph Rowntree Foundation Report (2015): *The Cost of the Cuts: the Impact on Local Government and Poorer Communities.* Authors: Annette Hastings, Nick Bailey, Glen Bramley, Maria Gannon and David Watkins Universities of Glasgow & Heriot-Watt

Jung, Y. (2013). Mindful walking: The serendipitous journey of community-based ethnography. *Qualitative Inquiry* v20 n5 (2014 01 01): 621-627

Jung, Y. (2014). *Ethnographic Case Study in Place-Based Research: Planning to Be Comfortable with Uncertain Moments and Unexpected Encounters.* SAGE Research Methods Cases

Jupp, D., Ali, S.I. and Barahona, C., (2010). Measuring empowerment? Ask them. *Sida Studies in Evaluation*.

Jupp, E. (2006). *Making public space? Community groups and local participants in Stoke-on-Trent*, Eleanor Jupp UK PhD thesis, The Open University.

Jupp, E. (2007). Participation, local knowledge and empowerment: researching public spaces with young people, *Environment and Planning* A, 39(2), pp. 2832–2844.

Jupp, E. (2008). The feeling of participation: everyday spaces and urban change, *Geoforum*, 39(1), pp. 331–343.

Jupp, E. (2013). 'I feel more at home here than in my own community': Approaching the emotional geographies of neighbourhood policy. *Critical Social Policy*, *33*(3), pp.532-553.

Katz, C. (1994). 'Playing the Field: questions of fieldwork in geography', *Professional Geographer*, 46 (1) pp 67-72

Kamler, B. and Thomson, P. (2014). *Helping doctoral students write: Pedagogies for supervision*. Routledge.

Kampen, T., Elshout, J. and Tonkens, E. (2013). The fragility of self-respect: Emotional labour of workfare volunteering. *Social Policy and Society*, *12*(3), pp.427-438.

Kanigel, R. (2016). *Eyes on the Street: The Life of Jane Jacobs.* Published by Knopf

Kenny, G. (2016). Strategic Plans Are Less Important than Strategic Planning. *Harvard Business Review*.

Kenny, M. and Fourie, R. (2015). Contrasting Classic, Straussian, and Constructivist Grounded Theory: Methodological and Philosophical Conflicts. *The Qualitative Report*, 20(8), 1270-1289.

Kesby, M. (2007). Spatialising participatory approaches: the contribution of geography to a mature debate. *Environment and Planning A* 2007, volume 39, pages 2813 - 2831

Kieffer, C. H. (1984). Citizen Empowerment: A Developmental Perspective *Prevention in Human Services* Volume 3, 1984 - Issue 2-3, pp 9-36

Kimball, R. (1991). Academic psychobabble, or Richard Sennett goes to town. *The New Criterion. Volume 9*

Kisby, B. (2010). The Big Society: Power to the People? *The Political Quarterly,* 81, 4, 484-491.

Kleinman, S. and Copp, M.A. (1993). *Emotions and fieldwork.* Newbury Park, California: Sage.

Knights, D. and Thanem, T. (2017). *Embodying emotional labour* (pp. 31-43). Routledge.

Korczynski, M. (2003). Communities of coping: Collective emotional labour in service work. *Organization*, *10*(1), pp.55-79.

Kretzmann, J.P. (2010). Asset-based strategies for building resilient communities. *Handbook of adult resilience.*

Kretzmann, J.P. and McKnight, J.L. (1993) *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets*. Chicago, IL: Institute for Policy Research.

Krueger, A. R. (1994). *Focus Groups: A Practical guide for Applied Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Kvale, S. and Brinkmann, S. (2009). *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing.* Sage.

Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, London: Verso.

Lange, Bettina. (2003). Regulatory Spaces and Interactions: An Introduction. *Social & Legal Studies* 12, no. 4 (2003): 411-423

Latour, B. (1986). The power of association. In J. Law (Ed.), *Power, action belief: A new sociology of knowledge?* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Lauckner, H., Paterson, T. and Krupa, T. (2012). Using constructivist case study methodology to understand community development processes: Proposed methodological questions to guide the research process. *The Qualitative Report,* 17(Art. 25), 1-22.

Laurence, P. L. (2006). The Death and Life of Urban Design: Jane Jacobs, the Rockefeller Foundation and the New Research in Urbanism, 1955-1965. *Journal of Urban Design* 11 (2): 145–72.

Lavarack, G. and Wallerstein, N. (2001). Measuring community empowerment: a fresh look at organisational domains, in *Health Promotion International* 16 179–185

Layard, A. (2012). The Localism Act (2011): What is 'Local' and How Do We (Legally) Construct It? *Environmental Law Review* v14 n2 (5/2012): 134-144

Layard, A., Milling, J. and Wakeford, T. (2013). *Creative participation in place-making.* Swindon, AHRC

Lees, L. (2001). Towards a critical geography of architecture: the case of an ersatz colosseum. *Ecumene*, *8*(1), pp.51-86.

Lees, L. (2003). Urban geography: 'new' urban geography and the ethnographic void. *Progress in Human Geography*, *27*(1), pp.107-113.

Lefebvre, H. [1974] (1991). *The Production of Space.* (Blackwell, Oxford)

Lemke, T. (2001). The birth of bio-politics: Michel Foucault's lecture at the College de France on neo-liberal governmentality *Economy and Society* **30** 190– 207

Levine, S. and White, P.E. (1961). Exchange as a conceptual framework for the study of interorganizational relationships. *Administrative science quarterly*, pp.583-601.

Lewis, David, J. (1976). The Classic American Pragmatists as Forerunners to Symbolic Interactionism. *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Summer, 1976), pp. 347-359

Lichtman, M. (2010). *Qualitative research in education: A user's guide* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc

Lincoln, Y.S. and Guba, E.G. (1985). *Qualitative inquiry. Thousand Oaks, CA*.

Lippard, L. *The Lure of the Local* (New Press: New York, 1997).

Lister, M. (2015). Citizens, Doing It for Themselves? The Big Society and Government through Community. *Parliamentary Affairs* v68 n2 (2015 01 01): 352-370

Local Government Association. (2013). Neighbourhood Planning: a Simple Guide for Councillors.

Local Government Funding Settlement HC Deb (13 December 2018) vol. 651, col. 414. Available at: https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2018-12-13/debates/4CBD5752-53D5-4AE6-B005-A9BB3641F65A/LocalGovernmentFundingSettlement (Accessed: 10 October 2019)

Locality. (2012). Neighbourhood planning roadmap. London: Locality. Available at: http://mycommunityrights.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Roadmap-worksheets-map-May-13.pdf (Accessed 25 October 2014)

Locality. (2014). *Understand if your plan requires a Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA)*

Lowndes, V. and Pratchett, L. (2012). Local Governance Under the Coalition Government: Austerity, Localism and the 'big Society,' *Local Government Studies*, 38(1), pp. 21–40. doi: 10.1080/03003930.2011.642949.

Lowndes, V. and Sullivan, H. (2008). How low can you go? Rationales and challenges for neighbourhood governance. *Public Administration, 86 (1), 1–22)*

Luhmann, N. (1988). Familiarity, confidence and trust: problems and perspectives, in D. Gambetta (ed.), *Trust: Making and Breaking of Cooperative Relations*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Luttrell, W. (2000). 'Good enough' methods for ethnographic research. Harvard *Educational Review*, 70(4), 499-523.

McCann, E. and Ward, K. (2011). *(eds), Mobile Urbanism. Cities and Policymaking in the Global Age,* Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

McCann, T., and Clark, E. (2003). Grounded theory in nursing research: Part 1 – Methodology. *Nurse Researcher,* 11(2), 7–18.

McCarl Neilson, J. (Ed.). (1990). *Feminist research methods*. Colorado: Westview Press.

McCaslin, M.L. and Scott, K.W. (2003). The five-question method for framing a qualitative research study. *The qualitative report*, *8*(3), pp.447-461.

McDermont, M. (2019). Regulating with social justice in mind: An experiment in reimagining the state. In *Reimagining the State* (pp. 191-209). Routledge.

McDermont, M., Cole, T., Newman, J and Piccini, A. eds. (2020). *Imagining Regulation Differently: Co-creating for Engagement*. Policy Press.

McKee, K. (2012). *Housing Associations and the Big Society: lessons from Scotland's community housing sector.* University of St Andrews Centre for Housing Research.

McKee, K. (2013). The Big Society, Localism and Austerity: challenges and dilemmas for theory and practice, Centre for Housing Research, University of St Andrews. *ESRC Seminar Series: The Big Society, Localism & Housing Policy* Sheffield, 7-8 March 2013

McKee, K. (2015). An introduction to the special issue the big society, localism and housing policy: recasting state-citizen relations in an age of austerity. Housing, Theory and Society v32 n1 (20150102): 1-8

McQuaid, R.W. (2000). The theory of partnership: why have partnerships? *Routledge Advances in Management and Business Studies*, *19*, pp.9-35.

McQueeney, K. and Lavelle, K.M. (2017). Emotional labor in critical ethnographic work: In the field and behind the desk. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *46*(1), pp.81-107.

Madanipour, A. (1998). *Social Exclusion in European Cities.* London: Jessica Kingsley

Maginn, P. J. (2007). Towards more effective community participation in urban regeneration: the potential of collaborative planning and applied ethnography. *Qualitative Research February 2007 vol7: pg25-43*

Maguire, Patricia (1987). *Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach*. Amherst Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts

Maloney W., Smith, G. and Stoker, G. (1999). *'Social capital and urban governance: Civic engagement in Birmingham and Glasgow.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA

Manuel, J., Vigar, G., Bartindale, T. and Comber, R. (2017). Creating spaces for storytelling in neighbourhood planning. In *Proceedings of the 2017 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (pp. 1688-1701).

Manzo, L. C. and Perkins, D. D. (2006). Finding Common Ground: The Importance of Place Attachment to Community Participation and Planning. *Journal of Planning Literature*, *20*(4), 335–350.

Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative Researching,* 2nd Edition, London: Sage.

Mason, Karen Oppenheim (2003). *Measuring Empowerment: A Social Demographer's View*. Paper presented at the World Bank Workshop on Measuring Empowerment: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives

Mason, S; McNulty, J and Aubel, J. (2001). Participation for Empowerment: A Manual for Development Agents, Care

Massey, D. (1993). Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place, pp. 59–69 in J Bird, B Curtis, T Putnam, G Robertson and L Tickner (eds) *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*. London: Routledge.

Massey, D. (2005). *For Space*. London: SAGE.

Mattingly, D. (2001). Place, teenagers and representations: lessons from a community theatre project. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 2(4), pp.445-459.

Mead, G.H. (1934). *Mind, Self and Society*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Merryfield, M. (1990). *Constructing scenes and dialogues to display findings in case study reporting.* Columbus: Ohio State University, College of Education

Merryfield, M. (1992). Constructing scenes and dialogues to display findings in case study reporting. *Journal on Learning about Learning,* 5 (1), 44-65

Mertens, D., Holmes, H. M., and Harris, R. L. (2009). Transformative research and ethics. In Mertens, D. M., Ginsberg, P. E. (Eds.), *The handbook of social research ethics* (pp. 85-191). SAGE

Mertens, Donna M., Sullivan, Martin and Stace, Hilary. (2011). Disability Communities: Transformative Research for Social Justice, in *Sage Handbook of Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 46(1) Qualitative Research*, edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, 227– 41. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Miles, M.B., and Huberman, M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Sage.

Mills, J., Bonner, A., and Francis, K. (2006a). The Development of Constructivist Grounded Theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* v5 n1 (200603): 25-35

Mills, J., Bonner, A., and Francis, K. (2006b). The development of constructivist grounded theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(1), 1-10.

Misztal, B.A. (1996). *Trust in Modern Societies: The Search for the Bases if Social Order.* Oxford: Polity Press.

Morgan, D. L. (2013). *Integrating qualitative and quantitative methods: A pragmatic approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Morgan, David, L. (2014). Pragmatism as a Paradigm for Social Research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 2014, Vol. 20(8) 1045–1053

Mathie, A. and Cunningham, G. (2003). From Clients to Citizens: Asset-Based Community Development as a Strategy for Community-Driven Development. *Development in Practice*13(5): 474–486.

Mattessich, P.W. and Monsey, B.R. (1992). *Collaboration: what makes it work. A review of research literature on factors influencing successful collaboration*. Amherst H. Wilder Foundation, 919 Lafond, St. Paul, MN 55104.

Matthews, P. and Besemer, K. (2014). *Poverty and social networks evidence review.* Joseph Rowntree Foundation. University of Stirling.

Matthews, P. and Hastings, A. (2013). Middle-Class Political Activism and Middle-Class Advantage in Relation to Public Services: A Realist Synthesis of the Evidence Base, in *Social Policy & Administration* 47(1): 72-92.

Matthews, P. Bramley, G. and Hastings, A. (2015). Homo Economicus in a Big Society: Understanding Middle-class Activism and NIMBYism towards New Housing Developments, *Housing, Theory and Society*, 32:1, 54-72

Miliband, E. (2011). The Big Society: a cloak for the small state. *The Independent*, 12 February 2011

Mooney, G. and Poole, L. (2004). *'The only game in town?' Debating housing stock transfer in Glasgow.* Unpublished manuscript – quoted in Fyfe, 2005

Minnery, J., Knight, J., Byrne, J., Spencer, J. (2009). Bounding neighbourhoods: How do residents do it? *Planning Practice & Research.* Volume 24, 2009 - Issue 4. Pages 471-493

Mishra, A. K. (1996). Organizational response to crisis: The centrality of trust. In Kramer, R. M. and Tyler, T. R. (Eds.), *Trust in Organizations: Frontiers of Theory and Research (261–287)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mohan, G. and Stokke, K. (2000). Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism. *Third world quarterly*, *21*(2), pp.247-268.

Mohan, G. and Mohan, J. (2002). Placing Social Capital. *Progress in Human Geography* 26,2 (2002) pp. 191–210

Mohan, G. and Stokke, K. (2010). Participatory development and empowerment: The dangers of localism. *Third World Quarterly.* Volume 21, 2000 - Issue 2; Pages 247-268

Monaghan, E.G. and McDonald, L. (2015). Listening to 'Generation Jacobs'; A Case Study in Participative Engagement for a Child-Friendly City. *Children, Youth and Environments,* 25(2), 107-127.

Moore, Steve. (2018). Whatever happened to the Big Society? 1) Steve Moore: It could have worked had spending been cut Canada-Style. *Conservative Home.* March 27, 2018, Available at: https://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2018/03/whatever-happened-to-the-big-society-1-steve-moore.html (Accessed 8 November 2019)

National Audit Office (NAO). (2018). *Financial sustainability of local authorities.* For the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG).

National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO). (2010). *Briefing on the 'Big Society'*

NCVO Office of Budget Responsibility. (2014). Working paper No.7 *Crisis and consolidation in the public finances.* Available at: http://budgetresponsibility.org.uk/wordpress/docs/WorkingPaper7a.pdf (Accessed 14 October 2019)

National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO). (2011). *Giving voice and support to civil society (2011): Counting the Cuts. The impact of spending cuts on the UK voluntary and community sector report.* Authors: David Kane, Research Officer James Allen. Policy Manager August 2011

Nickson, R. (2019). *Encouraging greater public participation in neighbourhood planning-an ethnographic examination of the impact of the Localism Act 2011 in England* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Salford).

Norton, P. and Aughey, A. (1981). *Conservatives and Conservatism.*

O'Hara, M. (2014). *Austerity bites: A Journey to the Sharp End of Cuts in the UK.* Bristol: Policy Press

O'Hara, M. (2020). *The Shame Game. Overturning the Toxic Poverty Narrative.* Bristol: Policy Press

O'Leary I., Burkett, T. and Braithwaite K. (2011). *Appreciating Assets*. IACD and Carnegie UK Trust.

Oakley, A. (1993). Interviewing Women: a contradiction in terms. In Roberts, H. (Ed.) *Doing Feminist Research.* London: Routledge.

Office for National Statistics (ONS). (2017). *Statistical bulletin Social Capital in the UK*: May 2017

Office for Public Management (OPM). (2012). *Unlocking Local Capacity: why active citizens need active councils.*

Okely, J. (1992) Anthropology and autobiography: participatory experience and embodied knowledge, in: Okely, J. and Callaway, H. (eds) *Anthropology and Autobiography*, London: Routledge, 55–86.

Okely, J. and Callaway, H. (1992). *Anthropology and Autobiography.* Abingdon. Routledge.

Ortlipp, M. (2008). Keeping and using reflective journals in the qualitative research process. *The Qualitative Report,* 13(4), 695-705.

Ostrom, E., Baugh, W., Guarasci, R., Parks, R. and Whitaker, G. (1973). *Community Organisation and the Provision of Police Services,* Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Ostrom, V. (1975). Public choice theory: a new approach to institutional economics. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 57(5), pp.844-850.

Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Ostrom, E. (1996). Crossing the great divide: coproduction, synergy, and development. *World development*, *24*(6), pp.1073-1087.

Ostrom, E. (1998). A behavioral approach to the rational choice theory of collective action. *American Political Science Review* 92, 1–22.

Ostrom, E., Gardner, R. and Walker, J. (1994). *Rules, Games and Common-pool Resources.* University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Ostrom, E. (2003). Towards a behavioral theory linking trust, reciprocity and reputation. In Ostrom, E and Walker, J. (Eds.), *Trust and reciprocity: Interdisciplinary lessons from experimental research (pp. 19–79)*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation

Ostrom, E. (2005). *Understanding Institutional Diversity.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Ostrom, E. (2007). Institutional Rational Choice: An Assessment of the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework. In Sabatier, Paul, ed. 2007. *Theories of the Policy Process.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Ostrom, E. and Ostrom, V. (2003). *Rethinking Institutional Analysis.* George Mason University 2003.

Ostrom, E. (2010). Beyond Markets and States: Polycentric Governance of Complex Economic Systems. *The American Economic Review.* Vol. 100, No. 3 (June 2010), pp. 641-672

Oxfam International (2013). *The true cost of austerity and inequality: UK case study.* (2013) Oxfam International report

Magis, K. (2010). Community resilience: An indicator of social sustainability. *Society and Natural Resources*, *23*(5), pp.401-416.

Municipal Dreams (2014). Available at: https://municipaldreams.wordpress.com/2014/06/03/the-knowle-west-estate-bristol-and-the-difficulties-in-rehousing-the-slum-population/ (Accessed 28 April 2018)

Ortner, S.B. (1995). Resistance and the problem of ethnographic refusal. *Comparative studies in society and history*, *37*(1), pp.173-193.

Padley, M. (2013). Delivering Localism: The Critical Role of Trust and Collaboration. *Social Policy and Society,* 12(3), 343-354.

Page N. and Czuba C.E. (1999). Empowerment: What Is It? *The Journal of Extension*. October 1999 // Volume 37 // Number 5

Parker, G. (2014). Engaging neighbourhoods: experiences of transactive planning with communities in , in Gallent, N. and Ciaffi, D. (Eds.) *Community action and planning*.

Parker, G. (2015). The take-up of Neighbourhood Planning in England 2011-2015. Working Paper in *Real Estate and Planning.* September. Reading. University of Reading.

Parker, G., Lynn, T. and Wargent, M. (2014). *User experience of neighbourhood planning in England.* London: Locality.

Parker, G., Lynn, T. and Wargent, M. (2015). Sticking to the Script? The co-production of neighbourhood planning in England. *Town and Country Planning*, Vol. 86(5): 519-536.

Parker, G., Lynn, T. and Wargent, M. (2017). 'Contestation and Conservatism in Neighbourhood Planning in England: Reconciling Antagonism and Collaboration?' *Planning Theory & Practice,* 17(3): 446-465.

Parker, G., Salter, K. and Hickman, H. (2016). 'Caution: Examinations in progress. The operation of neighbourhood plan examinations in England.*' Town and Country Planning*, Vol. 85(12): 516-522.

Parker, G., Salter, K. and Hickman, H. (2017). *Examining neighbourhood plans in England: The experience so far.* Working Paper. University of Reading.

Parker, G. and Salter, K. (2017). Taking Stock of Neighbourhood Planning in England 2011–2016, *Planning Practice & Research*

Parker, G. and Street, E. (2015). Planning at the neighbourhood scale: localism, dialogic politics, and the modulation of community action. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* Vol 33, Issue 4, pp. 794 - 810

Parker, G. and Wargent, M. (2017). *Participant experience of neighbourhood planning in England. Working Papers in Real Estate & Planning.* 01/17. Working Paper. University of Reading, Reading. pp20.

Parker, G., Wargent, M., Salter, K., Dobson, M., Lynn, T. and Yuille, A. (2020). *Impacts of neighbourhood planning in England.* Final Report to the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, May 2020.

Parkhe, A. (1993). Strategic alliance structuring: a game theoretic and transaction cost examination of interfirm co-operation. *Academy of Management Journal* 36 (4): 794 – 829

Parkinson, M. (1989). *The Thatcher Government's urban policy: a review.* Town Planning Review, Volume 60, issue 4

Parsons, T. (1957). The distribution of power in American society, in *World Politics,* 10: 123–143.

Parsons, T. (1963). On the concept of political power, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 107: 232– 262.

Payne, L.M. (1998). *Voices through the margins: A qualitative study exploring voice and marginality in the experiences of three women who have physical disabilities*. The University of Tennessee.

