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SCOTLAND'S APPROACH TO PARTICIPATORY PLANNING: CHARACTERISING THE CHARRETTE

Ainslie Kennedy

Keywords

charrette;
participation;
design;
planning;
decision-making

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Abstract

Since 2010 the 'charrette' has been promoted by the Scottish Government as an effective approach to community and stakeholder involvement in participatory design; yet, there has been little opportunity to formally reflect on the mainstreaming programme that has now delivered sixty charrettes across Scotland. This paper presents a preliminary review of the programme by focusing on charrette commissioning, construction and delivery as detailed in post-completion reports with the overall purpose to better understand what constitutes a Scottish charrette. For this study the researcher identified forty-six reports published between 2011 and 2016. A conceptual framework guided report content analysis, which found eight charrette characteristics with sufficient content to derive subcategories. These characteristics and subcategories broadly describe charrette design and implementation. To conclude, this analysis is used to develop a charrette-descriptor table, which provides a preliminary means to distinguish between different charrette-approaches found in Scotland.

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INTRODUCTION

Involving multiple stakeholders in spatial and community planning has become a salient concept with decades of legislative support in the United Kingdom (Jenkins, 2002). Many public services now lay claim to having been longstanding supporters of this participatory turn (Bishop, 2015); of which, planning is one. The 1969 Skeffington Report is often evidenced as one of the earliest national level documents to consider public involvement strategies (Baker et al., 2007; Damer et al., 1971). Since then, a plethora of techniques have come to the fore (Sanoff, 2000), and the Scottish Government in recent years endorsed the 'charrette' as an effective participatory design tool to generate strategies for community development (Scottish Government, 2010a, 2011b). The term 'charrette' derives from the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, in which architecture students would hurriedly work until the 'little cart' came to collect their drawings for the examiners. The term has since been used to connote a sense of urgency, which frames the format of a typical charrette as it is approached today (Walters, 2007). The tool is a participatory 'model' yet malleable enough in the sense that its process constitutes a series of other participatory mechanisms, which can be matched to suit different scenarios (Sanoff, 2000).

The model that was introduced to Scotland in 2010 was developed by New Urbanism's co-founder, Andres Duany as part of Duany Plater-Zyberk (DPZ) & Company. The charrette is often their go-to approach to community participation (Grant, 2006), which typically lasts between four to seven days and involves a multidisciplinary team establishing a temporary design studio within the study area. The team will work collaboratively with community members and key stakeholders in a series of interactive workshops, often producing a masterplan that has been developed through a series of short feedback loops (Sanoff, 2000; Walters, 2007). The compressed format has been lauded over other communicative approaches that may last weeks or months. Proponents argue these feedback loops condense the time between input and design to just hours, so not only do participants exercise more influence they can watch a transparent process unfold, thus fostering greater trust (Lennertz, 2003; Walters, 2007). Benefits of this approach therefore do not centre only on the physical; there is a commitment to social goals embedded in New Urbanism (Talen, 2002), and communicative processes more generally.

Jurgen Habermas, who many communicative theorists are indebted to, also advocated collaborative discursive approaches to challenge the shortcomings observed in representative democracy (Bond, 2011). These approaches challenged modernist thinking that valued expert epistemologies, and instead believed knowledge to be something co-constructed; not a collation of ideas but rather that communication has the power to build shared meanings through reasoning and deliberative exchange (Brand et al., 2007; Innes et al., 1999). Equally, the charrette's consensus-seeking nature depends on feedback loops and an iterative dialogue to not only acknowledge perspectives but ultimately create new shared meaning, leading to a widely endorsed strategy (Lennertz, 2003; Sanoff, 2000).

However, there is a lack of research into the charrette, and some speculation into the efficacy of the model's practical application and democratic commitment (Bond et al., 2007; Grant, 2006; MacLeod, 2013). Since the model was first introduced to Scotland sixty charrettes have been facilitated through the Charrette Mainstreaming Programme (CMP); many generating charrette reports with local strategies for the participating communities (see Appendix A) (Scottish Government, 2015). Thus far, there appears little formal reflection has been given to the programme or its outputs i.e. post-charrette completion reports (Wheeler, 2016). In response, this will be the focus of the paper as it presents analysis from forty-six charrette reports that were produced between 2011 and 2016. The purpose is to provide

insights into how charrettes are commissioned, constructed and delivered within the context of Scotland following their introduction in 2010.

Charrettes in Scotland: An Overview

In 2008 the Council of Economic Advisors reported Scotland's development was too often of 'mediocre or indifferent' quality (Scottish Government, 2008, p. 44). It presented a challenge for the planning system to create better, quality places; since, there has been a concerted effort on behalf of the Scottish Government to address this (Lawlor, 2010). The Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative (SSCI), launched in 2008, intended to raise place-making standards through eleven exemplar projects. These exemplar projects were selected because they were thought capable of leading-the-way in sustainable community design (Scottish Government, 2011a). In 2010 three out of eleven were involved in the *Charrettes Series*. As part of the SSCI, and with support from the Scottish Government, DPZ worked on masterplans for three projects; each underwent a charrette. The subsequent Charrette Series Report (2010a) heralded the method so successful it suggested the model should be mainstreamed.

In 2011-2012 three projects were commissioned through the newly launched CMP. Between 2012 and 2013 another three projects were selected, this time to inform the emerging Local Development Plan (LDP) for the area. In its third year the programme provided part-funding for eleven charrette projects that focussed either on informing the LDP or town centre regeneration. A further fourteen charrettes were commissioned between 2014-2015 with the same criteria and part-funding structure. However, LDP and town centre regeneration criteria were disbanded in the programme's fifth year, opening up the application to community organisations, and those focussing on linking community and spatial planning or town centre action plans to community plans. In 2016-2017 the charrette fund was accompanied by a partner programme called 'Activating Ideas', sharing a £300,000 project fund. Out of the nineteen projects twelve were charrettes commissioned by either councils or third sector organisations¹.

