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Whose Vision, Whose Places, Whose Future?: Charrettes in the Scottish Planning System

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Abstract

The Scottish Government has provided funding to both local governments and community organisations to hold 'charrette' collaborative planning and design workshops, from 2010 to present. These resources make Scotland an ideal location to examine the role of citizen participation in contemporary planning practice. This research asks the question "To what extent do charrettes offer a new way for communities to participate and be empowered within the planning process?" It analyses the story of the charrette's journey from the U.S.A to Scotland and its subsequent evolution within three different contexts. The research takes the form of a multiple case study. The primary data was gathered through work in the archive, semi structured interviews and observation at real world charrette events. The research argues that charrettes in Scotland both defy the conventions of the planning system but are also bound by them. It has traditionally been planning professionals that guide local development, on the assumption that their training justifies them to act in the public interest. As such, planners are popularly perceived as either not trying, or being unable to understand the lived experiences of a place in the way that their citizens can. At their best, I argue that Scottish charrettes disrupt this order, by creating an atmosphere of partnership between planners and citizens. This can build a great deal of momentum, energy and hope within the host community, that their vision for their place will be realised. At worst however, my research highlights that this momentum dissipates soon after the charrette event has ended, taking local people back to where they started. Nevertheless, my research reveals that these disappointments do not necessarily preclude communities from pursuing their own strategies to implement change, nor their own vision for local development. My thesis makes a significant original contribution to the theoretical debate over the participative ethos in planning. It tells the story of how an internationally sourced policy initiative evolves in a different country. I develop a unique theoretical framework to examine the power dynamics that characterised both the Scottish Government's funding programme and the individual charrettes that have taken place within. Finally, I shed light on the lived experience of taking part in a charrette and the interpersonal encounters that happen between citizens and practitioners.

Acknowledgements

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CGAP – Central Govan Action Plan

DPZ – Duany Plater- Zyberk

DTER – Former UK Government Department for Transport, Environment and the Regions

DTLR – Former UK Government Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions

EBD – Enquiry by Design

GHA – Glasgow Housing Association

KMA – Kevin Murray Associates

LDP – Local Development Plan

LPP – Local Place Plan

NPF – National Planning Framework

MIR - Main Issues Report

PAN – Scottish Government Planning Advice Note

PAS – Planning Aid Scotland

RTPI – Royal Town Planning Institute

SCDC – Scottish Community Development Centre

SG / SPG – Supplementary Planning Guidance

SLA – Strategic Land Allocation

SPICe – Scottish Parliament Information Centre

SPP – Scottish Planning Policy

S.S.C.I. – Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative

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Author's Declaration:

"I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution."

Printed Name: _____

Signature: _____

1 Introduction

This research examines the concept of community participation in planning and the role that the public plays in determining the future of their places through charrettes. The charrette is a kind of interactive workshop where citizens come together with town planners, architects, urban designers and other built environment professionals to consider a vision and projects for change in an area. The two research respondents below, illustrate the different opinions on the conduct of charrettes in Scotland:

> "A lot of people who run the charrettes have said they go into the community and a lot of the time the people who live there feel quite disenfranchised, quite negative about where they live and the charrette process opens their eyes to the assets that they have on their doorstep and the fact that change is possible and that when they leave the charrette, the people who live there are enthused…"

> "I was underwhelmed by the charrette report. Planners continue to use these events to tell us what they want to do, so it's a kind of rubber – stamping exercise: so is most public consultation in my opinion and I've been involved in a huge amount of it and the charrette wasn't that different to be honest…"

As evidenced above, charrettes attract both positive and critical commentary. I consequently ask the overarching research question: *to what extent do charrettes offer a new way for communities to participate and be empowered within the planning process?* My project issues from my interest, as a professional Chartered Town Planner (MRTPI), in how the voices of local people could be given priority in planning strategy. It investigates the value of the interpersonal encounters (Thrift, 1997) between professional and 'lay' knowledges created by the events. My research is conducted in Scotland, where the semi-autonomous Scottish Government provided funding through various programmes in the 2010s to 'mainstream,' or fully integrate, the charrette into planning practice. In this introductory chapter, I firstly situate my work in the literature on participative planning. I move on to highlight what makes Scotland a relevant and instructive place to carry out such a study. I then define the key terms of reference and the research problem before finally, indicating the overall thesis structure.

1.1 'Participative' Planning

The 'town and country' planning systems of the UK nations are tasked with balancing the demand for new 'development' against its impact on the quality of the built and the natural environment. Planning has impacts across multiple levels of social enquiry. It is a crucial concern of government, and by extension, a political concern. It manages the supply of homes, employment spaces and other facilities as well as their supporting infrastructure. By regulating the development of land, buildings and the associated monetary assets and property rights, planning also influences markets and wider questions of economic growth. Finally, and crucially for this project, the negotiations between these two spheres strongly influence the growth or decline of local places and by extension, the living standards and opportunities of their residents. In this respect, the influence of planning extends beyond its regulatory function alone, as a wider process of 'shaping places' (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013). Through mediating both government and economic forces spatially, the operation of the planning system continues to be of great concern across wider civil society (Adams et al., 2016).

The history of planning as a state activity hinges on the immediate post-war years in the UK. The Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 nationalised the right to develop land and property, subject to gaining planning permission from the local authority (Cullingworth *et al.*, 2015). Issuing from this time, was an image of the planner supported by the state as a 'heroic professional' (Sandercock and Lyssiotis, 2003) dictating the form of local places. In time, the collapse of the socially orientated post-war approach to government and its replacement with a neoliberal rationale in public management saw the planner reimagined as a 'facilitator' of the various interests in the development process (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013). These changes took place alongside the evolution of the argument, begun by commentators such as Jane Jacobs (1961), Paul Davidoff (1965) and Sherry Arnstein (1969) among others, that planning should be open to the voices of those communities where it is practised. Nevertheless, contemporary theorists argue the real rationale in planning systems under neoliberalism lies in achieving development and economic growth regardless of any other expressed ideals (Purcell, 2009).

There are several standpoints in theory and practice on the means necessary to achieve participative planning and design. Some argue that this has the potential to bring the numerous interests in a place together, through a process of deliberation to the achievement of consensus (Forester, 2006; Healey, 2006). Others ask whether contemporary participative settings effectively activate and channel the interests and energies that local people invest in their places (Amin, 2005; Adamson, 2010; Pollock and Sharp, 2012; Adamson and Bromiley, 2013). Yet others, question the possibility to reach fair consensus between communities and property development interests in contemporary planning systems under neoliberalism. In the orchestration of participative processes they argue, lies the potential to selectively convey or otherwise manipulate the citizen voice (Fischler, 2000; Clarke, 2010).

1.2 A Scottish Case Study

Charrettes are by no means the first or only participative policy tool to emerge in planning and design. They are one of numerous solutions that circulate in a global 'policy marketplace' (González, 2011). Scotland is unique in that central government provides direct funding for public participation, a process usually funded and delivered by local or regional governments. The nation's political context is also singular. Since devolution in 1999, Scotland has maintained its own parliament and executive branch of government separate from those of the rest of the UK in Westminster. With a relatively young political administration attempting to establish an identity for itself, various commentators at the time noted the potential for the Scottish planning system to go further along its 'own way' in practice (Tewdwr-Jones, 2001)

Charrettes are an external policy solution imported or 'transferred' to Scotland. The method arose in the USA linked to the 'New Urbanism' movement (Grant, 2006) which itself grew from commercial architecture and urban design practice, notably that of Duany Plater-Zyberk (DPZ, 2016b). New Urbanism advocates for a return to established models of the built environment incorporating dense urban form, mixed uses and walkability. The New Urbanists commonly deploy the charrette at the outset of a new project to involve the community in reaching consensus for how the development will proceed (Grant, 2006). The potential of the method to reconcile communities to development found political resonance with the Scottish Government's various attempts to 'reform' the planning system after devolution. (Scottish Executive, 2005b; Beveridge *et al.*, 2016). The literature on such policy 'mobilities' suggests they cannot be understood without reference to both the global networks across which they travel between countries and the local, contextually grounded circumstances, in which they are adopted in their new host nations (Peck and Theodore, 2010; 2012).

Surprisingly, there has been limited empirical inquiry into the frontline practices through which participation in planning takes place (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013). Despite the international mobility of the charrette method, a review of the literature highlights few direct critical studies of the events in practice. There are three notable exceptions. Bond and Thompson-Fawcett (2007) provide a case study of a New Urbanist Charrette in Wanaka, New Zealand. Onyango and Hadjri (2009) and MacLeod (2013) also undertook detailed research into the processes and outcomes of the first charrette to be held in Scotland, albeit privately at Tornagrain, near Inverness in 2006. Beyond the specific use of charrettes, the works of Flyvbjerg (1998), Forester (2006) Healey (2006) among others, illustrate the diverse academic standpoints on participative planning.

1.3 The Research Problem

My research takes up the story of how charrettes have developed following their acceptance by the Scottish Government and subsequent 'mainstreaming.' My own interests and ambitions for this research stem from my ongoing involvement with charrettes as a planning professional. This began in 2014, when I was part of a charrette team working in the Far North of Scotland. As opposed to previous experience of coming to the public with pre-formulated plans and project ideas, I was impressed by the potential to begin with local vision and collaboration. Yet I also saw danger in charrettes raising communities' expectations above that which could realistically be realised within the planning system.

Cognisant of these issues, my primary goal is to illustrate the balance of rhetoric and reality that lies behind a modern participative initiative. I approach this through a qualitative, multiple case study research design. This method triangulates document analysis, semi structured interviews and field observation. To maintain my investigative focus, I consider charrettes only through their role in formulating the development plans that set a framework for individual planning application decisions. I mostly exclude the development management process, which governs these decisions, except where they have relevance to the outcomes of a particular charrette. Development management also has separate arrangements for public representation that fall outside the scope of this project (Cullingworth *et al.*, 2015).[1]

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[1] For more details on these arrangements as they operate in Scotland, see the Scottish Government (2013a) and Aitken (2010).

It is important I note at the outset, that the term 'community' is highly subjective. The term is not inherently spatial although it has a history of being defined as such, dating back to the work of Max Weber and later, the Chicago School of sociology. These sources viewed towns and cities, with their dense networks of social connections, as offering fertile territory for a sense of community to grow (Delanty, 2018) However, as Bhattacharyya (2004) argues, a community is also a form of shared identity or 'solidarity.' Such formations may exist around a set of common ideals or interests in addition to a place. Given that the focus of my research is on the function of charrettes in real locations, I define 'community' throughout this thesis, in terms of those who live in or have some other interest in a place. However, I acknowledge the diversity of identities, social positions or personal resources that are present within these bounds (Delanty, 2018).

My research strategy firstly considers the motivations of the Scottish Government in selecting the charrette as their choice of nationally sponsored participative planning and design initiative. I then move on to approach the operation of charrettes in the real world, paying critical attention to the encounters between professionals and citizens and the outcomes that emerge from the events. Finally, I consider how my practical findings add to the existing literature and theory on participative planning. Returning to the overarching research question I defined at the outset, I therefore ask the extent that charrettes offer a *new way* for communities to participate and be empowered within the planning process. This question is underpinned by the four secondary sub questions defined below:

1. Why did the Scottish Government consider charrettes to be the optimal method of community engagement and participation within the planning process and how were the events 'mainstreamed' into practice?

2. Do the encounters between professionals and citizens in charrettes establish effective partnerships between the two groups?

3. In what circumstances do charrettes result in development plans and designs that participants from the community feel are responsive to their needs and vision for the area?

4. What implications do charrettes in Scotland hold for the theory and practice of participative planning?

The first sub-question investigates the networks of agencies and the relationships through which the charrette was originally transferred to Scotland from the USA. The second and third sub questions consider how charrettes were operationalised in Scotland. I use the second to question if the events do effectively bring planners and citizens together in considering the futures of places. These considerations are especially important, in that the formation of planning strategies has traditionally been led by professionals. In judging the quality of charrette outcomes, the third sub- question considers how effectively charrettes 'empower' citizens within the planning process. Finally, I use the fourth sub question to consider the implications of my study of charrettes for the theory and practice of participative planning in general. I return to the overarching question, considering whether my findings justify the Scottish Government's confidence in the charrette method. A set of 'participative dimensions' arises from my findings as a key contribution to knowledge. Through this framework, I suggest a platform for learning in the conduct of future participative planning events.

1.4 Thesis Structure

The thesis is arranged over ten chapters. In this introduction I examined the context and theory that surrounds and informs my research problem. Chapter 2 provides a literature review. I outline the terms of reference for the project and the historical development of participation as an ideal within planning theory and practice. In Chapter 3 I outline the theoretical standpoints I consider relevant to my analysis, before synthesising context and theory in a framework that guides my research. In Chapter 4, I use the idea of a 'research journey' to outline my methods.

I then present the results of my fieldwork. Chapter 5 firstly provides context, by defining the circumstances through which charrettes crossed 'the pond' to Scotland from the USA in the 2000s. Through this investigation, I highlight the events that led to the first government supported charrettes in Scotland through the Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative (SSCI) Series of 2010 and the transition to the successor SSCI Charrette Mainstreaming Programme. Chapter 6 provides insight into the first government supported charrettes in Scotland within the SSCI Series, through a case study of the Lochgelly Charrette of 2010. It defines the format for the two other case study chapters. Chapter 7 deals with the Govan / Partick Charrette of 2015. It illustrates developments in practice following from successive years of government mainstreaming funding. Finally, Chapter 8 examines the Clydebank Can event of 2018, shedding light on the current 'state of the art' in the exercise of charrettes. For each case study, I firstly provide a background to development planning in the local area. I then consider the justification for and actions leading up to the charrette in question. I analyse the encounters between citizens and professionals from the standpoint of each group. A final section of each case study chapter examines the charrette outcomes. Finally, I discuss the cross-cutting implications of the case study findings in Chapter 9. Chapter 10 concludes the thesis. I reflect on the theoretical and empirical value of my research and suggest directions for future study.

2 Planning and Participation

The argument for participative practice emerged as a reaction against the figure of the planner as a 'heroic' arm of the state, that developed in the years post WWII. In this literature review I begin by condensing key accounts of planning into a historical sketch of the activity. Along the way, I encounter wider conceptual moments in the social sciences including the turn from modernity to postmodernity, mass to flexible production and from the welfare to the 'neoliberal' state. I close the chapter by reflecting on the theoretical implications of how planning 'was done' and how planning and design might be 'done better' through charrettes today.

2.1 The Heroic Practitioner?

The idea of town planning has a complex past of which a PhD project like mine can offer only the briefest of outlines. A popular history of planning[2] sees the discipline's genesis as a reaction against the physical and social ills of the evolving industrial city. Planning represented an attempt to impose rationality and professional expertise on urban growth (Klosterman, 1985). It provided a framework within which the multitude of dangers and inefficiencies inherent in the unrestricted expansion of the built environment could be addressed. It is this understanding of planning or the 'planner as a spatial administrator' that has become most familiar in the academic and public imagination. More conceptually, Klosterman highlight's the hope that planning could be realised as an autonomous "fourth power" of public management, so equipped to create a better environment and society than might be attained through political and market competition (Ibid, 1985, p.177). Accordingly, Hall (2014), charts the efforts of planning's early proponents to raise wider questions about how civil society could manage its own affairs without the regulating framework and power hierarchies of the state.

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[2] Presented as part of a contemporary volume of key readings for students.

Early expressions of the planning ethos, as exemplified by the work of Patrick Geddes and Ebenezer Howard among others, created a blueprint for not only a healthier urban environment but also a redefinition of existing social and property relations. These early planning thinkers argued that 'development' could be realised through collaboration at the level of the citizen, rather than being imposed by the state or market from above. The nascent planning movement was international in scope and developed alongside other forms of social consciousness, especially the sanitary reform and philanthropic housing movements (Hall, 2014). Accordingly, Rodgers (1998, p.4) identifies a flow of ideas and learning in social policy and progressive politics between Europe, Britain and North America in his conception of the "Atlantic Era", of which planning was a key element.

Critically, most planners and other reformers of their time, in contrast to those suffering the brunt of the social ills they attacked, occupied relatively comfortable social positions. While viewing unrestricted capitalism with alarm, very few saw a solution in abandoning the established market economy entirely. Neither did they deem centralised state action a solution. Rather they advocated for compromise, isolating market imperatives from those areas of life where the social costs were becoming too manifest. The reformers did not directly produce social policy or politics and were not anchored in any arm of the state. Although some held academic positions, neither were the majority located within contemporary institutions of knowledge. Rather, the figure of the reformer during this time, is that of a well-meaning, self-taught amateur (Rodgers, 1998).

The first half of the 20th Century laid foundations for planning and planners to become key components of the state apparatus across the Atlantic countries (Hall, 2014). In the British context, the first official acknowledgement of planning as government policy came through an Act of Parliament in 1909. The late 1800s saw the communitarian hopes that drove the planner as a reformer find political traction. The early planners, their voices honed through international exchange of knowledge and ideas, were becoming more effective at lobbying government for recognition of their craft. The Liberal Party election win of 1905 created a favourable climate for planning to be realised as a state function. The Liberals pursued a pioneering socially redistributive agenda in power. The official inception of planning was contemporary with a cross section of social policy reforms in other areas, building the foundations of a comprehensive government approach to welfare regulation (Cherry, 1996).

The 1909 Act marked the first official acknowledgement of planning in Britain. However, the *Town and Country Planning Act* of 1947 was the turning point toward planning as the official function it remains today (Wakeman, 2014; Cullingworth *et al.*, 2015). Predicated by the central directives on land use from the War Years (Cherry, 1974), the 1947 Act nationalised the right to develop land or property by placing it under control of the public authorities. This legislation replaced a diversity of local planning systems with a centralised new principle, that firmly established the planner as a state professional. The change was managed by a new Ministry for Town and Country Planning, who imposed a duty upon all local authorities to produce and enforce development plans, (Cullingworth *et al.*, 2015) The new system made it mandatory that each local authority prepare a development plan against which all future proposals were legally required to be considered. Beyond being granted this authority to judge private development proposals, the planner was also empowered by various other legislation. Most notably, the New Towns Act of 1946 and the comprehensive redevelopment projects within existing cities enabled planners to marshal the private development industry to create new housing and other infrastructure (Cherry, 1996; Hall, 2014).

The post-war vision comprehensively replaced the earlier figure of the planner as an amateur social reformer, as I saw in Howard and Geddes, with that of the professional and procedural expert. Planners now worked from a more universal set of ideas or a "meta narrative" on urbanism (Harvey, 1990, p.9). Planning professionals became "technical guardians" of the public interest, by virtue of their specialist education and experience (Cherry, 1974, p.158). Planners offered what appeared to be a new direction along which to manage not only physical development, but wider social concerns. The professional planners of the post-war years were grounded in the thought of the Enlightenment and its attendant concept of 'modernity': a rejection of past convention, precedent and tradition as a way to organise the future (Callinicos, 2007). Modernity instead, was based on a belief that social practices and institutions should be constructed through objective, scientific appraisal and the 'rationalised' knowledge generated (Scott, 2006).The central preoccupation of the newly nationalised planning system was reordering urban space into a more efficient form. Politically, only the forces of the state were felt equipped to play such a role, considering the relatively recent legacy of the Great Depression and Second World War. Whatever the solution to urban reconstruction might be, a return to the 'laissez faire' attitude of previous decades was not a viable option (Harvey, 1990).

As Sandercock and Lyssiotis (2003, p.64) argue, the planning practice that resulted embodied a 'heroic' ethic, epitomising the ideals of "rationality; comprehensiveness; scientific method; faith in state directed futures (and) faith in the planner's ability to know what is good for people generally". The heroic practitioner thus worked *for*, rather than *with* their public. The core logic of modernity drew on scientific rationalisation and promoted the role of the specialist, professional or technician (Scott, 2006). The intellectual basis of planning of this time moved from its grounding principle of social reform toward aesthetic and scientific concerns (Taylor, 1998). This shift was reflected in the work of contemporary key figures. Patrick Abercrombie, who delivered several pioneering strategies of the post-war years, saw the role of the planner as fundamentally imposing design and order on the often-chaotic nature of the urban. The ideal plan was as such, both a "social organism and a work of art" (Abercrombie and Childs, 1959).

The planner's new 'heroic' mantle was not theirs alone. The post-war years also saw the state direct 'meta narratives' to a range of other social concerns. Exemplifying this process was Beveridge's 1942 Social Insurance and Allied Services report that provided the blueprint for the British welfare state. The report recommendations were confidently designed to slay the 'five giants' of want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness. This was to take place through mass provision of social security, health, education and housing, albeit on the assumption of full employment (Timmins, 2001).

The universal appeal of these ideals transcended traditional political divides during the post war years. The ideal of comprehensive social provision was one considered open to change only by degree rather than in entirety, for both the political right and left (Fraser, 2009). Government consensus developed on the need for rebuilding and redistribution. This consensus endured from the immediate post-war years into the final quarter of the 20th Century (Cherry, 1996), founded upon a re-conception of property markets and rights (McAuslan, 1980). While the post-war planning system saw a fundamental role for the state and public professional in regulating new urban growth, it also delivered this growth on the ground. The development industry was marshalled at the behest of the state to produce the new housing and other facilities required by social government (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013). In the modernist spirit of rationalisation, planners were now surely equipped to undertake a coordinated approach to the spectrum of urban problems. The social aspirations of planning's founding years thus might finally be achieved, but these attainments were double edged. The risk of the planner or designer as artist evident in the words of Abercrombie above, was that it elevated the professional to the role of 'grand master' without consideration of the citizen's own appreciation of place (Carmona *et al.*, 2010). This risk was all the greater in that the planner often worked monumental change on the built and physical environment, as was exemplified in the new towns policy and the high rise redevelopment of many British inner cities (Osborn and Whittick, 1977; Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994).

2.2 'Heroes' to Villains

The seemingly detached and theoretical rationale of post-war planning combined with the centralised state apparatus surrounding it, set the discipline on a collision course with the communities where it was practised. Early commentators were especially sceptical on the potential for the planning professional to lose sight of the everyday issues affected by their work. By occupying such an aspirational position, planning's future success would henceforth be measured by the degree to which it met the public's expectations of a better life. In presenting itself as an administrative solution to a wide range of social concerns, planning was also open to the full array of discontentment on these subjects (Ashworth, 1954).

The ability of post-war planning to manage a complex web of often extremely emotive issues, ranging from housing to environmental quality, in the presumed 'public interest' was questionable. Somewhat ironically, the source of this critique issued from a similar grassroots social position to that the planning movement had itself once occupied (Eversley, 1973). Planners in the post-war years benefitted from an atmosphere of general economic prosperity. Low unemployment combined with previously unseen levels of state spending on new homes and infrastructure gave momentum to the social government project. This impetus was not inexhaustible. State led development had increased provision of housing and facilities, but not at a quality fit to match public expectation (Eversley, 1973; Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994). Inflation and rising unemployment resulted as Britain's economy slowed in the face of global competition. Labour unrest compounded these issues, casting doubt on other aspects of the welfare state (Timmins, 2001).

The concerns that had once energised the planning movement: poor housing and urban conditions, were 'rediscovered' in the late 1960s. The landscape of tower blocks, new towns and peripheral housing estates that was emerging under the planner's purview, often disrupted established communities and alienated new residents. Many of the methods of its construction were also untried and often carried out with little regard to quality (Coleman *et al.*, 1985; Hall, 2014).

Feeling disenfranchised of the ability to influence these issues through established political conduits, a new set of interest groups started to develop at the grassroots level. These organisations were spearheaded by the 'middle class' and intellectuals, but also included students, workers and other community-based activists. The target of their criticism was increasingly the state planner reconceived as a faceless, complacent and incompetent bureaucrat. The plethora of these movements led critique of planning to gather wider visibility and impetus in the popular imagination (Eversley, 1973).

As technological change continued into the final part of the 20th Century, the manual occupations that were previously the mainstay of employment in the established economies also became mobilised and frequently outsourced to lower cost locations worldwide. In this context, the idea of widespread state intervention to meet social needs became increasingly open to challenge, especially as assistance to those who were unemployed rose (Fraser, 2009). As the tensions in implementing a welfare-based approach to government strengthened, they began to fracture the post-war consensus with increasingly polarised political debate.

The Conservative administrations of the UK throughout the 1980s into the 1990s typified these changes. Margaret Thatcher's famous declaration that "there is no such thing as society" in 1982 (Dean, 2010, p.177) heralded a neoliberal approach to government. The neoliberal ideal is imbedded in the language of the market. It emphasises the withdrawal of the state from servicing wider social needs, instead deploying its powers on encouraging individual enterprise. In this context, the British planning system ceased to drive growth in towns and cities directly, with its new ideal 'facilitating' a diverse array of agencies in the private sector and wider civil society to implement development (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013). These decades also saw the removal of many areas of existing planning control, based on the perception this would make the system more reactive and able to foster economic competitiveness (Carmona *et al.*, 2010). The fragmentation of the post-war meta narratives on planning was gathering pace and the image of the 'heroic' planner so central to it, was becoming increasingly tarnished.

2.3 Building Bridges?

Despite these changes, the participation ethic remained narrowly channelled in statute and policy. Public participation was established as a legal norm in the plan making process by Acts in 1968 in England and Wales and 1969 in Scotland. Alongside this legislation, the 1969 Report of the Committee on Public Participation and Planning chaired by Arthur Skeffington M.P, is often cited as somewhat of a turning point in providing the first official legitimisation for integrating participation (Cullingworth *et al.*, 2015; Brownill and Inch, 2019). The report acknowledged the growing demand for community involvement in the development of new policy and strategy. The Committee went so far as to view these demands as part of a "new phase" in representative democracy (Committee on Public Participation in Planning, 1969, p.3). However, in practice the report recommendations were far less radical, resting upon providing the public more information and opportunities to comment.

Contemporary reviewers highlighted the constraints and opportunities changes in land use imposed on communities. They attacked the complacency of the report in recommending that conflict be avoided by planners 'educating' the public about the nature of their role (Damer and Hague, 1971). The report's suggestion that authorities should appoint community development officers to reach out to local people also saw little follow up action (Cullingworth *et al.*, 2015). Reflecting this, officially sanctioned participation in planning in the 1970s and 1980s generally remained limited in scope and was impeded by unresponsive structures of local government. The 1968 and 69 Planning Acts introduced a two-tier hierarchy of local development plans and regional structure plans. Rather than clarifying the process, the remit of the new plans caused further confusion for the public (Rydin, 1999). The tone of relations between the planner and citizen lost little of its adversity. Local people and community organisations felt the most important decisions affecting their places were predetermined above them. This was most strongly evidenced by Jay's (1972) manual for civic and community activists that angrily decried "the enemy is the plan itself" (Ibid, 1972, p.9).

Local authorities, intimidated by the resources required to navigate new plans through multiple rounds of consultation and objection, were discouraged from keeping strategy up to date. Informal policy and guidance became the norm. Where authorities did seek to engage with citizens, this was usually from a cautious and self-justifying stance, where planners first presented their strategy, then defended it from the public's objections (Cullingworth et al., 2015). These tensions impacted on the intellectual basis of planning. The immediate post-war years had found the state willing to listen to, and in some cases indulge, the often abstract and conceptual visions of the planner and designer. My home town, the post-war planned settlement of Cumbernauld, is a case in point. In its central 'megastructure' the Cumbernauld Development Corporation's planners and architects were granted an "experimental fantasy come to life" (Wakeman, 2016, p.271). Similarly, the inner-city post-war redevelopment programmes in the UK were driven by modernist ideals from the 1920s and 30s that had, up until then, remained confined to paper (Coleman *et al.*, 1985). However, as cracks appeared in the post-war consensus and its attendant planning principles, Hall, (2014) highlights a growing disconnect between the idealistic view of what planning *should be* and the reality of how it was *actually practised* through the state apparatus. In the varied strands of these new intellectual perspectives was the genesis of a more critical and socially aware approach to 'planning theory' (Allmendinger, 2009).