Peck, J. and Tickell, A. (2002). Neoliberalizing space. Antipode 34(3):380–404

Peirce, C.S. (1931). *The collected papers of Charles Saunders Peirce*, Vols. 1-6, Hartsthorne, C. and Weiss, P. (eds.). Harvard, 35.

Peirce, C.S. (1958). *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, Vols. 7-8, Burks, A (ed.). Cambridge MA: Belknap Press.

Perkins, Douglas D., Crim, Bill, Silberman, Pamela and Brown, Barbara B. (2004). Community development as a response to community-level adversity: Ecological theory and research and strengths-based policy. In *Strengths-building research and policy: Investing in children, youth, families, and communities,* edited by K. Maton, C. Schellenbach, B. Leadbeater, and A. Solarz, 321–40. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association

Petty, Sir William (1690). *Discourses on Political Arithmetic,* London. Available at: http://socserv2.socsci.mcmaster.ca/~econ/ugcm/3ll3/petty/poliarith.html

Phoenix, A. (2013). Social constructions of lone motherhood: a case of competing discourses. In *Good enough mothering?* (pp. 183-198). Routledge.

Philo, C. (1992). Neglected rural geographies: a review, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 8, 193–207.

Piaget, J. (1995). *Sociological Studies*. London: Routledge.

Pidgeon, N., and Henwood, K. (1997). Using grounded theory in psychological research. In N. Hayes (Ed.), *Doing qualitative analysis in psychology* (pp. 245-273). Hove, UK: Psychology Press.

Pike, K. L. (1967). *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior.* The Hague: Mouton.

Pike, K. L. (1990). *Pursuit of truth.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Pinnegar, S. (2012). Neighbourhood Planning. *International Encyclopaedia of Housing and Home*, Pages 78-84

Porter, L., Slade, C., Butt, A., Rosier, J., Perkins, T., Crookes, L., Inch, A., Slade, J., Bassa, F., Petzer, B., Winkler, T., Saija, L. and Barry, J. (2015) Partnerships of learning for planning education Who is learning what from whom? The beautiful messiness of learning partnerships/Experiential learning partnerships in Australian and New Zealand higher education planning programmes/Res non verba? rediscovering the social purpose of planning (and the university): The Westfield Action Research Project/At the coalface, Take 2: Lessons from students' critical reflections/Education for “cubed change”/Unsettling planning education through community-engaged teaching and learning: Reflections on the Indigenous Planning Studio, *Planning Theory & Practice,* 16:3, 409-434

Poppo, L., Zhou, K.Z. and Li, J.J. (2016). When can you trust “trust”? Calculative trust, relational trust, and supplier performance. *Strategic Management Journal*, *37*(4), pp.724-741.

Portas, M. (2019). *Work Like a Woman: a manifesto for change.* Penguin books.

Poteete, Amy, Janssen, Marco A., Ostrom, Elinor (2010). *Working Together: Collective Action, the Commons, and Multiple Methods in Practice.* Princeton University Press.

Poteete, A. and Ostrom, E. (2004). Heterogeneity, group size and collective action: the role of institutions in forest management. *Development and Change* 35, 435–461.

Probyn, E. (1993). *Sexing the Self: Gendered Positions in Cultural Studies*, London: Routledge.

Punch, M. (1986). *The politics and ethics of fieldwork,* Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Putnam, R.D. (1993). The prosperous community: social capital and public life, *The American Prospect,* 13.

Putnam, R.D. (with Leonardi, R. and Nanetti, R.Y.) (1993). *Making Democracy Work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Putnam, R.D. (1995). Tuning in, tuning out: The strange disappearance of social capital in America. *PS: Political science & politics*, *28*(4), pp.664-684.

Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American democracy*, New York: Simon and Schuster.

Putnam, R. (2001). Social capital: measurement and consequences. *ISUMA Canadian Journal of Policy Research*, 2(1): 41–51.

Putnam, R.D. (2002). Bowling together. *The American Prospect*, *13*(3), pp.20-22.

Raban, J. (2010). Cameron's crank, *London Review of Books, 32, pp. 22–23.*

Raco, M. (2003). Remaking place and securitising space: urban regeneration and the strategies, tactics and practices of policing in the UK. *Urban studies*, *40*(9), pp.1869-1887.

Raco, M., Street, E. and Freire-Trigo, S. (2016). The New Localism, Anti-Political Development Machines, and the Role of Planning Consultants: Lessons from London's South Bank, in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 4(2), pp. 216–240.

Ramsay, A. (2010). The Tories' lust for cuts reveals itself in local government already. *Labour Uncut, 7 June 2010.* Available at: http://labour-uncut.co.uk/2010/06/07/the-tories-lust-for-cuts-reveals-itself-in-local-government-already-says-amanda-ramsay (Accessed 11 May 2020)

Rathke, Wade. (2009). "Understanding ACORN." *The people shall rule: ACORN, community organizing, and the struggle for economic justice*, Ed. Robert Fisher: 40-62. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press

Reed, M. (2002). 'Doing Geography as a Feminist: reconsidering success and failure', in Moss, Pamela, (ed), *Feminist geography in practice: research and methods*, *Oxford,* Blackwell, pp 138-145

Reed-Danahay, D. (1997). Auto. *Ethnography*.

Rees, E. (2020). Office for National Statistics (ONS) report Social Capital in the UK.

Rescher, N. (1995). Pragmatism in *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, ed. T. Honderich, Oxford University Press, Oxford. pp710-13

Ring, P.S. and Van de Ven, A.H. (1992). Structuring cooperative relationships between organizations. *Strategic management journal*, *13*(7), pp.483-498.

Robinson, F., Shaw, K. and Davidson, G. (2005). 'On the side of the Angels': community involvement in the governance of neighbourhood renewal', *Local Economy,* 20 (1) pp.13-26.

Robson, C. (1993). *Real World Research,* Oxford: Blackwell.

Ronai, Carol R. (1992). The reflexive self through narrative: A night in the life of an erotic dancer/researcher. In Carolyn Ellis and Michael G. Flaherty (Eds.), *Investigating subjectivity: Research on lived experience* (pp.102-124). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Rorty, Richard (1998). *Truth and progress.* Cambridge: CUP.

Rose, D., Germain, A., Bacqué, M.H., Bridge, G., Fijalkow, Y. and Slater, T. (2013). 'Social mix' and neighbourhood revitalization in a transatlantic perspective: Comparing local policy discourses and expectations in Paris (France), Bristol (UK) and Montréal (Canada). *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *37*(2), pp.430-450.

Rose, G. (1997). Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics, *Progress in Human Geography*, 21, 305–320.

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of Freedom. Reframing political thought.* Cambridge University Press.

Rose. N. (2008). *Powers of Freedom (Reframing Political Thought).* Cambridge Press.

Rose, N. and Miller, P. (1992). 'Political power beyond the state: problematics of government', *British Journal of Sociology*, 43(2), 173-205

Rose, N., O'Malley, P., Valverde, M. (2009). Governmentality. Legal Studies Research Paper No. 09/94. Annual Review of Law and Social Science

Rousseau, D.M. (1998). The 'problem' of the psychological contract considered. *Journal of organizational behavior*, pp.665-671.

Rowson, J., Broome, S. and Jones, A. (2010) *Connected Communities: How Social Networks Power and Sustain the Big Society*, London: RSA

Rudge, T. (1996). (Re)writing ethnography: the unsettling questions for nursing research raised by post-structural approaches to the field. *Nursing Inquiry* 3:3, 146–152.

Rydin, Y. (2003). *Conflict, Consensus and Rationality in Environmental Planning*, Oxford, OUP.

Rydin, Y. (2013). *The Future of Planning.* Bristol: The Policy Press

Rydin, Y. and Holman, N. (2004). Re-evaluating the contribution of social capital in achieving sustainable development. *Local Environment*, 9(2): 117–133.

Rydin, Y. and Pennington, M. (2000). Public Participation and Local Environmental Planning: The collective action problem and the potential of social capital, *Local Environment*, 5:2, 153-169

Sanders, C. R. (1995). Stranger than fiction: Insights and pitfalls in post-modern ethnography. In N. K. Denzin (Ed.), *Studies in symbolic interaction* (Vol. 17, pp. 89–104). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Sanders, Elizabeth BN. and Jan Stappers, P. (2014). Probes, toolkits and prototypes: three approaches to making in codesigning. *International Journal of CoCreation in Design and the Arts.* Volume 10, 2014 - Issue 1: CoDesigning Through Making

Sassen*, S.* (2006). *Territory*-Authority-Rights. From Medieval to Global. Assemblages, Princeton / Oxford, Princeton University Press

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2012). *Research Methods for Business Students* 6th edition, Pearson Education Limited

Sawyer, M. (2011). UK Fiscal Policy After the Global Financial Crisis. *Contributions to Political Economy* 30, no. 1: 13-29

Sayer, A. (2004). Seeking the geographies of power, Economy and Society, 33:2, 255-270,

Scanlon, Jennifer R. (1993). Challenging the Imbalances of Power in Feminist Oral History: Developing a Give-and-Take Methodology, in *Women's Studies International Forum* 16(6):639–45.

Schragger, R. (2002). *The Limits of Localism.* 100 *Mich L Rev* 373, 374.

Scott, D., and Russell, L. (2005). *Researching voluntary and community action: The potential of qualitative case studies.* York: The Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Sennett, R. (1969). Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts

Sennett, R. (1998). *The Spaces of Democracy - the Raoul Wallenberg Lecture.* University of Michigan.

Sennett, R. (2006). *The Culture of the New Capitalism.* Yale University Press.

Sennett, R. (2012a). *Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Co-operation.* Penguin Books.

Sennett, R. (2012b). *Social Science Bites*, podcast in conversation with Nigel Warburton, in association with Sage. Available at: www.socialsciencebites.com

Sennett, R. (2018). Building and Dwelling: Ethics for the City. Penguin Books.

Sharp, J., Routledge, P., Philo, C. and Paddison, R. (2000*). Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance* (Routledge, London)

Silverman, David (2001). *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction.* SAGE

Silverman, David (2005). *Doing Qualitative Research.* SAGE

Skeffington, A. M. (1969). *Report of the Committee on Public Participation in Planning. London,* HMSO

Slater, D. (1989). *Territorial power and the peripheral state: the issue of decentralization, Development and Change*, 20, 1989, pp 501–531.

Slater, Tom. (2014). The Myth of "Broken Britain": Welfare Reform and the Production of Ignorance. *Antipode.* Volume46, Issue4. September 2014. Pages 948-969

Sleeswijk Visser, F., Stappers, P.J., van der Lugt, R., and Sanders, E.B.-N. (2005) *Contextmapping: Experiences from Practice. CoDesign, 1(2), 119-149.*

Smith, F., Timbrell, H., Woolvin, M., Muirhead, S. and Fyfe, N. (2010). 'Enlivened Geographies of Volunteering: Situated, Embodied and Emotional Practices of Voluntary Action', *Scottish Geographical Journal* 126(4): 258–274.

Smith, L. (2014). *Neighbourhood planning* (Standard note: SN/SC/5838, July 2014). London: House of Commons Library.

Smith, Martin. J. (2010). From Big Government to Big Society: Changing the State–Society Balance *Parliamentary Affairs*, Volume 63, Issue 4, October 2010, Pages 818–833

Smith, M. and Jones, R. (2015). From big society to small state: Conservatism and the privatisation of government. *British Politics* v10 n2 (2015 01 01): 226-248

Smith, M.J. (2014). Globalisation and the resilience of social democracy: Reassessing new labour's political economy. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 16 (4): 597–623.

Smith, S. (2001). Doing qualitative research: from interpretation to action. *Qualitative methodologies for geographers: Issues and debates*, pp.23-40.

Social Policy House of Lords Debate (16 June 2010) vol. 719, col. 994. Available at: https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/2010-06-16/debates/10061677000453/SocialPolicy (Accessed: 14 October 2019)

Sørensen, E. and Torfing, J. (Eds.) (2007). *Theories of Democratic Network Governance*. London: Palgrave Macmillan

Spalding, N.J. and Phillips, T. (2007). Exploring the use of vignettes: From validity to trustworthiness. *Qualitative Health Research*, 17, 954-962.

Standing, G. (2014). The precariat. *Contexts*, *13*(4), pp.10-12.

Standing, G. (2016). *The Precariat*: The New Dangerous Class Revised ed.

Standing, G. (2019). *Plunder of the Commons: A Manifesto for Sharing Public Wealth.* Pelican Books.

Steger, M.B. and Roy, R.K. (2010). *Neoliberalism. A very short introduction.* Oxford University Press.

Stoker, G. (2004). 'New Localism, Progressive Politics and Democracy' 75 *The Political Quarterly* 117–129

Stoker, G. (2011). If town halls don't pay the piper then they can't really call the tune. *Parliamentary Brief.* 17 January 2011.

Sturzaker, J. (2011). Can community empowerment reduce opposition to housing? Evidence from Rural England. *Planning Practice and Research,* 26, 555–570.

Shacklock, G, and Smyth, J. (1998). *Being Reflexive in Critical Educational and Social Research.* London: Falmer.

Snow, David. A. (2001). Extending and Broadening Blumer's Conceptualization of Symbolic Interactionism. *Symbolic Interaction* 24, Part 3 (2001): 367-378

Spradley, J. (1979). *The Ethnographic Interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Spradley, James P. (1980). *Participant Observation.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Srinivasan, R. and Brush, T. H. (2006). Supplier performance in vertical alliances: the effects of calculative trust and enforceable contracts. *Organization Science* 17 (4): 436 – 452.

Stanley, L. and Wise, S. (1993). *Breaking out again: Feminist epistemology and ontology.* London: Routledge.

Star, S.L. (2007) Living Grounded Theory: Cognitive and Emotional Forms of Pragmatism. In Bryant, A. and Charmaz, K. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory* London: Sage Publications Ltd. pp.75-94.

Steier, F. (1991). *Introduction: Research as self-reflexivity, self-reflexivity as social process.*

Stein, Jane S. (1997). *Empowerment and Women's Health: Theory, Methods, and Practice*. London: Zed.

Stephens, L., Ryan-Collins, J. and Boyle, D. (2008) *Co-production: A Manifesto for Growing the Core Economy*, London: New Economics Foundation.

Stiegelbauer, S., Goldstein, M., and Huling, L. L. (1982). *Through the Eye of the Beholder: On the Use of Qualitative Methods in Data Analysis.* (R & D Report 3137). Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, University of Texas at Austin.

Stratton, P. (1997). Attributional coding of interview data: Meeting the needs of long-haul passengers. In N. Hayes (Ed.), *Doing qualitative analysis in psychology* (pp. 115-141). Hove, UK: Psychology Press.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research techniques*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications.

Sturzaker, J. and Shaw, D. (2015). Localism in practice: lessons from a pioneer neighbourhood plan in England, *Town Planning Review,* 86(5): 587-609.

Sullivan, H. and Skelcher, C. (2002). *Working across boundaries: Collaboration in public services. Palgrave Macmillan, 271.*

Sung, H., Lee, S. and Cheon, S. (2015). Operationalizing Jane Jacobs's Urban Design Theory: Empirical Verification from the Great City of Seoul, Korea *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 2015, Vol. 35(2) 117–130

Sydow, J. (1998). Understanding the constitution of interorganizational trust. *Trust within and between organizations: Conceptual issues and empirical applications*, pp.31-63.

Tait, M. and Inch, A. (2016). Putting localism in place: Conservative images of the good community and the contradictions of planning reform in England. *Planning Practice & Research*, *31*(2), pp.174-194.

Talbot, C. (2009). Public Value—The Next "Big Thing" in Public Management? *International Journal of Public Administration.* Volume 32, 2009 - Issue 3-4: Public Value.

Talen, E. (2005). *New urbanism and American planning: the conflict of cultures.* Routledge.

Taylor, M. (1982). Community, Anarchy and Liberty, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, M. (1987) *The Possibility of Co-operation,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, M. (2003). *Public Policy in the Community,* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Taylor, P.J. (2006). Jane Jacobs (1916–2006): An Appreciation. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *38*(11), 1981–1992.

Taylor, M. (2011). Community organising and the Big Society: is Saul Alinsky turning in his grave? *Voluntary Sector Review*, *2*, *2*, 257-264.

Taylor-Gooby, P. (2013) The Double Crisis of the Welfare State, in *The Double Crisis of the Welfare State and What We Can Do About It.* Palgrave Pivot, London

Tewdwr-Jones, M. and Allmendinger, P. (1998). Deconstructing communicative rationality: A critique of Habermasian collaborative planning. *Environment and Planning* A 30: 1975–1989.

Thaler, R.H. and Sunstein, C.R. (2003). 'Libertarian Paternalism', *The American Economic Review*, 93(2): pp.175-179.

Thaler, R.H. and Sunstein, C.R. (2008). *Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth and Happiness,* London: Penguin.

Thatcher, Margaret. (1987). Interview for *Woman's Own*. 23 September 1987. Source Thatcher Archive (THCR 5/2/262): COI transcript

Thayer, L.O. (1968). *Communication and communication systems in organization, management, and interpersonal relations.*

Thorne, S. (2005). Epistemology, politics and ethics in sociocultural theory. *The Modern language journal, 89*(iii), 393-409.

Tashakkori, A. and Teddlie, C. (1998). *Mixed methodology: combining qualitative and quantitative approaches.*

Thomson, P. (2007). 'Use a vignetter - #wakeupreader', *Patter blogsite, 4 May*. Available at: https://patthomson.net/2017/05/04/use-a-vignette-wakeupreader/ (Accessed: 12 April 2021)

Timmermans, S. and Tavory, I. (2012). Theory construction in qualitative research: From grounded theory to abductive analysis. *Sociological theory*, *30*(3), pp.167-186.

Tocqueville, A. (1981). *Democracy in America*, trans. Henry Reeve, vol. 2. New York: The Modern Library.

Tomkins, C. (2001). 'Interdependencies, trust and information in relationships, alliances and networks', *Accounting Organisations and Society,* 26, pp. 161-191.

Tomley, S., Hobbs, M., Todd, M. and Weeks, M. (2015). *The Sociology Book: Big Ideas Simply Explained*. Penguin.

Townsend, P. (1979). *Poverty in the UK.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Townsend, P. (1987). Deprivation. *Journal of Social Policy*, 16(2), 125-146

Townsend, P. (1993). *The International Analysis of Poverty.* Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Trahar, S. (2009). Beyond the Story Itself: Narrative Inquiry and Autoethnography in Intercultural Research in Higher Education. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 10, pp.1–20.

Trenttelman, C. (2009). Place attachment and community attachment: a primer grounded in the lived experience of a community sociologist. *Society and Natural Resources.* Vol.22:191-210

Tricky. (2019). *Hell Is Round the Corner: The Unique No-Holds Barred Autobiography.* Blink Publishing.

Trist, E. (1983). Referent organizations and the development of inter-organizational domains. *Human relations*, *36*(3), pp.269-284.

Tullis Owen, J.A., McRae, C., Adams, T.E. and Vitale, A. (2009). Truth troubles. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *15*(1), pp.178-200.

Turley (2014). *Neighbourhood Planning –Plan and Deliver?* London

Urqhuart, C. (2013). Writing up a Grounded Theory Study. In: *Grounded Theory for Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide*

UK Government. (2012a). *Neighbourhood planning (general) regulations (2012).* Retrieved 17 January 2020, from http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/2012/637/contents/made

Vangen, S. and Huxham, C. (2003). Nurturing collaborative relations: Building trust in interorganizational collaboration. *The Journal of applied behavioral science*, *39*(1), pp.5-31.

Vidich, A. and Bensman, J. (1958). *Small town in mass society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Vigar, G. (2013). Promoting fairer neighbourhood planning. In: Shaw K and Blackie J (eds) *New Directions in Planning: Beyond Localism.* Newcastle: Northumbria University, pp. 73–79.

Vigar, G., Brooks, E. and Gunn, S. (2015). The community's capacity to plan: The disproportionate requirements of the new English Neighbourhood Planning initiative. In *Reconsidering Localism* (pp. 161-181). Routledge.

Vigurs, K. (2009). *Reconceptualising Conflict and Consensus within Partnership Working: The Roles of Overlapping Communities and Dynamic Social Ties* thesis, Staffordshire University

Wacquant, L. (1989). Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu. *Sociological Theory*, 7 (1): 26-63.

Wacquant, L. (2008). *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality.* (Cambridge: Polity Press).

Wacquant, L. (2009) *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press)

Walby, S. (2009). *Globalization and Inequalities.* London: Sage.

Walsh, D. (1998). Doing ethnography. *Researching society and culture*, pp.217-232.

Wallerstein, Nina. (1992). Powerlessness, Empowerment, and Health, in *American Journal of Health Promotion* 6(3): 197–205.

Walter, N. (1998). *The new feminism.* Virago.

Wargent, M. and Parker, G. (2018). Re-imagining neighbourhood governance - the future of neighbourhood planning in England. *The Town Planning Review*. Volume 89 (2018), p.p. 379-402.

Watson, V. (2014). Co-production and collaboration in planning – The difference. *Planning Theory and Practice,* 15:1, 62-76.

Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and Society*; University of California Press: Berkeley, CA, USA.

Wellman, B. (1999). 'The Network Community: An Introduction', in Wellman, B. (ed) *Networks in the global village,* Oxford: Westview Press, pp. 1-48.