In line with the charrette application guidelines the majority of these charrettes have produced a post-charrette report documenting the process and what it generated (Scottish Government, 2011b). Whilst others have analysed outputs of participatory exercises for their *quality* (Margerum, 2002), which is not the purpose here, a similar content analysis approach was undertaken to better understand the Scottish charrette, as a participatory mechanism. Similar to Margerum (2002) criteria for output-analysis was defined in advance. A conceptual framework for comprehending content was drawn from a literature review of empirical assessment case-studies and wider literature on participation (see Figure 1).

Conceptual Framework for Analysing Charrette Reports

The participatory turn has created new opportunities for engagement (Gaventa, 2004), some of which have been assessed although there remains little 'academic commentary on

¹ In addition to the mainstreaming programme local authorities have commissioned their own charrettes (Angus Council, 2017), and alternative mini-charrettes have been delivered by volunteers on considerably smaller budgets (Ede, 2017).

charrettes' (Bond et al., 2007, p. 455). Scholars exploring the efficacy of public participation in practice have unearthed a series of different mechanisms each with different process constructs and supporting conditions. It was from the variations between these cases and discussions in broader participation literature that a conceptual framework for charrette-report content analysis was derived. The first category on the framework centred on case-complexity. It is now widely understood that participation spaces do not unfold in a vacuum but are a product of the socio-political structures surrounding them, and fundamentally by the people that initiate them (Philip Allmendinger et al., 2002; Gaventa, 2004). For example, McAreavey (2009, p. 313) highlights the 'complexity of the governance model' in her study as the participatory initiative sits within a complex web of actors, and Pacione (2012) lists the 'major agents' typically involved in a local decision-making process within the Scottish context.

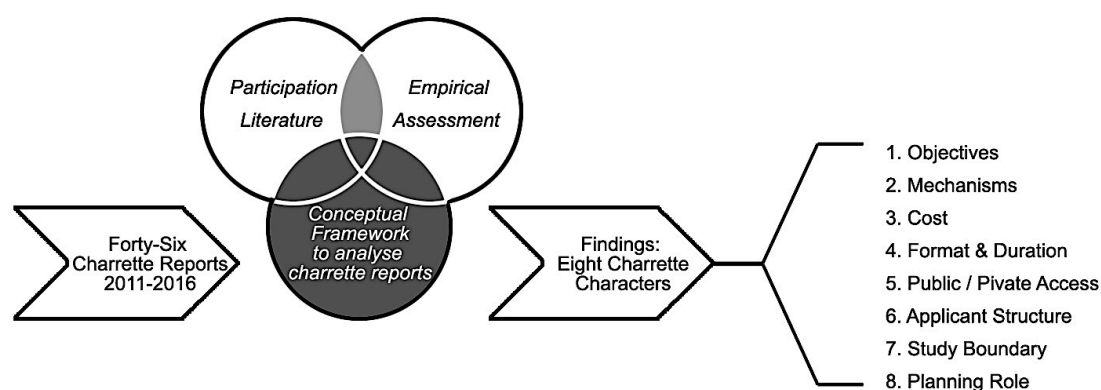


Figure 1. Building a conceptual framework to analyse charrette reports (Source: Author).

The second variation observed was participatory project *length*. As some initiatives assessed continued for several years (Blackstock et al., 2007), others were short-lived targeted exercises delivered in charrette-like fashion (Bond et al., 2007; Hopkins, 2010). Although the charrette format is somewhat predetermined (Walters, 2007), Sanoff (2000), in wider participation literature, describes its variations when adapted to meet different project objectives.

Third, *cost* of participatory exercises has been discussed in the wider literature concerning both its monetary value and what it costs participants and organisers in time, effort and preparation (Blackstock et al., 2007; Conley et al., 2003). Given Rowe and Frewer (2004) suggest evaluation is necessary 'to ensure the proper use of public or institutional money', and the financial penalties mentioned in Mouat et al.'s (2013) failed project, charrette cost became an important component on the conceptual framework.

Fourth, Brand and Gaffikin (2007) observe in their review of participatory planning processes, at various governance levels, future visioning exercises generally create more 'fanciful ideas that are not rooted in any real options for practical delivery' compared with those tied to legislative bases. Other participatory spaces were highly formalised, and were created from legislative or legal proceedings (Aitken, 2010; Cunningham et al., 2008). Therefore, understanding the relationship between the charrette and relevant *statutory* processes in the wider regional context was another important factor.

Fifth, participatory projects had been created for a number of different reasons; some stated democratic commitment and participatory objectives whilst others focussed on project objectives only. For example, Hopkins (2010, p. 60) chose a case study that explicitly stated

'equity among citizens and stakeholders' and building confidence was an important part of the youth conference Barnes et al (2004) observed. At the same time, others were primarily pragmatic (Aitken, 2010; Cunningham et al., 2008).

The sixth variation is participatory mechanisms. Authors Petts and Leach (2000), Leach and Wingfield (1999) and Sanoff (2005) among others have separately described participation 'typologies'. Typologies range from awareness to consultative to deliberative mechanisms; however, since then Baker et al (2010) expanded this categorisation to include in-depth or indirect, long-term or immediate, and coming-to or going-to mechanisms. The latter is thought to promise more innovative engagement forms as facilitators create opportunities out with formally organised, participatory spaces. Considering the charrette is an aggregate of other mechanisms this theme was included in the conceptual framework.

Lastly, project complexity is thought to increase with size; Alexander (2002, p. 232) suggests 'the smaller the plan area is, the more homogeneous it is likely to be'. Projects in the empirical cases also varied, for example Brownill & Carpenter's (2007) study looked into the redesign of a two-mile stretch of road, whilst other participatory initiatives considered growth management for an entire region (Blackstock et al., 2007). Nevertheless the former's smaller study boundary could still be considered complex as it was characterised by its diverse demographic. In response, the conceptual framework aimed to explore charrette project scale.