Some of the most prominent challenges were issued from outside the academy. Jane Jacobs (1961) popularly attacked the loss of traditional urbanity and street life, in the wake of a decade of modernist inspired planning and urban design. Richard Bolan (1967) challenged the fit of planner's rational values with the convoluted political forces through which development actually took place. Melvin Webber (1969) outlined the limits to a procedural planning practice aimed at increasing the efficacy of the city's physical structure in the face of rising inequalities and growing social discontent.

These sources influenced David Harvey's (1973) prominent Marxist analysis that argued contemporary planning frequently oversimplified the linkages it drew between change in urban space and change in society. Harvey saw contemporary planners as blind to the inequalities of income and property relations within the urban sphere.

This commentary was accompanied by significant debate on whether new forms of planning practice could be developed that mobilised citizens in tackling inequalities and how these impacted on the role of the planning professional. These new ideals were exemplified in Sherry Arnstein's (1969) attempt to construct a framework for how local people could be involved in public decision making. Arnstein defined a 'ladder' of participation with full citizen command of the planning process forming the final rung and various levels of communication and negotiation between. Her ideas have since become ubiquitous across a range of other aspects of social policy beyond the urban development sphere (Collins and Ison, 2009).They were accompanied by a wider literature that cast the planner as an advocate and an enabler of those disaffected by the 'heroic' model of post-war practice.

These sources suggested a new identity for the 'planner', beyond that of the professional or bureaucrat alone. The Detroit Geographical Expedition, led by William Bunge, sought to create a linkage between the theoretical and spatial concepts so essential to contemporary planning and the everyday experiences of poor inner-city residents. The Expedition established an outreach college in these districts so that residents could bring their own voice and actions to the table in planning matters (Bunge, 1977; Heyman, 2007). Paul Davidoff (1965, p.333) too, argued for a more pluralistic field for the discipline, in which planners should abandon their previously detached role, becoming "advocates" across the range of interests involved in the development process. This form of practice had strongly informative dimensions, with planners helping their new 'clients' to better articulate what they wanted from change in their places.

These challenges to the 'heroic' post war planning model inspired John Friedmann (1973) to declare its 'death'. He advocated for a reconsideration of planning's future that drew from its past. The new 'transactive' form of planning that he argued for, combined the 'expert' knowledge of the professional with the 'experiential' or lived understandings of the community. These transactions involved an element of mutual knowledge exchange that Friedmann later developed more thoroughly in a further book length treatment, arguing for planning as a process of social learning (Friedmann, 1987). Friedmann, (2008, p.253) saw these lessons coalescing in a "radical" form of practice outside of the state's control structures. Transactive planning would not redress the power imbalances between state and industry and the level of the citizen in the construction of the built environment overnight. However, it could establish small "cells" (Friedmann, 1973, p.240) of activity around particular planning or environmental issues. Within these groups, the sum of both expert and experiential knowledge could potentially lead to better outcomes than each could achieve alone. For practitioners, it could lead to more locally responsive understandings than their professional knowledge and education could provide. For communities, rather than instinctively opposing development, transactive planning could help them to be more constructive and articulate in expressing their concerns. (Friedmann, 2008).

In their multilateralism, these evolving visions for planning also reflected the evolving intellectual tenets of 'postmodernity'. The Enlightenment 'meta narratives' that underpinned the ethos of post-war planning were exhausted by the difficulties of maintaining an intellectual and social solidarity and unified conception of 'progress' (Scott, 2006). Thinking on the urban turned to embrace the specific and multiple over the general and singular. Wates and Knevitt (1987) highlight several examples of individual communities and professionals working to provide valid alternatives to state led planning. In Byker, Newcastle, a council housing scheme was planned and designed in detail through the involvement of the residents who were to be rehoused. The professionals responsible located to an open shop on site (Pendlebury *et al.*, 2006).

Closer to home, Gillick (2017) notes the efforts of residents in the Woodlands area of Glasgow who organised themselves around improving their stock and undertaking small-scale environmental improvements. Given the limits of the statutory context, efforts like these did not act to significantly change wider planning policies and practice. Yet what did emerge, was a viable challenge from the grassroots to the conception of 'development' so central to the post-war consensus model. Also notable is the emergence of a partnership ethic. Community leaders were becoming skilled in engaging with figures from across the public and private sectors and wider civil society (Ibid, 2017). In finding a balance between these different agencies, the intellectual basis of planning increasingly turned towards communicative processes, mediating between the different interests in contemporary development issues. Planning theory welcomed the prospect of 'deliberative' practice whereby all members of the community have the chance to participate in decisions and articulate their views within a communicative and cooperative environment (Forester, 2006). In its social dimension, the sort of relationship between professional planners and communities advocated, was founded on collaborative discussion about the nature of local issues and how planning policies might impact on different individuals. The goals of this discussion were to work toward a consensus on how these issues might be understood and acted upon (Healey, 2006).

The developing momentum of these ideas found conversion into some tangible planning outcomes. The 1980s saw the formation of a 'planning aid' service in Scotland[3] (Royal Town Planning Institute, 2019) that acted as a vehicle for professionals to provide advice and assistance to the public in their free time. It was funded first through grants from the Royal Town Planning Institute and the then Scottish Office (Planning Aid Scotland, 2013), highlighting an increasing awareness of participation in the institutional and political conscience. In the latter part of the decade, some authorities[4] investigated measures to make local government more responsive to citizens, beginning to turn away from their defensive strategies in favour of more open engagement (Rydin, 1999).

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[3] This followed from the establishment of a planning aid service for England and Wales during the previous decade (Royal Town Planning Institute, 2019).

[4] This was most apparent through the reaction of Labour led councils against the Thatcher led Conservative administrations of 1979-1990 (Rydin, 1999).

The 1990s also saw concern for the environmental implications of planning solidify. United Nations Agenda 21[5] had a strong local component that encouraged public authorities to learn from their communities in addressing the sustainable development of land and other natural resources. This spurred the development of new methods of involving local people in considering land use strategy (Anderson et.al, 1994). A further concern from within the profession was that participative planning should reflect diversity in society and be equally accessible regardless of one's social or cultural identity. The Greater London Authority Act of 1999 is notable in this respect, setting a precedent for authorities to consider diversity and equality in making and implementing strategy (Reeves, 2005).

These developments were catalysed by the ascendancy of the 'New Labour' government, in 1997. This centrist administration focussed on attempting to find a balance between the traditional dichotomies of left and right in politics. Instead, it pursued the concept of a 'third way' that sought to decentralise government and reactivate and engage civil society (Giddens, 1998). Subsequently, a new mantra for the British planning systems was created aligned to 'reform'.

Reform or 'modernisation' is frequently interpreted as solely a vehicle to make the planning system more receptive to the needs of economic growth and property development. One of its goals was to speed up the processing of applications and formulation of development plans in a continuation of the efficiency and deregulation measures imposed under the Conservative governments of the 1980s and early 1990s (Tewdwr-Jones, 2008). However, reform also heralded a renewed impetus on planning to address social and environmental issues, especially as a vehicle for implementing the wider international sustainable development agenda. Reform as such sometimes awkwardly juxtaposed commercial imperatives alongside more communitarian values, particularly through the demand that planning should respond to the citizen voice by becoming participatory or 'bottom up' (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013).

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[5] Derived from the UN Conference on Environment and Development, 1992.

From 1999, devolution and the revival of the Scottish Parliament along with the formation of a semi-autonomous government (originally termed the 'Scottish Executive') also made possible a more identifiably Scottish approach to politics and policy (Laxton and Leith, 2012). While Scotland's planning system had always been founded on discrete legislation and statute from the rest of the U.K, these documents were ultimately ratified by Westminster. Devolution enabled Scottish planning to find its own course on home ground (Tewdwr-Jones, 2001). The Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative (SSCI) was one of the outcomes of this process. Since 2011, this initiative and its successor programmes provided funding to mainstream participation and engagement into planning practice using charrettes.

Throughout the 2000s and 2010s, the context for participatory planning in Scotland developed alongside other changes in policy. Table 1 shows the current background. 'Scottish Planning Policy' (SPP) is particularly relevant for my research. Through this, the Scottish Government (2014b, p.4) defines its aspiration that "people make the system work." Planning is expected through policy to be pluralistic, democratic and community orientated. This direction almost exactly echoes the vison of 'communicative planning' outlined by Forester (2006) and Healey (2006). Yet the question that remains, is how far the contemporary Scottish system affords local people meaningful influence, or merely provides overtures to it.

Table 1 - Strategic Policy Review

Policy Document	Purpose
Designing Places (2001) Designing Streets (2010)	Designing Places and Designing Streets taken together form the Scottish Government's preferred direction for urban design to be considered within the planning system. Designing Places establishes a set of six more general urban design principles while Designing Streets focuses more specifically on road and street design.
National Planning Framework (NPF) 3 (2014)	The National Planning Framework NPF provides a spatial framework for the Scottish Government's economic development strategy, mainly through setting out the locations of the major infrastructure investment projects.
Scottish Planning Policy (SPP) (Updated) (2014)	Scottish Planning Policy condensed the former system of individual subject specific planning policy statements into one consolidated document in 2010.
Empowering Planning to Deliver Great Places: An Independent Review of the Planning System (2016)	The latest review of the planning system occurred in 2015 through the work of a three-person review panel. The recommendations of the review were followed through in the Planning Bill of December 2017. The resulting Planning (Scotland) Bill passed through Parliament and received Royal Assent during the summer of 2019.

2.4 "People make the System Work?"

Regardless of the participative overtones, successive governments in Scotland have viewed 'reform' most strongly through an economic lens, arguing that planning must be "open for business" (Inch, 2018, p.1076). The potential tensions and contradictions between this goal and the participative and democratic ideals of reform are rarely discussed, at least officially (Inch, 2015). The development industry, particularly the large housebuilders, represents a powerful influence on national planning policies. Indeed, within the profession, it is widely considered that this lobby was responsible for initiating the most recent round of reforms (Inch, 2018). By contrast, the resources available to individuals or community organisations to engage remain relatively limited. Lacking the seeming direct line to politicians and planning authorities possessed by the development industry, they must instead advance their arguments though either formal letters of representation or sanctioned participative forums like the charrette (Inch, 2015).

For the planner too, reform has represented a double-edged sword. The global financial crisis and recession of the late 2000s significantly impacted upon the Scottish development industry, as was the case in many western economies (Newhaven Research / University of Glasgow, 2008). The subsequent public service cuts that followed from 2010 as part of the Westminster government's 'austerity' agenda have been borne most strongly by local government (Maguire and Chakelianm, 2018) where the majority of planners who work in the public sector are based. The popular perception that the Scottish Government supports a better resourced public sector than in the rest of the UK (Eaton, 2015) does not necessarily equate to better resourced local authorities in reality (Accounts Commission, 2018). In fact, approximately 25% of local authority planning posts having been lost in Scotland during the 2010s, due to cuts in local government's revenue budgets. (Hague, 2019).

Within the austerity agenda, planning as a form of regulation was increasingly viewed as a barrier to, rather than an enabler of development and economic growth (Blackman, 2016). While most strongly expressed by the Westminster Government, this view nevertheless found traction with Holyrood in its most recent round of reforms. Ministers were persuaded by the development industry that planning controls act as an inhibitor on growth (Hague, 2019). More tacitly, no Chartered Town Planner, or Member of the Royal Town Planning Institute (MRTPI), was invited to sit on the panel of the 2015 Planning Review. This step was supposedly taken to ensure the independence of the exercise. However, this is questionable given the connections of the three panel members with both the development industry and the Scottish Government itself (Beveridge *et al.*, 2016).

Finally, the very definition of 'planning' has also changed over the timeframe covered by my study. As I noted in the introductory chapter, the role of the planner has become increasingly defined beyond their established regulatory concern with the built environment, as part of a wider process of 'shaping places' (Adams and Watkins, 2014). The latter half of the 2010s saw both government and the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) advocate that traditional physical or 'spatial planning', should be integrated more thoroughly with the 'community planning' sphere (Hayes, 2015). 'Community Planning' is an umbrella term for the measures whereby Scotland's various public providers are compelled to work together with each other in service delivery. It is operationalised through the work of Community Planning Partnership (CPP) networks in each local authority area (Scottish Government, 2018a). A typical community planning partnership might include representation from the emergency and health services, public transport agencies as well as social housing organisations and third sector representatives (Glasgow Community Planning Partnership, 2017a). The Community Empowerment Act of 2015 created new statutory duties for Local Authorities to work together within their CPP's to reduce inequalities. As these measures imposed a check from above, they paved the way for new checks from below. The Act also established new powers for community organisations to purchase or have local authority land or buildings transferred to them (Scottish Community Development Centre, 2017).

Within this wider conception of 'planning', charrettes in Scotland are required to touch upon a broad range of issues. Reflecting this changing scope, the framework of development plans has also shifted. Following after the 'Neighbourhood plans' established in England and Wales through the Localism Act of 2011 (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2019), the Planning (Scotland) Bill introduced Local Place Plans (LPPs). These strategies offer communities the prospect of creating their own vision for their places that could become a formally recognised counterpart to the spatial Local Development Plan (Scottish Government, 2017b).

The context into which charrettes are deployed as a participative method in Scotland is therefore, highly complex. It is backgrounded by longstanding processes of 'reform' that aim to make planning more responsive to both the needs of community and the development industry. Some commentators see reform as part of a "new proceduralism" (Hall, 2014, p.412). They argue that the drive to make the system more efficient and responsive has pushed out the concerns that originally energised the activity as a social movement (Bowie, 2016). Nevertheless, the ideals of participation and communication form notable exceptions to this rule, being almost ubiquitous amidst contemporary policy.

The rational planning ethos appeared to offer a convenient solution to the wider issues facing the UK in the mid-20th Century, at least in the political imagination. Where they had promised new homes, construction jobs and commercial real estate, the visions of the 'heroic' practitioner were highly alluring (Wakeman, 2016). In politically complex contemporary times, the participative, communicative ideal of planning offers the opportunity to reach consensus on the future of places, at least in theory (Forester, 2006; Healey, 2006). However, translating the normative aspirations of theory into practice carries many challenges. In extolling the virtues of participation and communication on paper, it is easy to ignore the institutional realities that might distort or constrain these ideals.(Storper, 2001). A question thus remains for my research, considering the apparent contradictions. It is: are 'communication' and 'participation' important in planning policy because they are the right thing to do, or more critically, because they represent an avenue to 'get to yes' (Hall, 2014) with the community on a development proposal or strategy?

2.5 Summary: Towards Power and Participation

I used this chapter to create a historical foundation for the more conceptual discussion of the participative planning ideal and its mechanisms that follows. I provided a sketch of the development of the planning activity from beginnings as a social movement to the post-war 'heroic' phase (Sandercock and Lyssiotis, 2003). I outlined how the contradictions of this era encouraged a critical shift in both theory and practice toward the ideal that local people should actively participate in the planning and design of their places. It gathered momentum toward the final quarter of the 20th Century, at a time when wider changes in society were under way. The social approach to government that had characterised the post-war years gave way to a new neoliberal form. The enlightenment based, 'modernist' rationale that had conceptually guided the developments of this time was replaced with a more fragmented 'postmodern' ideal. Some citizens and professionals began to challenge the concept of 'development' hitherto advanced by the state with their own meanings.

Academically, these changes were conceptualised as a 'deliberative' turn in planning theory. Nevertheless, the degree to which deliberation and participation have been meaningfully integrated into planning practice remains questionable. The challenge for my research is to take account of both the voices that call for change and the wider factors that influence how change happens. To explore these questions in detail, shifts the frame of reference from describing and contrasting different ideas of planning practice, towards a deeper investigation of their structural and conceptual underpinnings.

In the next chapter, I create a theoretical framework to examine the charrette. I consider the power dynamics implicit, in addition to how the meetings that occur between planners and citizens in charrettes might be best approached. This discussion leads on to my consideration of the research methods and fieldwork for the PhD, that follows in Chapter 4.

3 Theoretical Framework

The turn toward a participative planning ethos that I outlined in the previous chapter raises several important theoretical questions. The meaning of 'participation' in planning is firstly, somewhat ambiguous. In this chapter, I address this ambiguity. I outline 'participation' as a form of negotiation over the right to define the built environment, investigating the wider questions of power that result. I then develop a theoretical framework to approach participative planning and design through charrettes.

I begin the theoretical framework by exploring the complex relationships and negotiations between government, the market, individual and community that are manifest in my research problem. I approach these issues from the perspectives on 'governmentality', or the public management rationale of the state, offered through the work of Michel Foucault and Mitchell Dean. I use Dean's (2012b) concept of the 'signature of power' to investigate the various ways the state claims to divest influence on the future of places to citizens, through participation in planning and design.

In examining how participation represents the planner, as a state professional, ceding the power they hold over local development, I encounter two stances in the literature. One upholds that participation should be a 'communicative' process' with the various agencies connected to a place working towards a consensual vision of how it might change in the future. The other perspective questions the integrity of any consensus that might be achieved, given the traditional power imbalances between citizens, the state and development industry within the planning system. I also invert those perspectives that focus on power being ceded by the state and investigate the agency and dedication that some within communities can deploy from the 'grassroots'.

The theoretical framework attempts to move beyond the binaries that I see within the literature on participative planning. Consequently, I show how understandings from non-representational studies can bring the theoretical questions of power I raise at the start of this chapter together with the practical dynamics of the charrette as a meeting space between professionals and citizens. As the charrette method originates outside of Scotland, I also must be able to consider the balance of local, national and global forces that shape individual charrettes in the country today.

I close the chapter by formally defining the theoretical framework and linking its components to the research questions that guide this thesis. The completed framework signposts the way toward the case studies of individual charrettes that make up my empirical findings.

3.1 Investigating 'Participation' in Planning

The 'canon' of critical writing on participatory planning was established in the 1960s, reflecting a wider scholarly reaction to the 'heroic' figure of the planner and designer post-war. It would be a mistake to label the practitioner of this time as completely insensitive to public engagement. Indeed, Arnstein (1969), cites numerous examples of development decisions undertaken with at least an awareness of citizens' desire for involvement. In the British context, the Skeffington Report acknowledged the need for participation not to proceed through the formal representation structure of the planning system alone. It advocated that authorities should reach out to communities through forums or dedicated staff (Committee on Public Participation in Planning, 1969). Critically however, planners too often sought to encourage citizen involvement superficially. They neglected to question more deeply who was to be engaged, the reasons for engagement and the challenges in bringing it about (Arnstein, 1969). Over time, the influence of this argument has endured beyond the context in which it was first made and encouraged planners to reflect more widely on what the true meanings and benefits of community participation really are (Rocha, 1997).

Arnstein conceived of participation as a "redistribution" (Ibid, 1969, p.216) of influence that enables those who are otherwise disenfranchised, an entry into public decision making. As shown in Figure 1, her 'ladder' metaphor quantifies the distinction between 'tokenistic' forms of participation, including informing and placation and those which endow citizens with some degree of influence (Rocha, 1997; Collins and Ison, 2009). The most aspirational top 'rung', is occupied by those settings permitting 'control'. These are where citizens directly manage the administration of a project or strategy and can freely discuss the terms in which it may be modified by forces outside their group. Citizen 'control' raises two other implications. First, in being granted the right to take part in public decision making, an atmosphere of *deliberation* must be advanced, where a suite of potential solutions is debated, contested and a course of action is finalised through consensus (Bevir, 2010; Elstub, 2010).The ideal result is that, building on these actions and words, communities are 'empowered' relative to the state, to act for change in their places (Ledwith and Springett, 2010; Adamson and Bromiley, 2013).

Figure 1 - Arnstein's Ladder
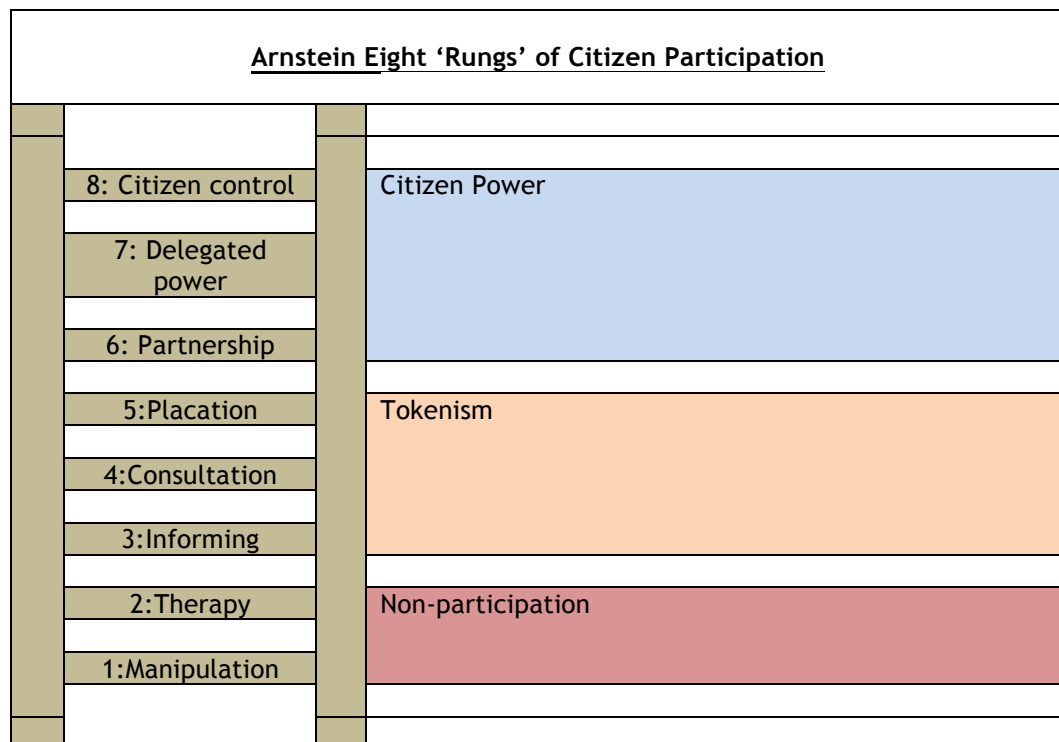
Source: After Arnstein (1969)

Many competing models exist as to how this triad may be applied to the planning process and to speak of 'participation' risks ambiguity if the terms of reference used are not qualified (Bishop, 2015). My research assesses the charrette as a tool through which communities may exercise involvement in the formulation of planning strategy and the design of their places. For the avoidance of confusion, I refer to *participative planning* instead of deliberative planning, collaborative planning, empowering planning or other possible terms. Charrettes are addressed critically with respect to their actual benefits to communities in terms of Cornwall's (2008, p.280) "participation in what?". My theoretical framework provides a space for questions about the *deliberative* issues of *who* and on *what basis* people are involved in the decision-making process and the eventual benefits in terms of *empowerment,* that accrue from the charrette as a participative planning event.

As Fung (2006) argues, to articulate participation as a series of steps toward 'citizen control' of public decision making is to assume this should be a universal norm. Such an assumption is potentially dangerous, if deployed uncritically. The key question is in what circumstances citizens' empowerment addresses the limitations of traditional state and professionally led approaches. Bishop (2015) critically recasts Arnstein's original typology not in terms of dominance of either state or community based forces over the other, but rather in the ability to achieve mutual benefits from bringing together representatives of both spheres. Bishop concedes that such shared working and action may be easy to aspire to, but more difficult to attain in practice.

3.2 The 'Signature of Power' in Participative Planning

Participative planning is thus, a complex form of negotiation. Two conceptions of influence or 'power' in the process are necessary: "power over" (others) and "power to" (do) (Dean, 2012b, p.102). These capacities are best considered as two sides of one coin. To critically approach their dynamics in participative planning, is to consider the overall 'signature' of power. This conception challenges the antinomy of 'power over' against 'power to'. Power can be held 'over' the citizen by the state planning authorities and development industry. It is these interests who have traditionally possessed the influence to decide the shape of places. From this angle, I ask if state professionals and the development industry effectively yield power to the community through charrettes. I also critically consider the claim of contemporary governments that participation 'activates' the energy communities hold to act for positive change in their places (Adamson and Bromiley, 2013).

The beginnings of my theoretical framework lie in the administrative context of a modern, participation orientated planning system. I approach planning not just in terms of its regulatory impact, but attempt to uncover the complex relationships and negotiations between government, the market, individual and community that are manifest (Adams et al., 2016). Here, the theoretical perspectives of Michel Foucault stand out because they illustrate the complexities of government in a way that takes account of these different dimensions. 'Government' is not an abstract force. Rather it is composed of a series of real-world relationships between differently empowered individuals and social groups, within their time and geographic setting. In Foucault's (1991, p.93) terms, to critically interrogate the wider process of government, one must study the "complex composed of men (sic.) and things, men in their…links…with…the territory with its specific qualities…". From his wide body of work, it is Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' that provides the strongest foundation from which to examine these myriad extensions of state power and order (Danaher *et al.*, 2000).

To consider participative planning within a framework of 'governmentality', is to think in a certain way about contemporary forms of administrative rationality and practice. This thinking encompasses both the organisations of public management and the knowledge and techniques through which their power is channelled. Crucially, it considers how these forces impact at the level of the individual (Miller and Rose, 1990). For such power to be possible, Foucault argues that it must be rooted in the heart of social conventions. The emergence of the liberal democratic state in the 17th and 18th Centuries depended upon the appropriation of the institutions of 'pastoral'[6] care concerned with health and morality from the church. 'Government' was not something enforced upon the individual from above. Rather, it coalesced around a set of ideas concerned with how to manage society most efficiently and productively. These practices necessitated that people be conceptualized both in quantitative terms as a 'population', yet also qualitatively as individuals (Foucault, 1982). This, in turn, necessitated a new suite of 'techniques' through which the exercise of power could take place (Foucault, 1991). The realisation of state power consequently rests on the ability to act upon one's actions or capability of action, leading others within a field of possibilities; or "guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome" (Foucault, 1982, p.221). New methods of enquiry were required that allowed the population to be examined and evaluated both physically and economically. These predicated the deployment of policies that structured behaviour at the individual level and maintained order and health at the level of the population (Foucault, 1991). These processes were underpinned by a rationale of 'productivity': well behaved, ordered individuals would be productive, both for the good of themselves, but also for the good of state and society. Rather than imposing order only through force, governments for the first time, addressed themselves to the "calculated management of life", which Foucault summarised as 'bio-power'. Foucault (2007, p.1)[7] conceives of this as both, the means through which the level of the person becomes a target for the influence of the state and the devices through which its power is replicated. That is to say: "the mechanism through which the basic biological features of the human species become the object...of a general strategy of power".

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[6] Referring to an authority figure's sense of responsibility for the welfare of their charges.