Wells, P. (2011). Prospects for a Big Society? (Special Issue), *People Place and Policy Online* 5 (2): 50-54.

Wendt, M. (2009). The Importance of Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961) by Jane Jacobs to the Profession of Urban Planning. *New Visions for Public Affairs* –

Volume 1, Spring 2009 School of Urban Affairs and Public Policy – University of Delaware, Newark, DE

Wesley Scott, James. (2007). Pragmatism emphasises the centrality of social practice in addressing problems facing society. *Urban Studies* v44 n1 (200701): 15-35

Westwood, A. (2011). Localism, social capital and the "Big Society", *Local Economy,* 26, 8, 690–701.

Whitehead, T.L. (2005). Basic classical ethnographic research methods. *Cultural ecology of health and change*, *1*, pp.1-29.

Wicks, A.C., Berman, S.L., and Jones, T.M. (1999). The structure of optimal trust: Moral and strategic implications. *Academy of Management review*, *24*(1), pp.99-116.

Williams, A. (1990). Reflections on the Making of an Ethnographic Text, *Studies in Sexual Politics*, No. 29. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Williams, A., Goodwin, M., and Cloke, P. (2014). *Neoliberalism Big Society and Progressive Localism*

Williamson, O.E. (1993). Calculativeness, trust, and economic organization. *Journal of Law and Economics* 36 (1): 453 – 486.

Willis, P. (2012). Engaging communities: Ostrom's economic commons, social capital and public relations. *Public Relations Review*, *38*(1), pp.116-122.

Woods, P., Levacic R., Evans, J., Castble, F., Glatter, R. and Cooper, D. (2006). Diversity and Collaboration? *Diversity Pathfinders Evaluation.* Institute of Education.

Young, I.M. (2000). *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Zamenopoulos, T. and Alexiou, K. (2018). *'Co-Design as Collaborative Research'* in Facer, K and Dunleavy, K. (eds.) Connected Communities Foundation Series. Bristol: University of Bristol/ AHRC Connected Communities Programme.

Zmerli, S. (2014). "Political trust" in Encyclopedia of quality of life and well-being research. ed. A. C. Michalos (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer), 4887–4889.

Zimmerman, M.A. (1984). Taking aim on empowerment research: On the distinction between individual and psychological conceptions. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 18(1), 169-17

Zipp, S. and Storring, N. eds. (2016). *Vital little plans: The short works of Jane Jacobs.* New York, NY, Random House

Zizek, S. (1999). *The Ticklish Subject*, New York, Verso.

APPENDICES

- ***Appendix A - Graduate School of Education Ethics Form***
- ***Appendix B – Example introductory letter of invite to interviewees***
- ***Appendix C – Example participant information sheet***
- ***Appendix D – Participant Consent Form***
- ***Appendix E - KWANDF Constitution, 2013***
- ***Appendix F – Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), 2013***
- ***Appendix G – launch press release for KWF, 2014***
- ***Appendix H – We got the Power***
- ***Appendix I – Data extract from the 'Masterfile' database***
- ***Appendix J – Data extract from the 'land use' database***
- ***Appendix K – Extract from interview data***
- ***Appendix L – Vision 2030, 13 objectives***
- ***Appendix M – KWF letter 2015, Notice of voluntary closure of the Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum under regulation 12 of the Neighbourhood Planning (General) Regulations April 2012***

APPENDIX A – GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION ETHICS FORM

It is important for members of the Graduate School of Education (GSoE), as a community of researchers, to consider the ethical issues that arise, or may arise, in any research they propose to conduct. Increasingly, we are also accountable to external bodies to demonstrate that research proposals have had a degree of scrutiny. *This form must therefore be completed for each piece of research carried out by members of the School, both staff and students*

The GSoE's process is designed to be supportive and educative. If you are preparing to submit a research proposal, you need to do the following:

1. **Arrange a meeting with a fellow researcher**
   The purpose of the meeting is to discuss ethical aspects of your proposed research, so you need to meet with someone with relevant research experience. A list of prompts for your discussion is given below. Not all these headings will be relevant for any particular proposal.
2. **Complete the form on the back of this sheet**
   The form is designed to act as a record of your discussion and any decisions you make.

Send a copy of the completed form to gsoe-ethics@bristol.ac.uk. You should also keep a copy for yourself. The forms will be kept until your research project has been completed. Forms may be looked at by the GSoE's ethics forum in order to identify training needs, for example. If you have any questions or queries, please contact the GSoE's ethics co-ordinators (currently Wan Ching Yee and Frances Giampapa) before submission of the form.

Please ensure that you allow time before any submission deadlines to complete this process. Be aware that ethical responsibility continues throughout the research process. If further issues arise as your research progresses, it may be appropriate to cycle again through the above process.

Name(s): Amanda Ramsay

Proposed research project:

A PhD thesis exploring the impact of the Localism Act (2011) on neighbourhood planning, community engagement and decision-making; through working in the community as the Communications Officer for the Knowle West Future (KWF) neighbourhood planning forum in south Bristol, as part of a three-year placement with the Knowle West Media Centre, a member of KWF forum and one of the partners of the Productive Margins, regulating *for* engagement research project.

Productive Margins is an innovative new collaboration between communities in Bristol and South Wales and academics at the Universities of Bristol and Cardiff which will co-produce research about new forms of engagement in decision-making across politics, policy and the arts. The programme has three main themes: mobilising neighbourhoods, spaces of dissent and harnessing digital spaces.

As such, this is co-produced social action research, with my PhD exploring digital engagement, urban planning, community decision-making and how digital tools impact on this work. Given this context, the provisional research questions are:

1. Policy, practice, partnership and pedagogy: how is the regulation from the Localism Act (2011), to create area neighbourhood fora, changing the planning process and practice of community co-operation?
2. What difference does implementing a formal communications strategy and using online tools make, to community engagement and participation in this new form of decision-making?
3. What – if any - obstacles to progress has this new model of bottom-up decision-making revealed?
4. What is the main benefit or aspiration as perceived by residents of the Knowle West area neighbourhood development forum?

Funder: Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)

Discussant for the ethics meeting: Wan Ching Yee

Name of supervisor: Prof Ros Sutherland, Prof Morag McDermont,

Penny Evans (Knowle West Media Centre)

Has your supervisor seen this submitted draft of your ethics application? Y

Please include an outline of the project or append a short (1 page) summary:

My doctoral research is funded by the ESRC/AHRC and part of the Social Sciences and Law research project - Productive Margins: Regulating *for* Engagement.

Productive Margins is a research programme around co-production, comprising nine community organisations and social enterprises in Bristol and South Wales and academics from the University of Bristol and Cardiff University.

The overall aim of the Productive Margins project is to work with communities currently excluded from the mainstream, through economic or social exclusion, to find ways of creatively supporting and nurturing the knowledge, passions and creativity of citizens. It is part of the Connected Communities work across the UK.

The objective is to enable *bottom-up* rather than top-down perspectives on regulating *for* engagement rather than the regulation *of* engagement. Whilst responsive regulation scholarship (Ayres & Braithwaite 1992) has moved regulation studies away from command-and-control mechanisms, actors in regulatory space are still assumed

to be relatively powerful. This programme of research starts elsewhere, calling on the insights from 'legal consciousness' research (which seeks to understand subjective experiences of law in everyday lives (Ewick and Silbey, 1998; Cowan 2004)) to explore possibilities for, and limitations of, regulating for engagement.

My PhD is one of three funded doctoral studentships within Productive Margins. My particular project focuses on 'harnessing digital space', involving a partnership with the Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC), an arts and community charity in south Bristol. I am currently based at the media centre two days a week.

This studentship is predicated on the view that governance and regulation is increasingly data-driven and there is a need to democratise this process by enabling people to design, gather and reflect on data themselves.

The harnessing digital space project is independent from the main Productive Margins proposal, as it explores the ways in which new approaches to visualising digital data can be developed for and together with participants, but is complementary to and extends the research sub-aim: 'how can grass-roots or marginalised communities appropriate online spaces for empowerment, reciprocal knowledge learning and exchange and widening the range of representations?'

My research centres around an investigation of how the regulation from the Localism Act (2011), which came into power in 2012, is changing the planning process and what difference implementing a formal communication strategy and online tools have on decision-making and the community engagement process, exploring the challenges to using digital tools, in the context of neighbourhood planning, as well as the theory of group dynamics, especially in groups of unpaid volunteers.

My project focuses specifically on the Knowle West area neighbourhood development forum, a regeneration project in south Bristol, known as Knowle West Future (KWF), a neighbourhood planning forum set up by a group of local residents from powers granted in the Localism Act (2011). Knowle West Media Centre is a member of the forum and brokered the placement, to be the forum's Communications Officer.

I want to explore the effect online tools and a formal communications strategy has on the process of engaging the community, to increase awareness and involvement in what the regeneration work consists of to create a neighbourhood plan, attract more people into the group, to build a coalition of support from the electorate towards a unique referendum (expected in 2016), which if won would take the plan into law.

I seek ethical approval for my involvement in this project, as I am already in the field and have been since September 2013, attending forum and event planning meetings, as well as having produced a communications strategy paper for the forum in December 2013.

This PhD study will be primarily qualitative research, investigating co-operation and co-production with third sector organisations and groups of community volunteers. As such, it is an ever-changing playing field, as the community group evolves and seeks funding to continue. As things stand, I will be using data from at least five sources:

1. I will and seek the views from forum members, in formal interviews, once ethical approval is secured; then ask to conduct interviews with the same people six months down the line, so as to reflect on the changes in that time and document their reflection on being involved with the forum.

2. I will also be conducting interviews with the assistant director of KWMC and several councillors, to ask questions around regeneration and neighbourhood planning, the recent history to neighbourhood renewal and their views on the new Localism legislation.

3. I also want to interview young people, to ensure younger cross generational voices are included, as the majority of the most active KWF forum members are well into retirement age. How I find these people will emerge at the various engagement events from June 2014 onwards; I will be attending events to sign-up people to our newsletter and hopefully grow the membership of the forum and volunteers.

4. My research will include looking at the emerging use of various digital tools, including a brand new digital tool called the MyKW app, as well as social media, web presence and how these online tools help public engagement, in context of the digital divide which affects those who cannot afford to be online and sometimes older people with lower IT skills/confidence or those with literacy issues, who may not have the skills, equipment or money to get online.

5. I may also have access to data collected from a series of questionnaires that may be conducted by myself and forum members at community engagement events. These have been put on hold for now by the forum. If I do have this research tool and data to use, I will submit an additional ethical approval form.

Ethical issues discussed and decisions taken (see list of prompts overleaf):

Researcher Access/Exit

My placement within the Knowle West Future forum was set-up by the Knowle West Media Centre. I was first introduced to this forum via introductory emails from [NAME REDACTED], the Director of KWMC. I have already sought informal agreement in principle to interview forum members for my PhD and approval has been confirmed via the group's Secretary.

I will draft an information sheet explaining what my research project is about and a summary of the background of what the PhD and general aims of the investigation is all about, to go with a covering letter in the post and/or email to all forum members. Ideally, I want 5-10 respondents from the forum. There are 26 members, with an average of ten active attendees of actual forum meetings, which meet in the evening of the first Tuesday of each month.

I will leave my contact details via the consent forms and my University of Bristol business cards and copies of consent forms with all participants, in case they require clarification regarding any steps taken during the research.

When the interviewing process has ended, I will offer to go back with interview transcriptions and my preliminary analysis so interviewees can provide feedback, if they so wish to.

It has been agreed I will exit the project as Communications Officer in Dec 2014.

Information Given to Participants

My supervisor Professor Ros Sutherland is attending the next forum on 3 June to explain more about the process and practicalities of my dual role as Communications Officer and academic researcher.

Prior to that in 2013, forum members had already been informed of my role by the Group Secretary, [NAME REDACTED] then formerly voted to have my involvement on the forum as their Communications Officer. When I formally presented to them at the

December forum, around the communications strategy, I made a point of introducing my presentation by highlighting the fact I was there as an academic researcher, as well as being there as their Communications Officer.

Once ethical approval is secured, I will draft an introductory letter and information sheet explaining my background and what this research is about to go out to all forum members, this will outline what the PhD research project is about; as well as what being involved in my PhD research means to participants, more about my role as a support in the community and the purpose of the research. This will go to all forum members electronically via email and by Royal Mail to those who do not use email.

I will provide SAE in any mailings requiring responses in the post, to: Amanda Ramsay, University of Bristol, South West Doctoral Training Centre, 1 Priory Road, Bristol BS8 1TX.

Once participants have formerly confirmed, I will prepare another letter further explaining their role in the research, spelling out their right to withdraw at any time, as well as assurances that complete confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained within the forum and outside, as well as being clear about the possible use of their responses and my findings in research publications. Again, this will be sent where possible electronically and my Royal Mail to those who do not use email.

I have also arranged for an IT/social media training session for participants if they so wish, to be introduced to the initial online tools being used in this research project, through Knowle West Media Centre.

Participants Right of Withdrawal

As already mentioned, the participants will be assured they can leave the interview process at any stage, and that they will not be pressured to participate against their will by either the Knowle West Media Centre or myself. If someone seeks to withdraw,

I will carefully consider my own actions and be mindful to ensure any effort to re-engage them in the research will be done with sensitivity, respect and consideration of the individual's concerns and circumstances.

Informed Consent

I will secure signed consent forms from all participants, which will be attached to a one-page information sheet explaining what my research is for and providing some context; including where responses from interviewees will be published, that whilst the PhD thesis is read by just two academics, I plan to use some of the data from the thesis to publish in academic journals and to present at conferences.

Please note: the format of the consent may vary. I have encountered two people in the Knowle West area who cannot read or write and I am reliably informed that illiteracy is high in the area; if a participant has problems in reading and signing the consent form, or just not comfortable signing a formal document, I will seek to obtain a verbal consent from them via my Apple smart phone and/or some sort of digital recording, via an iPad or digital recorder, once I have read out the information sheet and right to withdrawal aspect of the consent form to them.

Complaints Procedure

It will be explained that in cases where participants feel the need to complain about the manner in which I have conducted the research, or feel they need to raise questions arising out of the research, the participants may do so this via the Ethics Committee at the Graduate School of Education (GSoE). The participants will be provided with the contact details for registering a complaint as follows:

GSoE Ethic Coordinators:

Wan Ching Yee Wan.Yee@bristol.ac.uk

Frances Giampapa Frances.Giampapa@bristol.ac.uk

Graduate School of Education

35 Berkeley Square

University of Bristol

BS8 1JA

Safety and Well-being of Participants/Researchers

I will seek to conduct my interviews at the Knowle West Media Centre, a secure building, to avoid unwanted noise from domestic settings or external public places, also for the safety of both the participants and myself as the researcher. I can offer lifts to people in my car, to help make these interviews accessible.

I will not put my participants under any pressure during any stage of the research process and will make every effort to reassure people of the fact they can see transcripts of their interviews.

Participants' names and contact details will only be used to contact them and during the consent stage and follow-up, after which pseudonyms will be used, unless someone wants their name to be included.

Participants will be assured that personal information, or anything they deem unnecessary to disclose, will be protected and anonymised.

Personal details of participants will only be available to my supervisors to ensure my safety, in the event of needing to conduct a home interview, due to disability or ill

health. Otherwise, this data will be kept in my University Gmail drive and will be password protected.

All of this data will be deleted once the research and my Doctoral degree have come to an end. Any paper documents around confidential information will be shredded.

Anonymity/Confidentiality

I have discussed my use of pseudonyms above. Conversely, where participants want to be recognised for their contribution to my research, I will recognise and respect their rights and contribution by acknowledging their input in any publications.

Data Collection

I will be using qualitative research and interviewing as my main data collection tool. To ensure the sampling is non-selective, I will be as inclusive as I can be and therefore will invite all forum members to take part in this research.

I do not want any potential participants to feel pressurised to take part in my interview work, because of my role as the Communications Officer or because of my placement at the Knowle West Media Centre. I need them to be clear that it is for academic research. Which is one of the reasons Ros Sutherland is attending the next Knowle West Future forum in June, to further explain my PhD role, as both researcher and communications officer, to ensure that all parties are clear of the division.

As well as my intro re this back in December this division of my role was explained at the last forum in May 2014, by [NAME REDACTED] the Digital Producer at Knowle West Media Centre.

Data Analysis

I will offer the forum the chance to reflect on some aspects of my research findings in monthly briefings at forum meetings while I am Communications Officer, especially around the digital and social media data, also by offering a formal presentation of my analysis, once complete. I want to find out if they agree or disagree or have something to add, from the preliminary stages of analysis.

All interviews will be transcribed in English.

Data Storage

Interviewing as a research instrument generates extensive data which will be stored safely on the university Gmail drive, my iPad (Research Training Support Grant application pending) and/or audio recorder (I am seeking approval for this to come out of my RTSG at the moment) and my home PC, all of which is only accessible by me, and all are password protected.

Data Protection Act

I am aware that I have to fulfil the legal requirements of data storage and protection as set out in The Data Protection Act (1998). Participants will be informed how their data is being stored and where it is stored. All access to the data will be password protected and I will ensure that any form of publication or research presentation does not breach the Data Protection Act.

I will place any data storage/back-up in locked filing cabinet in my University office which only I have the key for, located in a secure building on the main campus, with swipe card, security pass access only (1 Priory Road).

In accordance with the law and ethics of the University, I will treat data with sensitivity, report it accurately, fairly and lawfully and use only for limited, specifically stated purposes.

Feedback and Reporting of this Research

After the interviews have finished, I will offer participants the chance to see transcripts of their comments and the chance to feedback on the way I have arrived at my interpretation of their responses during interview, if requested.

If the forum expresses an interest in learning about the research findings, I will offer to give a formal presentation of my final findings.

This thesis is a requirement for the Doctoral programme at the University of Bristol, and therefore will be presented as a complete and original work to the GSoE. I will, throughout my research journey, engage with my supervisors and seek their feedback

at various stages and also acknowledge their contribution in this research. I plan to use data from the thesis to publish in academic journals and to present in conferences.

Signed: Amanda Ramsay (Researcher) Signed: (Discussant) Wan Ching Yee (GSoE ethics co-ordinator)

Date: 12 May 2014

APPENDIX B – EXAMPLE INTRODUCTORY LETTER OF INVITE TO INTERVIEWEES

March 2015

Capturing Local Knowledge and Ideas re Knowle West Future and local planning

New legal powers came into place in 2012 enabling your local community to set-up their own Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum – known as Knowle West Future. This forum exists to make a Neighbourhood Plan; to make decisions and recommendations about land use for redevelopment and planning. My research explores how this may benefit the community, by recording what people think. I am inviting you to meet with me for an informal conversation. Please find more information on two-page information sheet enclosed.

Please complete and send back to me in the enclosed stamped addressed envelope (SAE) both the signed consent and REPLY form so that I know how best to contact you to arrange a good date and time to meet, preferably including your phone number and email, if you use that.

With many thanks.

Yours sincerely

Amanda Ramsay

Faculty of Social Sciences and Law

University of Bristol
1 Priory Road, Bristol BS8 1TX

Mobile: [REDACTED]

Landline/answer machine: [REDACTED]

E-mail: amanda.ramsay@bristol.ac.uk

APPENDIX C – EXAMPLE PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Name of Researcher: Amanda Ramsay

You are being invited to take part in a research project. In simple terms this means that I want to hear your views please, to learn from your expertise and local knowledge.

Before you decide whether you would like to take part, please read the following information. Feel free to discuss it with others if you so wish, or with me, whatever you prefer. Please don't hesitate to ask any questions if anything is not clear, or you would like more information. My contact details are on the covering letter.

What is the purpose of the project?

New legal powers came into place in 2012 enabling your local community to set-up their own Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum – now known as Knowle West Future. This forum exists to make a Neighbourhood Plan; to make decisions and recommendations about land use, re-development and regeneration ideas. My research will explore how this may benefit the community. By recording what people think the advantages and disadvantages might be, as well as their ideas, I can then report back to the group.

Why have you been chosen?

To ensure as many voices are heard as possible, I am inviting all forum members to take part in this research. This is a chance for local residents to have their views heard and recorded, in a safe, anonymous environment. If you wish your name to appear that is also fine.

What do you have to do?

Just agree a good time that suits you to talk. Please don't let the term 'interview' put you off. These will be more like informal conversations over a cup of tea and cake, rather than appearing on BBC's Newsnight! (Though I will need to make an audio recording of our conversations via my iPad/portable computer, which you can have a copy of if you wish.)

How much of my time will this take up?

The interviews will probably be about an hour long, though you are very welcome to say as much or as little as you wish. I may ask to do follow-up interviews next year to see if anything has changed in that time.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Knowle West has a unique opportunity in its history for local residents to have more say over neighbourhood renewal. This research seeks to provide a better understanding of how neighbourhood planning is working in reality and explore how it can be improved or better funded. Results may be used for future reports, articles or presentations, but participants will not be detailed; therefore, anonymity and confidentiality will always be maintained.

Will my taking part in the research project be kept confidential?

Please note all participants can remain anonymous throughout the process. All information collected during the course of the research will be kept in strict confidence and in a secure manner, in accordance with the law and the Data Protection Act (1998). You will not be identified in any reports or publications, by name or address.

Do I have to take part?