In short, these six themes constituted the conceptual framework for comprehending charrette report content (see Table 1 for an example).

RESEARCH DESIGN

Content analysis of forty-six charrette reports was guided by the conceptual framework described above. It is worth noting what was considered a *charrette report* within the context of this research. The Scottish Government requires a post-charrette report and although the majority are publicly available and labelled as such, details of the charrette process and its findings have been found in other document types. For example, Tirie (2015-2016) produced two charrette outputs including a Socio Economic Study and a Strategy Report; whilst Priesthill and Househillwood (2015-2016) charrette created a short film documenting the charrette. A minority of cases had little or no post-completion documentation publicly available. Therefore, these charrettes and those with unique output-types were cross referenced with the Scottish Government and additional files obtained where possible. After sourcing traditional reports, and unique output-forms a total of forty-six charrettes were included in this study given there was a sufficient amount of post-charrette output material. An iterative process of primary manual coding guided by the conceptual framework, and its questions, determined initial themes and concepts. More detailed coding aided by NVivo software was used to determine the eight charrette characteristics, which had sufficient content to then derive subcategories (Creswell, 2013; Tracy, 2012).

However, the coding process highlighted charrette reports often had inconsistent information on charrette costing and study-boundary size varied greatly. In response to the first, a request was made to the Scottish Government who replied in kind with a list containing their awarded amount to each of the sixty charrettes involved in the CMP (Scottish Government, 2016). To understand the spread of charrette donations, and identify those that lie to either extreme of the average, standard deviation was used.

Table 1: Conceptual framework for content analysis of charrette reports (Source: Author).

Conceptual Framework for Analysis	Charrette Description
Complexity Who is hosting the charrette? What governance levels were involved?	<i>Applicant: Planning Authority. Three levels (planning authority, local & central government).</i>
Length How long did the charrette last? How was the charrette structured?	<i>Total: five days. 2+2+1 format. Additional pre-charrette activities in advance.</i>
Cost Who funded the charrette? What was the charrette's total cost?	<i>Match funding: planning authority & local authority. Donors listed; but no costs given.</i>
Statutory / Non-statutory How did the charrette align with other local planning efforts? Describe planning context of wider region.	<i>Charrette will inform the Main Issues Report. Intended to shape Local Development Plan at an early stage.</i>
Objectives What was the participatory rhetoric in report? What was the purpose of the charrette?	<i>Social goals: build new community links; develop shared understandings. Project Objective: Masterplan.</i>
Mechanisms What participatory mechanism were used? Is there evidence of innovative approaches?	<i>Awareness: information provision, social media; Interactive: Workshops, focus groups; Going-to: in-street interviews</i>
Scale Describe the study boundary. Where is the charrette taking place?	<i>Location: north of city centre, suburb. Boundary: town centre focus.</i>

In response to the latter, a British Grid Reference obtained from Ordnance Survey was used to identify a 10 kilometre grid square for each charrette. The geo-located grid squares were ordered from Ordnance Survey Open Data and imported into GIS software (Geographic Information Systems) (Ordnance Survey, 2016, 2017). Another data layer was obtained from the Scottish Government. Urban-rural classifications are available in four forms; selecting the six-fold urban rural classification and importing the publicly available shapefile, charrette project boundaries could be described in terms: 1. Large Urban Areas, 2. Other Urban Areas, 3. Accessible Small Towns, 4. Remote Small Towns, 5. Accessible Rural and 6. Remote Rural (Scottish Government, 2014a).

RESULTS: CHARRETTE REPORT ANALYSIS

This section presents eight characteristics derived from the above analysis, which includes: charrette objective; participatory mechanisms; cost; duration and format; public/private access; client structure; study boundary; and lastly planning role. Each are defined below and often supported by charrette references. To condense the findings a charrette descriptor table is presented at the end (see Table 8). The first ten charrettes listed on Appendix A were entered into the descriptor table, which provides an overview of each charrette's characteristics.

Objectives

A lack of common terminology in charrette reports made distinguishing charrette objectives difficult. For example, whilst one report deliberately distinguished between development framework and masterplan objectives, observing the former is more flexible than the latter, other reports used the terms synonymously suggesting little differentiation (see Port Dundas, 2013-14 compared with Elgin, 2013-14 & Whitburn, 2014-15). Additionally, the comprehensiveness of ‘vision’ differed; some intended it to be a preliminary planning layer influencing more detailed work (Clydebank, 2014-15 & Callander, 2011-12), whilst others gave it greater weight describing something akin to a detailed strategy (Girvan, 2011-12). In response, objectives had to be defined to effectively understand what charters sought to achieve, and equally what was out with their remit. In total, seven charrette objectives were derived from content analysis:

Table 2: Seven charrette objectives (Source: Author).

Definition	Example from Report	Potential Format
<p>Objective 1: Community Appraisal</p> <p>A community appraisal is an assessment of needs, assets and opportunities. Rarely is it the sole objective; often a Community Appraisal is completed in connection with other objectives.</p>	<p>‘The theme of the Charrette will be “A wish for your community” and the plan is to engage the community in arts led workshops which explore the strengths and assets of the community, along with the areas for improvement.’ Priesthill & Househillwood Neighbourhood, 2015-16</p>	<p>A report; documentary</p>
<p>Objective 2: Shared Vision</p> <p>A shared vision is long term collective aspiration for a community’s future. It is aspirational in nature, informs other planning layers and may aim to foster a collective, partnership approach to working. For the purposes of this study, anything more sophisticated will not be considered a vision.</p>	<p>‘The 2025 vision for Clydebank Town Centre aims to inspire, shape and direct the identification of projects and priorities across the overarching themes of place, business and community. The vision has helped shape the integrated Development Framework and Action Plan that were the main outputs from the Charrette.’ Clydebank, 2014-15</p>	<p>A title, statement, principles, concept diagram</p>
<p>Objective 3: Local Strategy</p> <p>A local strategy builds on the first two, and normally explores a way forward for a community by considering potential physical and non-physical strategies for improvement and development. Often, but not always, it tackles a particular issue; for example, regeneration, housing, land-use or policy. Similar to Shared Vision there is a notable degree of detail among local strategies. As a result, charters that combine other</p>	<p>‘The mini-charrette focused on reviewing effective housing land supply issues and developing a spatial strategy for housing development in the South Wishaw area defined by the study area boundary’ South Wishaw, 2012-13</p>	<p>An illustrative masterplan, a report, a spatial strategy.</p>