[7] Lecture at the Collège de France, 5 April 1978, p.335

This rationale created a dilemma. The state was effectively tasked with managing people to lead an industrious existence which would then ensure its own growth and longevity against that of the other contemporary powers (Ibid, 2007). The state fully sought to catalyse these productive capacities without making people more difficult to govern (Ibid, 1978). It necessarily, had to balance the need for regulation and the maintenance of order and reflect on whether such regulation stifled individual ingenuity and productivity.

Foucault argues that this challenge was resolved within a wider 'liberal' governmentality. This approach aligned itself around questions of individual freedom, not only as a right enshrined in law, but also as a capacity through which to govern properly. The advent of liberal governmentality did not take place within the state alone. It also required a separate civil society to be conceptualised, to act as a moderator on state intervention and to substitute for the state's actions when necessary (Ibid, 2007).[8] 'Governmentality' and the proper way to govern were thus born as fluid concepts in time and place (Danaher *et al.*, 2000). The key elements were outlined by Foucault mostly through a series of lectures before his death in 1984. The idea became so influential that it forms a central point of orientation across the social and political sciences literature (Larner and Walters, 2004).

Of these diverse sources, Dean (2010; 2016) attempts to order the historical aspect of Foucault's governmentality within his own 'analytics of government'. This investigates how people govern and are governed within different historical regimes, each possessed of their own distinctive forms of perceiving, questioning and intervening in social life. The analytics of government requires examining 'problematizations'. These are situations where the way in which both 'governors' and the 'governed' conduct themselves, are called into question. Viewed within this framework, the road from the early 'liberal' governmentality to today's structures of public management, passes two further milestones.

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[8] Lecture at the Collège de France 5 April 1978, p.349-357

The liberal states of the 18th Century assumed the 'pastoral' hold upon the individual that was previously the realm the church. Their actions increasingly encroached into daily life where they were confronted by the inherent tensions between productivity and regulation. The notion emerged of 'society' as an entity within which these conflicting elements might be conceptualised by government. The 19th Century increasingly saw the state grapple with these questions and consider the possibility of intervening in the 'social'. This process in turn, made possible the idea of public 'policy' (Dean, 2012a): the state defining certain ends for social organisation and considering the means to attain them (Jenkins, 2007).

Actual public intervention mainly took place by form of proxy, exemplified by the social reform movements I noted in the previous chapter. These interventions sought to moderate the impact of unrestricted market competition. They did not conceive of eliminating its dynamics, rather they sought to facilitate the energies of people to be effective and productive citizens within them (Dean, 2010). Thus, across the state's new conception of the 'social', this period saw new forms of knowledge and emergent policies develop. These aimed at categorizing and training people in order to effect the "extraction" of the highest potential of their labours (Foucault, 1977, p.231).

Governing people and their productivity were inherently spatial, or 'urban' problems. The issue was at its most acute where large numbers of people concentrated together. The urban sphere also provided a foundation for markets, centralising the exchange of goods and services (Foucault, 2007).[9] The actions of town planners, under their initial guise as social reformers, sought explicitly to reorder the urban, providing better homes and physical conditions for people. Yet, these actions were founded on an implicit assumption that improved conditions would also enhance citizens' productivity and morality (Topalov, 1993; Boyer, 1996; Hewitt, 2016).

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[9] Lecture at the Collège de France 5 April 1978, p.335

This concern occupied the minds of both planners and the other social reformers of the time (Rodgers, 1998). Through conceiving of and attempting to address these issues alongside a range of other humane concerns at the level of the population or the 'social', a breadth of new institutions, practitioners and forms of knowledge was developing that were amenable to incorporation within the state (Dean, 2010). This store of knowledge and expertise came to be formalised in the figure of the 'professional' to such effect, that professionalism became a significant avenue for the exercise of government in its own right (Johnson, 1993).

As a critical mass of further interest and knowledge coalesced around these issues, they surfaced more widely as social concerns. Coinciding with the extension of suffrage, these concerns translated into political demand. A 'social government' was made possible based on the conception that public administration could address the welfare of the population from 'cradle to grave' (Dean, 2010). Administrators assumed that the challenges of the urban environment and society could only be addressed at the comprehensive level of the state. As I argued in the previous chapter, these ideals were in practice grounded in an enlightenment rationale and aligned along the dictates of Harvey's (1990) universalising 'meta-narratives' in their reorganisation of space. The problem of carrying out such far-reaching narratives in practice however, resulted that social government was inherently unstable and inflexible. The state had established itself in providing for the needs of the population on the macro level. However, the population came to view the state as stifling their individual liberties (Dean, 2010).

The ideal of social government began to fragment in the popular imagination. The modernist conceit of defining singular ways of understanding and attempting to rationalise society was attacked by some commentators (Storper, 2001). Others pointed to the failings of social government to manage complex issues, such as housing and environmental quality, in the presumed 'public interest' (Eversley, 1973).

These debates resulted in a refocus on the individual, in both their relations to others and their responsibilities, as a basis of thinking on governmentality in the later 20th Century. Politically and administratively, social government was deemed paternalistic and inflexible. The interactions between government, economy, civil society and the citizen required a new structure that maintained wider social stability and security but acceded to the need for flexibility. The interest group or individual could instead, be offered "a real autonomy" (Foucault, 1983, p.161).

Concerns about the economy, regulation and law were re-united and contested within the concept of 'neoliberalism' (Foucault, 2010). As I noted in the previous chapter, neoliberalism embodies a specific mentality of government that mediates between state intervention and individual freedom in ensuring a productive population. Neoliberalism articulates social relations as a calculus. As such the perceived utility value in monetary terms of government action is constantly being weighed in decision making (Lemke, 2001). The neoliberal state deploys its powers of regulation and the rule of law wholeheartedly on maintaining choice in terms of contractual obligation and individual judgement. At the same time, it retreats from regulating or servicing of the needs of wider society (Jessop, 2002; Harvey, 2005).

Government, particularly local government, was reoriented toward "steering" rather than driving changes in places, as notably advocated by Osborne and Gaebler (1993, p.32) through the concept of "entrepreneurial" public management. A model was created for more flexible public agencies, as opposed to the overly rigid bureaucracy that politicians and commentators perceived in the post-war years. Materially, this model was founded on market orientated provision of public services through networks of agencies in the private sector and civil society. Entrepreneurial governance was, at least in ideal, community owned. It would be more attuned to the citizen as a 'customer' and active participant in defining the outcomes of public policy (Ibid, 1993).

The implications of these ideals generated significant interest on the part of decision makers (Moe, 1994; Frederickson, 1996) and remain highly influential within wider governance circles in the U.K, Europe, the U.S and beyond (Martin, 2002; Kim *et al.*, 2005). As such, Bevir (2010) charts a broad conceptual turn away from the 'meta-narratives' so explicit in the modernist, post-war approach to government toward a more contextual and locally driven 'postmodern' rationale. The 'overloaded' state of the social government era was replaced by a 'hollowed' state, characterised by the fragmentation of its lines of authority (Rhodes, 1996). The multiplicity of these networks means that contemporary public administration is commonly approached in terms of 'governance' rather than government. The traditional model of self–contained and hierarchical public authority has been challenged by the perceived need for public services to become more monetarily efficient, flexible, responsive and pluralistic (Kjær, 2004)

Power relations within networks of 'governance', lacking their previous central point of reference between the state and the individual, have become diffused and difficult to account for (Türke, 2008). This has led to a third definition of the contemporary state as 'congested' Within this conception, the difficulties in coordinating the many agencies involved in governance where there is no reference to a defined hierarchy, places an increasing strain on the authorities (Skelcher, 2000). In the 21st century therefore, the challenge for public administrators lies in bringing these diverse agencies together.

3.2.1 'Power Over' - Consensus and Agonism

When viewed in this light, the redefinition of the professional planner's role in contemporary Britain becomes clearer. Within a neoliberal governmentality, planning is one of a constellation of policy interventions directed at the urban sphere. The target of these interventions has shifted from their previous concern with mass social welfare. Urban policy now attempts to enable economic competition on the assumption of growth and to handle the social divisions that arise as a result (Cochrane, 2007).

A key implication of this change is the redefinition of citizens as 'customers' or 'stakeholders' alongside planning authorities (Clifford and Tewdwr Jones, 2013). The state has allegedly ceded some of the power it directly holds 'over' (Dean,2012b) the planning and development of places. The planner is now therefore, a facilitator or mediator, (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013) aiming to achieve consensus between the various interests. Extending to the legal foundations of the discipline, the ideal for planning decision making, is that it is only finalised and acted upon when the issue has been opened to wider deliberation between the interested parties (McAuslan, 1980).

The 'communicative' planning ideal, most strongly evident in the work of John Forester and Patsy Healey (Fischler, 2000) starts with the premise that disagreement and conflict about the shape of local places is inevitable, due to the depth of emotional and material investment people make in these settings. The immediacy of these investments means that planning also ties into broader social concern, given the linkages between the activity, government and the economy. Contemporary 'congested' governance provides no certain scheme of responsibility and accountability onto which to map these issues. The communicative theorists argue that planning must create a forum for discussion and mutual learning on how places can change through the development process (Healey, 2006).

Communicative theory draws therefore, from consideration about the everyday conventions or 'institutions' that shape social life (Lowndes and Roberts, 2013). It claims to address where people are located within these institutions or understandings, but also how they may be navigated and challenged in relation to place (Healey, 2006) At the heart of the communicative planning debate, lies an argument that reflects Bevir's (2010) notion of a shift from the modern, universal rationale to a postmodern 'local' one.

To speak from this perspective, is to consider that the impact of modernity and modernism upon public institutions was to sterilise them of both their emotive and comprehensible qualities. Consequently, two different yet interdependent elements of social organisation emerge: the 'lifeworld' of everyday actions and interpersonal networks, which may be broadly equated to civil society, and the 'system', the domain of rational organisation, which may be assigned to the state. The emergence of modern forms of government and rationale 'colonised' the lifeworld with the measures and logic of the system, in a process termed "juridification" (Habermas, 1987, p.357).

A more optimistic position is possible however, in that the degree of closure inherent in modern institutions may lead to new controversies and counter arguments as these closures are contested (Latour, 1987). Thus, in the power of communication, drawn from the lifeworld, is the potential to reach consensus between the two elements, through practices that entrust those affected by a policy with the ability to shape it to their own needs and standpoints (Habermas, 1987). The challenges of neoliberal, postmodern governance may be met with a 'collaborative' planning ethic, where all members of society have the right to express their views and challenge the decisions made on their behalf throughout the development of a policy. The ideal planning system is a 'deliberative' one where every member of the community has the chance to articulate their views within a communicative and cooperative environment (Forester, 2006).

The sort of relationship between planners and communities advocated by communicative theorists is founded on the concept of collaborative discussion. This must be advanced alongside a consensual understanding of how planning policies might impact on different individuals within the area (Healey, 2006). The influence of these ideas cannot be understated. They have acted as a foundation for planning theory for three decades (Fischler, 2000) concurrent with the drive for participative reform in the UK systems (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013). Beyond the academic sphere, the values inherent in communicative planning lie at the heart of current policy and practice literature, a most relevant example being Scottish Planning Policy, where it is claimed that planning should be "inclusive, engaging all interests as early and effectively as possible" and that "people make the system" work (Scottish Government, 2014b, p.4)

The focus on collaborative discussion and consensus has not exempted the communicative approach from wider critique in the literature. Several commentators argue that attempting to put such theory into practice acts to perpetuate unequal power relations and agendas in the development process. The starting point of these perspectives lies in the argument that planning, for all its overtures to welcome community participation, remains a state regulative practice. As such, it can never be considered independently of the political forces attached to it (Huxley, 2000).

Flyvbjerg and Richardson (2002) consequently, argue that there is an evidently 'dark side' of planning. Flyvbjerg (1998) illustrates that planning processes that at first glance appear geared toward participation and deliberative debate, may in practice legitimise inequitable decision making. In his case study of Aalborg, Denmark, Flyvbjerg illustrates the example of the Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber deployed their local connections and the influence that they held with the local authority to enforce their own interpretation of community survey data. In using this one-sided assessment to underpin a new strategy for the City Centre, the outcomes of the project pre-empted the wider public interest.

If planners are to understand how power disseminates beneath the surface of such supposedly open and ideal driven systems, Flyvbjerg argues that a new methodology is required. Its object is the challenging field of "realrationalität", that is: the everyday conflicts and impasses that mark plan making, as opposed to the "normative rationality" seen in communicative theory's valorisation of consensus (Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002, p.61).

As I noted in the previous chapter, the ascendance of communicative theory in the 1980s and 1990s, paralleled the rise of neoliberal governmentality. Advocates of an 'agonistic' appreciation go further. They argue that planning processes that draw on the communicative understanding are exemplars of the neoliberal rationale in their own right (Purcell, 2009). From such a standpoint, communicative planning becomes a further tool of the 'governmentality' defined by Foucault (1991).

It offers the prospect to liberate citizens through participation, to exercise their initiative, rights and productive capacities. At the same time, participation manufactures consensus to the state and development industry's agenda. It offers the potential for the citizen voice to rearrange, but not fundamentally alter plans and strategies (Purcell, 2009). The participating citizen is rendered paradoxically "both manageable and free" (Huxley, 2002, p.145). Consequently, Purcell (2009, p.141) links the communicative planning ideal to the workings of the neoliberal project thusly; (what it) "requires are decision-making practices that are widely accepted as 'democratic' but that do not (or cannot) fundamentally challenge existing relations of power."

A key justification of these critiques is that deliberative planning practices rely on the expert facilitation of citizen voices. In this lies the potential to selectively convey, or otherwise manipulate, that voice (Fischler, 2000; Clarke, 2010). Considering these dangers, the way participative planning interventions are designed and operationalised is crucial (Parker *et al.*, 2017b).

A range of commentators argue that a true participative planning ethic must recognise the sense of disagreement or 'agonism' inherent to society. In some cases, no 'negotiated' solutions may be possible in situations where citizens feel that further development will damage or destroy the character of places they value. In others, citizen resistance can lead to meaningful change in development proposals and projects (Inch *et al.*, 2017). In this light, the conflicts that will inevitably arise between various agencies and individuals discussing the futures of places are positive openings, rather than problems to be closed off through the ideal of 'consensus' (Pløger, 2004; Inch, 2015) Research has highlighted what agonistic planning looks like in practice. Citizens may pursue a dual strategy, deliberating with state agencies within the forums available, while also pursuing action outside these settings (Hillier, 2000; Dodge, 2010). They are therefore, by no means powerless bystanders in the process.

3.2.2 'Power to' - Social Capital

These strategies highlight the presence of a second current of power that my research must engage with. In the previous section, I argued that power is something that the state and development industry possess that can be relinquished to communities. However, power is also present in the energies that communities themselves invest in their places: the power to 'do' or capacity to accomplish a common goal (Dean, 2012b). Through ceding power over local decision making, contemporary governments claim that participation triggers the energy communities hold to act for positive change from the 'grassroots' (Adamson and Bromiley, 2013).

Through a charrette, the property and economic growth-based conception of 'development' that is prevalent in the planning system (Adams and Watkins, 2014; Cullingworth *et al.*, 2015) might be complemented by one of 'community development.' This second concept speaks of improvements in the confidence and social cohesion of a place, rather than in its land and buildings. (Bhattacharyya, 2004). Nevertheless, the kind of action that the term applies might coalesce around these physical assets (Pollock and Sharp, 2012). In the previous chapter, I noted through Gillick's (2017) case study of the Woodlands area of Glasgow, that citizens' small scale interventions in improving their housing stock and public spaces constituted a grassroots challenge to the concepts of 'development' prevalent within the planning system at the time. Similarly, the actions of residents of Waterloo, London who mobilised to purchase a site subject to unpopular development proposals and install their own mix of uses on it, also stand out as an example of this approach (Reeves, 2005).

One of the difficulties of invoking power within a discussion on participatory planning, is that those who are most pre- enabled to put across their views feature disproportionately (Hoppe, 2011). It is thus frequently the 'usual suspects': those citizens who are already mobilised and organised within local groups, that arguably make their voices heard at the expense of those not possessed of these connections and competencies (Bishop, 2015).

Consequently, Hillier's (2000) study highlights the potential of community groups to subvert the discursive aims of participative planning to their own ends. Further evidence suggests participative planning involvement concentrates in the most affluent, informed, and consequently vocal, localities (Turley Associates, 2014). Hewitt and Pendlebury (2014) highlight the ability of groups within these places to equate their own interests with a wider conception of the public interest, while simultaneously dominating the engagement process. Manifest is the danger of 'two tier' participation, where any empowerment that results is limited to those who "shout the loudest" (Adamson and Bromiley, 2013, p.196).

The power dynamics inherent in participative planning and design cannot therefore, be approached from the 'top down' alone. A critical understanding is required not only of the state's overtures to empower communities, but also of various communities' own senses of solidarity and agency (Ledwith, 2015). In the search for a suitable critical theoretical perspective on these resources, Pierre Bourdieu's work is particularly relevant. Like Foucault, Bourdieu saw modern state power as something more than just an imposition from above. His theorising was also attuned to the development of the modern democratic state's rationale: both at the level of the population and at that of the construction of the individual. Rather like Foucault's 'governmentality', Bourdieu, (1998, p.52) tasks the researcher to consider "minds of state". These constitute both the knowledge that defines the proper field of action for government and the organisational structure and range of agents mobilised to carry out this action.

Bourdieu's work was fragmented across his wide oeuvre (Lane, 2000) but evident is a sense of unease with the turn toward the more competitive, contractually orientated culture and social relations of neoliberalism. Bourdieu's concerns focused on the redefinition of public management associated with these shifts. He saw a fundamental disconnect between the redistributive "left hand" of the state and its castigatory "right hand", in replacing collectively orientated policies and strategies with those driven by a competitive rationale (Bourdieu, 1999).

Bourdieu suggests a path to analyse the power relations inherent in these changes through his engagement with 'social capital' (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital renders a quantifiable structure to relationships and exchanges. It is the sum of the resources that accumulates to an individual or group through the density of their networks of relationships with others (Halpern, 2005). Social capital is distinct from the notion of 'capital' in its more traditional, economic connotation. A third form, 'cultural capital' represents the symbolic competency that measures one's ability to express oneself effectively, appealing to social mores and conventions (Bourdieu, 1986)

Some degree of each of the forms of capital may be granted by one's existing social standing. They may also be transformed into one of the other forms through 'investment strategy'. Economic capital may be a foundation of such strategy. Money endows the immediate ability to acquire goods, which may appeal to certain tastes or provide access to various social settings. However, cultural and social capital are not reducible to economic terms. Certain goods and services may only in this respect, be acquired through existing social relationships and cultural conditioning, worked upon in various social settings or fields (Bourdieu, 1986). Economic capital in the form of money for example, may enable an individual to acquire education, thereby granting cultural capital. This may in turn lead the individual to move into a different social circle, acquiring additional social capital in the form of these new relationships. Bourdieu ties this individualised and embodied scale into the wider reproduction of social relations through the figure of the 'habitus': the social dispositions that individuals or groups present to one another. The balance of the various forms of capital that groups or individuals can obtain is influenced by their existing social position. Habitus therefore internalises and tends to reproduce the conventions of the surrounding society, as well as any inequalities within (Cresswell, 2002; Bourdieu, 2005).

Social capital has become firmly entrenched in the academic literature and in the realm of policy. The term provides a convenient way to recognise the wider spectrum of non -monetary resources individuals or communities hold (Farr, 2004; Malecki, 2012). It is inexorably linked to the ideal of 'participation', in that a community's ability to participate is viewed by policy makers as equivalent to the forms of capital they possess (Amin, 2005). Such a viewpoint is problematic under neoliberal governmentality. The state seeks to reduce its direct involvement in society by 'empowering' or freeing citizens in areas previously the domain of its control (Rose, 1999). Critically however, the reduction in state intervention inherent in 'participation' does not equate to a material reduction of the state's influence; rather it represents a reorganisation where social risks and responsibilities are transferred into the domain of the citizen.

As social government responded to citizen demand for welfare security with an ideal of universal provision (Dean, 2010), its neoliberal predecessor offers citizen determination, or "voice and choice" (Barnes *et al.*, 2007, p.25) in the resolution of issues that were once exclusively the concern of the state authorities. However, this arguably comes at the cost of 'self-regulation': the individuals and groups concerned having to assume a degree of responsibility for these actions, as well as their potential deficiencies and shortcomings (Lemke, 2001). As Amin (2005, p.612) argues, the state's invitation to participate effectively serves to place local people "on trial". It places an expectation on communities to tackle their own misfortunes, where these could be more realistically addressed through coordinated state action.

This critique is especially relevant to participative planning as practised under 'austerity' in the 2010s. Public agencies were forced to retreat from the holistic regeneration of places due to the attendant pressure on their budgets (Pugalis and McGuinness, 2013). In previous work, I argued that throughout the 2010s, the importance of the Government's support for participative planning through charrettes rose by default as a result of the retrenchment of many of the regeneration measures available at the start of the decade. This was most notable in respect to the abolishment of all but one of the Urban Regeneration Companies (URC's) (Kordas, 2017).

To view participative planning as a form of citizen "responisbilization" (Clarke, 2005, p.451), is perhaps to oversimplify. Amin's (2005) study is, as the author admits, directed towards the ideal of participation as expressed through contemporary policy, rather than being based upon real world examples of these situations. Research highlights that communities often desire more responsibility and influence over their places, but may be frustrated when inflexible local government structures fail to accommodate this (Adamson, 2010).

The portrait of the 'usual suspect' within a participative exercise belies that even in the most economically deprived locales, there exist groups of local residents committed to self-help. Despite often being in the minority, their actions can benefit the majority of other residents. Rather than feeling forced to participate, they do so out of a commitment to wider neighbourhood solidarity and vitality (Richardson, 2008). Both Adamson and Bromiley (2013) and Dicks (2014) found that inviting participation carried a perception of risk on behalf of the public authorities, bringing them into previously uncharted territory. What would happen should the community seek a fundamentally different outcome from a process or service than existing procedures were equipped to provide? It is essential in this light to understand in Cornwall's (2008) terms, exactly what impact participation can lead to on the status quo. What is needed in light of these dynamics is a way to bring together both poles of Dean's (2012b) dichotomy and comprehend how the 'signature of power' in participative planning is expressed in the real world, in this instance, through charrettes in Scotland.

3.3 A Non-Representational Understanding

The variety of standpoints on participation in planning support Adamson's (2010) argument that the complexities of citizen participation are irreducible to simple binaries. As Delanty (2002) notes, the lines between participation as an ethical best practice in governance, evident in the work of Forester and Healey, or as a mechanism of social control, as read through Flyvbjerg and Huxley, are consistently blurred. Given these divisions, my project might find a middle ground. Adamson (2010) offers a path between the polarised standpoints on participation, defining the process as one of constant negotiation and struggle, whereby citizens' agency may feed back into the state. A critical reading of both Foucault's and Bourdieu's conceptions of power resonates with this stance.

Foucault and his adherents have been accused of portraying the workings of power relations in a totalising manner (Wickham, 1983). Their theorising of power is characterised as operating from the 'top down'. This approach is said to be well equipped for conducting a general analysis of society and its ways of defining meaning (Hacking, 2004). However, it is limited where there is a need to articulate these dynamics as anything other than as a constant subjugation, or reproduction of the existing order. Wickham (1983) thus questions how to use Foucault's work to highlight how power operates within specific social settings and contexts. While Foucault indeed argues that state power is a 'technique', both imposed upon and issuing from within the individual, this process is not a 'terminal' one (Foucault, 1982). Rather, a series of dynamic and reciprocal relationships operate wherever power is exercised. It is in the nature of power to incite the urge to resist it. Subjugation and opposition are naturally interrelated. Social life is always in a dynamic state of contest and struggle (Nealon, 2008).

Working after Foucault, Rose (1998, p.35) argues that life sets individuals on a course through a variety of techniques of power that "subjectify", or shape one's disposition, in different ways. They address the person as many individuals. At its most basic, neoliberal governmentality speaks to both citizens who are free to exercise their initiative and productivity and also members of the 'population' whose energies must be managed productively (Foucault, 2010). In participative planning, Inch (2015) argues for a similar dichotomy in his concept of the deliberative and agonistic citizen. The former enters the participative event with faith in the integrity of the process and an expectancy that through deliberation, the different interests in development within their place might be reconciled. The 'agonistic' citizen seeks to continually challenge the prevailing development pattern in an area. For Inch, it is the more passive 'deliberative' citizen that would be most welcome in an initiative like the charrette. By contrast, the authorities would be pre-disposed against the 'agonistic' citizen. Those placed in this construct are often labelled with terms like the anti-development 'not in my back yarder's' (N.I.M.B.Y) or equally, the 'usual suspects' (Bishop, 2015; Inch, 2015).

These differences mean that the process of 'subjectification' is riven with tension. Without invoking some form of essential human agency, it is still possible to see the potential for 'resistance' against the governance of one's conduct. This issues from those situations where one element of 'subjectification' runs up against the demands of another (Rose, 1998). The construction of the 'citizen' within participative planning is a fluid one. Inch's (2015) research provides examples of scenarios where local people have engaged at length in deliberation with the authorities in plan formulation using the official channels available. Some were 'ignited' as agonistic citizens, when the eventual plan advanced proposals against their wishes. They subsequently pursued alternative resistant strategies, through actions like picketing council meetings or letter writing campaigns.

Bourdieu's 'forms of capital' display a similar logic. The 'investment strategies' whereby individuals or groups trade their economic, cultural or social resources against each other suggests an emphasis on agency (Bourdieu, 1986). However, the difference in the amounts of the various 'capitals' possessed between groups, coupled with the arbitrariness of these differences, suggest they may solidify as "doxa", or taken for granted belief (Bourdieu, 1977, p.164). In critiquing Bourdieu, several sources suggest his theorising establishes a low ceiling on the prospect for social agency and action (Lane, 2000). Others consequently argue that for all its consideration of agency, Bourdieu's world is one where "human beings are fated to be the prisoners of the structures of domination" (Callinicos, 2007, p.295). Yet to read Bourdieu in this way, is to ignore the potential for renegotiation of power that is also evident in his writings. As different individuals and groups possess different endowments of the various forms of capital, power relations can never be truly considered as fixed or "entirely trustworthy" (Bourdieu, 1977, p.190). His theorising too then, leaves open the potential for power to be renegotiated through individual agency (Lash, 1993). Individual action can modify the taken for granted information in social life, before feeding it back into the formulation of the 'doxa' (Calhoun, 1993).

Ede's (2017) article evidences this process in action in the Hamiltonhill district of Glasgow. The neighbourhood had seen marked disinvestment in local services. Residents also felt that their views had been ignored at a charrette held near the area in 2015. They subsequently organised their own planning exercise, defining what projects local community groups and individuals could take forward on their own, before considering how these efforts could tie into the actions of the City Council and its other official partners. This seeming inversion of participation and empowerment won wider recognition in the years that followed. Acknowledgements in official strategy came from the Glasgow Community Planning Partnership (Glasgow Community Planning Partnership, 2017b) and Queens Cross Housing Association at the local level (Queens Cross Housing Association, 2019). The event was also recognised by the Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum, a national level NGO and knowledge network for practitioners (Ede, 2017).