No. It is totally up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a short consent form, but you can still withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. You do not have to give a reason if you choose to withdraw.

What happens if I say no?

This is purely a request for volunteers because your views are important. Due to my dual role, as academic researcher and Communications Officer for Knowle West Future, I do not want anyone to feel pressurised to take part in my interview work, because of my work as the Communications Officer or because of my placement at the Knowle West Media Centre.

Who is organising the research?

I will be carrying out the research for the University of Bristol. Funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), this is part of a much larger project called Productive Margins, regulating *for* engagement, a collaboration between communities in Bristol and South Wales and the Universities of Bristol and Cardiff. Knowle West Media Centre is a partner organisation.

How will I find out about the findings of this research?

I am offering to give a formal presentation of my initial findings this summer, if the Knowle West Future forum expresses an interest in learning about the research findings. In addition:

- My research will be reported in an approximately 80,000-word document called a thesis for my doctorate (PhD) which looks specifically at the impact of the Localism Act (2011) on local planning, decision-making, community engagement and looking at how digital tools impact on this work, like the web, Twitter and Facebook. NB: You **do not** need any former understanding of computers, email, social media, or the internet take part in this research.

- Summaries of the research findings may appear in academic papers and journals, at conferences or within other publications in the future.

- After the interviews have finished, if you wish to see full transcripts of your comments all you have to do is ask. If requested, you can ask for feedback on the way I have arrived at my interpretation of responses during interview. If requested, I will discuss my preliminary analysis so interviewees can provide feedback.

What type of information will be sought and why is the collection of this information relevant for achieving the research project objectives?

The overall aim of the project is to find out how people feel about this new form of neighbourhood planning, to hear about their experiences in the past and currently, to take a look at whether they believe their voice is heard in local decision making, specifically around neighbourhood development in their area.

What happens next?

I will be arranging one to one interviews in the form of informal conversations with myself, either at Knowle West Media Centre or at people's homes, whatever best suits you. All you have to do is let me know when best suits you. *I do not have phone numbers for members, so please complete the reply form and send back in the self-addressed envelope (SAE). If it suits you better, please call. My phone numbers are on the covering letter.*

APPENDIX D – PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Consent Form for Knowle West Future Research Project

Please tick the appropriate boxes	**Yes**	**No**
Taking Part		
I have read and understood the project information sheet dated DD/MM/YYYY.	☐	☐
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).	☐	☐
I understand that my taking part is totally 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 any other people under any circumstances.	☐	☐
I understand that my words – your name can be anonymised - may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, such as conferences.	☐	☐

*Please choose **one** of the following two options:*

I would like my real name used: ☐

I would **not** like my real name to be used in the above: ☐

Use of the information I provide beyond this project

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. ☐ ☐

In order that I may use the information you provide, legally and ethically:

I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials related to this project to Amanda Ramsay. ☐ ☐

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant [printed]	Signature	Date

_____	_____	_____
Researcher [printed]	Signature	Date

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to ask anything at any stage. Project contact details, for further information: Amanda Ramsay, University of Bristol, 1 Priory Road, BS8 1TX. Mobile: 07930 850 581. Email: amanda.ramsay@bristol.ac.uk

This work is conducted in strict adherence to the Data Protection Act (1998) and all data will be treated in accordance with the law.

APPENDIX E – KWANDF CONSTITUTION, 2013

Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum

Constitution for the Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF) – March/April 2013

Name

The name of the Forum shall be the Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum, here in after referred to as the "Forum".

Purpose and Aims

The mission of the Forum shall be to promote and improve the social, economic and environmental well-being of the neighbourhood area, and actions that:

1. Take forward the vision of a community full of confidence and pride, skilled and healthy, living in a thriving Bristol neighbourhood that is green and well connected and low in living costs.

2. Take forward development and planning based on the 13 Community objectives listed at the end of this document

3. Raise awareness of and work to open up opportunities for sustainable development that accords with the social, economic and environmental aims above**.**

4. Within the Neighbourhood Planning Area, work towards the production of a neighbourhood development plan and neighbourhood development orders, as necessary, that identify the social, economic and environmental characteristics of the local area, detects local problems that need to be overcome, draw out feasible options for action, reflect a consensus of community opinion and choices on a programme of action and facilitates the delivery and implementation of the plan or order.

5. Work towards an increase in the effectiveness of public involvement in decision-making and investment as it affects the quality of life in the Neighbourhood Planning Area, by among other things.
   - Increasing knowledge of Central Government and City Council policies and guidance including the Localism Act and the planning and development process.
   - Promoting discussion and debate on investment proposals affecting the neighbourhood coming from the private, public or charity sectors.

- Enabling community views and choices to be more effectively made to promoters of development schemes and/or new uses and activities, including the City Council and other key stakeholders on statutory plans, planning applications and related documents.

Independence

The Forum will be independent of any party political, religious, trade or campaign organisation.

Membership

Membership of the Forum shall be open to any individual living or working in the designated area or is an elected councillor in the area, without regard to age, disability, political affiliation, religion or belief, race, gender identity or sexual orientation who is interested in the physical development of the area and willing to sign up to and abide by the Code of Conduct of the Forum.

The Code of Conduct of the Forum is attached below.

A list of members will be kept by the Secretary. Members of the Forum agree to regularly attend meetings, to participate in decision making and to take part in completing the work of the Forum. Apologies should be offered for meetings that they cannot attend.

The Forum will ensure that the membership is maintained at 21 members or above.

Meetings

The Forum will meet on a regular and continuous basis as required to discuss and decide issues and to take the actions required to further the purpose of the Forum.

Notice of Meetings shall be given where practical to members and the general public.

Technical experts and promoters of development schemes, including developers, agents, consultants and city council officers, councillors from adjacent wards and representatives of other organizations (eg: Adjacent Neighbourhood Forums or Neighbourhood Planning Groups) may attend Forum meetings at the request of the

Chair, Deputy Chair or Secretary to give information, advice and to set out options for action. Such experts and promoters cannot take part in the choices made by or decisions taken by the Forum.

Decision taking

The Forum will use best endeavours to make choices and decide upon actions that are based upon a reasonable understanding of the informed choices of the wider community as measured by community involvement surveys and events.

DECLARATION OF INTERESTS

Individual members of the Forum have a duty and are required to declare in advance any financial, party political, employment, land ownership or other organization interest that has a bearing on the work of the Forum in general or an agenda item in particular. Such interests will be recorded in the minutes of the relevant meeting.

TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORUM

Members of the Forum will make every effort to take up opportunities for training or learning about any aspect relevant to the Forum's work.

Officers of the Forum

The Forum will elect from among its number a Chair, Deputy Chair, Secretary and Treasurer by secret ballot held every two Years. Only those members of the Forum who have signed the constitution are eligible to vote.

The Forum may appoint individuals to act in certain defined roles as required (eg: business manager, communications manager).

The Chair or Deputy Chair will be responsible for ensuring that meetings are as inclusive of views of the Forum as possible; and run in a democratic manner.

Quorate

Meetings will be quorate if at least 7 members are present. If the meeting is not quorate, the meeting cannot make decisions/vote, but will be able to discuss issues.

Working Groups

The Forum may appoint such working groups as it considers necessary to carry research into any of the issues or functions specified by the Forum. Their work will be bound by terms of reference set out for them by the Forum at the time. Any expenditure made by a working group will need to be authorized by the Forum.

Wider community involvement

The Forum will take all reasonable steps to involve the wider community in making choices about any proposal that affects the social, economic or environmental future of the area.These steps will include areas outside of the Forum area where issues arise which have implications beyond the Forum area.

The Forum will use reasonable endeavours to base its actions upon the views and informed choices of the wider community.

The Forum will encourage adjacent Neighbourhood Development Forums and Neighbourhood Planning Groups to make reciprocal arrangements as these about involvement of the Forum.

Complaints and grievance

Any complaint or grievance about the behavior of a member in respect of their work for the Forum shall be made in writing to the Chair of the Forum. The Chair and Secretary will investigate the complaint or grievance and decide on action in line with the Code of Conduct. If the complaint or grievance concerns the Chair, Deputy Chair or Secretary, then other members of the Forum will be appointed by the Forum in their place.

Finance

The Treasurer shall keep a clear record of income and expenditure. The Treasurer will report back to the Forum on planned and actual expenditure. The Forum will seek funding from private, public and charitable organizations. The acceptance of the terms of any funding will be a decision of the Forum.

Changes to the Constitution

This constitution may be altered, and additional clauses may be added at a General Meeting and changes must be agreed with the consent of two-thirds of those members, who have signed the constitution.

Equality

The Forum will comply with all relevant equality and anti-discrimination legislation.

Dissolution of the Forum

Upon dissolution of the Forum, for whatever reason, any remaining funds after all bills and charges have been settled shall be returned to the provider from which the funds were received; and all outstanding debts treated in line with the relevant policies and procedures. No individual member of the Forum shall benefit from the dispersal.

Appendix: Community Objectives

1 Increase income through employment

2 Improve health and well-being

3 Widen local choice of housing size and tenure

4 Refurbish existing housing stock

5 Improve and develop primary school provision

6 Reinforce a close-knit neighbourhood

7 Access safe, ecological rich, open space

8 Pride of place

9 Build a future-proof community

10 Improve access to low-cost transport

11 Public and community initiatives in advance of private investment

12 Improve arts and culture

13 Develop play and youth facilities by planning with young people

Appendix: Code of Conduct of the Forum

Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum

I agree that as a Neighbourhood Planning forum member for above area, to abide by the following:

In meetings I will

- **Act appropriately and treat people and organisations with respect; never being derogatory in my speech or manner**
- **Always speak through the Chair**
- **Act in the public interest, and not seek to gain any advantage for myself, my family or friends;**
- **Act in a way that is fair and unbiased;**
- **Allow everyone to take part without interruption or intimidation and treat everyone equally;**
- **Accept a majority forum vote on an issue as decisive and final.**
- **Be open and honest about my actions and decisions, and give reasons for them;**
- **Be clear and honest about whether I am giving my personal view or the views of my business/organisation;**
- **Declare any private interests or interests of my organisation relevant to my involvement with the forum and seek to resolve any conflict in the public interest.**
- **Attend meetings regularly, ensuring that I read the agenda and any supporting materials before the meeting**

Outside of meetings I will

- **Protect the forums reputation when in contact with the general public**
- **If I speak as a representative of the forum, I will do so only with the prior knowledge and approval of the Chair** *(and / or majority of the group)*
- **My comments will reflect the views of the group, even when these do not agree with my personal views.**
- **When speaking as a private citizen I will uphold the reputation of the forum and those who support in it.**
- **Participate in induction, training and development activities when made available**
- **I will actively recruit new members to the forum**

I will not:

- **Act or speak in a way that may be perceived as bullying, abusive, discriminatory or derogatory**
- **Speak as a representative of the forum to the media or in a public meeting without the prior knowledge and approval of the Chair** *(and / or majority of the group).*
- **Prevent anyone getting information they are entitled to.**

I understand that substantial breach of any part of this code of conduct may result in my expulsion from the Forum

Should I resign from the board I will inform the Chair in advance in writing, stating my reasons for resigning.

Signed ..... **Date.....**

Name.....

APPENDIX F – MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

Memorandum of Understanding July 2013
Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum
and Bristol City Council

1. Purpose

The purpose of this Memorandum of Understanding is to set out the basis of the working relationship between Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum and Bristol City Council, encompassing Planning, Transport, Neighbourhood, Housing and Economic Development and Electoral Services Officers as appropriate, to enable:

- the effective and efficient production of a Neighbourhood Development Plan for the Knowle West area Neighbourhood Planning Area
- the effective and efficient production of any Neighbourhood Development Orders which come forward

Under the provisions of the Localism Act 2011 Bristol City Council is responsible for:

a. fulfilling statutory requirements in relation to:

- the designation of a Neighbourhood Planning Area and Forum
- the publication of submitted Neighbourhood Development Plan or Order for consultation
- the arrangements for and cost of an independent examination
- the arrangements for and cost of a Referendum if required
- the formal assessment of the agreed Neighbourhood Development Plan or Order against EU regulations
- and making the confirmed Neighbourhood Development Plan part of the Development Plan for Bristol.

b. the provision of advice and assistance to the Neighbourhood Planning Forum as it prepares the Neighbourhood Development Plan

This agreement confirms:

a. how Bristol City Council will undertake its statutory duties

b. the level and extent of the technical advice and assistance that Bristol City Council will use reasonable endeavours to provide within the resources available

c. how Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum will aim to progress the Neighbourhood Development Plan.

2. Memorandum of Agreement:

This Agreement is between:-

Bristol City Council

signature

Authorised Officer

date

and

Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum

signature of chairman

date

3. Date and duration of agreement

This agreement will take effect on the date the document has been signed and dated by both parties.

The agreement will run for 18 months, at which point there will be a review by both parties with respect to its continuation, with an option to extend for a further 18 months or such other period as may be agreed by the parties in writing.

Progress on the preparation of the Neighbourhood Development Plan during this period will be reviewed every 4 months at a face-to-face meeting between the Neighbourhood Planning Forum Steering Group representative and the Council's named officer (see section 7 below)

4. Working Relationships

The parties to this agreement seek:

a. an open and constructive working relationship
b. to work closely together at all levels, both in policy, and in strategic issues of importance
c. to respect each other's' views, and where different, after discussion to ensure proper understanding of the reasons for such differences
d. to have a 'no surprises' policy, based on notifying each other well in advance, where possible, of significant announcements and developments in policy
e. to minimise duplication of activity wherever possible
f. to inform other stakeholders about our relationship so as to reduce uncertainty.

5. Bristol City Council Service Roles and Responsibilities

5a The statutory obligations of Bristol City Council

In accordance with the requirements of the Neighbourhood Planning (General) Regulations 2012) the Council will (subject to workload and resource pressures at the time of the submission of a Neighbourhood Development Plan) act 'as soon as possible' to meet the following requirements:

- Confirm that the draft plan meets the criteria in the Localism Act (Regulation 15) –within 3 weeks following submission to the Council.
- Publicise the submission plan and other relevant documentation (Regulation 16) - within 4 weeks of receiving submission documents which meet the criteria, and pass on representations to the Independent Examiner within 2 weeks of the close of the consultation period (Regulation 17)
- Appoint a suitable examiner in agreement with the Neighbourhood Planning Forum Council and submit the draft plan, supporting documents to the Independent Examiner Regulation 17) – within 3 weeks of close of pre-submission publicity period.

- Consideration of the recommendations in the Examiners' Report, that the draft plan meets the basic conditions and publication of a 'Decision Statement' (Regulation 18/19) – 4 weeks following the receipt of the inspector's report
- Make arrangements including the setting of a date for the holding of the referendum – within 3 weeks of the publication of the decision statement Making of the plan (Regulation 19/20) - at the first available meeting of cabinet as applicable following a positive referendum vote

Note: the response times indicated above are indicative and are dependent on available resources

5b Bristol Council will make the following provision for advice and assistance:

a. Published advice and information
   - Links to key published advice from Locality and the Planning Advisory Service will be provided on the Bristol website: www.bristol.gov.uk/page/neighbourhood-planning-bristol
   - A simple guide to procedures for applying for Neighbourhood Planning Area and Neighbourhood Planning Forum designation in Bristol
   - Contact details and latest position for designated Neighbourhood Planning Forums in Bristol

b. Templates and examples for :
   - Neighbourhood Planning Forum Constitution
   - Appointment of consultants

c. Evidence
   - links to relevant Bristol City Council evidence sources
   - links to census and statistical data and associated tools

d. Information on training and guidance for Neighbourhood Development Plan preparation
   - link to national training
   - dates of training to be provided by Bristol City Council in conjunction with the Bristol Neighbourhood Planning Network

e. Bristol Neighbourhood Planning Network
   - link to the Bristol NPN site

f. Professional advice
   - Provide a named officer as first point of contact for advice and technical support.

     In this case the support officer is:

     [NAME REDACTED]

     Contact details:
     Telephone: 0117 352 5868
     Email: [REDACTED]

   - Initial Meeting

At the request of the Neighbourhood Planning Forum (following designation of the Neighbourhood Planning Forum) the support officer will attend and provide an overview on the procedures and issues. The advice will cover:

- The legal procedures
- The preparation and content of a project plan
- Methods of consultation and engagement
- Consultation with the 'consultation bodies'
- The requirements of other legislation such as Human Rights Act, the Habitats regulations and Environmental Assessments

g. Background Data and Evidence

- The Council will make available through the council website:
    - Annual Monitoring report data for the last 5 years
    - Access to planning applications made in the relevant wards over the last 5 years (via Planning On-line)
    - The Local Plan Evidence Base and access to base data and available research
    - Maps showing constraints data

- The Council will provide:
    - £2,000 start-up grant on designation of the Neighbourhood Planning Forum to support the initial setup and communication costs, on application from the Neighbourhood Planning Forum. The grant will be paid by Bank Transfer to the Neighbourhood Planning Forum Account.
    - OS base maps for the area
    - Digitising of final proposals maps

h. Professional advice and assistance

In discussion with the Neighbourhood Planning Forum the Council will provide :

- advice and assistance on:

    - Project Management and timetabling of the work programme
    - Methods of community engagement and consultation
    - Potential delivery partners
    - Conformity matters
    - Up to date information on the Local Plan
    - Any requirement for Environmental Assessment and Habitats Regulation Assessment
- support on undertaking of :
    - Any appraisal of sustainability of the emerging Neighbourhood Development Plan
- comment on:
    - Structure and content of the emerging drafts of the plan

Prior to the submission of the Draft Neighbourhood Development Plan the Council will provide advice and assistance on:

- Conformity of the plan and whether in their view it meets the basic conditions
- Suitability of the Consultation Statement
- Suitability of any Environmental Assessment or Habitats Regulations Assessments undertaken
- Conformity with other legislative requirements
- OS mapping requirements

Bristol City Council will **not** offer advice or assistance in the following areas:

- Provision of secretarial or administrative support
- Writing of documents
- Undertaking survey work
- By attendance at every meeting
- By attendance at every consultation event
- Negotiation with developers on behalf of the Neighbourhood Planning Forum
- Provision of direct financial support
- Procurement or payment of any consultants retained by the Neighbourhood Planning Forum to advise it in relation to the preparation or processing of the Neighbourhood Development Plan

6. Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum Responsibilities

The Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum will:

a. Establish a steering group to develop the Neighbourhood Development Plan with clear terms of reference.
b. Ensure the steering group reports regularly to and seeks endorsement for decisions from the wider Neighbourhood Planning Forum
c. Ensure the Neighbourhood Planning Forum remains compliant with the requirements for designation as set out in the Localism Act and Regulations.
d. Arrange an initial meeting which the named Council support officer will attend and advise the steering group
e. Undertake to work towards preparation of a Neighbourhood Development Plan with a defined project management approach, work programme and timetable to delivery
f. Convene as a group on a regular basis throughout the period of preparation of the Neighbourhood Development Plan and its examination
g. Commit adequate resources to the task
h. Provide regular updates on progress against the project plan to the Council via the named officer
i. Provide to the Council the Draft Submission Plan in electronic format.
j. Provide results of primary source data which would be helpful to the Council.

7. Progress and Review Process

The progress on the Neighbourhood Development Plan and success of the support from Bristol City Council will be reviewed every 4 months, against this agreement, in a face-to-face meeting between the Council's named officer and the Neighbourhood Planning Forum steering group initiated by the Council.

8. Dispute settlement

In the unlikely event of a dispute, it is expected that these will be resolved at the working level at which they arise. If this is not possible then the Service Director Sustainable Development and will consider the dispute and decide on the appropriate action to take.

Should there be no clear progress in the preparation of a Neighbourhood Development Plan by the Neighbourhood Planning Forum during the 18-month period, the Council will terminate the Memorandum of Understanding. SOD 1.07.13

APPENDIX G – LAUNCH PRESS RELEASE FOR KWF

PRESS RELEASE – FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

19 June 2014

Golden Opportunity for Knowle West with new Neighbourhood Planning Forum

The regeneration and planning project for the Knowle West area called Knowle West Future (KWF) is launching this Saturday 21 June at the Make your Neighbourhood event part of the Big Green Week, from 12-4pm, at Knowle West Media Centre on Leinster Avenue south Bristol – all age groups are welcome. KWF is a forum of local residents, workers, councillors and representatives of community organisations who want the community to have a say in how development happens, including the building of homes, leisure and community facilities, as well as job opportunities, working with the community to create a Neighbourhood Development Plan, to improve the Knowle West area.

'Knowle West has a golden opportunity to shape how our part of Bristol will develop, through a Neighbourhood Plan,' said [NAME REDACTED] Chair of Knowle West Future.

[NAME REDACTED] explained: 'We need to know more about the priorities local people want to see happen in their specific area, be that Filwood, Filwood Park, Inn's Court, Jarmans, Lower Knowle, Melvin Square, the Northern Slopes and Novers Park. Local people are at the heart of this work. At a series of engagement events across the area, people will be surveyed and asked what they like best about their area, what they would like to change and how it could be made better.

'Local residents and people who work in the area can join the forum which meets monthly, people should keep an eye on the Knowledge newsletter, our website and Twitter feed for news about our work and more information.'

This forum meets on the first Tuesday of every month, as advertised in the Knowledge newsletter, their website and social media @KWestFuture. The next meeting will be Tuesday 1 July, 6.30-8.30pm at Knowle West Media Centre, Leinster Avenue, Bristol BS4 1NL.