objectives i.e. community appraisal, shared vision, potential action and deliverability work, will be considered a Local Strategy.

Objective 4: Development Framework

A development framework is supportive in nature often working in tandem with other objectives like a masterplan or deliverability work. Its purpose is to guide and coordinate action, explore options, define parameters and set overarching themes from which more detailed work can draw.

‘The Masterplan Framework will define parameters and guide further detailed masterplanning stages to ensure that Perth West is a place that will successfully grow and integrate with the wider Perth community.’
Perth West, 2014-15

An illustrative masterplan, a statement, schematic illustrations.

Objective 5: Masterplan

A Masterplan is perhaps the most comprehensive of all objectives. Although, it has been used for illustrative purposes only (e.g. to represent a Vision, see Girvan, 2011-12) it is more often used as an aggregate of several objectives (e.g. including design guidance, spatial strategies, shared vision and so forth). Whilst it is primarily a visual tool it is often supported by other material e.g. illustrations, action plan and frameworks. Given the all-encompassing nature of the masterplan, charrette reports that include other objectives i.e. community appraisal, shared vision, local strategy, development framework, potential action and deliverability work, will be considered holistically as a producing a masterplan.

‘This document brings together the community conversations and responses into a set of guidelines (Key Drivers, Guiding Principles, the Spatial Strategy and suggested Actions) that, when combined, form a masterplan to give direction for community-led activity and external investment or support.’
Rothesay, 2015-16

A visual document with supporting documentation.

Objective 6: Potential Action

Potential actions are site plans, design proposals, project plans and concept diagrams to present potential future options, yet they often need further exploration and testing.

‘This document reports on a series of community workshops that have taken place in Blairmore Village at the end of 2013 and beginning of 2014, focused on creating a plan for the future of Blairmore Village Green.’
Blairmore, 2013-14

Visuals e.g. design proposal, schematic illustrations, site plans.

Objective 7: Deliverability Work

Deliverability work essentially explores implementation routes. This can include short, medium and long term projects, assigned responsibilities and potential funding sources. It provides advice to those working and living within the community post charrette.

‘In effect the Charrette exercise was designed to act as a bridge between the early vision of the Town Charter and the project delivery phase.’
Neilston, 2013-14

A report, table, timeline.

Participatory Mechanisms

After an iterative grouping and re-grouping process the mechanisms found in charrette reports have been classified based on the type of data collected to include Baker et al.'s (2010) expansion of previous categorisations. Therefore, traditional and innovative mechanisms may be grouped in the same category, and arguably one mechanism might straddle one or more categories as it is used for different purposes. For example, traditional 'awareness' methods include indirect means of information dissemination (e.g. leaflets, newspaper articles and so forth), whereas charrette reports showed more innovative means for the same 'awareness' purpose during their *pre-charrette phase*, which included on-street interviews and targeted workshop sessions. In total, eight mechanism-types were found:

Table 3: Eight charrette participatory mechanisms (Source: Author).

Examples	Participatory Mechanism-Types Definition
Posters, Banners, Blogs, Temporary Websites, Articles, Letters, Postcards, General Invitations, Meetings, Existing Networks, Pre-Charrette Workshops.	<p>Publicity; Awareness</p> <p>The purpose of these tools is to generate interest and ensure involvement in the charrette. Traditionally these mechanisms are in-breadth and take the form of indirect information provision. However, the reports show facilitators have used a range of techniques to generate interest during the pre-charrette phase. For example, Thurso & Wick (2012-13) capitalised on existing community networks to promote the charrette. Others used pre-charrette workshops, and meetings as a promotional and charrette structuring tool (Erskine, 2015-16; Govan & Partick, 2014-15; Tranent, 2014-15; Dunblane, 2014-15; Blairgowrie & Rattray, 2015-16). Interestingly, facilitators of Crinan Canal (2015-16) found their professional film making and photography team generated interest in the advent of the charrette. These more innovative, as well as traditional forms, constitute awareness mechanisms.</p>
Keynote Addresses, Presentations (expert, locals, charrette team), Public Exhibitions, Design Studio Drop-in, Site Visit / Local Tours; Work Experience; Live Build Workshops	<p>Informing, Educating & Sharing</p> <p>The purpose is to provide information, educate participants or share perspectives or experiences. For example, experts or specialists might deliver presentations, as will charrette teams to communicate development and local perspectives might be shared through project work or verbal presentations. Innovative examples could include live-build workshops whereby participants are exposed to new trades or disciplines (Denny, 2014-15); and Pecha Kucha events i.e. a quick-fire round of local presenters (Crinan Canal, 2015-16)</p>
Questionnaires (online, household, in-house), Community Installations, Social Media, Public Exhibitions + Comment Sheets, Behavioural Observations; Feedback Forms.	<p>Indirect; Passive</p> <p>The purpose is to gather data passively or through indirect means. This could be feedback via one-way communication in relation to an issue, question or proposal, which will be considered and potentially used to shape outcomes. These methods will accommodate participants unable to attend in person or those that prefer not to participate in interactive sessions. Additionally, behavioural observations that require no direct interaction could be used to record data (Lennoxton, 2015-16; Blairgowrie & Rattray, 2015-16).</p>