Both Foucault's 'governmentality' and Bourdieu's 'capitals' provide comprehensive accounts of the circulation of social power. Their lessons apply across the wide milieu of government, the market and civil society, but also extend downward to the level of the individual. Both are by nature orientated to explain the sweeping patterns manifest in social life and as such, may be considered as 'grand theory' (Hedström and Udehn, 2009). Given this generality, a question is posed as to how to mediate such high-level concepts with the research questions or "working hypotheses" (Merton, 1967, p.39) I have developed. Here, Merton's (1967) concept of 'middle range theory', provides a bridge between empirical work in the field and the overarching theorising of the literature. Drawn from human geography, non-representational theory provides the first of two such approaches I deploy in this research. Here the conceptual focus goes beyond framing the social world at any one time: 'representation', to dwell instead on how it is built up from everyday interaction. Social life is accordingly, a series of contingent encounters with a range of other people, practices, forms of knowledge and physical spaces (Thrift, 1997). Non-representational theory has been formulated within academic enquiry expanding upon various grand theories, with Foucault's 'resistance' (Thrift, 1997) and Bourdieu's 'habitus' (Cresswell, 2002) acting as conceptual foundations.

The non-representational imagination builds on social interactions and relations as something embodied and performed (Jacobsen, 2015). The participative space of the charrette may be approached from a non-representational standpoint as one of Conradson's (2005) 'spaces of encounter' or Darling's (2010) 'micro publics of engagement'. A non-representational approach is concerned more with an *ethos*, resulting from mutual interaction between different groups of standpoints, rather than an *ethics*, derived from edict or universal norms (McCormack, 2005). Thus, non-representational theory affords the opportunity to approach participative planning in terms of *encounters* between people and groups of people that are inherently fluid and consequently open to the exercise of agency and change (Lorimer, 2005; Rogers, 2014). The challenge in taking non-representational theory into practice is how to map the unfolding of these spaces through the practices, performances and relationships that ensue (Conradson, 2003).

An important implication of the non-representational approach is that social phenomena and social spaces are irreducible to a single study object. Rather they consist of 'assemblages' of various elements of the setting, be they the human participants, objects or other elements of the physical space. Considering these networks, any action or outcome that arises from within such an encounter space forms because of negotiation between the various participants involved, yet alludes singular intention on the part of any one (Boyd, 2017). Spaces of encounter are something actively practised and 'performed' (Thrift, 1997).

The integrity of any performance in a social space depends on both the conventions and 'habits' through which people make sense of life and the improvisations or intervals that occur when these routines are tested (Crang, 2000; Harrison, 2000). As Goffman (1990, p.114) argues, any social performance proceeds through two interlinked regions. The "backstage" is a setting removed from the encounter space, where participants might consider strategy. By contrast, the "front" stage (Ibid,1990, p.32) consists of the dynamics of the encounter space 'assemblage'. The encounter is a 'work in progress'. While an 'order of service' may exist, it is constantly open to challenge or renegotiation by one or all of its participants and the dynamics of the setting itself (Crang, 1994; Beyes and Steyaert, 2012).

It is from within these dynamics that *affects*[10] emerge. Non-representational scholars most commonly use the term to provide a measure of the 'quality' of an encounter (Anderson, 2014a; 2014b). As such, the concept gauges what both sets of participants 'take home' from the event, in the form of the abilities to both affect others and be affected by them in turn (Anderson, 2014a). Both Conradson's (2003; 2005) and Darling's (2010) work, highlights the active nature of this dimension. They cite several examples of service providers who used the act of working together and forming interpersonal relationships with their clients, as a way of breaking down barriers. Through this shared action, the professionals and volunteers reconsidered how they carried out their practice. Likewise, their clients also gained new feelings of confidence.

The collective nature of encounters and the affects they produce creates a third dimension of interest. Although each participant feels affected on a personal level, these individual feelings, whether positive or negative, may combine between participants as a wider *'atmosphere'*. The charrette as an encounter thus can engender a shared sense of hope amongst participants that the event is just the beginning of more positive changes to come. These hopes may fade if no action follows the initial intentions. Equally, the results of an encounter can conspire to create a sense of disappointment or despondency. Crucially, atmosphere too, is never a concept that can be frozen or captured at any one time. Rather, it is always under construction or 'becoming' throughout an encounter (Anderson, 2009).

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[10] Non-representational theory uses the term 'affect' in both its form as a noun (a subjective element of a feeling or emotion) and more common usage as a verb (to have an impact on someone or something).

In setting out to consider the charrette from a non-representational standpoint, my research seeks to move into uncharted territory within the literature. None of the studies above took place in the context of a planning and design event. However, the same kind of 'encounters' with others that were visible in these studies, may be seen in a charrette setting. Charrettes are open events where citizens, community groups and built environment professionals come together in development planning for a timeframe that at most, can be measured in a space of weeks (Roggema, 2014a) Charrettes normally eschew defining a rigid programme or problem declaration at the outset, in favour of affording the participants space to develop their ideas (Kelbaugh, 2011). Indeed, this flexibility is considered by many commentators as crucial to maintaining the 'flow' of knowledge and the energy involved.

Professional participants are encouraged to abandon any preconceptions or agendas at the outset of the process, working with citizens from first principles or a 'blank sheet' (Roggema, 2014b). In practice, this involves deciding the issues the event should cover. Through a 2018 lecture, Parham (2018) introduced the idea that a charrette could fulfil two roles. Either it may be a design exercise that invites the public to have some form of participation, or a more general participative exercise on place that might generate physical planning or design ideas.

Planners and designers come to a charrette with not only the ability to set the agenda but possessed of formal skills and training. This allows them to produce strategy in a way that carries authority with both the agencies of government and the development industry. However, from the conventions of the planning system, made most explicit through Sandercock and Lyssiotis' (2003) 'heroic' metaphor, professionals have historically either not tried to, or were unable to understand the lived experiences of places that their citizens possess. I suggest a dividing line in planning practice that separates 'participation' and its consequent enablement of the citizen, from the more tokenistic levels of 'informing' and 'consulting'. I view this division as a willingness on the part of professionals to work together with the lay person in 'partnership', so empowering the citizen or citizen group (Arnstein, 1969).

'Development' is not an unalloyed good. Planning decisions may damage both the physical and social fabric of places. The notion of 'partnership' brings a moral dimension to practice. If planners are willing to deliberate and reach shared understandings with citizens through participation, they might cultivate a healing or "restorative" ethic (Schweitzer, 2016, p.131). Previous inequities in the construction of the built environment and urban policy could be redressed by ensuring a diversity of different interests can represent themselves equitably (Fainstein, 2014).

Friedmann (1973; 1987) predicted that planners might bring together their education and professional experience with the lived experiences and knowledge of the citizen in a "transactive process" (Friedmann, 1993, p.484). Such planning did not lay claim to either the ability to create democratic consensus nor maintain agonistic debate. Neither did it purport to abolish existing orders and put control of place completely in the hands of local people. It did however, consider the benefits of joining professional and lay knowledges in a way that went beyond each working in isolation. In finding such a middle ground, my project needs to challenge the common definition of development held by planners and other built environment professionals.

Such a definition is founded upon 'development' grounded in terms of property and property markets (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013; Cullingworth *et al.*, 2015). By contrast, 'community development' is the level of social cohesion and sense of agency in a place. It does not proceed from the assumption or desire that 'taken for granted' power relations will be instantly overcome, rather it seeks to find constructive ways of improving the quality of life of communities within the framework of those relations (Bhattacharyya, 2004).

Informed by these perspectives, my analysis aims to understand the role of charrettes in building the capacity for communities to work with planners for what they see as local improvement on their own terms (Phillips and Pittman, 2009). It acknowledges that within these settings, there is unlikely to be any one optimal 'solution' to development problems Rather, it considers how both citizens and professionals might work together through a charrette to establish more effective relationships to manage development in the future (Innes and Booher, 2018).

3.4 Policy Mobility and Mutation

In investigating how charrettes in Scotland might achieve these potential gains, my research is challenged by the fact that the charrette is a policy tool that originated outside of the country.

Neoliberal governmentality takes on an inherently "reflexive" cast (Dean, 2010, p.217). It no longer focuses on the management of society, rather on the management of its own processes and rationale. While Rhodes (1996) argued neoliberalism results in a 'hollowed out' state, so Pemberton *et al* (2015, p.6) contend that an accelerated process of "filling in" takes place as governments compete amongst themselves in the search for new flagship initiatives and public management solutions.

As policy is constituted within a contemporary world economy characterised by competition between places through the ascendance of neoliberal ideals (Chirico, 2014), governments are driven to 'borrow' successful ideas in policy from outside their own jurisdictions (Peck and Theodore, 2010). The faster and more reliable communications, or 'time - space compression' (Harvey, 1990, p.284) that developed in the latter part of the twentieth century, created opportunities for governments to evaluate their own policies and policy tools against those deployed by others. This 'policy transfer' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996) is the subject of some debate within the literature.

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) establish a comprehensive framework for policy transfer. They argue that four vectors exist along which policies move. Consequently, they may be directly 'copied and pasted' into the new setting, or more indirectly emulated by transferring and reworking the original ideas or blending ideas from different settings into a hybridised initiative. Finally, existing policies from outside may tacitly inspire new measures in another setting. Implicit in this model is that policy makers exercise decision and consequently, a view of rational progress where more effective policy solutions from one location displace what is not working within another.

Peck and Theodore (2010; 2012) draw attention to a number of issues with this view of filling in policy as a simple learning process or 'transfer.' They argue for a methodology that attends to policies as 'mobilities' within a complex geography of different forms of reflexive governance and uneven development. Policies are mobilised through networks of 'agents' each operating within their own shifting spheres of political and institutional logic. Policies themselves do not travel as neatly defined suites of ideas. Rather they move as assemblages of different components that are fragile in transit and as such, arrive at their destination already "in – transformation" (Ibid, 2010, p.170).

In this respect, Healey (2010a) stresses that despite the aspirations of government, the actual process of integrating policies into their new setting is beset with many difficulties where they encounter established local practices and different administrative and legal systems. Furthermore, this pressure may result in a lack of understanding of the nuances of the original policy ideas to the extent they become so 'watered down' at their destinations as to lose what were seen as the original assets (Burawoy, 2001; Stead, 2012). As Friedmann (2010, p.324) concludes, "some (planning) ideas travel whereas others do not".

Considering these issues, Peck and Theodore (2010) recommend studying mobile policies more locally, through an almost biological lens. A process of evolutionary selection operates on the 'supply side' of policy mobility, where to transmit and reproduce themselves, successful policies must be competitive within their wider ideological and governance environment. Following from the commercial logic that permeates neoliberal governance, this environment is a 'marketplace'. The most successful solutions are those that have demonstrable economic growth benefits (McCann, 2013), even when the authorities on the 'demand side' express more socially orientated goals within their own politics (González, 2011).

Policy mobility provides the second of Merton's (1967) theoretical middle grounds relevant to my study. Mobility studies touch on the grand theoretical narratives of 'power over' and 'power to' that I discussed so far in this chapter. However, the conceptualisation of a global policy 'marketplace' links the approach into the real-world routes whereby certain policies and policy tools travel. The 'marketplace' metaphor raises two further important questions in this respect.

It firstly internationalises a key dimension of the 'dark side' of planning identified by Flyvbjerg and Richardson (2002). This calls into question the networks of powerful agencies that operate behind the public face of government policy. Foremost amongst these agencies are the "persuasive guru's" (MacLeod, 2013, p.2196) that attempt to navigate their own brand of policy tools through this market. Given the global charisma that often follows these figures, an open question is raised for my project. It concerns the balance of rationality and arbitrariness that governed how the charrette became integrated into the planning system in Scotland. In this light, Peck and Theodore. (2012, p.24) advocate a "follow the policy" approach that investigates the networks and nodal points through which interventions travel, while remaining attentive to the power hierarchies that define such journeys.

The market rubric attached to how policy tools are sourced and deployed also calls into question the way that they are subsequently developed. Mobile policies and policy tools often move in formations that, no matter what the surface differences suggest, are founded on the same understandings of global entrepreneurialism. Attempts to initiate new methods of participation and citizen empowerment have the potential to become trapped in this conceptual cycle. Echoing the criticism levelled at modernism and social government, Bevir (2010) argues these strategies risk a further round of reconstructing the world according to their own abstract rationale, rather than responding genuinely to its complexity and diversity. Reflecting neoliberal governmentality's concern with calculation, the policy process and its potential outcomes must be "evidence based" (Campbell, 2002, p.89).

The idea of evidence-based policy faces several challenges. It is not always made clear by the authorities what constitutes 'evidence' and whether this overrides political prerogatives in deployment of strategy. The role of expert knowledge and how these experts are validated is also a matter for debate (Clarence, 2002). These critiques gain traction considering that, despite neoliberalism's evasion of social questions, these questions and the attendant social problems have not disappeared (Dean, 2010). Such initiatives might conceivably become self-perpetuating as a panacea for community sensitive planning, design and development, but also increasingly distant from those structural failings within the state and market that influence how places grow or decline (Dicks, 2014). However, the concept of policy 'mutation' also suggests at least the possibility, that local agencies might assert themselves in creating "alt-models" (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p.171) alongside sanctioned forms of policy tools. Such models would challenge, as opposed to reproduce, neoliberal norms (Mahon and Macdonald, 2010). They would not seek to reject the role of the state but neither would they be imposed by it from the 'top down'. Rather they might develop as offshoots of official practice or, equally, be driven by third sector organisations from the grassroots, as I alluded to in my discussion of Ede's (2017) article above.

3.5 Bringing Ideas Together

My overarching research question asks the extent to which charrettes offer a _new_ way for communities to participate and be empowered within the planning process. I have so far used this chapter to develop a conceptual background to this question. From these enquiries, I can consider the 'new' within my overarching question as a mutation, or even 'evolution' in a participative planning praxis that originated in the USA before arriving in Scotland. I created the preliminary investigative framework shown in Table 2 below, to map the various theoretical dimensions onto the questions that I stated at the outset of this thesis.

3.5.1 Mobility

Policy is constituted within a contemporary world economy characterised by competition between places through the ascendance of neoliberal ideals. Governments ever more frequently acquire new policy models and implementation tools from a global 'marketplace' in these ideas. As charrettes originally came to Scotland from the USA, my theoretical framework must be able to understand the network of agencies that resulted in such 'mobility' and how they have since been operationalised by the Scottish Government and other public authorities (Peck and Theodore, 2010; 2012). This may be mapped to the first of the research sub questions.

3.5.2 Power Over

The tension I developed throughout these two chapters, as to whether debate on planning and design issues should be consensus building or agonistic, can be mapped onto the 'power over' element of Dean's (2012b) 'signature'. This question is rooted at the highest theoretical level in Michael Foucault's ideas on 'governmentality', further developed by Dean (2010). To ground them directly in the topic literature is to acknowledge the work of Flyvbjerg (1998) among others, who point out the 'dark side' (Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002) of offering citizens the prospect of participation in how places change.

3.5.3 Power To

Providing balance, I also argued throughout this chapter for an approach that recognises the importance of changes that issue from the 'bottom up'. This reflects the work of Hiller (2000) and Hewitt and Pendlebury (2014) among others: communities are by no means powerless in participative planning processes. Here Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) concept of social 'capital' provides a useful connection into the wider social theorising on the agencies and capabilities they might deploy. Social capital represents a measure of the diversity and magnitude of one's interrelationships with other individuals and groups (Halpern, 2005). It is frequently deployed within the urban studies literature as a measure of the solidarity and agency that local people invest in their places.

Critically, the literature suggests that those individuals or groups who possess the most social capital, use it to manipulate participative planning settings in their favour. These are who Bishop (2015) terms, the 'usual suspects'. Equally however, these settings may provide an avenue for local people to channel their energies into alternative community development outcomes. Everyone who takes part in a charrette thus possesses some degree of active agency or 'power to' (do) after Dean (2012b). I map consideration of the overall 'signature of power' expressed through charrettes in Scotland, onto a research sub question that considers under what circumstances the events result in planning outcomes that community participants feel respond to their needs and vision for the area.

3.5.4 A Non-Representational Approach

To align 'power over' and 'power to' with the working hypotheses and perspectives of the research, I advance a non-representational approach. This provides a route to investigate the encounters between professionals and citizens in a charrette as a constant 'work in progress'. It is from within these dynamics that *affects*: what both sets of participants 'take home' from the event, are expected to become manifest (Anderson, 2014b). The two-way nature of these terms relates to a research sub question that considers if the encounters between professionals and citizens in charrettes establish effective partnership working between the two groups. The notion of 'partnership' is especially important to planning. The activity is still haunted by the spectre of the post-war 'heroic' professional and the often-uninvited changes they wrought upon communities.

3.5.5 Participative Dimensions

The experience of charrette practice in Scotland and its development through successive years of funding, holds several implications for the theory and practice of participative planning. I consider these through my final research sub question. This asks the implications that charrettes in Scotland hold for the theory and practice of participative planning. As I discuss more thoroughly in Chapter 9, I propose a practical measure of the value of different charrettes in three 'participative dimensions'.

My 'dimensions' concept is intended to be one of the key cross cutting contributions to knowledge emerging from my research. It represents a reworking of Arnstein's (1969) renowned 'ladder' of citizen participation in planning. From the various theoretical standpoints I have considered, I define three levels of participation:

- One dimensional participation has the goal of facilitating the feedback of citizens to the authorities in the planning, design and development of places.

- Two-dimensional participation has the goal of establishing partnership between citizens and the authorities in this process.

- Finally, three-dimensional participation establishes partnership between citizens and the authorities, with the goal of an additional feedback loop that changes how the planning design and development process operates locally.

As such, I add to consideration of the charette's mobility, those of its potential for mutation (Peck and Theodore, 2010). Accepting that policies and policy tools are not immutable, raises the possibility that the charrette has undergone an evolutionary journey toward the higher dimensional forms of participation I allude to above, during its time in Scotland. These concepts and ideas are developed throughout the chapters that follow, progressing toward the conclusion where I revisit the theoretical framework after considering the findings.

Table 2 - Theoretical Framework

Main Concept (s)		Research Sub-Question	Theory Context
	Policy Mobility	*Why did the Scottish Government consider charrettes to be the optimal method of community engagement and participation within the planning process and how were the events 'mainstreamed' into practice?*	Mobility studies after Peck and Theodore (2010; 2012) investigate the networks of agencies and relationships through which policies and policy tools are transferred from one global setting to another.
	Encounters	*Do the encounters between professionals and citizens in charrettes establish effective partnerships between the two groups?*	Viewing the charrette as a space of encounter (Conradson, 2005; Darling, 2010), I question how effectively the events bring planners and citizens together in considering the futures of places. These considerations are especially important in that it has traditionally been professionals that lead in forming development strategies.
	Power Dynamics	*In what circumstances do charrettes result in development plans and designs that participants from the community feel are responsive to their needs and vision for the area?*	In judging the qualities of charrette outcomes, I will consider how effectively the events 'empower' citizens within the planning process. After Dean (2012b) the power held 'over' the citizen by the state planning authorities and development industry may be ceded through the deliberations of the event. A charrette might also activate the energies or 'power to do' that local people invest in their places.
	Policy _**Mutation?**_	What implications do charrettes in Scotland hold for the theory and practice of participative planning?	Through considering the processes / encounters and outcomes / power dynamics attached to real world charrettes, I can surmise how far they have adaptively mutated, or 'evolved,' as a policy mobility and whether distinctly Scottish 'alt models' of practice have developed (Peck and Theodore, 2010).

3.6 Summary: Theory into Practice

Through this chapter, I introduced a series of conceptual standpoints on participative planning. I defined 'participation' in my own terms as a form of negotiation over the right to make decisions on the built environment. I introduced Dean's (2012b) idea of the 'signature' of administrative power and its two linked poles 'power over' and 'power to'. I considered the validity of the neoliberal state's overtures to cede the power which planners have traditionally held 'over' development to the level of the citizen, encountering the more positive conception of this as a 'deliberative' process (Forester, 2006; Healey, 2006). I then introduced the more critical 'agonistic' perspective that seeks to sustain planning and design debates rather than closing them through 'consensus' (Purcell, 2009; Inch, 2015).

Attempting to ground these debates in charrettes, I invoked non-representational theory and its attendant concept of 'encounter' (Conradson, 2005; Darling, 2010). I questioned the nature of the encounters that might take place amongst professional and citizens through charrettes and thought of the possibilities that these might hold to establish 'partnership' working between the two groups.

Bringing these various ideas together, I created a theoretical framework equipped to investigate both the encounters between professionals and citizens within charrettes and the power dynamics that operate through and beyond the events. These qualities permit me to question the 'evolution' of the charrette as a mobile policy after Peck and Theodore (2010). Following the next chapter's description of my research strategy and methods, those that follow present the findings of my investigation into charrettes in Scotland within their real-world setting.

4 Methodology

I use this chapter to explain my methodological approach. Firstly, I outline and justify the series of decisions that led me to a qualitative research strategy and a case study research design. In detailing this framework, I then consider the individual research methods and their corresponding data sources alongside the issues I encountered in securing access to participants. Finally, I detail the data analysis procedures and highlight the ethical considerations of the project. I argue that the research process represents a personal learning 'journey' after Rallis and Rossman (2012).

4.1 A Qualitative Research Strategy

The methodology is the most reflective component of the thesis. It outlines how I managed the fieldwork phase of the project and learned from the experience. In my submission to become a Chartered Town Planner, I was encouraged to reflect on my practice (Koch, 2013). As a researcher, my aim is not only to report the findings of this project as I see them, but indicate the process of interpretation that explains why the findings take the form they do (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). In articulating the steps taken to this end, I make the case for method as a 'research journey' (Gold, 2002; Rallis and Rossman, 2012). I began the journey needing a central blueprint or 'research strategy' in order to move from the realm of theory to the empirical considerations that underpin data collection (Walliman, 2006). From the earliest stages of this project, I was aware an investigation of charrettes in Scotland was an exciting and original topic. However, relatively few studies into charrettes existed from which a comparable research strategy could be built. My first task in presenting the project to my supervisors and potential funders, was to visit the existing literature base where three works stood out.

Bond and Thompson-Fawcett (2007) provide what is to my knowledge, the first detailed academic inquiry into the interactions and power dynamics within a charrette. The paper, based on an event in Wanaka, New Zealand in 2002, emphasised the role of the facilitation team in a charrette. It encouraged me to consider what might happen if the facilitator's vison and values for the host location differed from those residing in that community. MacLeod's (2013) paper on the first charrette in Scotland at Tornagrain was also influential in alluding to the workings of policy mobility that are key to the theoretical framework. It provided a practical example of the policy mobility process in action, as well as the web of agencies that are attached to it. Although not mentioning charrettes directly, Flyvbjerg's (1998) book provided a highly detailed account of an ostensibly democratic planning exercise that traces the hidden circuits of power beneath. I was impressed by the clear distinction Flyvbjerg makes between the ideals, or 'what should be done', in planning policy and the reality of the outcomes that ensue.

All three works introduced a critical academic rigour that contrasted with the way in which charrettes were portrayed in the government policy literature. They encouraged me to investigate the reality behind the rhetoric on participation in planning at these earliest stages of the project. Undertaking the University of Glasgow's Urban Research Masters' course was a further preparatory phase where I learned to take a greater interest in methodology. One of the fundamental debates in social research hinges on two questions: what is the nature of the reality studied and what is achieved through this enquiry? (Alexander *et al.*, 2016) From this debate, two crucial new words now feature in my vocabulary. The existential nature of study objects: *ontology* and the most appropriate way and ends to research them: *epistemology*.

Quantitative research is commonly associated with a 'positivist' epistemological position and 'objectivist' ontology. The social world is understood as a separate entity governed by general laws. Implicitly, quantitative enquiries are unburdened of the researcher's own opinions and mores (Guba and Lincoln, 2008). Qualitative research is by contrast, associated with an 'interpretivist' epistemological position and a 'constructivist' ontology. Qualitative enquiry takes account of each 'case' in the research as a participant in their own right, aiming to understand the construction of the individual through their social interactions (Alexander *et al.*, 2016). Choosing between strategies involves critical decision making as to the "truths" sought through the study and how these may be illuminated (Ladson-Billings, 2003, p.12).

To reinforce why I feel a *qualitative* strategy most appropriate, is to return to the idea of the charrette as a 'space of encounter' between professional planners and citizens. Table 3 illustrates the 20 events that had taken place in Scotland up to the time of my submission for funding in February 2015. They were located in a diversity of settings and convened for a variety of local purposes. The charrette method is by nature, highly portable and has also been adapted by select local authorities independently. Indeed, it was my own involvement in this process while a local authority planning officer, as detailed in Kordas (2014), that encouraged me to begin asking the questions that inspired this study.

Finally, the focus of the overarching SSCI programme varied according to political change. These differences present a challenge to the researcher in the sense that it is difficult to define a general 'model' of charrette as a basis for comparison. This renders the study incompatible with a quantitative research strategy. These typically operate through collecting samples of data deemed representative of a wider population. From this, trends in a range of variables are discerned statistically (Black, 1999). The basis on which these inferences are made, assumes normality and regularity in the distribution of variables across a significant sample size of cases (Argyrous, 2011).

The lack of such generality in the charrette precluded either a direct quantitative analysis or a 'mixed methods' approach. The latter is commonly founded on using qualitative methods to construct a more nuanced understanding of the tendencies in an initial quantitative dataset (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2018). My project therefore aims to capitalise on the strengths of pure qualitative strategy, gathering and analysing data with a high degree of depth through a focused range of cases (Goertz and Mahoney, 2012). Of the common evaluative criteria for social research, the most important for my study is *validity*: the veracity or rigour of how the findings were derived. As Morse et al (2002) argue, qualitative verification relies upon the researcher's own responsiveness to the setting of their project. They recommend the researcher continually question the fit of their methods in relation to both their research questions and the dispositions of their participants. Accordingly, they advocate that data should be analysed as it is collected. The researcher then re-evaluates their theoretical framework as new data becomes available.

Creswell (2018) suggests several practical approaches to accomplish this. In this respect, I firstly triangulated data from both documentary, interview and observational sources throughout this project. I also spent more than a year on fieldwork from May 2017 to October 2018 when my last interview was conducted. Throughout the discussion chapters that follow, I am attentive to presenting information that sometimes contradicts the arguments I develop, attempting to give a balanced view of the findings. I am also, through my discussion of the research process as a journey, reflective on the influence my own presence and professional knowledge imparts on these findings. A final element of my validity strategy is 'thick description': attempting to place my readers directly within the setting, especially where I was involved as an observer.

Table 3 - Government Supported Charrettes 2010 - 2014

Funding Period	Funding Year Focus	Charrette	Event Focus
2010	Initial SSCI Charrette Series	Ladyfield, Dumfires	Development Plan Land Allocation
		Lochgelly	Development Plan Land Allocation
		Grandhome, Aberdeen	Development Plan Land Allocation
2011-12	Development Plan Formulation	Callander	Development Planning
		Johnstone	Development Plan Land Allocation
		South Carrick	Development Planning
		Wick and Thurso	Development Planning
		LLTNP	Development Planning
		South Wishaw	Development Plan Land Allocation
2013-14	Development Plan Formulation / Town Centre Regeneration / Site Specific Community Projects	Bowling Basin	Area or Site Regeneration
		Port Glasgow	Town Centre Regeneration
		South Queensferry	Area or Site Regeneration
		Elgin	Town Centre Regeneration
		Blairmore	Area or Site Regeneration
		Kircaldy	Area or Site Regeneration
		Muirtown	Area or Site Regeneration
		North Lanarkshire Business	Development Planning
		Neilston	Area or Site Regeneration
		Bridgend	Area or Site Regeneration
		Port Dundas	Area or Site Regeneration

Source: Modified after Kennedy (2017)

4.2 A Case Study Research Design

Grasping a suitable strategy is the first step in the research journey. In bridging the gap between strategic issues and practical work in the field, Creswell (2018) defines and compares a range of potential qualitative research designs. As shown in Table 4, case studies are particularly well suited for complex subjects of enquiry. They are attuned to answer Yin's (2012) 'explanatory' questions, which study the evolution of social issues, within their 'everyday' context. The case study is particularly valuable where the boundaries between these issues and their wider contexts are not immediately evident (Yin, 2018).