Knowle West Future needs more volunteers, especially younger people, please contact [NAME REDACTED] to receive more information on [REDACTED] or email KnowleWestFuture@gmail.comif you wish to get involved.

ENDS

Editor's Notes

1. Neighbourhood Planning has become possible through government legislation in the Localism Act (2011). A Neighbourhood Plan has to pass various legal stages including a local referendum before it can become law.

2. For more press information, please contact Knowle West Future Communications Officer, Amanda Ramsay on [REDACTED] or [NAME AND NUMBER REDACTED]

3. Planned community engagement and involvement events are as follows:

- Sat 21 June - 12pm-4pm - Jarmans
- Sat 12 July – 12pm-4pm - Filwood Summer Fayre
- Fri 18 July - 12pm-4pm - Melvin Square
- Fri 25 July - 12pm-4pm - Inns Court

4. Web: http://www.knowlewest.co.uk/regeneration/kwandf/

5. Social media: @KWestFuture or via Facebook: KnowleWestFuture

APPENDIX H – WE GOT THE POWER

We've got the power:

a quick and simple guide to first actions around communications for the Knowle West Area Forum*

*Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF)

Draft Communications Strategy for the Forum

Initial recommendations

By Amanda Ramsay Communications Officer KWANDF

December 2013

Contents

Four Key main objectives....3

Internal and external communications strategy....4

Why have a Communications Plan for the Forum?....5

Initial Strategic advice and communications plan for 2014....6

Media toolkit....7

Events and Themes....8

Digital engagement - how to make social media work for the Forum....9

Website....10

Forum Meetings....11

Summary of main Strategic Points and Conclusive Comments....12

P.S. let's remember....13

Draft Communications Strategy for the Forum – initial recommendations

Summary – this is not an exhaustive collection of ideas, it is a flavour of priorities and ideas for kick-starting our communications work.

Our communications strategy is not just how we speak to the outside world, but how we communicate internally.

Awareness

Engagement

Communicate

Win

These are our four key aims and objectives for the communications plan:

1) **Awareness -** of what the Forum is for and to attract volunteers

2) **Engagement -** To attract interest from local people in making the Neighbourhood Plan

2) **Communicate -** Publicising the Neighbourhood Plan once it exists

3) **Win -** Winning the referendum vote for the Neighbourhood Plan to be accepted into law

The points made below are the background thinking about how to kick-start the first phase of the communications strategy, with those four points in mind….

Internal and external communications stratergy

One key thing is our name.

Our name is important as it tells the world who we are - let's refer to ourselves simply as the Forum, to make life a little easier for us and other local people. Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF) is not exactly catchy!

Formally, in print and online, we should be known as the Knowle West Area Forum, but in legal documents the full name will be Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (KWANDF).

We need to Tell Our Story - we must be clear about what we are doing and take the community with us along the way – creating a Neighbourhood Plan and mobilising for the referendum vote to get this agreed by the community.

- The work of the Forum is to create a Neighbourhood Development Plan for the development, regeneration or conservation of an area. Only after the formal process of getting the community involved in this can a review by the City Council of the plan take place, then an Independent Examination, then a referendum to Knowle West.

13 key objectives have already been established through community consultation, which started in 2009 until the Forum was formally recognised in July 2013.

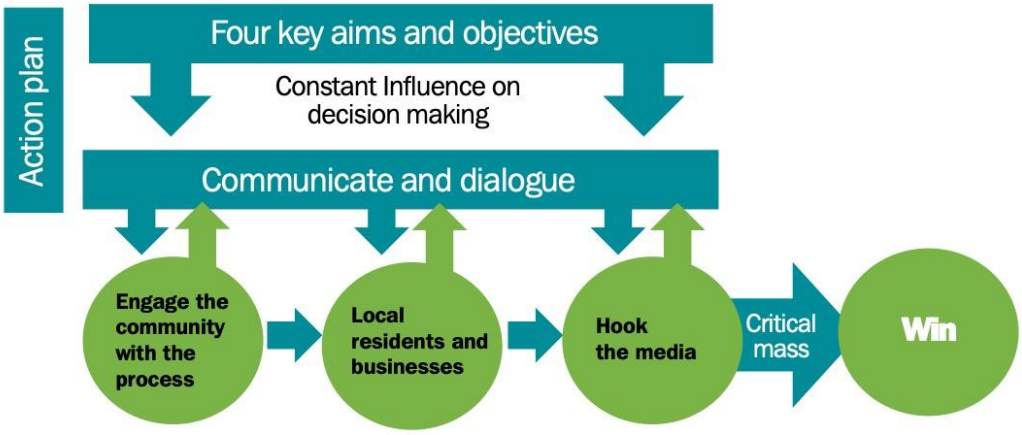
For example, local people have showed strong support for Filwood Broadway to be their main shopping centre. This has already been endorsed by the community, via the Community in Partnership (CIP).

Why have a Communications Plan for the Forum?

We need to communicate our thinking and action plan as we go along, to build a dialogue with local residents and businesses, to engage the community with the process, to hook the media and to keep our own Forum members and future members informed, always with our key objectives in mind, developing the Neighbourhood Plan and working towards winning the eventual vote, to win approval for the plan.

To be clear about our aims and objectives to the outside world and then engage the community, to make the Forum seem important and relevant, to remind people about what we are doing through the media and local events, to eventually secure a 'yes' vote in a referendum.

- If more than 50% of people voting in the referendum support the plan, then Bristol City Council must bring it into force.
- All people living in the neighbourhood who are registered to vote in local elections will be entitled to vote in the referendum.



Initial Strategic advice and communications plan for 2014

The Why

The Forum exists to give local people a voice in creating a legally recognised local plan – called the Knowle West Neighbourhood Plan - that Bristol City Council and future developers must adhere to when making changes to the area, such as how the streets will look, a design code for different village hubs, how play areas can be revamped, maybe where a potential supermarket might be located, what sort of housing is required and where etc..

Timescales – we must be clear at each Forum meeting with Forum members, especially as new people join/attend, about the **5 key stages** (see attached crib sheet) for the new neighbourhood planning process, so we don't get lost, buried in detail, at our meetings. Such as, Knowle West is currently in the second stage and the Forum needs to establish time scales for all five stages and an action plan to make everything happen. Remembering these three main points in all our thinking:

1. These **actions and ideas** need to be communicated with local people, to secure their input and formal agreement to the Neighbourhood Plan, once it is written, via the vote in a referendum.

2. By **engaging the community** through communications work now and ongoing we seek to win hearts and minds and 'buy in' from local people and ultimately their consent.

3. We need to recruit **volunteers** to help with the community engagement work.

The How

External and International Communications – for our own members and the community as a whole.

I.D. - create and maintain a public identity for the Forum, including a logo and slogan, such as:

Knowle West Area Forum - your voice, your choice

Create an 'at a glance' visual for the timeline of each key stage, once agreed, to be used on literature, at events and on the website. Digital and paper version.

Media toolkit

We must maximise on all communication avenues, online and in print, such as:

The Knowledge – five editions a year, 6,500 editions to 5,500 households. I have secured a column in each one, which means our messages can reach every Knowle West household throughout the year. Vital for engaging local people in our work and to build a conversation to work towards the referendum which is the only way the Neighbourhood Plan will be recognised in law.

Print Media

Bristol Evening Post: I will be able to send through press releases about any stories we have to try to get them to as wide an audience as possible.

Bristol24-7: I have been a columnist for this online newspaper for some time and will write pieces about our Forum as and when they are needed.

National newspapers: I will attempt to secure national coverage for our work. Coverage can then be posted on our website, newsletters, Twitter and Facebook etc.. (Local residents and politicians may take us more seriously if we are in the media. Third party endorsement. I will target planning correspondents and the Guardian for example has a community coordinator who I'll target.)

Academic papers: I will be expected to write about our work for my PhD and will be writing about the Forum in academic papers in the course of the next three years.

Broadcast Media

BBC Radio Four - next June Knowle West Media Centre is hosting BBC Radio 4's Any Questions with a supermarket expert and the theme is around food and local foraging, there will be a celebrity chef and lots of activities planned. We can maximise on this publicity for the Forum, sign-up new people, have our leaflets there, use online to broadcast what is going on in our area.

BBC Newsnight – sell-in an idea of a programme about Localism (the government legislation that has brought this planning Forum into being) and a year on from legal recognition, how is neighbourhood planning working on the ground.

I have a professional background in public relations and have contacts in the national and local media. Let's think big!

Press releases

Building a narrative – telling our story. We need to bring this to life. Key message: *Golden Opportunity for Local People, to make things happen.*

We need to use 'hooks' for press releases, to build our story and grow community involvement, such as winning funds for our work (we are currently applying for £7,000 of funding for our work) or the Royal Town Planning Institute recognising the Filwood Park area in the 2013 South West Awards.

Events and Themes

Events

- As well as the Forum's working group on events, we must be constantly on the look-out for existing community events where we may be able to publicise the work of the Forum and recruit volunteers.
- There is a sub group of Knowle West Together about events in Knowle West, for example. We need to know which upcoming local events can be maximised on for our community engagement work for the Forum, Neighbourhood Plan and Referendum. I will attend where possible and feed ideas through to the Forum's working group re events.

NB: we do not have the human resource or finances to put on fancy, ambitious events at present so we are best to cross-fertilise with other local networks, putting out our message to and through schools/parents, school children, residents groups, church groups, Neighbourhood Watch people, community wardens, ward police officers etc..

There will be many community events and projects that will provide opportunities for the Forum. It is important to have our flyers at key events and our community ambassadors (Forum members) to explain what is going on and encourage engagement as we go along.

Themes

As the working group has already decided, it is important to maximise on Bristol being Green Capital 2015. There's going to be a huge focus on Green Capital 2015 and funding will be available for various projects. As a Forum we can push for funding around green ideas.

Such as lobbying for the first green Tesco supermarket in the UK, that emits zero net carbon dioxide (CO2) in its operations, using lower wattage LED lighting, solar farm, wind turbine, natural refrigeration, biogas system, rammed earth walls, and rain-water conservation. A store like this launched in Thailand this June.

Such things like this and work around protecting the Northern Slopes create a story the city will want to tell and spread.

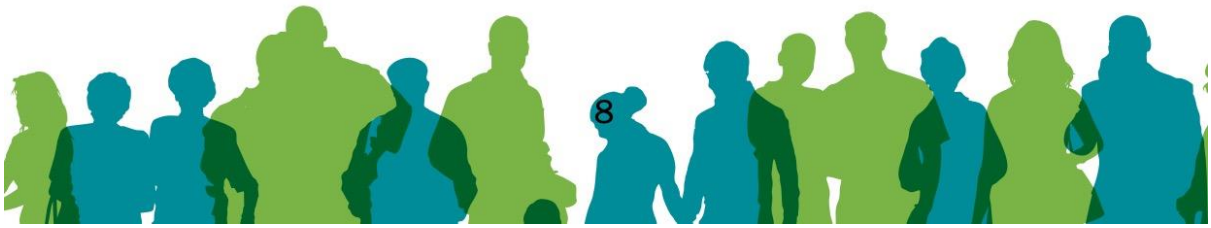
Publicity Literature

Printed materials are costly, designing/printing/paper, but I suggest we aim to produce an A5 colour flyer once we have a logo, slogan and all our online communications sorted, the Facebook page, Twitter name secured etc., leaflets can then be handed-out at community events and awareness opportunities.

I suggest there is a FREEPOST section for people to send back a simple form to register their interest, name, address, email, phone number etc., to go onto the mailing list database, for newsletters and to call on for volunteer human resource.

Newsletter – e-mailed quarterly. With the same information being summarised in the Knowledge magazines, five times a year. So no one is excluded, with online and paper versions of our news to the community.

Data – building a mailing list to inform interested residents of our work and news, not just the 33 formal members of the Forum. Data protection laws must be adhered to.



Digital engagement - how to make social media work for the Forum

Being inclusive is critical, not excluding certain age groups or socio-economic groups, who may or may not be online, or who cannot attend evening meetings for example; we must make sure we communicate in print *and* digitally. NB: Online ways of communicating are a quick, cheap and efficient option but we must use all communication tools at our disposal.

Facebook and twitter

I'll soon be setting-up a Facebook page and a Twitter feed Forum, once this strategy paper is signed off. I am happy to run both areas, at least in my tenure as communications officer; with photographs and articles to post being welcomed. Maybe with the help of Barbara (new Forum member) for Facebook updates and content, to include ideas from Forum officers.

Whilst communicating and reading information online is not everyone's cup of tea, utilising these tools gives us huge extra reach; two years ago local research conducted by KWMC found that 69% of people living in Knowle West use the internet. With the rise of Smart phones and iPads this number is no doubt larger now. We must be tapping into this and building profile through this resource.

Our messages on Twitter and Facebook should drive traffic (readers) to our website, to be able to read more detailed information, or attach reports, photos etc..

Twitter is an invaluable way for us to communicate with residents and the city's 'movers and shakers', critically it is very quick and easy to get messages out and it is FREE. The Mayor uses Twitter regularly as do many of the Councillors and local activists, as well as residents just keeping up with local information and news.

EG: the day of the last working group meeting I Tweeted this (space is limited in Twitter messages, hence the brevity and abbreviations):

Preparing for Knowle West regeneration working grp meeting this PM, pls get in touch if you want to know more + be involved #KWNews #Bristol

My Tweet (message) was Retweeted (circulated) by The Evening Post to their 21,942 Twitter followers (readers of their messages on Twitter), which gave us extra exposure.

We also had three responses from individuals in south Bristol and the Policy Director of Business West/Chamber of Commerce:

Tessa Coombes @policytessa14 Nov *Hi Amanda, would love to know more, am interested in S.Bristol regeneration generally and in key areas.*

Vicky Bateman @vickyb197014 Nov *great stuff im really interested, work full time but available evenings and weekends let me know thanks*

Kim Chong W @chongy197614 Nov *Always good to hear good things going on up da west as the place gets way too much bad* press

Phoebe PateyFerguson @ppateyferg14 Nov *unfortunately can't make it tonight, but would be very interested in keeping up to date with what's going on...*

NB: I will draft a **glossary of digital (online) terms,** so that people who may not be familiar with digital terminology and online life do not feel excluded. This can be added to our website. I will try not to talk in abbreviations or in an exclusive manner.

Website

- We need to continue making the most of our online section on the Knowle West website, keeping information current each week, as Len is doing.
- We should work to build the links between the content, as there is currently a shortage of content to inspire and reach out to more people – which is going to be the key to making a success of the Forum.
- Our current web information is not particularly easy for people to find. Ideally we need a simpler URL (shorter online address/location): http://www.knowlewest.co.uk/regeneration/kwandf/

NB: If we decide we want our own website (funding/human resource allowing) the domain address has already been registered for future use: www.KnowleWest.org.uk

YouTube channel – I know KWMC is keen to push YouTube to engage people in the regeneration 'conversation' and to contributing content. We could run a Youtube competition and get local schools involved, the future of Knowle West.

Online tools – I have made sure the on-line Knowle West community dashboard which KWMC is working on at the moment will include some questions around the supermarket along with the various other things in the questionnaire for local priorities such as housing, transport, green spaces, crime and employment (in line with the 13 objectives already identified).

Also to include a section that explains that if local people want to see these wishes come into reality, via the process of the Neighbourhood Plan, there will be a referendum (explaining what that is) and that they need to be registered voters to vote (with links to the Bristol City Council website section to do this).

Forum Meetings

The Forum meets on the first Tuesday of every month – date, time and venue details need to be included in all communications, leaflets, website etc..

It is vital to make sure all Forum meetings and Forum arranged events are well advertised on the Knowle West website http://www.knowlewest.co.uk/events/ and the Facebook group and Twitter, newsletters, Knowledge etc., in the local press where feasible.

Format and welcoming newcomers – our communications strategy should lead to new people attending the Forum meetings. We need to have an inclusive approach, to bring people in and welcome them and avoid coming across as a talking shop; to encourage new volunteers for the work ahead. ***Also to encourage people to want to keep attending the Forums and participating in the process.***

1. I suggest at each meeting, as a formal part of the agenda, the Chair or myself asks if there are any newcomers in the room and if so all Forum officers should introduce themselves and their roles.
2. A one minute explanation of aims and objectives of the Forum at the beginning of each meeting should also be adopted. Again, I am happy to do this each month.
3. **Newcomers need to know what our meetings are about, as the detailed nature of what is discussed could be confusing to new people:** let's explain the format of the meetings at the beginning (some people may be unfamiliar with community meetings and how a chaired format works).
4. All members, including newcomers, need to feel welcome and included, comfortable to contribute and come away feeling they have been informed about something in a clear manner. Thanked for attending/contributions etc..
5. It may be best to keep strict timings on each agenda item, to make sure we get through the agenda each month and keep the meetings to the point. We don't want to frighten off members/attendees or newcomers by losing focus.
6. An information sheet (FAQs*) could also be available at each Forum meeting, for new people to take away, like a crib sheet on the five stages of the Neighbourhood Planning, the ABC of who we are, what we do; along with our Forum publicity flyer, further down the line.
7. NB: Each Forum member is a valuable 'community ambassador' to explain about all the work going into the new Neighbourhood Plan and everyone should feel clear on what we are doing and the process, to spread the word. Word of mouth being one of most effective means of endorsement and community communication.

Summary of main Strategic Points and Conclusive Comments:

1. **Let's not try to reinvent the wheel.** A lot of work has already been done in consulting with the community, which resulted in 13 key objectives from low price local transport to better play areas for local children and low cost energy options. Let's make sure we stick to existing wishes.
2. **Let's be clear about what we are trying to achieve,** set time-scales for each objective, establish an action plan and allocate roles for people and jobs to achieve our objectives on deadline.

And let's maximise on the many community engagement schemes already underway, such as the Community Dashboard work underway from Knowle West Media Centre, MyKWest app, the Lost and Found and Edible Landscape schemes as well as the work being carried out by places such as the Park, Filwood Green Business Park and Hazel Grian, who is running the Do What You Love scheme, developing local businesses for and with local people.

We can't do this alone – we need to be intermeshed with what is already going on in the community and 'piggy back' to make the most of events and attract people who may be keen to get involved.

P.S. let's remember…

Keep It Simple – should be our mantra. The back story to all of this, the history and next four stages, none of it is a simple tale and takes some explaining. We need to be mindful of this and recognise there will be new people, journalists, young people, children seeking to learn about what the Forum is all about, wanting to know more about the Neighbourhood Plan. And how to make things happen…

The Neighbourhood Plan must be realistic and evidence-based, using accurate data and information about the area, such as social and economic data about the local population and economy, assessments of housing need, records on protected buildings and sites and other relevant information. As must all our communications.

Referendum - the turn out in the mayoral referendum was just 9% in Filwood ward. Without engaging people ASAP and clearly explaining the process as we go along, including the need to be a registered voter with Bristol City Council, then launching a campaign to get them to turn out - and vote yes - there will be no Neighbourhood Plan.

Human Resource – this all amounts to a huge amount of work, only some of which I can accommodate as communications officer, I have my PhD to bed-down, assignments, reading, research etc., so bringing new blood into the Forum, volunteers and community activists who can run with projects and tasks should be the priority in the first quarter of 2014.