<p>Telephone Interviews, Planned Interviews, 1:1 Studio Discussions, Meetings.</p>	<p>In-depth Feedback</p> <p>Unlike indirect feedback that can generate quantifiable data, the purpose here is to gather more personal, qualitative responses that are collated through a range of interview-style techniques. These could either be pre-arranged interviews (North Lanarkshire, 2012-13) or a series of informal 1:1 discussion within the charrette studio (Maybole, 2014-15).</p>
<p>Future Visioning, SWOT analysis, Place Standard Tool, Group Discussions, Fact Finding, Structured Discussions e.g. Post-It Note Sessions, Discussion Stall, Scenario Planning, Roundtable Discussions + Presenting Back, Hands-On Planning Sessions, Feedback Session, Interim Reviews.</p>	<p>Public Workshops</p> <p>Interactive group working is used frequently at various stages of the charrette for consultative and deliberative purposes i.e. feedback through discussion. Before (i.e. pre-charrette) or early in the charrette programme, workshops are often used to explore local issues, gather perspectives and provide the charrette facilitators with a foundation from which to develop ideas or structure upcoming workshops (Thurso & Wick, 2012-13, LLTNPA 2012-13, Blairmore 2013-14, Erskine, 2015-16).</p> <p>Post introduction, public events might be used to inform, share perspectives and gather feedback in response to developments through group discussion or scenario planning sessions (Bridgend 2013-14, Tranent, 2014-15; Neilston, 2013-14). Workshops are often themed to give focus to a particular issue.</p> <p>Leading to charrette close, public workshops can be used as a review opportunity, gathering comments before charrette output is published (Tranent, 2014-15).</p>
<p>Invited Workshops, Themed Discussions, Small Group Meetings, Q&A Session, Youth Sessions, Meetings.</p>	<p>Targeted Workshops</p> <p>Specialist knowledge is often sought through targeted sessions, whether that is a meeting or workshop format. The objective is to gather insight from a particular community demographic e.g. elderly, young people (Denny, 2014-15; Bridgend, 2012-13) or community sector e.g. local business, landowners, councillors (Port Dundas, 2012-13; North Lanarkshire, 2012-13). Further, expert knowledge might be required to analyse an issue in more detail (Muirtown & South Kessock, 2013-14; Port Dundas, 2013-14) or revise charrette developments; for example, Bowling (2013-14) used technical sessions to better understand site-development feasibility.</p>
<p>Design Challenge, Youth Games, Lego Workshop, Game Adaptations.</p>	<p>Interactive Games</p> <p>Some charrettes build games into their programme to develop or test ideas in a way that does not rely on structured group discussion. For example, Kirkcaldy (2013-14) adapted the televised programme 'Dragon's Den' to test ideas and receive feedback from an expert panel. Neilston (2013-14) used Lego workshops and design challenges to generate individual ideas.</p>
<p>Documentary-Making; Pop-Up Installations; Portable Aerial Maps; Event Attendance, Fun Days, Art</p>	<p>Informal; In-Situ</p> <p>The last group draws from Baker et al.'s (2010) <i>going-to</i> approach. It is similar to in-depth engagement as it focusses on daily-life</p>

Outreach. experiences of community members but extends beyond the charrette studio. It happens within the community through a range of creative and informal means (Applecross et al, 2014-15).

For example, some charrette facilitators identified existing spaces (e.g. meetings, events) and attended these in order to engage with their target audience (North Lanarkshire 2013-14, South Queensferry, 2013-14, Denny, 2014-15). Others focussed on daily life experiences by collecting personal narratives to produce creative works (e.g. short films, publications) (see Denny, 2014-15; Johnstone SW 2011-12, Govan & Partick, 2014-15). Many engaged with local pupils through in-school youth workshops (Bridgend, Callander, Kirkcaldy, South Queensferry, Perth West, 2014-15; Peterhead, 2015-16)

Cost

Standard deviation was used to generate four cost-groups ranging from very low to very high, which was based on a confirmed list of Scottish Government donations (Scottish Government, 2016). Therefore, the cost groups refer only to public money that has been awarded; match-funding sourced by the applicant is not considered here because not enough information was available in all reports. The majority of charrettes fall within one standard deviation from the average award donation, which is £18, 660. Five were found to be 'very high' because they were either two or more standard deviations away from the average; these charrettes were all commissioned within the first two rounds of the CMP and received full funding. Those at the lower end of the scale received donations two standard deviations away from the average, which means their donations were lower than £9,450.00. Figure 2 shows the spread of donations, highlighting a higher concentration of charrettes receiving either 'very low' or 'low to average' donations.

Table 4: Four cost groups (Source: Author).

Cost Groups	Number of Charrettes	Percentage of Charrettes
Very Low Donations two away (below) from the mean (-2SD)	4/60	6.5%
Low to Average Donations one away (below) from the mean (-1SD)	27/60	44%
Average to High Donations one away (above) the mean (+1SD)	24/60	39%
Very High Donations two to five away (above) the mean (+2SD - +5SD)	5/60	8.5%

Format and Duration

Some charrettes rejected the traditional duration and format attributed to the typical charrette believing a 'disaggregated' approach would help bring about 'collective ownership of ideas and solutions' (Neilston, 2013-14, p. 16). Similarly, South Queensferry (2013-14) had only two public charrette days, whilst others extended beyond ten, non-consecutive days to manage multiple study boundaries (e.g. LLTNPA, 2013-13). However, it would be unfair to

surmise these shorter charrettes donated only this amount of time to community and stakeholder engagement; process entirety often totalled a few months including pre-charrette and targeted community engagement. In short, charrette duration and format is categorized by: 1) total number of ‘charrette’ days, 2) consecutive or split format and 3) single or multiple charrette study boundaries.