Table 4 - Research Design Selection

Research Design	Focus	Relevance to my Research
Grounded theory	Development of new theory based on observations in the field.	Grounded theory designs focus on creating new theory from observation (Pandit, 1996). This project is instead, a practice based one that seeks to provide an applied appraisal of the charrette tying together the existing conceptual concerns.
Phenomenology	Understanding the essential aspects of phenomena or shared experience.	Phenomenological approaches seek to explore the essence of a social entity through the experiences of those involved. They focus on the transcendental aspects of social experience over the mundane. The concern with emotional depth in enquiry usually restricts such projects to a maximum of ten participants (Groenewald, 2004). At an early stage I felt that this design was less suitable for the cross cutting investigation of multiple charrettes that I envisaged.
Ethnography	Interpreting the operation of a culture-sharing group.	An ethnography focuses on a defined group of individuals as they navigate their lived experiences. The concern of ethnographical work with a single group of participants was considered too narrow, as it is the 'encounters' between two different groups: planners and citizens, that are the main concern of this research.
Narrative research	Studying the lived experiences of individuals through the stories or 'narratives' generated.	Narrative research aims to achieve a detailed comprehension of people's verbal accounts of their life experiences. The design is considered best applied to small groups of individuals or even single persons (Creswell *et al.*, 2007). I considered a full narrative design would shift the focus of enquiry too far toward individuals' experiences of the charrette. Seeking to involve a range of participants, I also did not feel I would have the time available to adequately elucidate the kind of in depth personal 'stories' that this design requires (Ollerenshaw and Creswell, 2002)
Case study ✓	Creating a detailed description and understanding of a defined case entity.	Please see the expanded discussion in the text that follows.

Source: Modified after Creswell (2018)

Questions of context are particularly important for this research. Charrettes are an outside policy solution that has been imported, or 'transferred', to Scotland. The literature on these policy 'mobilities' suggests they cannot be understood without reference to both the global networks across which they travel between countries or the local circumstances in which they are adopted in their new host nations (Peck and Theodore, 2010; 2012). A case study permits analysis of the complex transactions between the phenomena under investigation and its wider context (Yin, 2004). The works of Onyango and Hadjri (2009); Kelbaugh (2011) and MacLeod (2013) all deploy a single case study to understand charrettes, with the latter also investigating the dynamics of the method as a policy transfer.

My project adds to this literature through a multiple case design. As Yin (2018) argues, subsequent cases provide a check on the initial one, building the overall robustness of the results. Table 5 shows the three selected cases spaced on a continuum. Each is located within three-year intervals, from the first government supported charrettes in Scotland in 2010, to the end of the data collection period in 2018. The case studies represent both rural and urban locations. Despite the chronological element, this project does not claim to be a true longitudinal one. Instead each case is in effect, a single cross-sectional study. My research deploys multiple empirical cases of specific charrettes in practice to shed light on the development of the wider 'theoretical case' of the Scottish Government's ideals for participative planning and design. (Yin, 2012).

In this arrangement, the research covers similar ground to other multiple case studies in planning. Thompson-Fawcett and Bond's (2003) study is one such example. It charts one set of ideas on the construction of the built form through its manifestation in three case study developments. Another is Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee's (1998) investigation into the changing role of public space in planning and urban design decisions, through empirical case studies in multiple U.S downtown areas.

Table 5 – Case Selection

Timeframe	Charrette	Justification
2010-12	*Rural Scotland:* Lochgelly 2010	• The event was part of the initial SSCI Charrette Series, representing the introduction of the method to Scotland with Government financial support. • The charrette was led by DPZ, a New Urbanist practice with a longstanding experience using the method, within its original US setting. • In contrast to the other two Series charrettes, the Lochgelly event focussed on the existing built environment of the town in addition to new greenfield development land. • The Lochgelly Charrette also gathered significant press and social media attention and controversy beyond that connected to the other Series events.
2013-2015	*Urban Scotland:* Govan / Partick 2015	• The charrette took place almost exactly five years after that in Lochgelly, by which time several Scottish based consultancies had gained experience of adapting the method to its new context, free from further input from US practitioners. • The charrette was notable for its employment of engagement methods drawing from the arts: a Glasgow artist's studio was employed as part of the facilitation team. • My early enquiries uncovered a historical sense of animosity between citizens and planners within Glasgow, owing to the city's modernist inspired post-war redevelopment. These projects had arguably changed the physical and social fabric of Glasgow more than any other Scottish city. Held within two neighbourhoods that had borne the brunt of the redevelopment works, the Govan / Partick event appeared the ideal case to test the ability of charrettes to heal existing divisions and establish an ethos of 'partnership' between practitioners and local people. • The proximity to my base at the University of Glasgow minimised the travel necessary to conduct fieldwork, allowing for more investigative depth. This was also a factor in the selection of Clydebank below.
2016-18	*The 'Work in Progress'* Clydebank Can 2018	• This charrette represented the 'state of the art' of charrette practice in 2018. By this time, Scottish consultancies and local authorities had benefited from eight year's support from the Scottish Government. • The charrette was one of several investigating Local Place Plan (LPP) production. LPPs, declared through the Planning (Scotland) Bill, aim to unite outcomes in both the spatial and community planning spheres. • Clydebank was possessed of several local organisations that might be interested in the kind of community led projects an LPP entailed. The town had also seen several succeeding waves of 'regeneration' initiatives led by the public authorities, with their own consultations attached. These projects had folded by the time I started my research. • Clydebank was also unique in that it's town centre had been the target of a previous charrette in 2015. I was interested if a further charrette might overcome the sense of 'consultation fatigue' inherent

The repeated selections and demarcations necessary in a multiple case study research design, orientate it towards the specific over the general (Stake, 1995). This polarises opinion in the methods literature. The qualitative case study was viewed as suffering a 'crisis' in social research (Yin, 1981) and the use of case studies were attacked by several researchers in the late 1970s. They argued that the level of detail that issued from immersion within such a setting limited the scope to deliver generalisable findings (Miles, 1979).

The concept of generalisation is an especially challenging one within qualitative enquiry. The kind of 'statistical' generalisation that allows the quantitative social researcher to make universal inferences about the nature of a population, is not attainable within the limits of a qualitative design (Yin, 2018). Indeed, for qualitative research as a whole, generalisation is limited by the specifics of the study context (Halkier, 2011). The generalisation in my project is of the 'analytic' kind: interrogating existing theoretical concepts in the literature on participative planning and design so that further research may build upon beyond the limits of the specific case studies (Yin, 2018).

In this respect, the use of judiciously selected cases based on specific propositions has long been equally an important part of the scientific method, as undertaking a range of random studies and trials (Flyvbjerg, 2001; 2006) The core proposition of my project is whether charrettes in Scotland offer a new way for community participation in planning and design. Considering the amount of financial investment provided by Government into mainstreaming the method, it is logical to assume that charrettes in Scotland would have a high chance of success in relation to this hypothesis. If the investigation did not favourably support the hypothesis, it is logical to assume this would also be the case where charrettes were attempted without the resources provided by the Scottish Government. In this sense, the theoretical case of charrettes in Scotland represents a most "favourable" one to be weighed against what could be considered more "intermediate" settings (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p.75).

Research design is an iterative process. It is common to have to return to and refine the initial strategy as a project develops (Bickman and Rog, 2009). As my own fieldwork began with an investigation of the 'historical' cases of the Lochgelly and Govan /Partick Charrettes, I became aware that participants placed their experience within particularly strong narratives. In Lochgelly for example, a key narrative related to the charrette at first disruptively 'landing on' the town, but in the long term being just one part of its 'journey of place'. The presence of these narratives within the case study design reflects Law's (2004, p.2) argument for the "messy" nature of social enquiry. This challenges the researcher: for their work to have relevance, it must be based on the kind of clear practices exemplified in Creswell's (2018) demarcation of the research designs. Yet as Law argues, social scientists must also learn to cross these lines as much as be guided by them.

While a research design in its own right (Creswell, 2018), narrative research aims to achieve a detailed comprehension of people's life experiences as recounted through a set of 'stories'. This design is considered best applied to small groups of individuals or even single persons (Creswell *et al*., 2007). I considered a full narrative design would shift the focus of enquiry too far toward individuals' experiences of the charrette, losing the detail of what the charrette itself contributes as a setting or 'space of encounter'. There were also practical considerations. In seeking to involve a range of participants, I did not feel I would have the time available to adequately elucidate the kind of in-depth 'stories' this design requires (Ollerenshaw and Creswell, 2002). I would therefore, describe this thesis as a multiple case study enquiry into the charrette's entry into Scottish planning practice that also respects the individual narratives that emerge, however fragmentary my appreciation of them may be.

4.3 Research Methods and Data Sources

The holistic scope of enquiry within a case study led design permits rich data collection using multiple methods. A more robust evidence base develops by triangulating between these methods (Yin, 2018). The forms of data available drove the methods I utilised.

As Scott (1990) argues, documents indicate the organisational structures and political forces behind the public face of the organisations producing them. Mindful of this, policy documents have explanatory potential within enquiry, provided that the researcher approaches them critically. Therefore, even the identification of partiality and contradiction in official material can be useful in approaching how policy and practice are constructed (Abraham, 1994). An important divide emerged between official writing on charrettes within the policy or 'grey' literature and commentary in the news and social media. In the case of the Lochgelly charrette for example, the official government report portrayed the event as part of the "the most interesting planning initiative anywhere in the world" (Scottish Government, 2010, p.2). A local news organisation conversely proclaimed it as the "Lochgelly *Charade*" (Loch of Shining Waters, 2010b).

These differences of opinion set a context for the interview research. As qualitative enquiry emphasises the role of people in actively constructing and interpreting society, some of the most commonly used qualitative methods involve talking to people and asking questions (Fielding and Thomas, 2008). 'Semi structured' interviews seek a balancing point between providing a replicable framework for the researcher to deploy in the field and affording participants freedom in delivering their reflections (Lichtman, 2014). My sampling strategy was of the purposive type, targeting those I judged able to provide insight on the research questions (Miller and Salkind, 2002).

At the outset, I identified two groups of participants: 'elites' and others. The former included a variety of senior planning professionals and community leaders within both local organisations and the Scottish Government. The involvement of these people was imperative in that they acted as gatekeepers: key figures who might signpost the researcher to others within their wide network of contacts (Crowhurst, 2013) in a form of 'snowball' sampling (Bryman, 2016). Consequently, I was mindful that approaching such elites might create challenges for me in establishing trust and rapport, particularly where my enquiries touched upon commercial, policy development or other organisationally sensitive issues (Rice, 2010).

The difficulties encountered in gaining access to at least some of these 'elite' participants within the project, attested to the need for me to assume a 'constructive' rather than 'disruptive' demeanour Peck and Theodore, (2012). Here, I sought to positively engage with participants, removing my critical attitude from the direct setting of the interview. Instead, I tried to remain impartial and used reflective questioning, later contrasting interview findings between different participants and cases. In making the approach to elite participants, after Rice (2010) I stressed my position as both an 'insider', as a Chartered Town Planner, but also as a neutral academic, as a PhD student. This latter element of my presentation, together with my ethical assurances that anonymity would be maintained, were critical to securing the participation of several respondents. These participants were particularly guarded with respect to the commercial and political issues surrounding charrettes, that I bring to light in the chapters that follow.

Beyond the 'elite' participants, I also wished to engage with a range of local people involved in charrettes, where similar challenges in fostering rapport apply. Moss (1995) draws attention to the 'gap' between the seemingly detached position of the academic, and the wider understandings prevalent in the communities involved in their studies. To bridge this gap, she stresses that honesty and openness are key to establishing a sense of common ground between the researcher and community. To this extent, I was confident previous work experience in participative settings as well as my voluntary work within two citizen advice services provided the necessary shared perspectives to establish this rapport.

Despite my certainty, the research journey involved several unexpected turns. The interview, especially in its more structured forms where the researcher controls the topic agenda and order of questions, ostensibly offers the respondent little freedom. More critically however, both Vähäsantanen and Saarinen (2013) and Roer-Strier and Sands (2015) argue for a more bidirectional process. Interviewees can withhold information or alter the flow of conversation in that, by the very act of having responded, the researcher is compelled to listen to them. Reflectively, several of my own participants were voluble to the extent that the output of the interview shifted toward the 'open' type defined by Fielding and Thomas (2008). Here participants began offering unrestricted commentary on the charrette in question, rather than adhering to the narrower set of interview themes I prepared.

In handling this issue, I was mindful of Seidman's (2013) advice that interviewers in qualitative research should detach themselves personally from the process and be adaptable to the situation. In most cases I was able to steer the conversation gently back to an area where I felt I was getting the perspectives that I needed, without adhering too forcefully to my original interview schedule. To this end, an important part of fieldwork was the longstanding practice of keeping a research diary (Burgess, 1981) of my own thoughts and reflections on these experiences. Where relevant, I transcribed diary entries along with interview content. They later became useful for undertaking initial analysis of the data, relating a record of the tone of encounters and the personal feelings they inspirited.

Regardless of how much I could expect to inspire rapport with my participants, I felt that the structure of the interview setting imposed a significant limitation on my fieldwork. Interviewing excludes the researcher from the perspective of being fully immersed within the phenomena they are studying (David and Sutton, 2011). Relying solely on methods founded on the verbal overlooks a range of other potentially relevant behaviours and interactions (Silverman, 2017). This might have acted as a particular restraint considering the concerns of my study and its use of non-representational theory, which focuses upon social practices expressed through interpersonal encounters (Thrift, 1997).

As a result, I approached the final case study event through detailed participant observation as a 'work in progress.' Participant observation is founded on the researcher enfolding themselves directly within the study object, gaining an 'insider's perspective. As a result, the researcher is less likely to disrupt the subject of their enquiry and gains a more 'natural' perspective. I was also able to engage in casual conversation with charrette participants, providing extra perspectives outside the formalities involved in arranging an interview (Jorgensen, 1989). In this light, to maximise the value of the observational data, the process also borrowed from some aspects of the ethnographic research design (Creswell, 2018). Ethnography compels the researcher to be comprehensively and personally invested in their study setting (Gobo and Belton, 2008). As Chiseri-Strater and Sunstein (2011) argue, this level of investment adds value to observational data. It captures more subjective issues such as personal feelings, in addition to merely factual scrutiny. In practice, I found this additional detail very helpful in charting the 'ebb and flow' of the final case study, 'Clydebank Can' in 2018. The observations on feelings and emotions in the room translated very well into rich qualitative data that helped to illustrate the various senses of 'becoming' that contributed to the changing affective 'atmosphere' of the event (Anderson, 2014b). I also began noticing these on returning to the transcripts I gathered from my two previous case studies. The fieldwork phase delivered a substantial qualitative database. In addition to my documentary research, I conducted interviews with 52 different participants. It was also possible to combine these perspectives with the data from my MRes dissertation fieldwork. As a result, I could draw on the testimony of 64 respondents. These appear throughout the thesis in a standard format, as noted in Appendix 1. The case code is followed by a description of the respondent's role in the process. For example, (GOVPA, Local Authority Planning Staff) indicates that the respondent's testimony relates to the Govan / Partick Charrette of 2015 and that they were involved as a professional planner employed by Glasgow City Council. In addition to the three individual charrette case study codes: LCGEL (Lochgelly 2010) GOVPA and CCAN (Clydebank 2018) I also assign a code OVR (overview). This applies to those whom I interviewed about charrettes in Scotland in general and includes the respondents from my 2016 MRes Dissertation. My attendance at Clydebank Can as a 'work in progress' also provided a set of rich field notes that I added to with my own audio reflections after the event.

4.4 Data Analysis

On conclusion of the fieldwork period, I had a complete data set that combined annotated documents, interview transcripts and field notes that evidenced observations of behaviours or 'practices' in the field. The variety of data sources I had available was a considerable asset to my project, but one that made analysis complex. Miles et al (2014) conceive of analysis as a three-stage process of moving from raw data to clear findings. The first step is to *condense* one's collection of transcripts, field notes and documents into sets of key themes and meanings. This underpins the second stage of '*displaying*' or organising the data so that the relationships between these different themes becomes clear. Within my project, 'condensing' began by identifying patterns in the data (Stake, 1995; Patton and Appelbaum, 2003). In considering these patterns, Thomas (2011, p.513) marks an important distinction between the evident "subject" of a case study, or its practical description in space and time and the more elusive "object" or analytical framework. For a case study to be valid as research therefore, it must contain something that is explicable and a procedure for the explanation to follow.

My existing professional knowledge carried an advantage in my understanding of the conventions of the planning system. This awareness was double edged. The impenetrability of the terms of reference often proves off-putting to those seeking to engage with planning from outside the discipline (Inch, 2015). My awareness of the framework of plans and strategies sometimes acted to blind me to the experience of the 'lay' person within the charrette. This became most clear to me in reflection on one of my interviews related to the 'Clydebank Can' event. I was initially impressed by the level of detail about the existing development plan context that the facilitation team provided in a presentation. However, one of my respondents felt by contrast, that this was alienating to the local people in attendance. The respondent wanted to hear how the charrette would change their daily experiences of the place rather than this 'jargon' (Respondent CCAN 7, Student).

Faced with these different perspectives, Content Analysis (CA) offered the possibility to uncover common meanings from the database of audio recordings, documents and observations I accumulated. Through CA, I felt enabled to chart the emergence of themes within the data (Krippendorff, 2004). Drawing out these themes involved identifying or 'coding' the key meanings (Stemler, 2001).

Coding rests on identifying the sequences of communication or action of most interest to the researcher and placing them with respect to similar words or practices in the dataset. Coding is a method of data *condensation* (Miles *et al.*, 2014) and also a *heuristic,* or learning process (Saldaña, 2013; Spencer *et al.*, 2014). As such, the coding journey can be a complex one for researchers, with more than 30 different approaches defined in Saldaña's (2013) manual. The following represents a selective illustration of this journey in my own project. The process began in the 'first cycle', through grouping sections of text with a common theme within the transcribed data. I derived three foundational elements from Miles *et al* (2014). An example drawn from the research data concerning the Lochgelly Charrette in 2010, accompanies each type of foundational code below:

1. ***Descriptive Coding*** provides tags on blocks of text that summarise their basic topic. These codes used across the dataset, build up to a descriptive inventory of each case.

   - The code *Raising Awareness* constructs an inventory of the various activities used to promote charrettes to the wider public in the areas where they take place.

   *[1] RAISING AWARENESS:-"We did a lot of advertising and promotion in the run up to the charrette, so there were leaflets went out to all the houses, we had a schools programme, there was things in the (news) paper and just as the charrette programme was starting there was stuff on the television" (Respondent LCGEL 4, Local Authority Planner)

2. *In Vivo Coding* uses content from a participant's own words to highlight what they see as the key themes and meanings related to the subject of the research. It is highly useful in triangulating on patterns in data. It is best practice to place such codes in inverted commas to indicate the researcher is stepping back from the process and prioritising the participant's own voice.

- The code *'Journey of Place'* illustrates practitioners' perceptions of the lengthy timescales involved in developing and regenerating places

*[1] **'JOURNEY OF PLACE':-** "We call Lochgelly really, a "journey of people and place", with the charrette being one event in a timeline of events that really started about 1999-2000" (Respondent LCGEL 3 Economic Development Officer)

3. Finally, *Process Coding* defines either action within the data, or processes that lead to change over time. This is of general value in elucidating the consequences of participant's actions and experiences. It is also particularly useful given my underlying concern with the evolution and 'mutation' (Peck and Theodore, 2010) of the charrette in Scotland

- The code *Momentum and Publicity* illustrates how charrettes can raise the profile of a place with Government and other funding bodies, boosting the chances of realising local development projects after the events.

*[1] **MOMENTUM AND PUBLICITY:-** "That's one of the benefits of the charrette approach, because, some of these real, 'bigger ticket' items end up being delivered on, because there's an absolute recognition that it's the right thing to invest in, not just on the part of the council, but also on the part of other external funding bodies." (Respondent LCGEL 2 Economic Development Officer).

Beyond these three foundations, even the most authoritative sources on coding in social research are reluctant to define a single 'best practice' approach. Rather, researchers are recommended to take time to consider how the many different possible tactics could be best combined (Saldaña, 2013). To add to the foundational coding types without overly complicating the strategy, I sought two additional types examining the emotive encounters that occur through charrettes. Thusly, my codex also included, after Miles *et al* (2014):

4. *Evaluation Coding*, which assigns judgements about the worth of various elements of policy settings. Evaluation codes also carry subtexts referring to the setting and conveying whether the respondent's opinion was positive or negative.

    - The code + *Praise Charrette: Reconsidering Place,* illustrates a positive view of how the charrette process encourages local people to think again about their taken for granted notions on the place they live in.

    *[1]+PRAISE CHARRETTE: RECONSIDERING PLACE:- "(The charrette facilitator) identified a kind of different mind-set about, saying: "oh why's that like that or why's this like this?" And that kind of shifted the mind-set within the community a little bit, so that for me was the positive" (Respondent LCGEL 6 Community Group Member).

5. *Emotion Coding* highlights the subjective and personal aspect of a participant's experiences, affording direct insight into their goals, routines and sentiments. The use of emotion coding in the analysis creates a counterbalance to the potentially more detached evaluations I outlined above.

    - The code, 'out of the equation' is used here to convey the sense of bitterness of a local community group who felt the Lochgelly Charrette overrode their previous efforts supporting regeneration projects in the town. The inverted commas also indicate that this code was derived 'in vivo'

*¹ 'OUT OF THE EQUATION':- "It's **us** that's the ones that are on the forefront of it, but it's just (the charrette facilitation team) ignored us, we were taken out the equation, because (the charrette lead facilitator) did'nae want anybody that was going to cause any…(disagreement)" (Respondent LCGEL 7 Community Group Member).

To address the data consistently, I made five 'passes' over each transcript using the QSR NVivo software. I first defined and expanded upon the *descriptive* codes that are the most basic type in the researcher's inventory. These codes provided a means to divide and index the data from the transcripts. By nature, descriptive codes are best at highlighting elements of the social setting, rather than social actions. The majority referred to the context underlying how charrettes in Scotland take place. I used a subset to signpost action-based points, such as conflict or consensus within the charrette, toward the next stage of analysis. This made use of the more advanced *process* and *evaluative* codes to highlight sequences of action in the data and to attach participants' judgements onto the outcomes of these actions. To maintain focus, evaluation coding was only used on transcript content that referred directly to the experience of being involved in charrettes. In the final stage, I brought the *in vivo* and *emotional* codes to bear. The in vivo stage was relevant to both practitioner and community participants, selectively defining the language of participative planning in a sub-cultural sense (Miles *et al.*, 2014).

Despite this, I found that professional participants rarely offered emotional feedback, perhaps due to corporate considerations. As when considering the research design, I was continually prompted to re-evaluate my initial assumptions about the data throughout the analysis process. Alongside coding, I also therefore, undertook "memoing" (Strauss, 1987, p.19). Memos consist of more detailed theoretical reflections that expand upon the rationale that lies behind the codes and considers how links may be drawn between them (Bringer *et al.*, 2006).

As the analysis proceeded, I added a second cycle or 'pattern coding' stage to group the first order codes together and establish more refined cross cutting directions and concepts within the data (Miles *et al.*, 2014). The process was similar to Berg and Lune's (2014) classification. Here, 'manifest' content is a more descriptive reading of the dominant thematic currents and observations in the data. 'Latent' content constitutes a deeper interpretation and reflection on these themes. I continued condensing the data, grouping the many first cycle codes together into a smaller number of overarching subjects. I also began to visualise the data, constructing a mental picture of how the themes came together (Miles *et al.*, 2014). I implemented the second cycle through the technique of *axial coding*, orientating similar first cycle codes along one direction or 'axis' (Saldaña, 2013).

Consequently, Figure 2 illustrates how one of my axial, second cycle codes *'touching down'*, was derived from three first cycle codes. My first case study, the Lochgelly Charrette in 2010, was one of the original events that received Scottish Government funding. As highlighted by the first cycle codes, the town already had an established regeneration initiative in progress at the time of the charrette. The event led to bitterness amongst some of the local participants involved, who felt the charrette overrode their contribution. However, this situation led others to reconsider their taken for granted opinions about the town.

Figure 2 - Axial Coding
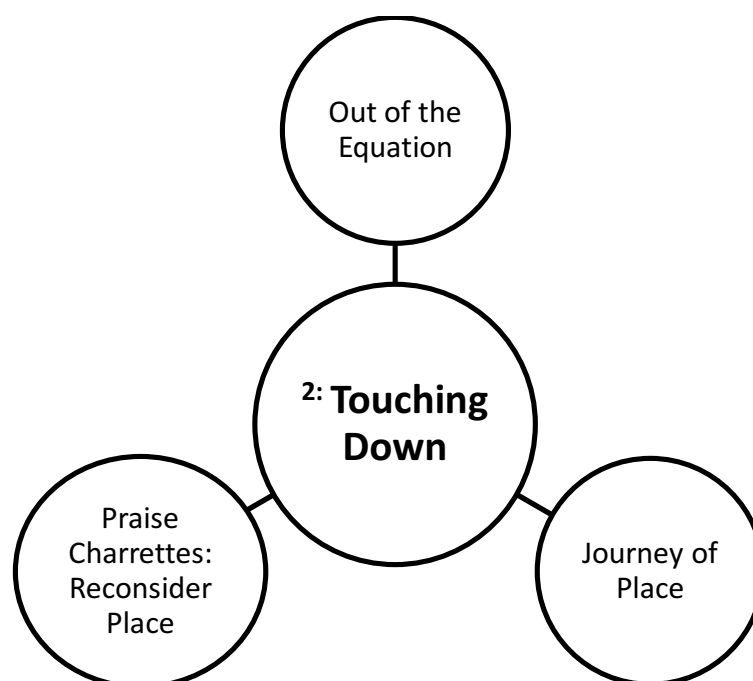
Analysing the observational data raised additional challenges to those encountered with the documentary and interview sources. I was attempting to capture a highly complex setting in the real world within my analysis framework. I recorded my observations as detailed field notes (Jorgensen, 1989; Chiseri-Strater and Sunstein, 2011). While I was able to trace some of themes I had coded from other data types, as Maravasti (2014) argues, the decisions about what was and was not noted, represented a further analytical step. In focusing on the specific aspects of the observed setting that were of interest, I was 'inductively' identifying how the various relationships reflected and might be used to critique existing theory (Maravasti, 2014).