APPENDIX I - DATA EXTRACTED FROM 'MASTERFILE' DATABASE

OCT 2013

Steering Group meeting

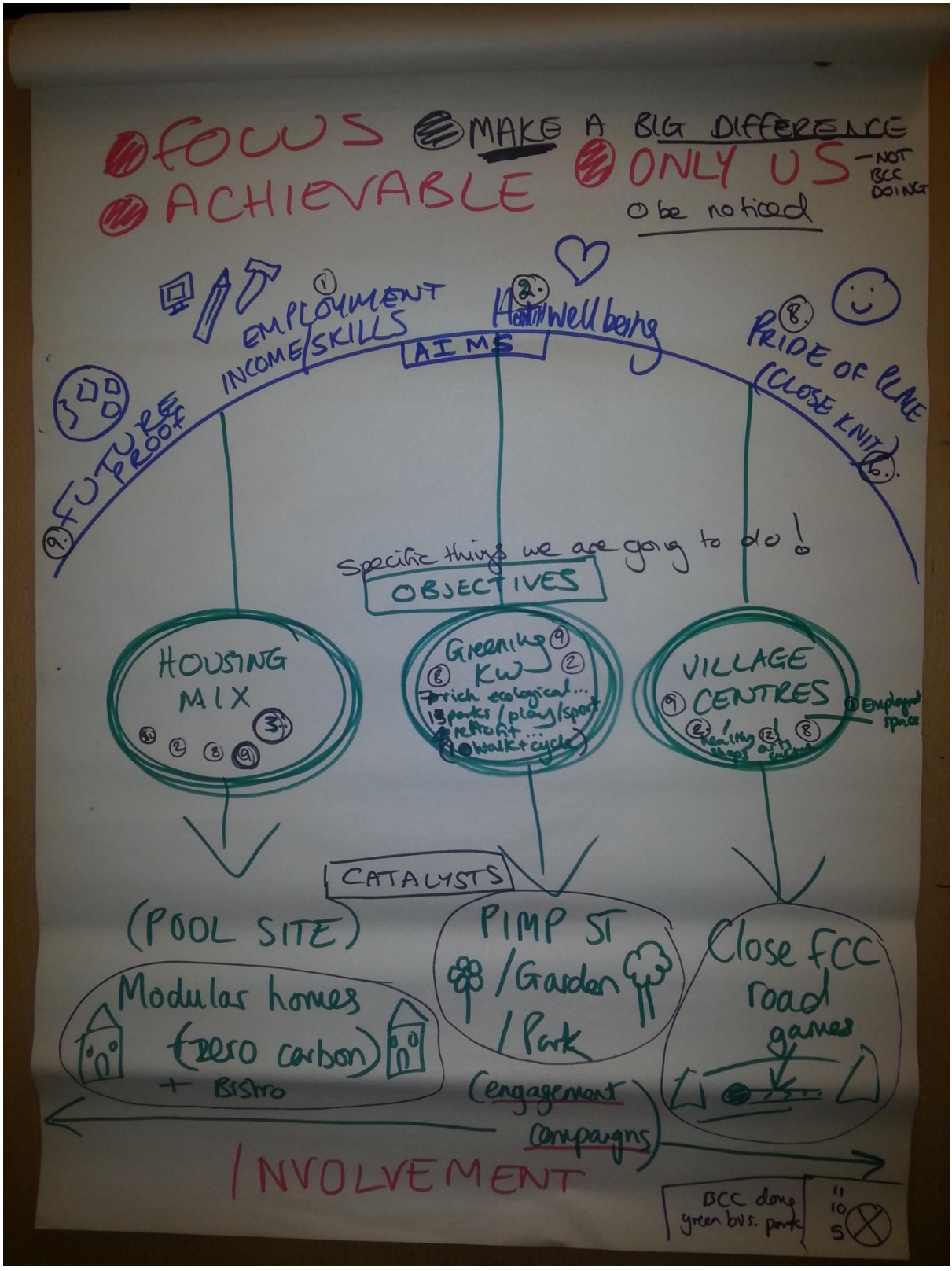
There was a steering group meeting held on 1 October 2013 at the Filwood Community Centre, where a list of potential areas to be included in the neighbourhood plan was discussed. The Group Secretary had collated 22 potential topic areas for consideration, which if agreed on would form the content for the public engagement work. The topics came from four years of data collected from: 'emails from the Knowle West Residents Planning Group, Bristol City Council and comments made by individuals **since 2009.**' These included housing type and tenure, village centres (local hubs known as Melvin, Glyn Vale, Jarmans, Newquay), a green trail around the estate, skills/employment programme, children's play space, energy-saving refurbishments, youth facilities, digital connectivity for working from home, local food production/edible landscapes, transport improvements (roads, cycleways and better bus service), regeneration of Inns Court, design codes/standards for the area (possibly following the principles of Toynbee Road), low-cost office/business units, services to support new people (approximately 4,000 new residents forecast to move to the area when 2,000 new homes completed in Kingswear/College/Novers/Inns Court/Filwood Park), public art.

Observations

One of the topics under consideration was the contents of something known as Knowle West Vision 2030 – which contained the Knowle West 13 objectives - this is data that I'd originally been told about by KWMC as being the cornerstone document for the forum's work; a summary of the outcome of previous public consultations with local residents, about what they wanted for their area, in terms of growth, conservation and regeneration, which would form the basis of the KWANDF planning work. [I NEED TO COME BACK TO THIS IN MORE DETAIL.] It was noted that the public's views were not being taken into consideration in that: 'very few planning

applications for the area are testing what they are doing against the objectives – or even referring to them (even when told about them). Probably because objectives are not part of planning policy.'

What follows is a copy of the flip chart diagram from that meeting, showing the issues decided upon to use as 'catalysts' to show how neighbourhood planning could benefit the area and 'make a big difference', which included modular homes with zero carbon emission, pimp my garden and closing the public road area outside Filwood Community Centre and having a play day for families.


FOCUS
MAKE A BIG DIFFERENCE
ACHIEVABLE
ONLY US
-NOT BCC DOING
O be noticed
EMPLOYMENT INCOME/SKILLS
Health well being
PRIDE OF PLACE (CLOSE KNIT)
FUTURE PROOF
AIMS
specific things we are going to do!
OBJECTIVES
HOUSING MIX
Greening KW
rich ecological...
parks / play / sport
retrofit...
walk + cycle
VILLAGE CENTRES
Employment space
CATALYSTS
(POOL SITE)
Modular homes (zero carbon)
+ Bistro
PIMP ST
/Garden
/Park
Close FCC road
games
(engagement campaigns)
INVOLVEMENT
BCC doing green bus. park
11
10
5

KWANDF Forum meeting - what happened?

8th October 2013 – third forum meeting

Filwood Community Centre, Barnstaple Road – 6 .30pm

12 Members attended: The main discussion was around deciding which direction the group should go, with Michelle and Cala having identified three areas of future work to form Catalysts – to show local people that things can change, to attract interest and potential publicity:

1. Housing – module housing
2. Greening the Forum area – pimp my garden/road
3. Villages Centres/Hubs – closing off Barnstaple Road in front of Community Centre – and conducting a survey of people's shopping habits, to help build a case for a supermarket for the area.

Lawrence and Susan both underlined the need to get ourselves better known and the sentiment expressed was to 'get out there talking and listening to people'. A suggestion came from Lawrence to make use of an upcoming **Knowle West Together** event in early December, with a "stall" at the event. An event planners meeting was noted as being on 11th November. It was agreed that Susan, Derek, Lawrence and myself would form a working group to take things forward. [post meeting note: the advisor Dillon would also join the group]

Funding – the Treasurer Iris reported that £500 had arrived from the **Neighbourhood Partnership** to help with advertising and publicity issues. Held temporarily by KWMC, until a KWANDF bank account was set up, which Colin was actioning. It was agreed that Cala would co-ordinate securing £2,000 from the City Council and apply to **Locality.**

There was a section in the meeting called 'how do we relate to others' and Lawrence secured agreement from the forum to start discussions with the City Council, in relation to links with the local Neighbourhood Team, Project Board, Neighbourhood Partnership, City Council officers and Developers. The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) from Bristol City Council (BCC) was discussed again, with the Group Secretary proposing that the group would be willing to sign such a document – with the following changes:

- Replace four monthly reporting to City Council on progress - with reporting to Council at Key Stages in plan development (stages to be agreed)

- KWANDF to share minutes of the forum meetings.

- Involvement in preparation of annual report to BCC planning director.

- Disagreement and withdrawal of MoU – to be a matter for the Chair

- City Council and Knowle West Project Board should commit, in line with the conditions on us, to:
    - Sharing workplans with the Forum
    - Ensuring that there are no surprises
    - Ensuring that there is no duplication/overlapping
    - Share minutes and decisions with the Forum.

Observations

It was agreed that I would join a new working group to get the plan started. This was a new group, comprising three KWANDF members (Lawrence, Derek and Susan) and myself and Dillon, as advisors. We would meet later that month to look at events and work out how best to present our focus on the three agreed areas to the public.

Tension in the meeting when there was a loud argument between the Treasurer and the Chair, and the Treasurer stormed out. I was told afterwards by [NAME REDACTED] that there is a long history of personality clashes, from the previous Knowle West Residents Planning Group.

Working Group meeting 25 October 2013 – what happened?

We met in the dining room of the Secretary's house and discussed the possibility of events in March/April time of 2014 – one idea was an event, looking closing off Barnstaple Road in front of the Filwood Community Centre to have attractions on the grassy common land area outside, such as a bouncy castle, fire eaters, juggling, a

treasure hunt or Easter egg hunt, maybe a hot dog van. The idea being that once members of the public visited, we could conduct a survey [**questionnaire work**] of their opinions about what should be in the neighbourhood plan. I suggested we could try to get the survey sponsored, with the chance to win something to boost participation.

Other events were discussed, to be held at Melvin Square and Greenfields School.

I raised the issues of photography, publicity material, such as flyers and posters, as well as social media and the website, also organising for publicity in the local newsletter the Knowledge and school newsletters, emphasising the importance of online and offline, paper communication, as well as TV/radio and maybe have a monthly newsletter as a forum too.

Trust was mentioned, in that there was distrust amongst residents around how long things took to change, in the face of many public consultations; for example, it had been 28 years and no retail regeneration. It was emphasised how important 'quick wins' would be to show local people that the forum could change things and for them to get behind the neighbourhood plan.

I suggested that the forum might be wise to become a movement for change and cited Unite the union's Community branch as an example of grassroots activism around specific issues, to win public trust and support.

NOV 2013

KWANDF Forum meeting - what happened?

5th November – 6.30pm

Filwood Community Centre, Barnstaple Road

Nine members attended, as well as four non-members including myself as Communications Officer.

The working group reported back, and it was agreed that in order to start developing the Neighbourhood Plan the Forum would like to have the following aims and objectives and catalysts for change:

AIMS (What is needed)

- Future Proof the neighbourhood
- Create Employment & Skills opportunities
- Focus on Health & Wellbeing
- Create a Pride of Place & a close-knit Community

OBJECTIVES (What to change to get to the aims)

- Housing mix
- Greening KW
- Village Centres

CATALYSTS (What to do to start with to achieve the objectives)

- Encourage a self-build/finish site in KW for modular housing – possibly the old public Swimming Pool site
- Encourage 'Pimp' my garden/Street / To get routes, green and interest in outdoor space
- Close Barnstaple Road off in front of Filwood Community Centre to increase play space
- Conduct a Super-market survey to lobby providers

The planning advisor present suggested that an architect be brought into design something to spark public interest and said funding for this could be applied for.

One idea put forward by me was to conduct a shopping habits survey, to boost the case for a supermarket.

I introduced my PhD work to the group, to explain more about how it would all fit in with the role of Communications Officer, explaining that I'd give a more formal presentation in December. One of the things I raised was asking people in the survey work we conducted if they use social media, to try to tap into their networks on Facebook and Twitter for example.

Observations

Legal obligation to have a minimum of 21 active members, yet nowhere near that number was attending forum meetings.

I thought it would be more effective if the shopping habits survey asked how much local people spend on weekly supermarket shopping elsewhere, to make a business case for attracting a company to the area.

In my presentation on my research and the Communications Officer role, I mention that I'm being funded: 'to research community and digital engagement' and point out that though using the internet, web, Twitter, Facebook is not everyone's cup of tea (picking up on this from the meetings and the refusal of the Chair to use email) it's free (pretty much) and reaches thousands of people at the click of a button. I said: 'Apart from being free, it will reach people who just cannot get to meetings like the forum and also publicises the work we are doing.'

Tension around time and hours: there is another mention of wanting to 'manage expectations' and to explain that I am 'tied by academic timetable' and that KWANDF work would have to fit around lectures and assessments.

Interestingly, in my notes I have written: 'what can be achieved for this neighbourhood through community groups working together.' [ASSET MAPPING – COME BACK TO THIS.]

Working Group meeting 14 November 2013 – what happened?

We met at KWMC to progress the events work. We also discussed what we actually should be doing. I proposed that we needed to have clear objectives as a working group and suggested the following things:

1. Co-ordinate each hub event and survey
2. Plan publicity around all engagement events
3. Recruit participants/volunteers ([NAME REDACTED] as Chair to contact active local residents in each area) to get involved with events

It was reiterated that we needed:

- To find 'quick wins' – 'change ideas' - and deliver
- Communicate/engage through public events

- Find out ideas – for the plan

Catalyst events were outlined as the following:

1. Village Hubs: Filwood Green – event involving a temporary road closure would require the agreement from the police.
2. Village Hubs: Melvin Square event – the idea was to connect the green area back to the school. It was noted that the traffic engineer at Bristol City Council would need to be consulted.
3. Green necklace: Western Slopes events were mentioned.
4. Modular housing: invite IKEA to have a demo site. Though this was not really discussed at the working group.

The Chair commented on the supermarket issue and said Lidl had previously shown an interest and that the community had expressed a desire for the location to be Filwood Broadway.

Observations

The Chair and Vice-Chair came along and basically changed all the work we had initiated at the first working group meeting. There was a potential new member present and the Chair talked her down quite nastily and aggressively. I wondered if she would ever come back. I had hoped she'd work on social media with me, as she and I discussed this; she is a Facebook user and I thought her local networks would be a huge benefit to the work of the forum and communicating, not least attracting more volunteers.

I also make another reference to the absence of elected representatives, from the Council or Parliament: 'problem without councillors and/or political parties, no levers into Council/funds.

I also note that we needed expertise from an urban planner: 'need design work and funding, to build neighbourhood plan.'

The issue of working with other local groups came-up again in my notes, for example working in conjunction with the KW Regeneration Framework.

JULY 2014

Forum meeting - what happened?

TUESDAY 1st July 20146.30pm

KWMC, Leinster Avenue

Attendees: Members: 11 members, 13 advisors/visitors

I presented the digital platforms I'd set-up, via IT equipment in KWMC's Western Room. One member said he was not interested in digital work.

Locality was still deciding whether to provide money – question was whether they could provide in time, as preferred bidder had asked for the confirmation of contract by 25th July. However, there was still a tension over money. Lawrence explained that even with £9,000 pounds in the Forum account – once 20% VAT had been allowed for - £7,200 was not sufficient to complete the work needed. I suggested Lawrence went back to renegotiate what could be offered for the £7,200 available, which was backed as an idea by Dillon, the planning advisor. This was agreed by the forum as the action to take.

There were four new people present, representing **Youth Moves**, a youth work organisation. One young man from Youth Moves asked whether the consultants who had tendered for our work had made any reference to working with young people. Lawrence explained that one tenderer had mentioned working with people in St Paul's. The detail in the tender was very limited at the moment and it was explained by Lawrence that this could be expanded in the Inception Meeting with the consultants.

Lawrence led a discussion about whether the forum would back the tender assessment group's decision about which consultants to appoint as the preferred tenderer. Vote taken of members – 12 in agreement. There were no votes against.

In terms of fundraising, Quartet had replied that the **Community Planning Fund** we had applied for was for supporting consultation events, rather than employing consultants to do consultation events. Examples of what could be included were website, consultation events, competitions to get people involved, newsletter design, YouTube before and after videos. So, it was agreed that [NAMES REDACTED] would send in a revised Quartet bid along these lines before end of July; and find out when a decision could be made. There were other applications that needed following up, including Comic Relief, and Knightstone Housing Association.

The content and format of the meetings came up again. I had been pushing the idea of securing inspirational speakers to liven-up our meetings and it was agreed by the forum that ideas would be considered for the Autumn. Ideas that were discussed included community outreach, I suggested the people from **Bristol Pound**, or other forums who had completed their Neighbourhood Plans.

INSULARITY: One agenda item was something I had been pushing for since December: 'How do we welcome people to our meetings who don't have knowledge of what we are doing?' Lawrence suggested using six simple points from my crib sheet work back in December, to act as an introduction.

Training came up again in the meeting, that there was some being offered by the City Council and **Planning Aid** the next night.

The issue of the supermarket came up again and the Group Secretary informed the group that he had written a letter to the Project Board asking for a public statement on progress. The letter had been supported by Filwood Cllr Chris Jackson. In terms of other issues to be included in the neighbourhood plan, design codes were still on the agenda and the Group Secretary suggested he and the Chair [NAMES REDACTED] met with Phil, BCC.

There were three public engagement events later that month and the arrangements were yet to be confirmed, who was doing what, though there weren't any volunteers from the meeting, other than myself. Arrangements included how we would shelter, the display boards we would use, and which members would be able to help. It was suggested by Lawrence to write to the membership list to ask for volunteers and inform local groups and organisations of the events

Observations

This was a particularly tense meeting. It was held in the lovely Western Room at KWMC, the main meeting room overlooking the surrounding hills and countryside, but it was a very hot evening, and this didn't seem to help the mood of the forum. The Chair did not seem to have control of the meeting and was not welcoming to the newcomers; the young people from Youth Moves – who had come along to get

involved – and said they left because they did not feel welcome and could not understand the business of the meeting. This was particularly frustrating because 'involvement of young people' was on the agenda under the section Delivering the Plan, but the Youth Moves people had left before we'd got to that section of the meeting. Considering how important it is to bring new people into the work of the forum, I was disappointed. It was also slightly ironic as I'd been pushing the importance of how we welcome newcomers since presenting my communications strategy last December 2013.

I followed up by urging a peace-making meeting with Youth Moves. It seemed like a golden opportunity, as the regulations around making neighbourhood plans specifically states that a wide range of the local population needed to be involved. The majority of regular attenders to the forum were well into their retirement age, the Chair being 84; the young people who attended were not only a valuable source of views from another generation (currently unrepresented on the forum) but also in a pragmatic sense a potential human resource, for helping with engagement work.

I was still keen to find someone to work with me on the social media, especially as someone who lived on the estate posting comments seemed to make more sense and also the ability to tap into their social and digital networks, but also because of the co-production side of the **Productive Margins** research project and original remit of my PhD, that of 'harnessing digital space'. I was pleased to see [NAME REDACTED] [now a Labour Councillor in neighbouring Hartcliffe] present, as he had picked up on our work through social media, a local man who I had been priming since talking to him at our launch event to become involved and hoped he may be able to take on the social media work with me. However, we never saw him again. A pattern I noticed at many forum meetings, newcomers often would only be seen once and never again. The meetings were so bogged down in organisational business and monotonous detail this was not surprising.

I had invited KWMC's Digital Neighbourhoods Tutor to the meeting to help with a demonstration of the digital engagement work that was currently underway, with the website updates I'd been doing and the social media posts from Twitter and Facebook.

However, there were technical issues, and we could not do the planned demo. I was frustrated because it seemed very important for inclusivity to share with the group all the work I was putting out in their name. One of the forum members said he had no interest in digital things anyway and was very dismissive of the work I had been doing to promote the forum and get the message out to the community and local networks.

It was also interesting to note that the strategic advice about renegotiating with the preferred consultants around the reduced amount of money available was coming from two outsiders to the forum, myself and David.

Phil, Bristol City Council, was present and announced there was money for a commercial viability test for a supermarket but the meeting was not being chaired (the Chair looked asleep at some points) in any way and in the chaos, this was either deliberately ignored or just overlooked for a decision, it was hard to tell as the meeting had deteriorated by the time he mentioned it. Interestingly, it did not appear on the forum minutes.

Together with one of the forum members, [NAME REDACTED], who had been working behind the scenes to try to get a supermarket for the area, we both approached Phil outside the meeting in the car park and said that we did want the supermarket study to happen. This seemed strange that we felt pushed to do this, but the meeting had been so chaotic that the spirit of rebellion must have been in the air! [NAME REDACTED] had told me the month before, at the launch event, that they thought the Chair should resign, mainly because he did not chair the meetings effectively.