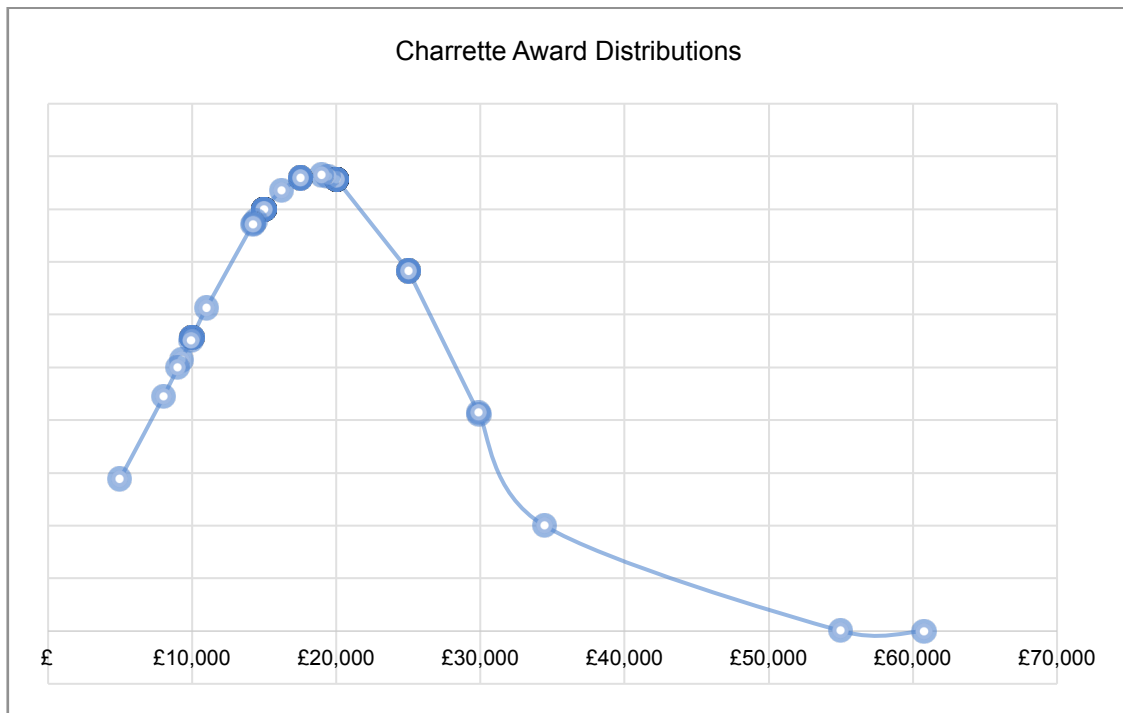


Figure 2. Spread of Scottish Government donations (Source: Author).

Participatory Access

The earliest charrette like model, which arguably was the R/UDAT (see Batchelor, 1986), were typically large-scale public affairs. However, they have been used for different purposes e.g. problem-solving, education and so forth (Sanoff, 2000). Similarly, some charrettes were described to have a unique purpose and as a result a minority were *invite only* (e.g. South Wishaw, 2012-2013; North Lanarkshire, 2013-1014; Elgin, 2013-2014). Hence charrettes are categorised by their access status: public or private.

Applicant Structure

Drawing from Gaventa (2004) charrettes that are commissioned through the mainstreaming programme, are arguably ‘invited spaces’. They are not examples of collective direct activism seen in other studies (Schmidt-Thomé et al., 2014), although self-organised community groups are able to apply to the CMP. Regarding *place* and involved governance levels, the charrette always involves the central government, considering their donation and attached stipulations (Scottish Government, 2011b). Often local government is involved too, depending on the client structure and match-funding sources. The below classifications provides insight into how the applicant team is constructed i.e. the charrette’s lead initiator. However, this does not include details regarding additional agencies that may have provided support, in terms of match-funding, to the lead initiator.

Table 5: Four client structures (Source: Author).

Client Structure	Definition
Planning Authority Only	This refers to the local government i.e. council or planning authority. Geographical locations incur different governance structures; for example, Loch Lomond and the Trossachs National Park Authority is the planning authority for more than council region (see Blairmore, 2013-14, p. 9)
Joint Applicant	Two organisations. Often the local authority partners with another organisation to apply for charrette funding.
Partner Application	The applicant team is comprised of three or more organisations collaborating to host the charrette. For example, Crinan Canal (2015-16, p. 2) is described to have formed a loose partnership arrangement with Scottish Canals, the local authority and various community councils and trusts within the area to 'undertake' the charrette ²
Independent	This category includes charrettes initiated by 1) third sector organisations independent of government e.g. registered charities, community groups; and 2) other partnership organisations that may include government agencies. Many of the <i>community-led</i> charrettes will fall into this category. The purpose of this category is to distinguish between local authority led and non-local authority led charrettes.

Study Boundary

The second to last characteristic is geography and study boundary. Charrettes notably manage a range of study boundaries that vary in size. Blairmore (2013-14) focussed on a parcel of land the community sought to purchase; others focussed on towns, town centres or small villages (e.g. Thurso & Wick, 2011-12; Peterhead, 2015-16; Callander, 2011-2012; Balloch, 2015-16). Castlebay (2015-16) and Tiree (2015-16) centred on their island locales; Scottish Canals and partners have hosted charrettes to consider stretches of canal corridor (Applecross et al, 2014-15; Crinan Canal, 2015-16; Bowling, 2013-14). Larger sites for regeneration or development have been identified and often these are part of an existing settlement (e.g. Johnstone SW, 2011-12; Kirkcaldy, 2013-14; Perth West, 2014-15; East Pollockshields, 2015-16); and North Lanarkshire considered a whole council region. Based on this, six charrette boundaries were found as shown in table 6. A pre-determined value drawn directly from the Scottish Government's official urban-rural six-fold classification will accompany the above charrette boundary types, as discussed in research design.