My analysis strategy acted to aggregate the contributions of my participants together with the outcomes of documentary and observational research into a coherent set of findings. I felt that it was important that in this process of aggregation, that I did not lose sight of the fact that real people and places were involved in my project, adding a range of ethical considerations to the work.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

All social researchers are mandated to consider their ethical responsibilities at the outset of any new project (Vujakovic and Bullard, 2001). The keystone of upholding this responsibility and enacting ethical conduct in any scientific activity involving human subjects, is the assurance that no harm will come to participants. Within the social sciences, researchers uphold the 'no harm principle' by maintaining privacy, through ensuring identity protection and keeping personal information confidential. Participants are also made aware of the nature of the research and that their involvement is completely voluntary at all times (Lichtman, 2014). My submission to the College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow, set out the detailed procedures for ensuring compliance with ethical standards in all aspects of the research fieldwork. These included the recruitment of participants, confidentiality in data handling and ensuring that any risks to both the researcher and participants were adequately managed. The submission was granted ethical approval in May 2017. I was also given permission to retain and utilise the interview data from my previous MRes Dissertation in my PhD project in May 2016.

Following the ethical guidelines set out by the College, each participant was sent a plain language statement and written consent form. These documents introduced the nature of the research and made participants aware of the opportunity to withdraw from the project at any time. I also made participants aware that they would be referred to by a pseudonym that outlined their role in the process, but not their identity. All participants agreed to the terms of the consent form. Beyond the formal ethical approval process, I also reflected on how my own presence influenced the people and settings I was observing. Pratt (2000) argues that the interpersonal performances through which fieldwork takes place are too often overlooked.

Guillemin and Gillam (2004, p.263) consequently distinguish between what they term "procedural ethics" and "ethics in practice." The former are the processes and procedures for gaining formal ethical approval. The latter are the more direct and unplanned ethical questions that occur in fieldwork. Routledge's (2002) paper, detailing his enquiries into tourist led property development, is particularly insightful on these issues. He felt uncomfortable about the prospect of writing critically about developers, given the hospitality with which they treated him in the field. Similar challenges were raised in my experience. A particularly memorable example was when one of the facilitation leads of the 'Clydebank Can' case study, provided me with a folio full of drawings and potential development proposals. I later used this to illustrate how I felt that the event failed to provide suitable example projects that the local community could take forward on their own initiative.

Moments like these had resonance in my own journey toward becoming an independent social researcher focussed on planning. Through my previous employment as a local authority planner, I wanted to be associated with charrettes as they represented the 'cutting edge' of participative practice. This is evident in some of my previous publications, most notably Kordas (2014). In this article, published in the journal for professional planners in Scotland, I discussed my approach to the deployment of charrette techniques through a series of school sessions. The publication explained the challenges and benefits that accrued from these events in terms of my own practice and my employer at the time. However, it did not attempt to consider them from the perspective of the students or small communities involved.

The Clydebank encounter above, as an example of Guillemin and Gillam's (2004) 'ethics in practice', challenged me as a researcher. In 2014 I constructed knowledge about the charrette solely from a professional standpoint. In 2018, my research journey led me to question the relevance of charrette outcomes from the perspective of local participants. However, the sense of unease with which I accepted another professional's work only to later critique it, marked that I was in fact still placed very much between the two spheres.

4.6 Summary: Into the Field

This chapter illustrated how I mapped out the methodological underpinnings of my 'research journey'. I encountered several crossroads that prompted me to question my direction. This was particularly so when I attempted to rationalise the possible research designs. Hence, while the case study is the only design that provides the level of investigative depth appropriate to my project, experience in the field necessitated borrowing from both narrative and ethnographical approaches. In these decisions, Law's (2004) assertion that the social research process is one of blurred rather than clear lines between design and method cannot be ignored.

Fieldwork also generated challenges. This was especially evident as I reflected on the trials I faced in recruiting participants, conducting interviews and analysing the volume of data that eventually resulted. These experiences highlight both the complexity of the research journey and that of the characters and personalities involved. I felt these complexities particularly strongly through the issues of 'ethics in practice' that I encountered in the field.

In the four chapters that follow, I present the findings of my research into the background of the charrette's journey to and subsequent development in Scotland, as a mobile policy tool. I then follow-up with the results of my three case studies into the practice of actual charrettes in the country.

5 Charrette Mainstreaming in Scotland

This chapter uses original data to approach the first of my research sub-questions. It asks why the Scottish Government first considered charrettes to be a participative method worthy of being 'mainstreamed' into planning and design practice and the subsequent progress of these endeavours. The discussion in this chapter covers the twenty-year period between the restoration of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 and the presentation of this thesis in 2019.

Devolution provided a strong impetus to reconsider the operation of the planning system in Scotland. Over time, the Scottish Government's discourses of 'place making', 'modernisation' and 'reform', led to a search for new methods of engagement that culminated in the charrette. As charrettes are an internationally derived policy tool, my discussion in this chapter builds from Peck and Theodore's (2010) work on policy 'mobility'. I extend the map of agencies, institutions and ideals that are crucial to understanding the charrette across the Atlantic to its birthplace in the USA. Following from Flyvbjerg's (1998) 'realrationalität' I contrast the public face presented by Government on participation in planning and design, with what actually took place 'behind closed doors'.

I chart the development of a more socially conscious version of the charrette from the early 2010s onwards, under Government's Mainstreaming funding. This format widened the physical planning and design-based scope of the first charrettes held in Scotland to encompass community planning and development issues. Despite these changes, new conventions also appeared. The evidence suggests that charrettes represent too valuable a source of funding and income for planning authorities and consultancies to risk pushing the boundaries of the format. As a result, I argue that a 'standard model' of practice has emerged, which limits the potential to tailor charrettes to the circumstances of the places that they are held in.

5.1 Bringing Charrettes to Scotland: 1999 to 2010

On an Autumn day in 2006, a group of over 150 interested participants gather in a conference room at the Drumossie Hotel, on the outskirts of Inverness. They are waiting for a multinational team of architects and planners of the New Urbanist practice DPZ and their leader, Andrés Duany. Over the following days, the conference room will be transformed into a 'charrette studio': the first space of its kind to run in Scotland (Moray Estates, 2007; Onyango and Hadjri, 2009). The literature highlights that charrettes are but one format, within a world of participative planning and design tools. (Sanoff, 2000; Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2010; Planning for Real, 2012). Yet, the years to come will see Duany embark upon a far more ambitious programme of charrettes Scotland – wide. (Scottish Government, 2010), leading to their promotion through the Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative (SSCI) as the 'mainstream' of such practice (Scottish Government, 2015).

In the section that follows, I define a context for my three individual case studies of charrettes in practice. I outline how planning and design policy and practice developed since control over these activities devolved from Westminster and set out the key turning points that brought the charrette to occupy such an important position within the Scottish planner and urban designer's toolkit.

5.1.1 Participative Planning and Design into Devolution: 1990 to 2000

This journey began with the first meeting in Edinburgh of the devolved Scottish Parliament in May 1999, following the 'Yes, Yes' vote of September 1997. The Scottish Parliament came into being again as the result of mounting pressure for some form of power transfer from Westminster, following the failed referendum on the Scottish Assembly twenty years previously (Scottish Parliament, 2016). The list of powers still reserved by Westminster was relatively short. Parliament assumed the range of home affairs that were previously the purview of the Scottish Office. However, it now had the power to legislate on these matters, as legitimised through the presence of an elected parliament (Lloyd and McCarthy, 2000).

The confirmation that Scotland would again have a parliament, prompted speculation on the kind of policy for the built environment that might accompany it. Some used the opportunity to call for a comprehensive overhaul of the planning system (Scottish Office, 1999a). From the academy, commentators were less demanding in their expectations, but still offered an enthusiastic prognosis for a distinctly Caledonian agenda on the built environment to emerge (Hayton, 1999; Allmendinger, 2001).

These hopes took some time to fulfil. The first two terms of the Scottish Parliament, from 1999 until 2007, were under a Labour / Liberal Democrat Coalition (Scottish Parliament, 2016). Revision of the core planning principles in 2000 (Scottish Executive, 2000) was followed by a White Paper on participation in planning in 2002 (Scottish Executive, 2002). A further study in 2003 (Scottish Executive., 2003) laid the groundwork for a comprehensive review of planning in the middle of the decade in the 'Modernising the Planning System White Paper of 2005 (Scottish Executive, 2005b). Nevertheless, the equivalent set of statutory reforms from Westminster were fully enacted by 2004 (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013).

Consequently, as early as 2001, Tewdwr-Jones (2001) highlighted that rather than being unwilling to innovate, the new Executive was perhaps instead, challenged to 'keep up' with change south of the border. The Executive aligned itself to the 'modernisation' agenda of the Westminster Government, which emphasised making planning more efficient and inclusive (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013). The Executive aimed to expedite the everyday processing of planning applications and production of development plans. With new political institutions, arose the potential for political gains for the leaders of these institutions. These might accrue through placing their nations on a par with, or ahead of the others in policy development (Tewdwr-Jones, 1999).

5.1.2 Participation, Design, Place Making? - 2001 to 2006

In policy for the built environment, these aspirations drew questions of participative planning and urban design together within a new discourse of 'place making'. The prospect of a Scottish Parliament promised a more directly accountable governance structure for Scotland (Tewdwr-Jones, 2001). The findings of several studies in the run up to the first meeting of the Parliament prompted further reflection on how planning could become more participative and inclusive (Scottish Office, 1999a; 1999b).

This policy direction, continued through the first years of devolution as part of the Revised National Planning Policy Guidance (Scottish Executive, 2000) also figured strongly in the 2005 White Paper on modernising the Planning System (Scottish Executive, 2005b). A critical reading of these documents shows little substantial change from the position on 'modernising' planning relative to Westminster's proposals published four years previously. Both espoused the need for a more up to date planning system that allowed greater opportunities for engagement and participation, with a subtext that such a system would also help to facilitate development more quickly and efficiently (DTLR, 2001; Scottish Executive, 2005b). Consequently, Stephen Byers MP in his foreword to the 2001 Green Paper argued that "we need good planning to deliver sustainable development, to harness growth to build a better future" (DTLR, 2001, p.x). Four years later, the MSPs Jack McConnell and Nicol Stephen stated their priorities as "promoting sustainable economic growth to create a modern and vibrant Scotland" with a "modern, up to date planning system… critical to achieving that objective" (Scottish Executive, 2005b, p.8).

Design awareness also permeated throughout policy circles across the UK toward the end of the 1990s. Parliamentary support in the Quality in Town and Country discussion document (DOE., 1994), advanced the position of the activity in the built environment professional's lexicon (Higgins and Forsyth, 2006). By 2000, design was viewed as a key element in attaining the Westminster Government's 'urban renaissance' and was enshrined through Planning Policy Guidance 1 (DTER, 2000b) and its companion guidance *By Design (DTER, 2000a)*. Again following developments South of the Border, 2001 saw the launch of *Designing Places*, the first national design policy statement (Scottish Executive, 2001)

Designing Places is especially significant to understanding the ascendance of charrettes in Scotland. It sought to redefine both the policy approach to the physical buildings and spaces, or 'products' of the development industry, together with the more obtuse 'processes' (Carmona *et al.*, 2010) of planning a good place. Correspondence with one of the authors of the document illustrates this situation. The challenge was aligning the various complexities of the design process in planning policy:

> The late 1990s and early 2000s were a time when people were asking where design fitted into the planning system. Before that, the debate had been about whether planning should exercise 'aesthetic control'. Now it became understood that design in the planning process was more than about aesthetics: it was also about how places worked; what were the qualities of successful places; and how the planning system could facilitate the creation of such places (OVR 21, Design Consultant to the Scottish Executive).

In these reflections, the Executive perceived a key barrier in the professional language or 'jargon' deployed within the planning system. *Designing Places* advocated making the development process comprehensible to those without professional training and ensuring participation took place at the earliest possible opportunity (Scottish Executive, 2001). The period from the early to mid-2000s, saw a suite of new Planning Advice Notes (PAN's) issued by the Scottish Executive. The new PAN's cited either the policy framework established in Designing Places, or the participative issues emerging through the wider modernisation agenda, as shown in Table 6 below.

Table 6 - Planning Advice Notes

PAN Number	Subject	Year Published
67	Housing Quality	2003
68	Design Statements	2003
77	Designing Safer Places	2006
78	Inclusive Design	2006
81	Community Engagement	2007

Source: (Scottish Government, 2016c).

An approach that draws from governmentality studies, challenges the researcher to look beyond these public facing actions to critically investigate the 'real' decisions and rationale that lie beneath (Flyvbjerg, 1998). The 'place making' and 'modernisation' agendas that underpinned planning and design charrettes in Scotland cannot be addressed in this way, without reference to a series of key personalities and relationships within Government. Amongst these Jim Mackinnon, Chief Planner from 2000 -2012, takes centre stage. Indeed, one participant strongly suggested it was the Chief Planner who originally devised the question "where are the conservation areas of tomorrow?" attributed to the former Planning Minister Sam Galbraith in the introduction to *Designing Places* (Scottish Executive, 2001, p.3). As the highest authority on built environment policy within the Executive, Mackinnon's goal, at least publicly, was for a "plain English" system. Planning and design issues were to be as accessible as possible to local people, eschewing the jargon that had characterised previous policy (OVR 15, Former Scottish Government Planner).

Economic concerns lay behind the democratic gloss on these aspirations. The perception that planning acted as a brake on development weighed heavily in reading government's justification for advancing 'reform' of both the English and Scottish systems in the mid 2000s (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013). The development industry lacked confidence in the ability to provide certainty, in both allocating land in development plans and defining consistent criteria against which to judge applications. Communities felt that the planning authorities failed to adequately take into account their objections to both the principles of new plans and individual proposals (DTLR, 2001; Scottish Executive, 2005b).

These issues frustrated planning's potential under neoliberalism to act as a vehicle for 'delivery' of growth and development, particularly housing development. The discourse of delivery represented somewhat of a double-edged sword. While the importance of planning was raised in the political eye, so also was the pressure to achieve. In the early years of the new millennium, planners were expected to deliver new homes and regenerated towns and cities and deliver them without delay. Common to all the UK nations' reform plans was a drive to expediate the development planning and management processes (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013). The 2005 White Paper in Scotland consequently sought to focus participation at the "front end" (Scottish Executive, 2005b, p.14). The Paper advocated revised consultation arrangements in advance of both the preparation of new plans and the submission of significant development proposals. Senior figures within the Executive believed that communities needed to remain open to change in their local environment, but also that such change would be more palatable if advanced in terms they could understand. Offering a stake in the form change would take was also crucial to minimising objections and increasing certainty for developers. In their reflections, one participant recalled that the Executive was keen to replace the "decide, announce, defend" strategy (Rydin, 1999, p.188) on behalf of authorities that had endured into the 1990s, with a new mode of co-production:

> "The planning reforms of 2005 and 2006 had introduced pre-application consultation and 'frontloading' of Local Development Plans. I think that people realised that the discursive approach had advantages over an adversarial approach" (OVR 15, Former Scottish Government Planner)

With the prospect of these gains, the search began for suitable methods of engagement. Consulting on a decision by decision basis was not enough. As argued by the *Designing Places* author, action to involve communities instead needed to be considered strategically and be thoroughly resourced:

> The section on 'Collaboration' aimed to set the bar higher than just aiming for consultation. It made the point that, among other things, a programme of public participation and collaboration needs to be carefully planned, ensuring that the timing was right and that the necessary skills and resources were made available. (OVR 21, Design Consultant to the Scottish Executive)

Consequently, the first two terms of Parliament saw local authorities experiment with a variety of different approaches. Amongst these, Midlothian Council operated a touring bus staffed by planners while Falkirk Council published a newsletter on progress with its emerging local development plan. Beyond these 'home-grown' efforts, other councils adopted the proprietary Planning for Real® format.[11] Considering this collection of different methods, and without the benefit of hindsight, the ascension of charrettes as Government's first choice in participative planning and design was by no means certain. Indeed, PAN 81 had issued a call for more examples of best practice, in the spirit of authorities learning from others' experiences (Scottish Executive, 2007).

Despite this openness in public, the Executive had for several years gravitated toward a particular set of participative methods. In mobility studies, Peck and Theodore (2012, p.23) draw attention to the "field of reception" whereby particular policy models and tools first become visible to authorities who might adopt them. The field of reception that interested the Executive in charrettes derived from the Planning Directorate's contact with a network of globally active practitioners surrounding the Prince of Wales.

This network first came to the attention of the Executive during the second term of Parliament. The Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment had come to hold substantial sway on planning and design policy UK wide. As White (2009) argues, the Foundation was particularly effective at creating professional networks with both governmental and quasi-governmental agencies. In addition, more direct connections with specific 'elites' were also fostered, the former UK Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott being a case in point. Key to this level of presence was the addition of a tier of 'fellows': highly respected practitioners, open to the Foundation's 'neo classical' design agenda. The majority of these consultants identified with the New Urbanist movement founded by Andrés Duany in the USA along similar 'neo traditional' planning and design principles (Grant, 2006).

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[11] A Planning for Real Exercise is based on the use of model buildings instead of drawings to vision planning and urban design goals. It has its origins in the 1970s as a way of involving people who felt daunted by written planning consultations and representations (Involve, 2019).

As shown in Table 7, the years leading up to the first charrette in Scotland saw the Prince's Foundation play an active role in the country, organising a series of conferences through which senior Scottish Government planners received a personalised introduction to both the Prince and his ideas (OVR 13, Charrette Facilitator, OVR 15, Former Scottish Government Planner). Many of these concepts, drawing on New Urbanist ideas, also reflected the principles laid down in *Designing Places* (Scottish Executive, 2001). They offered a blueprint for how to carry forward the agenda that was defined in the document (OVR 15, Former Scottish Government Planner).

Table 7 - Timeline of Charrettes in Scotland

Circa / Date	Key Event	Significance
2001	Publication of Designing Places	Sets the precedent for a nationally distinctive 'place making' agenda in Scottish policy which is added to by the series of Planning Advice Notes.
2004	Balmoral Event	The Prince's Foundation holds an event at Balmoral on the subject of design and architecture quality in National Park settings. Senior figures in the Scottish Executive are introduced to the work of the Foundation, and to the Prince himself.
2004-2005	Poundbury Tours	The Foundation organises study tours to Poundbury via Scottish Business in the Community: senior Government and development industry personnel are among the delegates.
2006	Tornagrain Charrette	First charrette held in Scotland, attended by Jim Mackinnon in an observer's role.

Source: Researcher's notes and correspondence with participants OVR 13 and OVR 15, confirmed by interview.

A conference held on the Royal Estate at Balmoral in 2004, where the Prince's Foundation provided guidance on the role of design in integrating new development into National Park settings, was especially important. The event, attended by Jim Mackinnon, introduced the Prince and the work of his foundation to these upper echelons of practice (OVR 13, Charrette Facilitator).

Alongside the work of the Foundation, one of the Prince's other organisations, the economic development focused *Scottish Business in the Community* was also important. It was through this body that study tours of the Prince's own development in the New Urbanist style, at Poundbury in Dorset, were organised. In attendance were senior representatives of both the Scottish Executive and the Scottish construction sector (OVR 13, Charrette Facilitator).[12] The Prince's Foundation also held several of their proprietary Enquiry by Design workshops (EBD) in Scotland, between 2007 and 2009 (Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2007; Urban Design Associates, 2009). This period was instrumental in forming a series of lasting professional relationships and knowledge transfers between the Prince's Foundation, the Scottish planning directorate and the development industry.

While the Foundation's 'offer' in the relationship was clear, the gains from the association were by no means one sided. Senior figures within the Foundation shared the Executive's support for a less reactive approach to planning and design, as alluded to in both the 2005 White Paper and *Designing Places*. While commonalities exist between these documents and their equivalent strategy in England, the Foundation had a particular interest in the potential of the Scottish Executive to achieve under Jim Mackinnon's leadership. This interest was derived from both the Nation's geography and centralised governance structure. Scotland's population is significantly smaller than England's with 32 councils reporting to Holyrood (Scottish Government, 2016d) as opposed to Westminster's realm of over 400 local authorities (Sinclair, 2008). As a result, the 'distance' between the senior figures in government that the Foundation was used to dealing with and practitioners on the ground, was relatively closer knit. As a Foundation representative recalled, the country appeared to offer the ideal proving ground for deliberative planning and design practices and the potential to have these accepted into the conventions of the discipline:

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[12] These had expanded to include students by the end of the decade. I visited Poundbury in such a capacity in 2009, with all expenses paid by the Scottish Government.

"I have huge respect for Jim (Mackinnon): for what he was doing, against all odds was attempting to turn planning into a proactive profession where basically, you took, the bull by the horns and said: "we are actually going to forward plan and we're going to do this democratically by engaging with all the local stakeholders."

"Back in the day John Prescott was a big fan of (this sort of approach) The English Planning System had all of the policy papers that dribbled their way into the system. But probably because it's a more complex and bigger country with hundreds and hundreds of local boroughs, I don't think the forward, proactive planning had quite the impact that it did in Scotland" (OVR 17, Prince's Foundation Representative)

It was within this milieu that charrettes made their debut in Scotland, in 2006 and that the Executive's policy networks undertook an international 'Atlantic Crossing' (Rodgers, 1998) of their own. As illustrated in MacLeod (2013), this connection arose not directly from within the Executive itself, but in response to a more local issue. The Highland Council sought to allocate land for new housing to meet the expansion of Inverness. This pursuit led them to the Earl of Moray whose substantial holdings in the area formed one half of an estate in both Inverness and Perth -shires (The Scotsman, 2011).[13]

Negotiations resulted in a site designation around the small settlement of Tornagrain. Unimpressed by the design standards of Inverness's existing suburbs, the Earl, his estate managers and advisors undertook a study tour of several developments in 2005. These included three key New Urbanist projects: Poundbury in England and Kentlands and Seaside in the USA. The time spent 'across the pond' would prove most decisive, as it was here that the Earl first encountered Andrés Duany whose DPZ practice wrote the masterplans for both projects. Impressed by these built examples, and mindful of the opposition that a significant new settlement on undeveloped land might generate back in Scotland, DPZ were commissioned to undertake a participative exercise in late 2005. This generated a wider political debate around whether a new settlement was truly appropriate for the area, which was the focus of Macleod's (2013) research. Less however, is known about the conduct of the event itself

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[13] The Earl's extended family included both a former Secretary of State for Scotland (James Stuart, 1951-57) and Prime Minister of the UK (Harold Macmillan, 1957-63).

John Onyango and Karim Hadjri's practice - based research was conducted during the charrette. Although it shares some of MacLeod's critical observations, it concludes that most participants felt the exercise was inclusive and carried out in an atmosphere of trust. It demonstrates the intent of Duany's team to ensure the masterplan's 'green' credentials. Drawing inspiration from Poundbury, the New Urbanist principles of neoclassical design, mixed use, walkability and connection to public transportation were incorporated within the plan as matters of principle (Onyango and Hadjri, 2009).

At least to the professional observer, the charrette provided an inclusive and active approach to involving local people in the shape of new plans and made the technical and aesthetic considerations of development comprehensible. These considerations are crucial in that the charrette also played host to other professionals studying the charrette, the most influential of which was Jim Mackinnon himself. The Chief Planner had in fact become acquainted with Duany in the run up to the event, having coached him on the workings of the planning system in Scotland (OVR 15, Former Scottish Government Planner).

It is evident this developing professional relationship engaged the Chief Planner's interest and highlighted the potential for mainstreaming Duany's approach. His opening speech, as paraphrased through Onyango's observations, highlighted the opinion that charrettes could become commonplace in Scotland, depending on the outcome of the Tornagrain event:

> "The representative from the Scottish Government (Mackinnon) gave the opening speech and welcomed the charrette as a new way of planning that may be used elsewhere. He emphasised that the issues were local and that the government, as observer, would not in any way interfere with the planning process" (Onyango and Hadjri, 2009)

Going into 2007 then, government in Scotland had an agenda for planning that had to some extent, grown out of the relationship with powerful friends in the Prince's Foundation. The search for new participative methods had, through international networks and local innovation, uncovered several suitable techniques including the charrette. Developments up to this point took place under a devolved Scottish Parliament aligned to Westminster. The 'mainstreaming' of the charrette that followed, depended on a political shift toward the prospect of even more autonomy.

5.1.3 Developing Sustainable Communities? - 2007 to 2010

May 2007 brought a sea change to Scottish politics, with the third term of Parliament won by the pro-independence Scottish National Party (SNP), who formed a minority administration. Having assumed power, the SNP moved quickly to establish more identifiably 'Scottish' institutions, with the 'Scottish Government' being established soon after the election as the new name for the Scottish Executive (Scottish Parliament, 2016).

Devoloution had, in theory, ended the kind of cross - British approach to policy that operated under central administration from Westminster (Allmendinger *et al.*, 2005). Yet the first devolved governments were, in practice, reluctant to steer a dramticially different course from their counterparts, instead focusing on either surpassing or 'cathing up' with developments from London (Tewdwr-Jones, 1999; Allmendinger *et al.*, 2005). For the SNP, with no ideological commitment to the UK, devolution resulted in a different impact. The party had always been marginalised at Westminster, lacking enough seats to ever form a majority. However, devolution created the prospect of much greater influence over the Scottish parliament and so, a fresh impetus for policy reorganisation. A key direction throughout the 2000s, was proving the party's ability to encourage business and economic growth, as a prerequisite argument for independence (Lynch, 2009). The priority the first minority administration placed on increasing the rate of housing production in government, represents an important intersection of this agenda with the realm of planning and development.

Accordingly, the *Firm Foundations* White Paper of 2007 set a target for delivery of 35 000 new homes per year by the middle of the 2010s. Beyond just volume and choice of housing however, the paper also set a clear direction for higher quality, more 'sustainably' designed developments (Scottish Government, 2007). Despite their hostility to Westminster, the SNP were not politically opposed to the British Monarchy. In the summer of 2008, the then First Minister and party leader Alex Salmond addressed a conference organised by the Scottish Government in conjunction with the Prince's Foundation and Scottish Business in the Community, with the Prince in attendance.

In his speech, Salmond praised the Foundation for its democratic ethos in the built environment, which he saw as "testament to what can be achieved by encouraging people to participate in the development of sustainable neighbourhoods" (Urban Realm, 2008). He also emphasised the connections between inclusive and contextual planning and design, the quality of the built environment and the building of national economic competitiveness that he saw as so central to proving his party's credibility:

> "(We want to) present a chance to get communities involved in designing the future. After decades of relative economic underperformance, we want to create a more prosperous Scotland by increasing the rate of sustainable economic growth - to create a country where everyone has the opportunity to flourish."

> "We need to have the right environmental conditions to achieve Scotland's potential. That means allowing the needs, opportunities and rich history that surround us to inspire modern building solutions. By encouraging design that serves the environment and improves people's lives we can make Scotland a more attractive place to do business." Quoted from Urban Realm (2008).

Following the First Minister's address, the Scottish Sustainable Communities' Initiative (SSCI) was launched. SSCI invited local authorities, developers and landowners to submit proposals for new housing sites where they felt that an exemplary standard of design could be achieved, in line with the principles of sustainable development (Scottish Government, 2008b).

The initial direction from Ministers to planners had been that the SSCI could establish housing on surplus public sector land. Consultation with senior Scottish Government planners had drawn attention to the difficulties of securing market interest in these sites. SSCI was re-conceived as a "kilted version of the Eco Towns" initiative in England and Wales (OVR 15, Former Scottish Government Planner). In this respect, it is ironic that despite its position as the first major built environment initiative of the Scottish Government under the SNP, SSCI followed similar measures from Westminster. The Eco Towns were a range of proposed small settlements with similarly high standards of design and environmental sustainability (Communities and Local Government, 2007).