APPENDIX J – EXTRACT RE 'LAND USE' DATA FILE

Key events from data sift - landuse - consultants - key events Period of data: 06.07.13 - 26.02.15

01.10.13	**October Steering Group meeting of KWANDF, 2013**	
01.10.13	There was a steering group meeting held on 1 October 2013 at the Filwood Community Centre, where a list of	I don't know who attended, other than [redacted] I was not there. I don't have any records other than what

Key events from data sift - landuse - consultants - key events Period of data: 06.07.13 - 26.02.15

	Road), low cost office/business units, services to support new people (with approximately 4,000 new residents forecast to move to the area when 2,000 new homes completed in Kingswear/College/Novers/Inns Court/Filwood Park), public art.	Though there was a clear distinction in terms of what were described as 'village centres', local hubs that corresponded to geographic areas on the estate. Interestingly, a substantial amount of new residents were forecast to move to the area, approximately 4,000. I wondered why this was not flagged-up as a big issue for the estate, in terms of infrastructure needs, health care, maybe the need for a new school, also it could be possibly compelling, to attract a potential supermarket developer.
01.10.13	From minutes: One of the topics under consideration was the contents of Knowle West Vision 2030 – which contained 13 objectives for Knowle West - this is data that I'd originally been told about by KWMC as being the cornerstone document for the forum's work; a summary of the outcome of previous public consultations since 2009 with local residents, about what they wanted for their area, in terms of growth, conservation and regeneration, which would form the basis of the KWANDF planning work. The 13 objectives are: 1. Income through employment 2. Improve health and well-being 3. Widen local choice of housing size and tenure 4. Refurbish existing housing stock 5. Improve and develop primary school provision 6. Reinforce a close-knit neighbourhood 7. Access safe, ecologically rich, open space 8. Pride of Place 9. Build a future-proof community 10. Improve access to low-cost transport 11. Public community initiatives in advance of	It was unclear why the 13 objectives from Knowle West Vision 2030 were not being used to guide the priorities in the creation of a neighbourhood plan by the forum, as the objectives had come about from community engagement work that had already been undertaken since 2009. [I COVER THIS IN MY 2017 INTERVIEW WITH [redacted] GROUP SECRETARY.] Why embark on more public consultation, when neighbourhood planning was meant to be about coproduction – getting on with the actual making of a neighbourhood plan, as prescribed by government? Interesting that they were discussing it though – for what purpose? Didthey think it might help them consider their own work going forwards? Was it discussed and rejected as a basis for the work? For example, why not focus on what was already promised by the Council - to campaign and build support for it to happen, for example a planning application for Filwood Broadway had been promised by the Council in time for March 2010.[3] Yet, there was still an absence of

Key events from data sift - landuse - consultants - key events Period of data: 06.07.13 - 26.02.15

	private investment 12. Improve arts and culture 13. Develop play and youth facilities by planning with young people modern supermarkets surrounding KW have drained areas like Filwood Broadway vision 2030 objectives	activity on Filwood Broadway, which still has many empty retail units and a sizeable derelict site where a cinema and bingo hall used to be. Much has been written about what happens when corporate giants open up in a local area, about how it can suck the energy out of a locality, overpowering the competition through sheer scale and more competitive pricing, which can force the closure of independent stores for up to 20 miles around[4]. For example, Morrison's opened a large supermarket at Hartcliffe in 2007 and like any large supermarket has the ability to sell goods more cheaply than smaller high street shops, which a new supermarket could represent a profound threat to the viability of other nearby retail establishments, or the development of new ones. LOSS
01.10.13	From minutes:: It was noted that the public's views were not being taken into consideration in that: 'very few planning applications for the area are testing what they are doing against the objectives – or even referring to them (even when told about them). Probably because objectives are not part of planning policy.' Neighbourhood planning was an attempt to get community voice heard.	NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING WAS AN OPPORTUNITY TO ENSHRINE THE PUBLIC'S VIEWS IN LAW. This observation about the community involvement in local planning was at the first steering group meeting and I wondered if this was because the Knowle West Vision 2030 were quitebroad in nature, or whether this was reason in itself to enshrine them in the formality of a neighbourhood plan, to give them legal clout? legislation. REGS
01.10.13	From minutes: Below - on page 9 - is a copy of the flip chart diagram from that meeting, showing the issues	At the steering meeting it was decided to pick out 'catalysts' with three themes [details taken from the Resource ideas

3 See Bristol City Council public consultation document – as downloaded 8.2.17 file:///C:/Users/amanda%20ramsay/Documents/AMR%20laptop%20folder%20SAT%209%20Feb/PhD%20folders%20from%20laptop/PhD%202017/Data%20reports%202017%20PhD/Bristol%20City%20Council%20consultations%20Knowle%20West%20Vision%202030.pdf

4 The Guardian, 10.07.17 https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jul/09/what-happened-when-walmart-left

8

Key events from data sift - landuse - consultants - key events Period of data: 06.07.13 - 26.02.15

	decided upon to use as 'catalysts' to show how neighbourhood planning could benefit the area and 'make a big difference', which included modular homes with zero carbon emission, pimp my garden [a KWMC initiative] and closing the public road area outside Filwood Community Centre and having a play day for families.	document mentioned, from the meeting]: Housing Mix, Greening Knowle West (rich ecological; parks, play/sport; walk and cycle); and Village Centres (healthy shops, arts centre, employment space) for the forum to prioritise, around engagement campaigns. The engagement campaigns would include the old swimming pool site around modular homes (zero carbon) and a bistro, also the Filwood Community Centre, closing the Barnstaple Road outside, to have games on the green there. So feels like some progress being made here?
01.10.13	From AR notes: [redacted] suggested applying to the Community Development Foundation/Locality for up to £7,000 to come up with designs for a village hub, such as Melvin Square or Filwood Green though it was pointed out that engineer advice would be needed from BCC if changing anything to do with roads, such as Melvin Square or in Filwood. The group considered the other hubs but couldn't think of ideas which could be worked up into designs at the moment.	This money was secured and ended up being used to secure consultants in 2014; work began in 2015 to communicate with the public about possible options for Melvin Square to be redesigned.
08.10.13	**Third meeting of KWANDF - October forum meeting**	
08.10.13	The main discussion was around deciding which direction the group should go, with [redacted] identifying three areas of future work to form Catalysts - to show local people that things can change, to attract interest and potential publicity: 1. Housing – modular housing 2. Greening the forum area – pimp my garden/road 3. Villages Centres/Hubs – closing off Barnstaple Road in front of Community Centre – and conducting a survey of people's shopping habits, to help build a case for a supermarket for the area. Where did thsese ideas come from? Trace them	THE STEERING GROUP WAS TRYING TO PUT SOME STRUCTURE TO THE WORK OF CREATING A NEIGHBOURHOOD PLAN BY THE FORUM CHOOSING THREE AREAS, TO BE KNOWN AS CATALYSTS. This third forum meeting enabled the steering group to report back with their ideas. NB: Modular housing is now a focus [since 2017] of the We Can Make ... homes project being run by KWMC.

idea

RES

fundraising

RES

money

Melvin Square as a village hub.

internal regulation

idea

RES

Missed opportunity for partnership working with KWMC.

ABCP move on.

9

Key events from data sift - landuse - consultants - key events Period of data: 06.07.13 - 26.02.15

	back.. housing - big issue - idea wise dropped by group	Why [redacted] Int 2017
08.10.13	From minutes: As a Forum we are aware that there are lots of standards for the neighbourhood we need people to decide on, like how tall houses should be, where they should be who should ideally be living in them (i.e. home owners, private tenants, housing association tenants, pensioners?) and how big and how energy efficient those homes yet to be build ought to be... If we wait for all of those things until after the Forum Referendum and do nothing to do to do with housing mix, standards etc. our ability to influence will probably be less, as more sites will have been sold beforehand without those standards in place.	Clear evidence that housing is a priority issues for the area, yet it was dropped by the time the consultants came to work with KWF in public consultation work in 2015. It is unclear why. I asked [redacted] about this in the follow-up interview of 2017 and will analyse that data next. Interesting how thigns get taken up and then dropped by the group. What's missing from these notes are how this happened? lack of clear leadership? strategy	RES CONCS re
08.10.13	From [redacted] notes: Tension in the meeting when there was a loud argument between the Treasurer and the Chair and the Treasurer stormed out. About what? Why were tensions starting to appear? Is this a 'personality clash' or more?	I was told afterwards by [redacted] the group secretary that there is a long history of personality clashes, from the previous Knowle West Residents Planning Group. * Emotional Labour.	RES
25.10.13	**October Working group - around public engagement events** * *	Monthly forum and one working group met. KEY INCIDENT	
	Attendees: [redacted]	This meeting was attended by three members and two advisors. It was all about land use, to decide what areas to focus on for a future neighbourhood plan (NP) - before going into the community engagement phase of the process, to create a NP.	
25.10.13	From [redacted] notes: ideas [redacted] emphasised the importance of making some 'quick wins', demonstrating deliverable improvements to the area, to give local people faith	There seemed a palpable sense of frustration, from informal conversations in the field with local workers/residents, about the long wait (nearly three decades!) for regeneration to start, particularly around	LOSS

RES

* Community histories/ regeneration promises

	that change can happen, after years of being promised change and nothing happening, she cited the lack of a supermarket despite 28 years of people wanting and needing one for KW. [redacted] felt people may be disillusioned and apathetic to the KWANDF work, along the lines of: we've been promised all this before and nothing happened, so why will it now? Community Histories	retail units in Filwood Broadway. The Knowle West Vision 2030 document showed clear enthusiasm locally for new shops and a supermarket, but the KWANDF group did not appear to be adopting any clear strategy for targeting this as an urgent issue or something specific to campaign around. VITAL MEETING and data here! **
25.10.13	[redacted] NOTES: I suggested that the forum might be wise to become a movement for change and cited Unite the union's Community branch as an example of grass roots activism around specific issues, that might win public trust and support. Community organising	It was unclear to myself as a newcomer what had brought the group together in the first place, as in there was not one clear issue that they were trying to achieve, or stop. A dislike of the Council was what [redacted] (the group secretary) had told me, with the KWRPG seeing neighbourhood planning as an opportunity to have more of a say in the development of their local area. The former KW Residents Planning Group had been effective in responding to the Council's KW Regeneration Framework proposals, around housing. *(See 'Setting the Scene' piece.)* Community Histories / regeneration They did not seem to operating a strategy to make a neighbourhood plan around clear objectives. I DON'T KNOW IF INTERVIEWS WILL SHED LIGHT ON THIS.
November 2013	**SUMMARY OF KEY EVENTS:**	
05.11.13	**Fourth meeting of KWANDF – November forum meeting**	
05.11.13	Location: Filwood Community Centre, Barnstaple Road 6 .30 pm Attendees: [redacted]	Nine members attended, as well as one new local resident as a visitor and three advisors including myself as communications officer.

Internal Arguments

11

APPENDIX K - DATA EXTRACTS FROM INTERVIEWS WITH KWF MEMBERS

Extract from Lawrence interview, 2015

[redacted] Recording_2015-03-19-162940 (2)

do things and it needs to do this and it needs to do that. But the forum's taking the view that, guys, you know, we're going to have a dispute about that possibly but carry on but we're going to concentrate on the bits that everybody forgets, all right, or that's really important and we don't want the community to suffer, all right.

So if we can get a plan together, and that's the dry stuff, that's the problem, it's so blooming dry talking about a plan to people, but that people understand and they feel they've influenced and everybody's happy with, or happy as they can be, with, that'll be a big step to saying to the community that, hey guys, you can do this sort of stuff, that you can do this, and people will possibly feel empowered. And the City Council may then be able to use the community better in the way it develops things. Cos we've been told over the years about places like Efford in Plymouth where the council actually works in something called, not co-partnership, co-creation, and basically that doesn't happen much around here. There tends to be consultation, there tends to be involvement of a certain level, but the whole sort of working on it together is not there at the moment.

I've mentioned to already about rubber stamping reports and stuff, even though you haven't got a chance to comment on it and that sort of thing. It's an attitude of mind from everybody really I suppose, it's an attitude of mind for the council to think, well, hang on a minute, these guys can actually do something, and it's an attitude of mind to say that we can do something and, you know, everything in between. Developers, do you trust us to make comments about and set a plan out for housing or use the green space which is going to get hit by a good number of houses over the next 20 years?

INT: No, it's all really interesting, I'm trying to process as well as listen, which is probably why I'm being so silent.

RES: I feel like Prince Charles at the moment.

INT: You're probably not used to me being this quiet either [laughs] [31:00].

RES: Well no, I'm enjoying it.

INT: [Laughs] The novelty.

RES: I'm looking for prompts now, you see, that's the problem.

INT: Yeah, okay, I'm just trying to take it all in, so.

RES: Yeah, all right, so silence means taking it in.

INT: [Laughs] Which three things would you most like to achieve through the work of the forum?

RES: Okay, I will be specific here cos I think the balance between housing and green space is so critical cos... not that the councillors or developers will do a

Top-down. rather than consultation

Bottom-up Coproduction with council appears a desire.

TRUST Council/ Residents

Planning: Balance between housing and green space

Extract from Lawrence interview, 2015

[redacted] Recording_2015-03-19-162940 (2)

good job from a perspective, I'm not going to say they're unprofessional or they don't know what they're doing. But I think the one thing from when we've lost green space on the Northern Slopes is, is that the problem everybody has is that the value of green spaces and the importance, increasing importance, to people is lost. And sometimes our experience, and I don't know if the council would agree with this in the Northern Slopes Initiative, is that we can stand up and say look guys, you cannot just let that go, you've got to do something else with it. We're here saying, guys, that's the pressure from your side, this is the pressure from our side, and in the longer term we somehow have got to try and have both. Because Northern Slopes, we've been under huge pressure to keep all green spaces and then people are ringing us saying, sorry guys, we need houses, I need a house, why are you hanging on to this green space? And those tensions are always going to be around. But if the forum can pull the trick off hopefully we'll get a better situation from the community viewpoint as well as developers and the City Council, cos at the moment it's a fight, it's just a fight. We're potentially going to have another fight shortly and we're just... we're running up for it already because we know we're going to have a real fight against the housing developer taking more of the slopes.

About the NSI

Tension: local people contacting NSI 'I need a house'

Homing comes up again and again.

INT: So, hang on, let's just get over this. So when you say we're going to have a fight.

RES: Oh, NSI.

INT: Is that you with your NSI hat on?

RES: Yeah, that's NSI.

NSI KNF

INT: Yeah, okay, but because of that being within the forum area-

RES: Yeah.

INT: -it's kind of both really, isn't it?

RES: Yeah.

INT: Just so that I'm clear when I'm listening back to this recording.

RES: Oh no sorry, sorry, the fight will be NSI, the forum will make its own decision about whether it joins in or not.

Groups

INT: Ok, that's the only reason I wanted to clarify.

RES: Yeah, sorry, yeah, yeah.

INT: I'm not being kind of pedantic.

RES: No, no, you're all right.

14

Extract from Lawrence interview, 2015

Bristol Transcription Services

[redacted] Recording_2015-03-19-162940 (2)

INT: So in terms of, if we're thinking about three, I mean, obviously you could have 103, but because of the nature of this, you know, the process of me trying to find out some information, more information, any other top twos, top ones?

RES: I suppose, well, those are two there, so there's the green space and the building.

INT: Yeah, and the balance yeah.

RES: Yeah, no, I don't use the balance, I hate balance.

INT: Oh, you said the balance is critical.

RES: Oh yeah, sorry, okay, I hate the word balance but I just used it, okay, shut up.

INT: [Laugh]

RES: Yeah, the way it's done is, oh, forget it. But basically yeah, I mean, you know, there's so many things you could tackle. But because it's planning I suppose you've got to... I mean, I'd like to do something on refurb of houses, but I don't think we're going to get the time to do that.

INT: Well, okay, I mean luckily you can... for the purpose of this it's more aspiration, isn't it?

RES: Yeah, yeah, I mean, I'd love to do some on refurbs of houses because people... I mean, at the moment, you know, we've got living costs going down a bit but wage costs are not improving, energy's going to get more expensive, I mean, you know, it's not going to be good for many people. So yeah, I mean, I'd love to see a bit more on refurb but I don't think we're going to get it at this stage.

Planning Refurb of housing

INT: Okay. I'm mindful of the time, oh we're okay for time.

RES: You're fine.

INT: Okay, well, [35:00] it's your time I'm worried about, not mine.

RES: I'm fine.

INT: Okay. So what does the forum mean to you? In terms of me getting a bit more to the core of that how would you explain what a neighbourhood plan is to a neighbour, friend or family member, you know?

RES: I would say quite simply it's an opportunity to enable people to take control of their own future along with other people. Now, you don't get that very often because, as I've said already, the systems we have don't always allow you to do that. I mean, it does depend how you use them, it depend on the characters. But I would say to them it's well worth doing, especially if you

We clearly excited about potential of KWF/NP.

15

personalities affect the outcome of NP.

Extract from Lawrence interview, 2015

Bristol Transcription Services

[redacted] Recording_2015-03-19-162940 (2)

not sure this is true?

want to see improvements that mean something to you or your children or your grandchildren and, you know, it's 15, 20 years. So I just think we've got to do it, I mean, you know, it's not that anybody's getting it wrong but, I mean, we have seen stuff like, for instance, you know, that's put up one year and within 30 years they're saying it's crap and down it comes again, so that's housing.

poor housing quality

INT: You mean housing, yeah?

Housing comes up again and again.

RES: Yeah, yeah, I mean, the tall point stuff. I mean, you know, what was the point of doing it in the '70s? Because, you know, we took it down again in 30 years' time.

INT: So this goes back to things we've discussed in the forum, doesn't it? About the quality speculation, not speculation, specifications, yes.

RES: Yeah.

INT: Okay.

RES: That's an example of where perhaps we could have done better, etc.

INT: Yeah, okay. And I know you're involved with other community groups, how would you say this forum is different, is it different?

RES: Well, I think I've already said that because if you think about the NSI we're always on the back foot, we're always there fighting. I mean, don't get me wrong, we're not protesters in that sense but we're always representing, fighting, influencing, being extraordinarily nice to people to get them to do something for us. So the forum, if it gets itself organised, has powers which we don't have, I mean, it's legal powers to do something, we have a legal status, we have a position which we have to fulfil, and you'd on get that in community groups, not really. So that's very dry but it's true.

regulation: legal power valved, but

INT: So just for the purpose of clarity if I sum up what I think you told me.

RES: Okay.

INT: So you're talking about power?

power, trust and influence.

RES: Yeah, and trust and influence and, dare I say, agreeing with the coalition government's view on this, saving a lot of hassle.

INT: Now that's interesting, tell me more about what you mean by that.

RES: Basically the local government, sorry, the coalition government, I meant, I didn't mean to say Conservative, the coalition government's view on this was of the Localism Act and this particular part, the neighbourhood planning. My understanding is was that it would save a lot of hassle because you've got communities in control of their future working with councils and developers so that you... I mean, from their viewpoint I imagine it's, you know, you get

Hypothesis: to circumvent NIMBYISM / Council

Extract from Michelle interview, 2015

[redacted] Recording_[redacted]_17_March_2015_03_17_111124

INT: Such a shame. Okay, now, I think we've done enough talking really. The digital side of things I am curious about, but I don't think there's anything much we can say. I mean, I know you use digital so I'm not going to ask you the questions about that, but I would be quite keen to ask people that don't use digital, maybe why they don't, because it would be quite interesting to hear that and the last question really... I mean, obviously, if there's anything you want me to record, but the last question really is do you have any ideas about how best to engage under 25s for this kind of work and, if so, what?

RES: I do think you have, in all walks of life including young people, you do have people that really want to like get stuck in and make things happen, and so you need to create that kind of mini achievements within the whole plan because it's a very long thing to be involved in before you see something happen, and that's what I was saying before about there's something wrong with the process. It doesn't help you involve people because it's so long, you need bits in between that are being achieved. Simpler, and I'd just say, like, having things that are more interactive and more visual and not just about sitting around the table and talking. So things that are more workshop than meeting, things that are more kind of let's get together and draw something or build something out of clay or run a campaign online or make a video about what we want or just something that isn't just about the same format because it doesn't work for everyone. Again, that's about that process **(00:60:00)** because if I'm one person and if me, that one person, was not involved in the group trying to flog something that's just not getting heard, there would be no-one to say that. So there should be some kind of support around that in the beginning.

Under 25's

the process is ~~[illegible]~~ putting younger people off

Format should be improved with template ideas offered

Neighbourhood planning as a model: ~~[illegible]~~ ~~not~~ would like to see more support for facilitating interactive workshop style meetings

INT: Yeah, goes back to the kind of... this new set up but it's so unstructured the new forum, as in the government have said you can do it.

RES: Yeah, it's just like, "You can do it, here you go". That's what it feels like to me. I mean, I might get someone reading this sending you lots of links to prove to you that that's not the case and, in which case, I'd love to see it, but I haven't really seen that solid structured support that feels like, if not a collaboration, then at least a handover period where you are being held for a year and then let go or something. It's not like that. It's just like here you go.

RESOURCES £

INT: Sorry, I've just realised, I know time is short now.

RES: Yeah.

INT: We've overrun a bit but just I've just realised that the one question I really did want to ask at the end was in my time working in Knowle West or in the Knowle West area, many people have mentioned the large amount of consultations around regeneration that have taken place, in your experience, how does that impact on the work of the forum?

RES: Well, people I speak to say, "I've heard it all before". So they don't want to get involved and that's why it's really important to show stuff happening

LOTS OF CONSULTATION

21

'really important to show stuff happening'

Extract from Susan interview, 2015

[redacted] Recording_2015-04-23-133449

RES: Oh, I didn't know.

INT: Oh yeah, it is totally and utterly anonymous. Only you and I will know what's been said and then it's all anonymised in...The write up wouldn't be the whole chat. I'll use certain comments to make observations, but don't worry it's all anonymous and you know I wouldn't go "Oh, [redacted] said..."

But this is interesting. So Youth Moves wanted to do what? Say it again?

RES: Youth Moves, there is no building that's... Well, they've been in and out of places. They've been down to the Meads Centre at Inn's Court or whatever...

INT; The Community Centre, yeah.

RES: They've used that. They've used different places. They want a purpose built building.

INT: Oh, I'm with you.

funding for youth moves

RES: And there is funding but they have to have... They've got to support their funding basically with reasons why and public... They have to make sure that the public want it in order to get the funding. So a good way of doing that, because we've already done the work, is on those questionnaires that came up, it was all about shopping and youth, wasn't it?

INT: Yeah. They were the two...

RES: They were the two biggest things and then he asked... There was a developer or an architect or something that's willing to do the work providing they can get the funding, and this youth man, [redacted] somebody, he asked...

NOT ABCD working

wouldn't help youth move.

2014 data

INT: That's right, yeah.

RES: ...if he could use our work. The man went away with no... We'll, we'll talk about it later. We'll talk about that later.

INT: This is what happens all the time.

RES: And I said "No." I said, "[redacted] why can that..." I said "This is important. This could get something done. Why can we not let our data go? Surely they can use it?" And he said "Do you want to propose it?" I said it "Yeah." He said, "Well, I'll second it."

INT: And it got overthrown, but then what happened? This is really interesting.

RES: I'm hoping that [redacted] was going to give him the...

INT: It's not data protected, is it?

RES: No. He didn't need all of it. He just needed the comments about the lack of...

9

Extract from Susan interview, 2015

[redacted]_Recording_2015-04-23-133449

INT: Then he would be able to say, [redacted] that the local forum which is a legally constituted body, in terms of putting in a funding bid did some survey work last summer 2104...

RES: Out of however many people we spoke to, there was this number and it was quite a high number.

INT: Yeah. Otherwise what's the point of doing the work?

RES: Well, that's...

INT: Okay, that's very interesting. I find this fascinating. Okay, well we can come back to that.