Planning Role

Content analysis of charrette reports suggest planning authorities are not obliged to incorporate the charrette's findings in any formal planning processes such as Local or Strategic Development Planning (LDP or SDP) (See Pacione 2012; 2014 for an overview of planning in Scotland); however, many suggest the output is intended to shape future local development planning in some capacity. Offering early, frontloaded opportunities for

² However, the award donation list (Government, 2016) states 'Scottish Canals' as the main proposer.

engagement in planning has been promoted at a national level because it is thought to help increase efficiency by speeding-up decision making processes and potentially reduce conflict (Brownill et al., 2007). Commitment to this can be seen in the Scottish Planning Policy and supporting guidance (Scottish Government, 2010b, 2014b). However, others remain critical suggesting it is these sorts of institutional structures that provides evidence of national governments protecting pro-growth interests (Phil Allmendinger et al., 2012; Inch, 2014) . Set within this debate, and considering the non-statutory plus preferred frontloaded nature of engagement, four categories were drawn from content analysis to provide insight into the charrette’s intended impact on local development.

Table 6: Six charrette boundary types (Source: Author).

Boundary Types	Definition
Whole Region	Charrettes considering entire council regions e.g. North Lanarkshire (2014-15).
Part of / Within Larger Area	Charrettes focussing on regeneration sites, growth areas, extensions or suburbs that form part of a larger area (e.g. Perth West, 2015-16)
Islands	Inner or Outer Hebridean islands on Scotland’s coast (e.g. Tiree, 2015-16).
Towns, Town Centres	Towns, Town Centres This includes all charrettes focussed on towns including their wider environs or their centres within various urban-rural areas.
Canal Corridors	Charrettes focussed on a designated stretch of canal corridor (e.g. Crinan Canal, 2015-16; Applecross et al, 2014-15).
Site Development	Smaller areas normally reserved for potential development. Charrettes at this scale often aim to develop <i>potential action</i> (e.g. Denny, 2014-15; Blairmore, 2013-14).

Table 7: Four categories to describe intended impact of charrette (Source: Author).

Planning Role	Definition
Stated MIR	Charrettes that intend to inform the upcoming Call for Sites or Main Issues Report (MIR), which are both frontloaded opportunities for engagement in the local development planning process.
LDP or SDP	Refers to reports that have stated the charrette output will inform either an emerging local or strategic development plan without specifying the stage. It will include charrettes that happened post MIR in the LDP or SDP process (e.g. Blairmore, 2013-14; Kirkcaldy, 2013-14; Muirtown, 2013-14), and those that intend to inform Supplementary Planning Guidance (e.g. Port Dundas, 2013-14; Neilson, 2013-14)
Independent or Post	Elgin’s (2013-14) outputs were intended for a separate local strategy. Scottish Canals and the local authority intended to use the outputs of the charrette to develop a strategy for a site that had been identified for development in the last Local Development Plan (e.g. Bowling, 2013-14). The charrettes will be considered independent or post LDP or SDP.
No Stated Commitment	This refers to charrette reports that have not directly referred to local or strategic development planning or any official independent strategy. Although, this is not to suggest a link was unintended, rather it was not definitive.

Having presented descriptions of all eight characteristics in detail a condensed charrette descriptor table (Table 8) has been created to share information on the first ten charrettes listed in Appendix A. The purpose is to provide easily obtainable, general information regarding charrette context, commission, overall structure and process content.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this paper was to reflect on the CMP by conducting content analysis of available charrette reports. The analysis aimed to provide insights into how charrettes are commissioned, constructed and delivered within Scotland following their first introduction in 2010. Eight characterisations were identified, and sub-categories were defined to describe variations within each.

With reference to charrette commissioning, the category *client structure* shows four different applicant-types. In more recent years the CMP has welcomed applications from third-sector organisations, which could lead to a more complex client-structure arrangement as organisations work in partnership with match-funding providers. An example could be made of Dunblane (2014-15) and Peterhead (2015-2016). Dunblane's report suggests it would fall into 'partnership application' sub-category as non-government and local government agencies formed a 'steering group' to host the charrette, whilst receiving outsourced funding support. Peterhead's report suggests it would fall into the 'independent organisation' sub-category as the lead applicant was a local arts organisation; however, the local council provided total match-funding required. Similarly, Dumbarton Rock (2014-15), Perth West (2014-15) and Balloch (2015-16) received charrette donations out with the lead applicant(s). Participatory ventures are known to be complex with multiple objectives (Blackstock et al., 2007), and as other studies have shown these more complex arrangements provide interesting sites from which to observe the relationships between multiple actors, which may or may not have complimentary objectives (Dargan, 2009; McAreavey, 2009).

Reflecting on charrette structure, Sanoff (2000) describes three distinct phases a charrette typically passes through. First, 'knowledge transfer' to generate initial ideas; second, 'dialogic discourse' supporting decision-making; and third, proposal feedback during a 'problem-solving' stage to refine the outcomes. Arguably, the Scottish charrette appears to follow this pattern with the extensive engagement practices found in *participatory mechanisms*. Normally, facilitators conduct a pre-charrette phase, before delivering a range of workshops and innovative interactive practices, which inform developments. Developments are later shared again in review-type workshops before closing. Interestingly however, Brownill (2009) found that despite good intentions and enthusiastically rolling-out extensive innovative practice, some years later those involved questioned the longer-term impact this had. Therefore, scrutinising the outcomes of charrettes that are typically innovative i.e. using more *informal; in-situ* mechanisms, as part of their extensive practice, could be a worthwhile endeavour.