In the background to these developments were ongoing considerations of how the reforms tabled in the 2005 White Paper, since granted official assent in the Planning etc. (Scotland) Act 2006, could be delivered (Scottish Government, 2008a). Following the ambitions laid out in the First Minister's speech, the SSCI competition launched with the expectation that projects would be developed in partnership with various parties within the development process and through early engagement with communities (Scottish Government, 2008b). A working group was set up to consider how to take this engagement forward for the winning projects in 2009. During these deliberations Jim Mackinnon, who had remained Chief Planner following the change of administration, suggested inviting Andrés Duany to hold charrettes (OVR 15, Former Scottish Government Planner).

Given the evidence I have presented so far on the strength of the relationship between Scottish Government planners and the Prince's Foundation, it may be surprising it was the charrette, rather than the technically similar EBD method supported by the Prince's Foundation, that was chosen to spearhead SSCI. The Tornagrain Charrette of 2006 and the Castletown Enquiry by Design of 2007 for example, both involved practitioners coming together with the community to draw up and refine planning and design principles for new development. The final results of both were detailed Masterplans for the respective areas (Moray Estates, 2007; Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2007). Something of the difficulties of determining meaningful differences between the two, is hopefully apparent from Figure 3 below.

Figure 3 - Images of a Charrette and Enquiry by Design

Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

Source: After Moray Estates (2007) and the Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment (2007)

The EBD might be viewed as a more academic exercise than the charrette. It is aimed at creating a safe space for different participants, removed from the constraints of their own day to day role or interest in the target area (Onyango and Hadjri, 2009). Nevertheless, some EBD's have resulted in the same sort of planning outputs more commonly ascribed to charrettes. As an example, the Ballater EBD of 2009 is recognised in the current local development plan strategy for the town (Urban Design Associates, 2009; Cairngorms National Park Planning Authority, 2015)[14] [15] Indeed, the First Minister himself indicated that the EBD was highly influential to his own aspirations for the built environment, stating that it "is of great interest as we work to develop a Scottish planning framework that engages with everyone involved" (Urban Realm, 2008).

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[14] They have also carried lasting influence beyond the local level. The Ballater event formed the centrepiece of a Scottish Government design-training day I attended as a planning student in 2010.

[15] The Castletown and Ballater EBD's were undertaken by the Prince's Foundation at the invitation of community council's in both settlements. The Castletown event was funded by the Foundation. The Ballater event was funded by Scotia Homes, a local housing developer (Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, 2007; Urban Design Associates, 2009)

Given these similarities, an assessment conducted under the 'orthodox' school of policy studies might find little evidence to explain the ascendance of charrettes. After Peck and Theodore (2012), a more critical focus on the power relations and connections that defined the situation offers answers. Using this approach, the movement of policies and policy tools from one location to another is better understood in institutional, political and economic terms, rather than merely as a knowledge exchange. For the Chief Planner and his senior civil servants, who were introduced to DPZ and charrettes in the middle of the decade, several benefits in kind were apparent. Charrettes provided a framework to make the planning system appear more democratic. Jim Mackinnon's leadership sought to reconnect the technical and aesthetic aspects of design and planning with policy and express them in common-sense terms of "how places worked" (OVR 21, Design Consultant to the Scottish Executive). In making the planning system appear more efficient, any conflict within the development control process ran the risk of incurring bureaucratic and legal complications and the associated delays, as noted by one former government officer:

> (The danger was, planning could move) "from a place based to a word-based profession, and when you have words, you risk putting things in the hands of lawyers" (OVR 15, Former Scottish Government Planner)

To avoid this, a 'pro' rather than 're'-active approach to participation was required. The drawing-based dimension offered through charrettes and EBD's was argued to provide traction, by translating sets of best practice principles into a targeted course of action for development on the ground that local people could understand:

> "Planning has become a profession (where) it's all done via words and words are very ineffective because they can be hugely misinterpreted." You can write "all new buildings should respect the character of the area", and in that sentence you've got basically anything you want and that line is in every single bit of policy, totally ineffectual, does nothing. If I draw three or four street sections, then you have something that's specific and actually influences the quality and the character of the place" (OVR 17, Prince's Foundation Representative)

To Mackinnon and his staff, both charrettes and EBD's provided a model whereby the workings of planning and design could be rendered tangible to the public. The 'unique selling point' of charrettes was the prestige that came with securing the internationally recognised, charismatic and driven Duany to lead the programme. Amongst other accomplishments, he had once reported producing a plan and having it adopted by the local authorities in four hours (Grant, 2006). As such, SSCI charrettes offered Government a complete package that actively engaged citizens in shaping their places and would put Scotland and more implicitly, the Scottish Governments' Built Environment Division, 'on the map':

> "Can you imagine: having the foremost urban designer in the world coming to Scotland! The excitement of this guy talking and for people having the proposals emerge before their eyes. Duany could show how (an abstract) concept like 'density', would look" (OVR 15, Former Scottish Government Planner)

Although led by Duany's DPZ consultancy, this nationally significant initiative created work for a number of other firms based both in Scotland and in the UK (Scottish Government, 2010). Beyond the status and additional publicity from being involved, these consultants saw additional benefits for their more regular clients within the development industry. The industry had generally welcomed the commitment of the 2005 White Paper to expediting the planning process through 'front loading' early engagement with communities (Scottish Executive, 2005b). Any project that would establish this element of the 'modernisation' agenda as the norm, was viewed positively considering the delays incurred in navigating significant projects through the system when faced by objections:

> "(Through charrettes, the Scottish Government) would have been able to demonstrate to themselves and the community at large that by engaging in this way, that the government, the land owner and the community are going to get a better outcome." (OVR 16, Planning Consultant)

> "I suppose there's probably a couple of motives from the government side, (in choosing charrettes). They're going to get a design of places at the end of the day that will sustain in the long term because people will want to live there. And I'd imagine they're trying to bring communities along, to try and reduce those who might try and oppose it, as an easier passage." (OVR 19, Civil Engineer).

The charrette also provided further efficiencies in connecting the key players in the development process. Planning is an activity that brings together the contribution of many different professional disciplines, particularly in the expert consultation responses required in considering significant proposals (Cullingworth *et al.*, 2015). The challenges to planners in managing the contributions of these different perspectives, which may include fields as diverse as highway engineering and environmental health, have been noted in the literature. Planners must bring together the understandings of these other professionals but as such, never have a complete knowledge of or control over the complexities of urban development themselves (Pinson, 2004). Several of my interview respondents reflected more directly on these tensions. A recurrent frustration was the lack of connection between the goals of the various disciplines involved in a major proposal. As one consultant recounted, one of the strongest disconnects was between their own practice and the conventions of the local technical staff, with more conservative standards:

> "It's difficult to deliver in the detail some of our aspirations for these places, because even with Designing Streets and (the) Manual for Streets, a lot of the local authority community still take a very old fashioned approach to design, putting the car first, an over cautious approach to design where we can't build places we really want to" (OVR 19, Civil Engineer)

As an intensive and time limited process, charrettes synchronised professional effort. More importantly, as public events, they afforded a degree of transparency that further discourages disconnected or "silo" thinking (Lyons, 2007, p.81). Practitioners felt that the discursive nature of the events provided extra impetus for working together:

> "Every single professional, (that takes part in a charrette)...ideally they are an expert generalist. If you're 'siloed', then you're pretty useless in charrettes, because the more narrow minded you are for your profession. When you design a place, the important thing is that everybody is getting a piece of the action and they all feel the right kind of balance is being struck between professions" (OVR 17, Prince's Foundation Representative)

The picture that emerges from these commentaries is of the charrette as a potentially transformative space. Consensus on the shape of new development could be reached between the local community, the development industry and planning professionals as well as those from other disciplines. Such praise needs treatment with caution on the part of the researcher however. Developers had generally been supportive of the increased emphasis on participation embodied in the planning modernisation and the SSCI initiative, but not without some reservations. Many were sceptical of the potential for planning to be reformed, were significant shifts not to also take place in the attitudes and procedures that local planning authorities deployed within the development management process (Scottish Executive, 2005a). Charrettes offered the potential for projects to 'short circuit' the perceived limitations of the established planning system. As my research interviews attest, such a diversion might take the form of bypassing the restrictions of a normal planning application. Equally, it could allow developers to restart proposals, where relations had broken down via the application route:

> An Enquiry by Design or charrette is a 'short circuit' of getting a permission; normally each agency each department sends you off in a different direction, whereas an EBD or charrette is a simultaneous process and consensus building" (OVR 13: Charrette Facilitator)

> "When things have got to an impasse…between either a local authority and the community or a local authority and a private developer, or some combination thereof the idea is that (through a charrette) you bring some people in who have had nothing to do with that particular process up to that point and are there to try and mediate, via design, the conflict that has caused the inertia". (OVR 18, Charrette Facilitator)

It was into this milieu that Andrés Duany would return in March 2010, to begin the SSCI Charrette Series. As indicated in this discussion, the charrette allowed Government to present a positive face to both communities seeking a say in local change and developers seeking certainty that their proposals could proceed through the planning system:

> "The charrette appealed to the Scottish Government in that you could be **both pro-development and pro community involvement**" (OVR 13, Charrette Facilitator, my emphasis).

5.2 Charrettes in Scotland - 2010 to Present

5.2.1 Into the 'Mainstream' 2011-2016

The SSCI Charrette Series is discussed fully through the case study of the Lochgelly event that follows in the next chapter. However, it is prudent to convey a few details here as they relate to the overarching ways that charrette practice has developed in Scotland since 2010. Lochgelly is significant as the first charrette in Scotland addressed to creating a masterplan for a whole town, albeit while originally focussed on greenfield expansion sites (Scottish Government, 2010). The other two Series events, at Ladyfield in Dumfries and Grandhome in Aberdeenshire, were concerned only with the latter.

In Peck and Theodore's (2010) terms, the Series Charrettes represented a minimal degree of adaptive 'mutation' to new circumstances in Scotland away from the typical New Urbanist format by which they were deployed in the USA. All three events were facilitated directly by DPZ and produced a detailed masterplan as their output. Although acknowledging other styles, these outputs embodied a preference for the kind of 'neo traditional' urban design that typifies other New Urbanist charrettes (Grant, 2006; MacLeod, 2013). The three Series charrettes were based around the same 'charrette studio' format central to DPZ's approach. Borrowing from architectural practice, the facilitation team produces some initial designs during the first days of the event, which they then refine through meetings with development interests and presentations to the general public (DPZ, 2016a). The Series closed in April 2010 with Andrés Duany personally presenting the results in Edinburgh (Scottish Government, 2010).

The Scottish Government announced a further development of SSCI in the form of the Charrette Mainstreaming Programme in 2011, extolling upon the perceived successes of the Series events (Scottish Government, 2011b). In fact, the SNP (2011) devoted a section in their 2011 parliamentary election manifesto detailing the virtues of the pilot SSCI Series. The New Urbanists were not involved in the mainstreaming. The last DPZ charrette in Scotland was a private commission in Edinburgh in the autumn of 2010 (Murray Estates and DPZ, 2011). Yet in some ways, the three winning projects in the first year of mainstreaming: Callander, Girvan and Johnstone Southwest, bore many of the hallmarks of the preceding Series events. Callander and Girvan were whole town charrettes like Lochgelly while Johnstone Southwest was a significant expansion on the urban edge of Paisley. All three employed the services of large internationally active consultancies, albeit with offices in Scotland, as facilitation leaders. As in the Series charrettes, this created opportunities for other Scottish based architects, engineers and other specialist firms to take on a support role (Scottish Government / Callander Partnership, 2011; Austin - Smith: Lord and Renfrewshire Council, 2012; JTP, 2012). Following these initial events, the 'mainstreaming programme' ran until 2016, being replaced in the summer of that year by the Design Charrettes / Activating Ideas Fund (Scottish Government, 2016a).

As Healey (2010a) argues, planning ideas and policy tools are unstable in transit. This is especially true where they meet established local practices and agencies. The local 'field of reception' of a mobile policy is thus an active terrain where it is contested and remade (Peck and Theodore, 2012). The initial mainstreaming charrettes were led by large firms but offered an important supporting position for smaller Scottish practices. As the decade progressed, these practices began to compete independently for facilitation roles. This change was exemplified by the Perth Left Bank and by the Bowling Basin charrettes of 2014, both facilitated by smaller consultancies, Nick Wright Planning and KMA respectively (Scottish Government / Perth and Kinross Council, 2014; Scottish Government / West Dunbartonshire Council, 2014).

As Scottish practitioners played a bigger role, they challenged the design and physical planning-based model of charrette that the New Urbanists had brought from the USA. As I explain in more detail in the following chapter, the first Government supported charrettes in Scotland were by no means unproblematic, despite the political gloss attached to them. The professional press attacked the slow progress made in implementation of the charrette masterplans. This criticism was especially strong in the case of Lochgelly due to its post-industrial past and regeneration context. One resident interviewed by the online journal 'Urban Realm', drew attention to the disjuncture between the grand ambitions of the event and lack of tangible results one year later. Much of the "excitement" (OVR 15, Former Scottish Government Planner) around Andrés Duany's invitation to Scotland had dissipated by this point:

> "This great American… was coming here. He was going to make Lochgelly great. Everybody was coming to their doors to see this guy, meeting in the town hall every night from Monday to the Saturday, everyone said what they wanted. On the final night everyone was oohing and ahhing what was going to happen. Then nothing did." (Quoted in Urban Realm (2011)).

Early experiences with mainstreaming funding too, led the professional press and social media commentators to proclaim the need to better tailor the events to the circumstances of the host communities (Wheeler, 2014). Some practitioners questioned the appropriateness of holding charrettes in all of Scotland's communities. This was particularly so in those economically deprived locations where they deemed that a "poverty of aspiration" to participate existed (Urban Realm, 2016). My own work drew attention to the effects of the term 'charrette'. With its academic origins, the moniker could confuse communities as to the scope or goals of the exercises, damaging trust at the outset (Kordas and Fieuw, 2015). Jim Mackinnon's retirement as Chief Planner in 2012 also marked the end of the government directorate's association with the New Urbanists. It was followed by controversy over Mackinnon's appointment to a post within the Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment, while still employed by the Civil Service (McLaughlin, 2016)[16].

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[16] The Chief Planner's close relationship with Andrés Duany also came under scrutiny in 2011, although no evidence of wrongdoing was found.

By the middle of the decade, against this backdrop, the original network of global agencies that had brought the charrette to Scotland had been replaced with a 'home grown' alternative. These practitioners gained experience with charrettes through the opening years of mainstreaming and were now targeted for this expertise. They were consequently called to a private meeting with senior civil servants in Edinburgh in 2015. Those involved were not uncritical in their views. They argued that Government should be open to supporting charrettes without an explicit physical planning and urban design focus. They also encouraged government to support the projects and visions arising from charrettes and to reconsider the length and intensity of the events (OVR 6, Planning Consultant).

These discussions paralleled concern within both government and the profession over how spatial planning could be better integrated with community planning (Hayes, 2015). 'Community Planning' is an umbrella term for the measures whereby Scotland's various public providers are compelled to work together with each other in service delivery. It is operationalised through the work of Community Planning Partnership (CPP) networks in each local authority area (Scottish Government, 2018a). This latter sphere was also subject to policy change in the first half of the decade. The Christie Commission, established in 2010, investigated ways of rebuilding local government from the grassroots level (SPICe, 2011). The Commission report was released during the first year of charrette mainstreaming in June 2011. It was particularly critical of the endurance of inequalities despite rising public spending since devolution and the persistent 'silo' mentality in public services. The report recommended that individuals and local groups be more involved in planning and delivering these services (Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services, 2011). The report also stimulated longer term thinking on how to orientate the delivery of public services toward a more locally collaborative or 'place based' approach. (Association for Public Service Excellence, 2011)

The Commission's first reform priority was to end the 'top down' delivery of services from the public sector and to examine the ways in which services could be designed through input from local people. Through this, the Commission (2011) considered that local people's self-assurance and resilience should be strengthened. This thinking coalesced in the form of the Community Empowerment Bill of 2014, (SPICe, 2014). The following Community Empowerment Act of 2015 created new statutory duties for Local Authorities, working within their Community Planning Partnerships (CPP's), to work together to reduce inequalities. As these new duties were imposed on authorities from above, they were also accompanied by further checks from below in the form of extended rights for community groups. Amongst other powers, these groups gained stronger rights to purchase local land or buildings or to have the assets transferred to them (Scottish Community Development Centre, 2017).

The final years of the mainstreaming programme expressly sought to connect to these policy directions. The Dunblane Town Centre Charrette of 2015 was a pioneer. It was organised by a steering group composed of two third sector organisations, the Dunblane Community Council and Development Trust, partnering with the local authority (Planning Aid Scotland, 2015a). The following 2015 / 16 charrette funding year went a step further, prioritising charrette proposals led by third sector organisations or local community groups (Scottish Government, 2015). The 'Mark Makers' event in Pollokshields, Glasgow reflected this agenda and was commissioned directly by the area's community council (Collective Architecture, 2016). Some of my previous work (Kordas, 2016; 2017) focussed on a series of further charrettes during this period, with the objective of creating Locality Plans. The strategies were introduced through the Community Empowerment Act of 2015 as a structure within which CPP's could target areas of economic deprivation with the aim of reducing inequalities in public service outcomes.

Just as political imperatives influenced the arrival of charrettes in Scotland in 2010, they also shaped charrettes as the decade progressed. During the late 2000s, the charrette had offered an avenue to resolve the seeming paradox of being both 'pro community' and 'pro development.' This came at a time when SNP Ministers were seeking to prove their party a sound choice to deliver economic growth, building the credibility of independence. Under First Minister Alex Salmond, the SNP majority administration in the run up to the independence referendum of 2014 claimed Scotland would be both more economically secure and socially equitable were it free to determine its own affairs (The Economist Leaders Column, 2014). Following the failure of the referendum to achieve the desired Yes vote, Holyrood's focus under new First Minister Nicola Sturgeon became more orientated toward social responsibility and 'anti-austerity', policy, in opposition to the Conservative / Liberal Democrat coalition in Westminster at the time (Eaton, 2015). Towards the middle of the 2010s, the agenda for participative planning shifted subtly, tipping toward the 'pro community' side of the balance.

A cornerstone of the SNP's (2016, p.33) manifesto for that year's parliamentary elections, was "an empowered Scotland" based on the passage of the Empowerment Act. During fieldwork in the months running up to the 2016 election, Scottish Government staff conveyed in interviews that they had received a strong directive from parliament to reconsider the objectives of the charrettes they funded. Where community groups were prepared to lead on participative planning, they were to be given the opportunity to do so. Planners in the civil service were also keen that the outcomes of charrettes change toward projects that these organisations could take forward:

> The programme for government was very clear on its three priorities; participation was key…, so (there was) a big steer from ministers that the community needs to take control of these processes when they want to. Another part of the thinking around having communities directly lead charrettes is about identifying actions they can take forward themselves, and that links to the Community Empowerment Act (OVR 1, Scottish Government Planner)

5.2.2 When is a Charrette not a Charrette? – 2017 to Present

This focus on outcomes touches upon a more critical attitude on the part of government as the mainstreaming programme matured. The objectives of charrettes are often difficult to define, even for academic and professional commentators. Kennedy (2017) notes the potential multiple meanings of terms like 'vision' and 'strategy' in charrette reports and the plethora of types of plan that the events proport to deliver. The early SSCI mainstreaming charrettes tended to avoid defining what action needed to ensue in the aftermath. This was particularly true in terms of how funding would be secured for the projects that were agreed (Ibid, 2017). The late 2010s saw attempts to redefine the application of charrettes. Government firstly reconsidered the follow up support available, then dropped their insistence on the charrette as a the 'one size fits all' method of participative planning and design. For the 2016 / 17 funding year, SSCI mainstreaming programme was replaced with the Design Charrette / Activating Ideas Fund. The Activating Ideas Fund component could be used to produce additional reports and feasibility studies in the wake of a charrette, or to employ a dedicated person to move forward some of the event outcomes (Scottish Government, 2016b). Late 2017 then saw another reimaging, in the form of the 'Making Places Initiative'. The supporting documents argued that charrettes were but one form of participative exercise and that communities in different circumstances required different kinds of support to envisage the future of their places (Scottish Government, 2017a).

This year additionally saw the first official study into the efficacy of charrettes. Government commissioned the University of Dundee to carry out survey research aimed at practitioners and other interested parties. The study led to a workshop by invitation in Dundee in June, where the findings of the survey were presented. Participants, drawn from various public, private and third sector organisations were asked to discuss ways forward. It was at this point that I feel my own research journey intersected, albeit briefly, with the network of agencies that surround the charrette as a policy mobility. My fieldnotes highlighted that the meeting attendees were concerned over the appropriateness of making the events a universal tool for use in all communities. This was especially so regarding economically deprived settings where the moniker, a French word, often served to distance the proceedings from their intended public. (Fieldnotes, 2017).

The research group's report recommended that participative planning and design exercises needed to be rendered more credible to their host communities. Facilitators must work harder to support the community to take ownership of the projects generated. The report considered that it was especially important to have a clear action plan for taking these outcomes forward, one that offered local people and groups a role in the process. (Scottish Government / University of Dundee, 2018). Perhaps as a result, several of the Making Places funded projects that followed were labelled 'community led design events' instead of charrettes (Scottish Government, 2018c).

This different terminology amounts to more of a change in style than in substance. I attended two supposed 'community led design events' in spring and summer 2018. Both used the same facilitation techniques: group discussion, visioning and drawing, as previous 'charrettes' I witnessed during the mainstreaming programme. Both were also referred to as charrettes by force of habit of their facilitators throughout, and in interviews afterwards (Fieldnotes / select interviews 2018). Nevertheless, the rebranding does serve to highlight the influence that Government's funding structure holds over the conduct of participative planning in Scotland. My three case study discussion chapters argue that a shift in charrette conduct emerged from the initial series in 2010, to the current Making Places Initiative. Charrette facilitation adaptively 'mutated' in Peck and Theodore's (2010) terms and arguably 'evolved' in some respects. As alluded to by one officer, government's original interest in the New Urbanist charrette as a way of engaging communities on physical planning and design changed by the end of the decade. The events were now seen more strongly as a way of encouraging reflection on the day to day experience of living in, or otherwise using, places:

> "Our original interest was in charrettes as a design process: it's (now) gone much further than that" (OVR 1, Scottish Government Planner)

Despite this impression of defying convention, new conventions have emerged in the form of the 'favoured' model (Peck and Theodore, 2010) of charrette established through mainstreaming funding and beyond. As I highlighted in Chapter 2, the popular image that the Scottish Government supports a better resourced public sector and civil society than in the rest of the UK, does not necessarily equate to better resourced local authorities (Accounts Commission, 2018). Indeed, approaching the end of the 2010s, some argued that the Scottish Government's hold on both local authorities and civil society represented a 'dependency culture' with organisations from both spheres forced into pursuit of ever scarcer funding returns from Edinburgh (Wilson, 2018). My study evidences some of the hallmarks of this culture in planning and design circles. Both charrettes I studied in the 2015/16 funding years were motivated by a desire on the part of their host authorities to pioneer the Scottish Government's new locality planning process (Kordas, 2016).

My final case study likewise notes how West Dunbartonshire Council proceeded with the 'Clydebank Can' charrette in 2018, inspired by the potential to be the first local authority to deliver a working Local Place Plan (LPP) as declared in the Planning Bill of 2017. Holding a charrette thus clearly conveys a competitive prestige in the eyes of the Scottish Government. Against a backdrop of austerity and through the retrenchment of many of the regeneration measures available at the start of the decade [17], the importance of the Government's support for participative planning rose by default (Kordas, 2017).

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[17] Most notably, the abolishment of all but one of the Urban Regeneration Companies (URC's).

The initial SSCI Series Charrette budgets extended to some £100,000 (Fife Council, 2010b; Loch of Shining Waters, 2010a).[18] However, by the end of the decade, the average budget had reduced to less than half of this (Kennedy, 2017).[19] The very large consultancies that facilitated charrettes at the outset of the mainstreaming programme were no longer players in the late 2010s. One practitioner, a manager in one of these firms and who had also organised the Govan / Partick event of 2015, noted how they considered the Scottish Government's funding package was latterly, too limited to justify bidding for further work:

> "I worked with Andrés Duany on a couple of the early charrettes, the budget was huge, and the budgets have reduced and now people are doing charrettes for twenty thousand, twenty five thousand pounds, which seems a lot of money…but when you're putting in the kind of resource to these projects that you should, it's actually not a lot of money in terms of consultancy costs, I know what it costs to do it well, and I've got no interest in it (if) I don't need it commercially" (GOVPA 8 Planning Consultant).

Despite the name changes throughout the 2010s, the application arrangements for local authorities, community groups and other interested commissioning parties remained relatively constant. To be considered for Making Places funding, applicants are required to submit their application statement in autumn for support to hold the events, up until the end of the financial year (Scottish Government, 2018b). While it added a section requiring applicants to explain how the event would act to reduce inequalities, the application was otherwise the same as that required for the original mainstreaming programme in 2011 (Scottish Government, 2011b).

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[18] Fife Council was required to contribute £55,000 to the Lochgelly Charrette. DPZ received £250, 000 to facilitate the SSCI Charrette Series as whole. I assume an average budget of £138, 000 per Series event based on £55,000 per local authority and £83,000 from DPZ's total fee.

[19] Kennedy notes a mean Scottish Government contribution of £18,660 per charrette in her 2017 paper. This is provided as match funding thus, I assume a mean charrette total budget of £37, 320 in the late 2010s. Actual event budgets vary on a case by case basis.

Crucially, as in 2011, funding for 2019 only extended to holding the event itself. The additional 'implementing ideas' support was dropped in 2018/19 (Scottish Government, 2018b). The core package, however diminished, remains an important prospect both for pressured local authorities to secure extra funding and as a steady income source for some planning consultancies. Through the discussion of my findings, I argue that the Scottish Government's long-term support for participative planning and design has led to positive outcomes. Facilitation teams in my latter field case studies added storytelling, model making, walking and cycle tours, to the design – review - design based praxis that typified the earliest New Urbanist led charrettes. As a result, the events now establish a more trustful and convivial atmosphere between practitioners and citizens.

Nevertheless, the endurance of funding arrangements that have remained mostly unchanged over almost a decade raises questions. As alluded to in consultants' testimony, the participative planning event has become almost a form of commodity. Nor is the Scottish Government immune from viewing the charrette in commercial terms. One officer measured the successes of the mainstreaming programmes and beyond partly by the degree of 'repeat business' they had received from some local authorities (OVR 1, Scottish Government Planner).

Government is open to suggestion from those on the 'frontline' of organising charrettes, as evidenced in the conferences they have previously held with select practitioners, in addition to the 2017 research survey. Yet some consultants feel that challenging the established charrette funding arrangements with alternative, but perhaps more locally responsive proposals, is problematic. One who operated as a sole practitioner, was concerned that the budgets for charrettes were too high and that years of mainstreaming funding had enforced a 'model' with which both Government and the facilitating consultancies had become overly comfortable. They felt the current structure of funding acted as a brake on consultants exploring more locally tailored and creative approaches to engagement. Within these cycles, innovation itself became a risk in the face of commercial realities:

> "It would be brilliant if every charrette had, as a part of the budget, a percentage that would be seed corn funding for delivery. The main point is there should be a pot of money attached to every charrette for delivering. It would allow each team to explore a participatory budgeting exercise, which might build on that. I think that would be brilliant to do that because it would start to make that direct connection between thinking and planning. But it would need the authority and the Government to do that. Personally, I think the fees sloshing around in charrettes are higher than they need to be, but no one will say that, because that's like telling turkeys to vote for Christmas." (OVR 6, Planning Consultant)

These opinions highlight the complexity of policy 'mobilities' (Peck and Theodore, 2010). In the latter part of this chapter I briefly sketched the changes or 'mutations' created through practical experience with the charrette in Scotland. The concept of mutation has critical implications for the study of how globally mobile policy tools develop. Each transfer occurs through a unique network of agencies and institutions. The mobility process on the whole, appears to lead to divergence rather than homogenisation (Peck and Theodore, 2012).