What, if anything, could be improved? If so, what? This is talking about the forum? (It's a shame you can't see [redacted] face here for the purposes of the recording).

RES: Well...

INT: No, it's important because... I mean, obviously you'll know I will have some views because I've made them clear anyway.

RES: I think the forum needed to attract a wider variety of people both in age group, in professionals or non-professionals, it makes no difference. And I know that they've all got to be either working in the area or resident, but it needed a wider cross section of people. And I think also it needs to leave what's happened in the past in the past. It needs to go from today. This is the future, forget about... Unless you can utilise that evidence in some way to go towards the neighbourhood plan, it should be left where it is because you're getting nothing done.

INT: Well, we'll come back...I've got some more questions. I'm just going to go through these in order just so that I don't miss anything out.

In terms of the neighbourhood planning, which is of course the forum was set up to do, what do you **[0:25:00.5]** want to see changed? So how is the forum making a difference to neighbourhood development?

RES: Well, they've got some very good suggestions, but I don't think they're in a position to put the suggestions that they put forward into practice – a) because I don't think the money's there. I agree with the planning. I agree with the fact that the local residents should have a say on housing, type of housing, design. I agree with all that, but at the end of the day I think we'd better working as part and parcel as advisors on the Council, myself, because I don't think we've got the money, the funding, to take it forward. And there's not enough people. There's not enough people to do the donkey work. It's left to [redacted] all the time and the practical bits to us.

INT: Because you said earlier that people are getting behind the forum. When I joined, which was two summers ago, I thought that we were going... Because

Page 652 of 660

Extract from Susan interview, 2015

[redacted] Recording_2015-04-23-133449

it was such a new organisation, I thought we were going to work to get people involved, but do you remember that meeting? I think you were there, because I think I was sitting next to you, when Youth Moves came. We'd done the launch in June and then new people arrived because they'd heard about it and then we never saw them again.

RES: No. Nobody's come. I have to say, I think some people put them off.

INT: Yeah. That was my gut instinct. So shall we say off putting for newcomers? We can come back to that anyway.

RES: It's a bit insular, isn't it?

INT: Yeah. It feels like a closed shop.

RES: Yeah, a very closed shop, but I think [whispers – I mean, he hates me and 0:27:00.7. He doesn't like me at all].

INT: He doesn't seem to like women though.

RES: No.

INT: Because he didn't like me. Well, I didn't know that he didn't like you. Didn't like [redacted]

RES: No.

INT: Doesn't like [redacted] He's been really rude to [redacted] but I've never seen him be rude to a man.

RES: No.

INT: Has [redacted] stopped going there then because she wasn't at the last meeting?

RES: I don't know. She's still involved, that's for sure but he is pretty vicious towards her in meetings.

He is to everybody. I mean, I just ignore him. In fact one of the last ones I went to was "Oh, you just put your hand up," because obviously there's a comment. They might be talking about something and I just said "Oh, I don't agree with that." He didn't like that at all.

INT: But it's a forum. What does he expect? Everyone just turns up and nods?

RES: That's what happened on... I mean, I would love to have been a fly on the wall afterwards because at the last meeting [redacted] was there. I mean, he was going to give a talk on the supermarket survey but he didn't get a chance because we just talked about the way the forum was going. It was like a free for all. It was just like a debate really and he just didn't like it at all. He didn't. I thought, "What's the point of [redacted] giving up all his time, doing all that work..."

11

Extract from Susan interview, 2015

[redacted]_Recording_2015-04-23-133449

INT: And do you have any ideas how best to engage with under 25's?

RES: Under 25's, I would probably talk to you perhaps **[1:00:00.7]** if I wanted to... I think they've missed the boat with that really. I think the under 25's should have had their own forum linked to our forum. They missed the boat because there's a lot of expertise. There's a lot of energy there.

INT: But they came to us. This is what I can't understand. That's your dream scenario that they come to you. Normally you're the ones knocking on the doors, making the calls. But that's last July they came to that meeting. I got banned from going to a meeting with them by [redacted] because he didn't like tone in an email.

RES: Yeah, but he's not the person. He's the one that's probably sent them away. He's not attracting anybody in, is he really? Not keeping anybody.

INT: I find it desperately sad. I really do, having worked on the group for so long. Think of the time and energy we've put in.

RES: Do you know, there's enough... If this forum fails, I can't... There are enough groups in and around Knowle or Knowle West for us to be supported. There's the health part. I don't know all their names, but there's a health part one. There's one that meets on a Monday at the community centre. There's a lot of groups that could all combine and they could all be involved in the same thing to make one voice and I cannot understand... Because he's on all of them, but he wants to keep it all separate. I can't for the life of me understand the sense of it.

INT: No, I can't because my understanding was that it would have people from these groups on the forum but then you'd go to your group as a resident obviously, but you'd use those networks...

RES: Yeah, which is what we tried to do with the event in the media centre and the event over there because we've had three events, haven't we? The media event over there, didn't we?

INT: Yeah.

RES: We count alongside some of these. I think that's the way forward is to tag along. Anybody, like the media centre arranging dates, for us to have a stand.

INT: Yeah, definitely, because then the people who are already being attracted by all the publicity work that that organisation's doing.

RES: That's how I... When they first said about these events, apart from the one at the community centre, but even then we could have got them on board, to close that round and revamp that area because that's what [redacted] wanted. She wanted to put those big round things... It wouldn't have cost a lot to do, to make it more pleasing to look at.

Page 654 of 660

Extract from Susan interview, 2015

[redacted]_Recording_2015-04-23-133449

INT: But the other thing that came out strongly from the surveys last July was things for not just young people as in teenagers, or under 25's, because that was a big thing that came out, but things for children.

RES: Children. Little ones.

INT: Yeah. But then nothing was done. I was unwell again unfortunately, and then when I came back that wasn't showing in any of the work that was being done. I couldn't understand if that was... The strongest thing that came forward was about things for children.

RES: He changed it. He changed it. They wanted to...and I don't know if this was partly [redacted] and [redacted] They wanted to change, to focus the whole area on...and [redacted] on Melvin Square.

INT: Yeah.

RES: And I kept saying "You're talking about bus routes. You're talking about pipes and things underground on Melvin Square. It's all going to cost money. You're talking about digging a road up." REGULATION AND COST

INT: Bus routes.

RES: We haven't got money for that. Let the council do that. They've got to do all [redacted] that within their regeneration plan. Why are we doing that? It was almost as though it was set up to not succeed.

INT: I'm not psychic but I'm sure it... I know what you mean, but I'm sure it wasn't because [redacted] seems very committed to the group. [redacted] I suppose must be. He is the Chair.

RES: Yeah, but why....? It's like trying to run before you can walk, isn't it?

INT: That's more the sort of thing that might be achievable... Say you had ten years under your belt and you'd got your play area and you'd got this and you'd got that and you had a team of people who were working together. There was no sign of a team of people working together when I left.

RES: No.

INT: And that was eighteen months in. **[1:05:00.6]** I remember when I was banned from going to a meeting with Youth Moves, I remember saying a few times "Don't you have a Youth Officer?" so that there'd be at least somebody on that forum, so they could be a link and come to the forum and at least have a voice. I mean, I'm not an ageist person but I was the youngest person there. Often the age group was over 70, which is fine, but that's not representative of a community, is it?

RES: No, definitely not, no. And like with that, doing that little play area, if you've involved this group... I mean, B&Q and places, they were giving out seeds for natural gardens. It was all there for the taking. You could involve the youth.

Decisions being changed

highest demand for things for under 25's + teens, also for children

Despite 2014 public survey work slowing

[redacted] (lives near Melvin Sq) and [redacted] (and [redacted]) wanted to focus on Melvin Square

On Melvin Square plans:

B&Q giving 26 community seeds

Extract from Susan interview, 2015

[redacted]_Recording_2015-04-23-133449

We could have replanted the stuff ourselves and all the big...like the bigger structures... We were only asking for the road to be closed to see what happened on a temporary basis to see if it could stay like that, but well it depends... Well, that means they've all got to go all the way round... But as it stands that road is dangerous because it's not wide enough for two cars to come up.

INT: We're talking about the Filwood, aren't we?

RES: The Filwood bit, yeah.

INT: That road that runs between, by the community centre.

RES: It could have been all so different. sense of remorse for missed opportunities.

INT: I think it was... I know hindsight's a wonderful thing but you saying [redacted] leaving. Obviously she had very good reasons leaving, but she was a force to be reckoned with.

RES: He never argued with her really, did he? He used to shout at her but she usually... I've only known her once walk out. CHAIR I used to shout at her!

INT: I don't understand. I've never been in any other situation where it's acceptable for someone to shout at someone, but he shouted at another woman. I don't think you were there. It was at a meeting going back a couple of years ago, and I never saw her again. It's just not acceptable.

RES: Yeah, it's not right.

INT: You wouldn't have a councillor doing that, would you? It would be all over the newspapers or the news or whatever.

So the under 25's, we've covered that. What about ideas on how to engage new members to volunteer to help?

RES: Well, I think they haven't succeeded. They had that meeting, didn't they, for new members but I don't think many people came and they've definitely not been since.

INT: Yeah, I went to that meeting. Two people came. Admittedly they seemed to be very interested. I think one of them did come to the Melvin Square events. I can't remember his name off the top of my head.

So what ideas would you have to engage new members?

Internal regulation: group functioning needs addressing

SLOWNESS

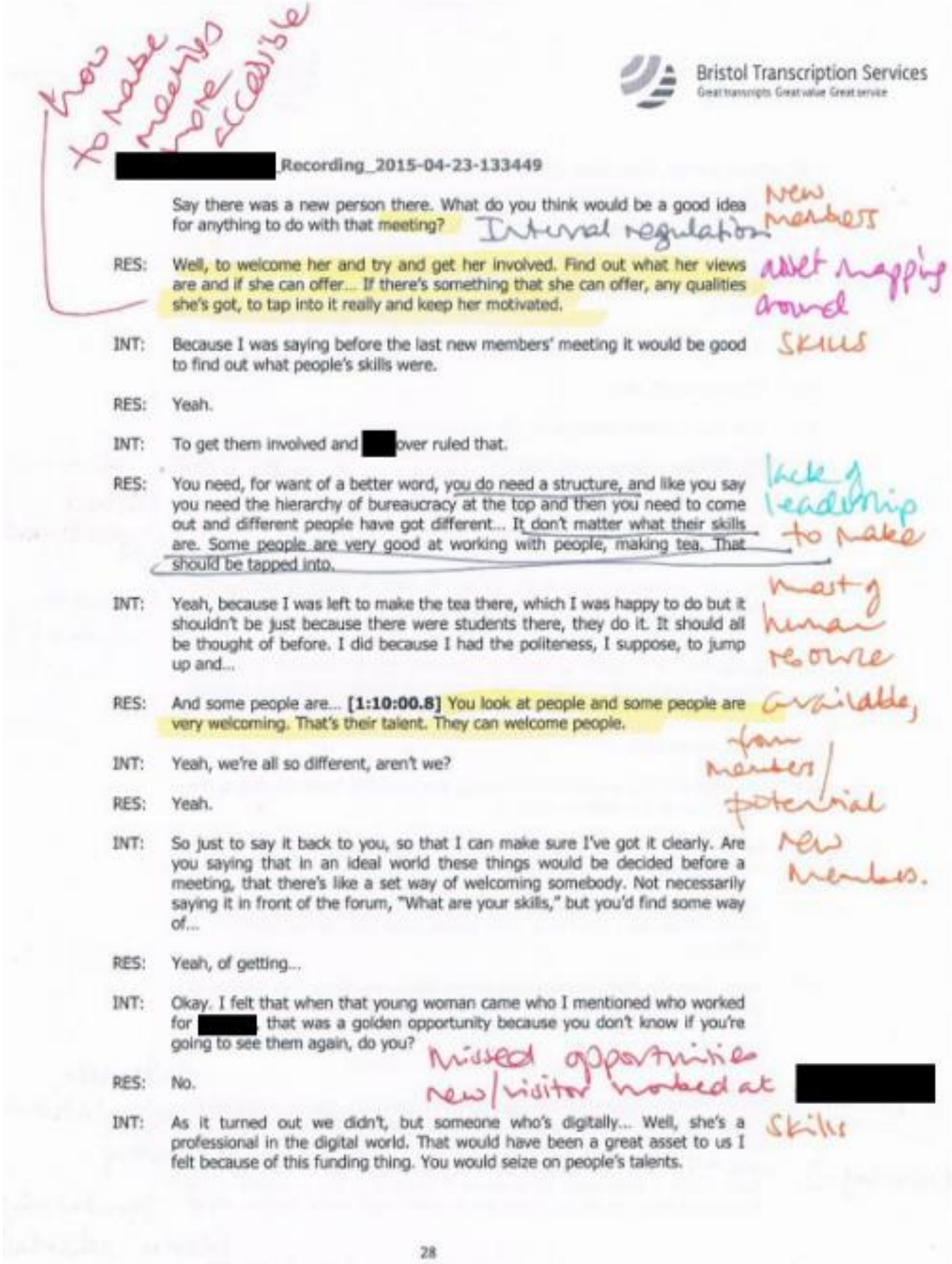
RES: I think we have to sort ourselves out first before you can get new members in. I think we as a forum have to know where we're going, what we're at, and have clear roles before you can start inviting people in.

nearly 2 years in and group not clear

INT: Yeah. That's a good point. What about if someone...? Say you were at the forum next time you go, so where are we now? Yeah, say in May's meeting.

seen as barrier to attracting and keeping new volunteers

Extract from Susan interview, 2015



Bristol Transcription Services
Great transcripts. Great value. Great service.

[redacted] Recording_2015-04-23-133449

Say there was a new person there. What do you think would be a good idea for anything to do with that meeting?

RES: Well, to welcome her and try and get her involved. Find out what her views are and if she can offer... If there's something that she can offer, any qualities she's got, to tap into it really and keep her motivated.

INT: Because I was saying before the last new members' meeting it would be good to find out what people's skills were.

RES: Yeah.

INT: To get them involved and [redacted] over ruled that.

RES: You need, for want of a better word, you do need a structure, and like you say you need the hierarchy of bureaucracy at the top and then you need to come out and different people have got different... It don't matter what their skills are. Some people are very good at working with people, making tea. That should be tapped into.

INT: Yeah, because I was left to make the tea there, which I was happy to do but it shouldn't be just because there were students there, they do it. It should all be thought of before. I did because I had the politeness, I suppose, to jump up and...

RES: And some people are... **[1:10:00.8]** You look at people and some people are very welcoming. That's their talent. They can welcome people.

INT: Yeah, we're all so different, aren't we?

RES: Yeah.

INT: So just to say it back to you, so that I can make sure I've got it clearly. Are you saying that in an ideal world these things would be decided before a meeting, that there's like a set way of welcoming somebody. Not necessarily saying it in front of the forum, "What are your skills," but you'd find some way of...

RES: Yeah, of getting...

INT: Okay. I felt that when that young woman came who I mentioned who worked for [redacted], that was a golden opportunity because you don't know if you're going to see them again, do you?

RES: No.

INT: As it turned out we didn't, but someone who's digitally... Well, she's a professional in the digital world. That would have been a great asset to us I felt because of this funding thing. You would seize on people's talents.

APPENDIX L - VISION 2030, 13 OBJECTIVES - KWRF

THE COMMUNITY VISION

The outcome of the previous consultation with local people, which started in September 2009, is an agreed community vision for Knowle West:

"A community full of confidence and pride, skilled and healthy, living in a thriving Bristol neighbourhood that is green and well connected and low in living costs."

...and 13 agreed main improvements to achieve this 20 year vision:

1 Raise income through employment
- Provide skills training programmes & facilities particularly for young people
- Develop employer placements programme
- Create local jobs, small businesses and home based employment opportunities
- Lower cost and better services for journeys to work

2 Improve health and well-being
- Provide locally accessible health facilities
- Develop improved health & lifestyle education offer
- Keep and improve the Health Park

3 Widen local choice of housing size and tenure
- Add up to 2,000 new homes
- Deliver high environmental standards
- Offer a wide range of prices and types
- Give priority to private & family housing
- Have dispersed sites (lots of sites across the area)
- Homes within a 10 minute walk to primary schools and local neighbourhood centres

4 Refurbish existing housing stock
- Increase floor space of homes through extensions
- Reduce energy costs of homes
- Improve front gardens, streets and parks (encourage 'Do It Yourself' streets improvement programmes)

5 Develop and improve primary school provision
- Raise achievement levels
- Give kids the best start
- Have community centred schools

6 Reinforce a close-knit neighbourhood
- Network of centres for health, shops, leisure, training, business
- Provide neighbourhood events spaces

7 Access safe, ecologically rich, open space
- Provide 2 activity parks
- Provide 5 new play spaces
- Build and improve walking and cycle network

8 Pride of Place
- Develop 'Knowle West style' for new homes
- Celebrate our history
- Keep, improve and extend open landscape
- Develop an urban forest (including orchards and edible street trees)
- Have 3 to 4 storey houses in areas that will undergo change (similar to building heights in the Bedminster area)

9 Build a future-proof community
- Help to build a strong community able to cope with climate change, shortage of energy supply and economic recession
- Support low carbon living
- Support local food production

10 Improve access to low cost transport
- Provide a network of safe pedestrian, cycle & bus routes to neighbourhood centres
- Easier and safer pedestrian, cycle & bus routes to centres outside KW
- Easy access to public transport (within 10 minutes walk)

11 Public and community initiatives in advance of private investment
- Establish a community trust to deliver local projects
- Local priorities for section 106 monies from developers (monies which developers have to provide as part of receiving planning permission)

12 Improve arts and culture
- Provide inspiring places through cultural programmes and arts projects
- Provide a wide range of opportunities for all to get involved in sport (indoor/ outdoor)

13 Develop play and youth facilities by planning with young people
- Provide a range of indoor and outdoor play facilities within walking distance
- Provide a range of facilities for young people developed with them, and in walking distance to homes

Additional Improvement
Added by the Knowle West Project Board: Move Knowle West further towards getting its own secondary school by increasing the number of people living in the area.

urbaninitiatives

Homes & Communities Agency

Supported by South West RDA

APPENDIX M – LETTER FROM KWF TO BRISTOL CITY COUNCIL

Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum

[redacted]

BY EMAIL ONLY

3 August 2015

Dear Sarah

NOTICE OF VOLUNTARY CLOSURE OF THE KNOWLE WEST AREA NEIGHBOURHOOD DEVELOPMENT FORUM UNDER REGULATION 12 OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING (GENERAL) REGULATIONS APRIL 2012

I am writing to confirm that the Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum (also known as Knowle West Future) as designated in July 2013 has voluntarily given up the powers related to a Neighbourhood Planning Forum as of 30th June 2015 in line with the above Regulations.

For the purposes of compliance with the Regulations I provide the following reasons:

- The lack of enough responses to the public exhibitions from the Forum membership, landowners, interested parties and wider community including local Councillors, held in early 2015 created concerns about how we could get support for the examination and the referendum.
- Lack of resources to go forward in the way we had intended with public engagement events in 2015 on the draft plan.
- There were limited resources available to the Forum for doing things like administration, fund raising etc.
- Limited support from the Knowle West Regeneration Project Board for the work of the Forum.

In terms of locations for place formal notices, I would agree with the BCC website, Brunel House and Central Library. I would also request that the notice is placed in the Libraries at Filwood Broadway and Marksbury Road as both cover the Forum area.

I hope this is satisfactory for the purposes of the Regulations. A copy of the formal notice would be appreciated for records.

www.knowlewest.co.uk/regeneration/kwandf/

@KWestFuture | KnowleWestFuture | KnowleWestFuture@gmail.com

KNOWLE WEST FUTURE: YOUR VOICE, YOUR CHOICE. – is the brand name of the Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum.

The Forum is currently returning funding to a number of sources before closing its financial affairs.

The intention in the longer term is to reconvene in some form to represent the community in the way the Regeneration Framework is being taken forward.

Can you please confirm whether it is the intention of the Council to keep the boundary agreed for the Forum, open for another Forum to take forward, and for how long?

Obviously, we are very saddened to lose this opportunity to enable the community in the widest sense to have a positive and direct input into the various planning and development initiatives underway in our area.

As previously discussed there will be a cheque for £120 which is the remainder of the funding received from Bristol City Council from DCLG following shortly; along with a financial statement which shows how the money has been spent.

The Council having been kept fully informed of progress of the Forum through minutes and papers, has already received copies of outputs from the Forum before it closed. Copies of these outputs will also be put on websites for public use.

A separate email will follow asking how the group even though it is not a Forum can be kept informed of planning applications.

Finally, we would like to say thank you for the help received from the Council, especially through the training events, your ongoing advice, and the attendance of Paul and Chris at our meetings.

This letter has been copied to the following people:
Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government – Greg Clark by Post
Andrew Mclean – Neighbourhoods
Paul Owens – Major Projects
Local Councillors in Filwood and Windmill Hill wards
Neighbourhood Planning Network

Yours sincerely

[redacted]
On behalf of the KWANDF

www.knowlewest.co.uk/regeneration/kwandf/

@KWestFuture | KnowleWestFuture | KnowleWestFuture@gmail.com

KNOWLE WEST FUTURE: YOUR VOICE, YOUR CHOICE – is the brand name of the Knowle West Area Neighbourhood Development Forum