Delivery of these practices is often across split-days and sometimes across multiple sites, which suggests the Scottish charrette is typically different to the norm that is described by Walters (2007). North Lanarkshire (2013-2014, p. 1) for example intended to be a 'charrette with a difference', thus begging the question whether these unique delivery structures still capitalise on said benefits of the compressed charrette model, or whether it is further evidence of the tool's adaptability to different scenarios. Finally, charrettes appear to lie outside any formal, statutory engagement space but many express an intention to influence local development planning at an early stage. Delivering early, frontloaded opportunities is

preferred by central government (Brownill, 2009). However, studies have shown participants can be strategic in choosing when to participate; hanging-off until the statutory space is available (Brownill et al., 2007). Therefore, the merits of delivering frontloaded engagement are something to be explored further.

Seven years have passed since DPZ delivered three exemplar charrettes in the 2010 Charrette Series. During that time, sixty charrettes, not including those out with the Charrette Mainstreaming Programme, have been delivered across Scotland by multi-disciplinary teams. However, in the absence of programme evaluation Scotland's interpretation, adaption and development of the charrette model remains largely unexplored. In response, this paper aimed to present a preliminary review of the Charrette Mainstreaming Programme through content analysis of charrette reports. The analysis, which was guided by themes and questions in the conceptual framework, generated eight characteristics. There was sufficient content in reports relating to these eight characteristics to continue coding until subcategories were derived.

This resulted in the charrette descriptor table (Table 8 above) that provides a means to quickly capture details about a charrette and its particular context and process characteristics. Since context is such an important element to consider in any evaluation of public participation, this table is the first step toward delineating charrette characteristics, which could be used as a precursor guiding evaluation (Hassenforder et al., 2015). Comparability of cases is only feasible if a degree of similarity can be identified; therefore, the results from this analysis could help toward building classifications or charrette-groups (Conley et al., 2003). Equally, the table coupled with a sufficient sample of evaluations could help toward achieving what Chess (2000) described as the relationship between mechanisms and their underlying conditions. This could build a better understanding of what works well and what conditions are needed to support effectiveness. However, defining *effective* and building an evaluation strategy would need to come first.

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APPENDIX A: CHARRETTE LIST

Appendix A: Charrette List, Report Format & Title

Date	Charrette	Format	Charrette or Report Title
2011-2012	Callander	Report	Callander Charrette
	Johnstone South West	Report	Johnstone South West Charrette
	South Carrick, Girvan	Report	Your Girvan, Your Vision
2012-2013	Thurso & Wick	Report	A New Vision for Wick & Thurso
	LLTNPA	Report	Local Development Plan Charrette Report
	South Wishaw	Report	South Wishaw Charrette
2013-2014	Blairmore Village Green	Report	Blairmore Village Green
	Bowling Basin	Report	The Bowling Basin Charrette
	Victoria Road	Report	Victoria Road, Kirkcaldy
	Muirtown & South Kessock	Report	Muirtown Basin & South Kessock
	North Lanarkshire	Report	Places for Business and Industry Charrette
	Neilston	Report	Neilston Going Places
	Bridgend	Report	Bridgend Charrette
	Elgin	Report	Elgin city centre regeneration masterplan: mini charrette
	Port Dundas	Report	Port Dundas Planning Charrette
	South Queensferry	Report	Shaping the Future of Queensferry
	Port Glasgow	Report	Port Glasgow Town Centre Regeneration Strategy & MasterPlan Charrette
2014-2015	Applecross, Firhill & Hamiltonhill	Report	What Floats Your Boat? Charrette
	Dumbarton Rock	Report	Seeing Things Differently. Dumbarton Rock & Castle Charrette
	Elgin	Report	Central Elgin Regeneration Public Design Charrette
	Govan and Partick	Report	Govan Partick Charrette
	Perth West	Report	Perth West Masterplan Framework Report
	Tranent	Report	Tranent Town Centre Charrette
	Carnoustie	Report	The Big Carnoustie Conversation
	Clydebank	Report	Clydebank Town Centre: Design Charrette
	Crieff, Aberfeldy & Auchentrader	Report	Auchentrader Charrette Report
	Denny	Report	Denny Design Charrette
	Dunblane	Report	Dunblane Charrette <i>Plus</i>
	Maybole	Report	The Maybole Town Centre Charrette
	Nairn, Tain & Fort William	* Action Plan	Nairn, Tain & Fort William: Town Centre Action Plans
	Whitburn	Report	Placemaking in Whitburn
2015-2016	East Pollockshields	* No Report	Make Your Mark
	Blairgowrie & Rattray	Report	The Blairgowrie & Rattray Town Centre Charrette
	Erskine	Report	Design Erskine Town Centre Charrette
	Rothsay	Report	Remaking Rothsay
	Cupar	Report	Cupar Could
	Peterhead	Report	Choose Peterhead

	Greenock	Report	Greenock Design Charrette
	Tiree	* Report	Tiree Island Futures Community Charrette Report
	Fauldhouse	Report	Fauldhouse Focus
	Garnock Valley	* No Report	Go Garnock
	Prestwick	Report	Prestwick Town Centre Charrette
	Priesthill & Househillwood	* Short Film	All in for Priesthill & Househillwood
	Arbroath	Report	Arbroath Town Centre Design Charrette
	Castlebay, Barra	Report	Castlebay Regeneration Charrette Report
	Crinan canal	Report	Crinan Corridor Charrette
	Lennoxtown	Report	The Lennoxtown Centre Charrette
	Balloch	Report	Balloch Charrette Report
2016-	Buckhaven	To be completed	
2017	Easterhouse Town Centre	To be completed	
	Cumbræ & Millport	To be completed	
	Kinlochbervie	To be completed	
	Parkhead	To be completed	
	Dunoon	To be completed	
	Saltcoats, Ardrossan & Stevenston	To be completed	
	Kincardine (Longannet)	To be completed	
	Muirhead, Birkhill & Liff	To be completed	
	Leith	To be completed	
	North Berwick	To be completed	
	Glenrothes West	To be completed	

* No available report; unique format; cross-check was required