It is clear that the Scottish experience of charrettes in the late 2010s constitutes an "alt model" of practice (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p.171) compared to the events in their original New Urbanist guise at the start of the decade. Nevertheless, my findings in this chapter reveal the extent to which this mutation has extended downwards from the international scale. The difficulties inherent in defining a charrette in Scotland outside of the parameters established through successive rounds of government funding attest to this. In the chapters that follow, I develop this critical approach to policy mobility and mutation through questioning the quality of encounters between professionals and citizens within charrettes and the power dynamics that operate through and beyond the events in the real world.

5.3 Summary: Context to Cases

This chapter highlighted that, at the turn of the 21st Century questions of planning, participation and urban design united within a reconsideration of 'place'. In Scotland devolution provided opportunities to change the shape of planning and design policy. In its aim to make these activities more inclusive to communities, the Executive found allies in the Prince's Foundation, themselves attracted to the country as a testing ground for their own participatory design initiatives. With the administrative changes of 2007, the Scottish Executive became the Scottish Government and its place making vision was given renewed focus by the pro-independence politics of the time. The start of the 2010s witnessed public investment in charrettes, through the SSCI Series (Scottish Government, 2010).

To argue that the Scottish Government considered charrettes the optimal method of participation in planning and design on technical merit alone, is to ignore the questions of power evidenced in this discussion. As this chapter shows, the work of the Prince's Foundation in Scotland created a 'field of reception' through its network of influential practitioners. Within this field, both the charrette and Enquiry by Design formats captured the attention of the Executive. Had it not been for the charisma and global celebrity of Andrés Duany that came with the former, charrettes might not have been chosen to spearhead SSCI.

There is perhaps a tinge of irony that the Government's aim of making the planning system more inclusive, progressed through the influence of royalty, the aristocracy and their select group of globally itinerant consultants. I acknowledged Flyvbjerg's (1998) 'realrationalität', arguing that Government's approach may only be fully understood through its social, economic and political construction. Government alluded in public to citizens participating more democratically in the decisions affecting their places. Yet it was also clearly pursuing a political and economic agenda to maximise development delivery. That some of the professionals whose voices were heard in this chapter viewed charrettes as an alternative 'track' to route major projects through the planning system, adds to the weight of this critical judgement.

The seemingly haphazard nature of the charrette's journey to Scotland defines it as a complex policy mobility rather than a smooth policy 'transfer' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996). Peck and Theodore (2010) note that the movement of policies and policy tools from one location to another is better understood in political and economic terms, rather than merely as a learning process. The policies that move most often, do so because they have gathered the prestige necessary to signify competitiveness in the global 'market' (González, 2011). Yet this is only one part of the mobility story. The various 'agents' or "policy tourists" (Ibid, 2011, p.1399) through which mobility occurs, all bring their own professional and political mores with them. They also operate within practice settings that are intermediated by the range of different interests in the process, be they other professionals, politicians or expert consultants. These settings are themselves unstable, shifting with political trends and the wider changes that these bring to public organisation. My findings demonstrate how the Scottish Government's objectives for charrettes shifted from deployment as a physical planning and design tool, toward one that supplements these concerns with more social and community-based issues. These changes have been wrought on charrettes against a backdrop of both critical lessons from the method in practice and shifting political rhetoric.

The professional testimony I have presented so far suggests that the events offer a route to demystify planning and design issues to local people. Their intensiveness also brings together the relevant practitioners in a way that encourages multi-disciplinary working. This and the findings I present in the following chapters, suggests some adaptive 'mutation' of the charrette to its circumstances in Scotland in Peck and Theodore's (2010) terms. At least when viewed internationally, Scottish charrettes appear well placed as an 'alt model' (Peck and Theodore, 2010) when compared to the way that they are still practised in the USA. I also argue however, that successive years of mainstreaming funding established conventions that limit the potential for innovation within Scotland. In the following chapters, I present the findings of three empirical case studies that build upon the strategic level discussion I offered here. These cases contribute to the cross-cutting discussion of the successes and failures of charrettes in Scotland that I present in the final part of this thesis.

6 Lochgelly 2010

In the previous chapter, I analysed how charrettes became the Scottish Government's preferred method of facilitating community participation in planning and urban design. The goal of this chapter is to take up the story of charrettes in practice within a local place, investigating the direct experiences of citizens and professionals. It focuses on the second event of the initial SSCI series, in Lochgelly, Fife, during March 2010.

I argue that the Scottish Government viewed the Series events as more of a 'proof of concept' exercise than one tailored to the circumstances of their host places. Enthused by the abilities of facilitators Duany Plater-Zyberk (DPZ), the brief was to create both a national and global benchmark for participative planning and design. The circumstances and decisions that shaped the Lochgelly Charrette offered little scope for the kind of local adaptation of mobile policy tools to local circumstances suggested by Peck and Theodore (2010). The immediate aftermath of the event saw slow progress in realising a concrete output from the masterplan created. Nevertheless, the charrette remains important in Lochgelly's journey as a regenerating place. This is despite the fact that the encounters between the facilitation team and local people were often conflicted.

6.1 Local Background

Lochgelly is a town of some 7,000 people (Lochgelly Going Forward, 2016), located in South Central Fife. The settlement is thought to have coalesced around a market stop or droving crossroads in the 14th Century. It expanded substantially from the 19th Century as deposits of coal and iron ore were worked in the surrounding area (Old Lochgelly, 2017). As these industries contracted from the latter part of the 20th Century into the 21st, Lochgelly's economy suffered (Scottish Centre for Regeneration, 2010). In 2004, the *Guardian* newspaper labelled the town "the last place in Britain people want to live" based on its position at the bottom of contemporary house price rankings. Some local people externalised Lochgelly's misfortune through the wider decline of the mining economy or the investment decisions of Fife Council. Others were more optimistic, pointing to a strong community spirit. They also noted a potential route for recovery through demand for commuter housing, encouraged by Lochgelly's ease of access from Edinburgh (Khan, 2004). This was enabled by the 'Fife Circle' rail line and a direct connection to the A92 highway. As a result, the current Local Development Plan framework allocates land for up to 2550 additional houses (Fife Council., 2017). At the time of the charrette, this growth consisted of a series of designated sites forming a 'Strategic Land Allocation' (SLA) along the edge of the settlement. These allocations are located mainly on undeveloped 'greenfield' land, as shaded orange in Figure 5 below (Fife Council, 2011a)

Figure 4 – Lochgelly
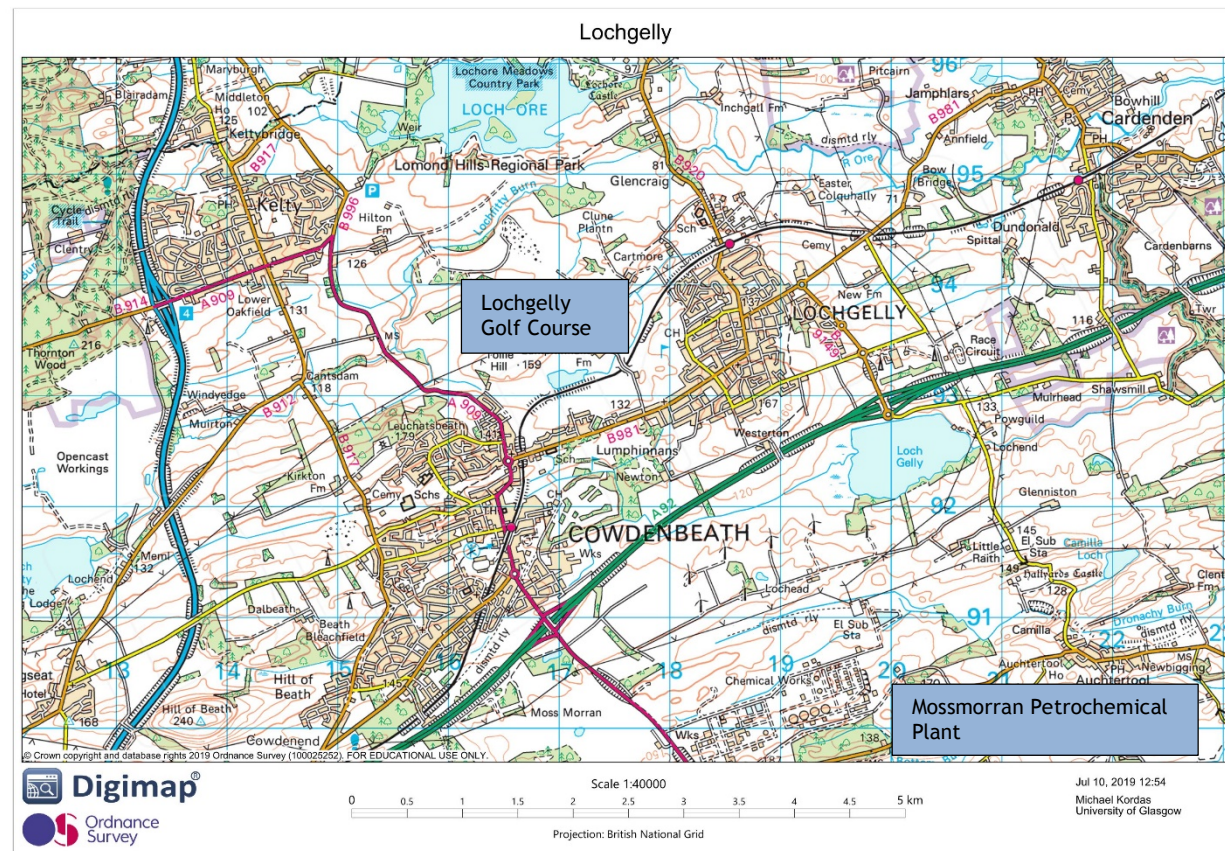
Source: (EDINA, 2019)

Figure 5 Development Land Allocations (SLA)
Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

Source (Fife Council, 2011a)

6.2 The Charrette "from Miami to Lochgelly"

Fife Council had first designated Lochgelly as a priority area for regeneration in 2000 (Scottish Centre for Regeneration, 2010) when two significant challenges were faced. The winding down of the mining industry in Fife culminated in the closure of Longannet Pit, the last deep colliery in Scotland, in 2002. This resulted in the loss of both stable and well-paid employment and the strong work identity associated with 'black diamonds' in the area (Kelbie, 2002). Without this economic base, Lochgellians faced a contracting population, social deprivation and the associated decline in business and the built fabric. This was strongly evident from the research interviews:

> "You should've come here in 2000… Lochgelly was terrible, I mean, the mine's shut and there were nothing and everybody was moving oot and all of these flats were empty and the young people that was coming up wouldnae take them, so they were lying there and there were horrible things happening…" (LCGEL 7 Community Group Member)

The new millennium saw the local Ore Valley Housing Association win a competitive tendering process to act as Fife Council's delivery partner for regeneration (Scottish Centre for Regeneration, 2010; VIBES, 2014).

The new body was called the Fife Housing Association Regeneration Community Alliance (HARCA). Its redevelopment activities focussed on improving the quality of local housing stock and other property development projects, such as renovation of the Miners' Institute building. The initiative began with tenant workshops and the establishment of social organisations to mediate between the local community and the project (Scottish Centre for Regeneration, 2010). These organisations had a particularly prominent role as HARCA did not employ a dedicated staff, being managed as a partnership between the various agencies involved (VIBES, 2014).The Alliance's efforts led to change in the built fabric. The period from 2005 to 2010, saw HARCA facilitate the construction of 83 new residential units, 6 retail units and a new employment training facility. It also broke ground on a business centre (Scottish Centre for Regeneration, 2010).

Fife Council's planners remained focussed on the contribution of the greenfield SLA sites. The challenges of delivering the SLA underpinned Development Service's justification to the council for their SSCI application (Fife Council, 2008).[20] Following the award of SSCI status in the spring of 2009 the exact nature of how the initiative would apply to Lochgelly was not forthcoming until later in the year. The Scottish Government selected the town as one of three pilot SSCI charrettes (Fife Council, 2009c). Development Services officers and political members shared the aspiration that SSCI status could put Fife and Fife Council 'on the map', both raising Lochgelly's profile for inward investment and establishing the council as a standard bearer for other authorities considering how to deal with large land allocations (Fife Council, 2009b). A further advantage was seen in that the Town could become a model destination for 'policy tourists' (Fife Council, 2009c), whereby celebrated planning achievements are visited by outside practitioners and politicians (González, 2011).

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[20] While this proposal was a speculative one also including the Levenmouth and Kirkcaldy East Strategic Land Allocations, (Fife Council, 2008) only Lochgelly was ultimately successful in securing SSCI support.

The Scottish Government also approached the prospect of a Lochgelly Charrette with an agenda. The SSCI judging panel, chaired by Chief Planner Jim Mackinnon, applauded Fife Council's initiative. They felt the SSCI application could successfully harness urban expansion and regeneration, with the new households supporting and growing the existing local services (Scottish Government, 2009). On the basis of this initiative, Government were keen to promote the Lochgelly Charrette as a locally grown project, proclaiming the event as the first "council led" charrette (2010, p.40) and extolling the Authority's efforts to muster the whole town into contributing (Scottish Government, 2011c).

Despite these statements, Fife Council could not move forward without compromise. Consequently, the Authority was required to provide a financial contribution of £55,000. As only £7,500 was available from the council's own budget, two additional funding applications were required to outside sources (Fife Council, 2010b).[21] Despite the significance of the cost and complications of commissioning the charrette on a short deadline, the authority did not have a choice of which facilitator to employ. Rather, on the basis of Scottish Government's previous work with the Duany Plater-Zyberk consultancy (DPZ), it was compelled to circumvent the usual competitive tender procedures (Fife Council, 2009c) For council staff approaching the charrette, it was very much the Scottish Government who were seen as the leading partner:

> "They (the Scottish Government) felt Lochgelly would be one of the ones that would benefit: they were looking for different scales of projects. We were quite happy to support that and provide funding... *but it really came from them, because it was a new thing they were promoting*" (LCGEL 4 Local Authority Planning Staff, my emphasis)

The public justification of the SSCI Series advanced by the Scottish Government, presented charrettes as learning exercises strongly rooted in the experiences and ambitions of local people (Scottish Government, 2010). Each would provide a set of engagement 'tools' that could be transferred to a variety of similar development contexts. As recounted by one member of DPZ's Florida based facilitation team, the SSCI Charrette Series was a 'proof of concept'.

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[21] Further monies were sought from the Fairer Scotland Fund and Big Lottery (Fife Council, 2010b).

The Series had been termed the 'Scotland Charrette' in communication between government and the local authorities during the inception of the programme in 2009 (Fife Council, 2009c). DPZ were thus, commissioned to test engagement techniques that could be used nationally, rather than addressing the specific local planning and design challenges:

> (The SSCI Series) were model charrettes typical of three situations in Scotland and we were producing tools that can be adapted. It was <u>not</u> presented like: "we are doing Lochgelly or we are doing Ladyfield". So, we pushed them to be like this: we pushed them to be exemplars... (LCGEL 9 Facilitation Team Member)

Because of this agenda, this chapter evidences a repeated perception of the Lochgelly Charrette as something that "landed" (LCGEL 5 Housing Officer) on top of the town and its citizens, largely due to the Scottish Government's choice of facilitation team. New Urbanist practitioners hold a reputation for approaching engagement in a way driven by their professional values (Bond and Thompson-Fawcett, 2007; MacLeod, 2013), nostalgically desiring a return to the qualities of towns and cities before the advent of mass motor transport. As a result, the majority of New Urbanist projects are defined by their 'neo traditionalism': attempting to recreate bygone townscapes using new buildings and infrastructure (Grant, 2006). The literature also highlights that for planners and designers operating from this stance, any participatory activity represents a delicate balance. On one side is confidence in one's own professional values. On the other is the prospect these values may be challenged by local 'lay' knowledge (Bond and Thompson-Fawcett, 2007).

Grant (2006) questions the democratic intent of the New Urbanists. Provided a charrette delivers good design on paper she argues, they consider further citizen involvement unnecessary. The SSCI Series charrettes proceeded from the premise of inviting the local community to "have its say on the future of development" (Scottish Government, 2011c, p.31) but was less clear on what the scope of this 'say' involved, particularly if it should happen to disagree with the Charter of New Urbanism. The interview testimony of one senior New Urbanist practitioner provides clarification. The view that emerges is one that welcomes the opportunity to work with communities, but not unconditionally and not without a few 'ground rules' first being established:

"It's not like we come along (to a charrette) and say "now, what shall we do?" In truth, many of us wouldn't participate in the charrette if we were told to be willing to come up with whatever people wanted. I'm not going to sit and spend all of this time in front of a bunch of people working off a plan that's full of cul-de-sacs and single uses; if they want it, then tough s%@#." So we're not coming in without a set of design values and usually, people who employ us want those values expressed (OVR 18, Charrette Facilitator).

Given these opinions, what was the attitude of the facilitation team to the communities they might encounter on their arrival in Scotland? Previous commentary from both Bond and Thompson-Fawcett (2007) and MacLeod (2013) suggests that New Urbanist practitioners approached their case study charrettes with a pre conceived design vision for development. The scope for the community to argue whether more development was appropriate at all, was thus circumscribed. As shown in Figure 6, Lochgellians did not to meet the team until late in the evening of the first charrette day. The team first toured the town with council officers and worked up initial sketches throughout the afternoon. Perhaps to add to the sense of occasion, this meeting revolved a lecture to the public by Andrés Duany, one of the Principals of DPZ. Only at the midway point and final session could local people review the design proposals in the form of an architectural style 'pin up' of plans and drawings. All five of the design workshops or 'meetings' were open to the public, but were targeted specifically at professionals (Turnberry Consulting, 2010).

The team were not about to meet a public unaccustomed to participative planning and design however. In the preceding decade, HARCA had invested considerably in engagement. Ore Valley Housing Association were originally appointed to form HARCA through a competitive tendering process that involved members of the community on the judging panel (Scottish Centre for Regeneration, 2010) (LCGEL 5 Housing Officer). Drawing from the organisation's roots in social housing, the engagement strategy had begun with tenant meetings and workshops. Made up of local volunteers, the Lochgelly Community Regeneration Forum had also been established as a go–between body to encourage comment on the developing projects (Scottish Centre for Regeneration, 2010).

Figure 6 – Lochgelly Charrette 2010 Key Facts

The Lochgelly Charrette ran during March 2010. The programme comprised the following:

- Thursday 4 and Friday 5 March: Workshop for local schools on designing a sustainable town plan.

- Monday 8 – Saturday 13 March: Formal charrette sessions:

  o Monday 8 March: Initial site tour for the facilitation team and private design session, followed by the inaugural presentation with speeches from MSP's and Chief Planner Jim Mackinnon (19:00-21:00)

  o Tuesday 9 March, Studio day 1: Preliminary design work on key sites within the town and meetings focussed on developers and landowners (10:00-11:30) and landscape and sustainability (14:00-15:30).

  o Wednesday 10 March, Studio day 2: Ongoing design work and further meetings focussed on the transport (10:00-11:30) and town centre regeneration (14:00-15:30).

  o Thursday 11 March, Studio day 3: Design work towards first 'pin up and review' session (19:00-21:00)

  o Friday 12 March, Studio day 4: Ongoing design work and further meetings focussed on community and education (10:00-11:30).

  o Saturday 13 March: Closing 'lecture' and presentation of proposals (19:00-21:00)

The facilitation team held the four studio days in the Lochgelly's Miners' Institute and the three presentations in the nearby Town Hall. For the participants from the local community, the public face of the Lochgelly Charrette comprised the three presentations above alongside the invitation to 'drop in' to visit the designers at work during the four studio days, open to the public between 10:00-19:00. The five meetings were aimed toward professionals but were also open to the public (Turnberry Consulting, 2010).

Approximately 800 people reportedly attended the Lochgelly Charrette. This figure includes those who visited the charrette studio or one of the presentation sessions (Scottish Government, 2011c). The first 'pin up and review' session gathered approximately 150 attendees and the final review 200. It is indicated that these attendees included both local residents and professionals as well as representatives from within the development industry. The exact breakdown of each group is not made clear (Scottish Government, 2010).

HARCA was commended by the Scottish Centre for Regeneration (2010, p.4) for affording citizen ownership of redevelopment, acknowledging the organization required high levels of "stamina" in maintaining motivation across the various partners and in the community. In this light, HARCA staff saw quite a difference in intensity between a charrette approach and their own. While they had worked to build relationships with local people over months and years, the charrette compressed engagement into the space of days. As a result, notwithstanding the abilities of the facilitation team, establishing rapport would always be challenging given the timescales, as recalled by one of the local housing officers:

> We took several months to complete with regular engagement, building up relationships with community representatives… I think what happened with the charrette was the people were very good at what they did, (but) they just kind of landed there and had a week in which to set up… it was all a bit frenzied". (LCGEL5, Housing Officer)

As it aspired to be a 'whole town' charrette, the Lochgelly event was also complicated in that it had to balance regeneration challenges with those of delivering the greenfield expansion on the SLA sites. As was the case at Tornagrain four years earlier, the concept of commuter-orientated growth onto undeveloped land remained controversial. During October and November 2009 objections were made by a number of local individuals and organisations against the Mid Fife Local Plan, then undergoing examination by the Scottish Government (Fife Council, 2011a; Scottish Government, 2011a). The key points of objection were that delivery of the SLA would cause coalescence between Lochgelly and the surrounding villages and encroach upon the local golf course, football pitches and allotments. Fife Council were willing to consider the output from the charrette as guidance supplementary to their statutory plan. The principle of the SLA was firmly however, not open to further discussion (Scottish Government, 2011a).

As a result the charrette faced two of Bishop's (2015) engagement challenges before it started. Where discussion would touch upon the existing built fabric, it risked competing with the existing HARCA initiative. Consequently, trust could be damaged in the participative approach that had paralleled these efforts. Secondly; the scope for change was limited in respect to the controversial SLA sites on the urban edge. Amplifying these challenges was Andrés Duany's celebrity status. As one consultant employed to assist DPZ noted, the potential 'culture shock' of bringing one of the world's most famous urbanists into this milieu was substantial:

> "Lochgelly…was a challenging community to have that debate in, and because it was a community rather than a site-specific charrette, you very quickly got into some very wide ranging and challenging issues… Introducing someone from Miami to a community in Lochgelly, you can imagine the challenges." (OVR 16, Planning Consultant)

Andrés Duany was no stranger to controversy both before and during SSCI. The appointment of a foreign team at over £200,000 sparked anger with several Scottish planning and architecture firms. After Lochgelly, Duany would again create controversy during the Grandhome Charrette in Aberdeenshire. Referring to one of Aberdeen's post-war housing estates, he decried "the quality of delivery of housing (in Scotland) was in crisis" and that regulations in the country resulted that "'anything good has become illegal". Practitioners and academics issued a rebuttal, deriding what they assumed as his neo traditional and ill-informed vision (Frearson, 2010). These exchanges, while easily attributable to professional and commercial jealousy, also serve to illuminate something of the persona Duany conveyed to local people. Despite the ongoing attempts at local regeneration, DPZ's view of Lochgelly was of a "traumatised" place in a continual downward spiral. Emergent in the facilitation team's testimony is the figure of Sandercock and Lyssiotis' (2003) 'heroic' practitioner, trying to 'save' the public from themselves. This is somewhat ironic, considering the New Urbanist's stance against post-war planning and design. Particularly telling, given Grant's (2006) commentary on the New Urbanist principles, is the concern for the condition in which the team found some of the built heritage assets. They felt that providing a masterplan to address physical decline would also reverse the failings they perceived in community spirit:

> "Lochgelly was possibly the poorest possible community they the
> Scottish Government) could find, it was a highly traumatized
> community… In private discussion, we found not only that it was a highly
> traumatized town, it was actually bent on further self-destruction. For
> example, the church upon which the names of their World War 1 dead
> were written, they were going to demolish it… We were basically about
> bucking up the spirt of the place. (LCGEL 9, Facilitation Team Member)

Andrés Duany's own facilitation style involves a degree of 'showmanship'. Part of
my contact with DPZ involved the practice providing a set of documents. Some of
these are Duany's own unpublished notes, draft articles and correspondence and
so provide a highly personalised view of the approach. Duany considers that a key
value in the charrette process is the spotlight they cast on practitioners. The
benefits derived from engaging citizens in design lie not so much in opening the
workings of practice, rather in publicising the professionals involved:

> "The charrette itself is a good marketing tool because it is an event.
> Designing fast and in the presence of others is a campaign, even a heroic
> one. Working back at the office is drudgery: there is no news value. A
> project can easily become the best known regionally on the strength of
> a good charrette" (Duany, 2012, p.12)

As part of a nationally driven initiative, the charrette achieved considerable
prominence, especially in the media. National tabloid the *Daily* Record, drew
attention to the event by contrasting Lochgelly to Seaside, Florida, a settlement
that DPZ had masterplanned and the principal filming location for the popular film
'The Truman Show'. Evident throughout the article is a sense of anticipation
encouraged by the renown attached to Duany's practice:

> "Lochgelly's a long way from the Sunshine State, but Duany is far more
> than a Hollywood set designer. He's one of the world's most respected
> town planners… and civic leaders are thrilled he has agreed to help heal
> a town which has suffered since the mines were shut down."
> (Mathieson, 2010)

This 'Hollywood' metaphor was especially powerful in that local practitioners also
came to view Duany as something of a 'star'. For one local practitioner, the
facilitator's personae alone, carried strong connotations of the image of the
'Sheriff' from a Western film coming to Lochgelly to fix its problems. For another,
the SSCI series was a form of showcase, focussed on Duany's professional draw:

> I think the community engagement skills (are essential to run a charrette) and I think again, Andres Duany, quite a charismatic character who... would turn up wearing a cowboy hat and smoking a big cigar and the process managed to engage lots and lots of interest there... (LCGEL 5 Housing Officer)

> I sometimes get the impression, that the charrette in Lochgelly, was almost more about rolling out the red carpet to Mr Duany, than it was in rolling out the red carpet to the community (LCGEL 2 Development Officer)

By contrast, the previous regeneration efforts and those who had worked on them found little recognition. Fife Council promoted the charrette to its partners on the basis that it provided a further platform for the established community organisations. Particularly significant is the role scheduled for the HARCA intermediary, the Lochgelly Community Regeneration Forum. The group were to produce two newsletters in the run up to the event to explain the method. (Fife Council, 2010b) While the Regeneration Forum is no longer active, interviews with former members highlighted a quite different experience. Local groups could attend the process as private individuals but controversially, neither the Community Council or the Forum received an invitation to the charrette sessions as a group (Loch of Shining Waters, 2010d).

Such an approach on behalf of a facilitation team would be difficult to reconcile with todays' best practice which stresses engagement both in depth and in breadth (Bishop, 2015). The Lochgelly Charrette appears orientated toward a limited depth of engagement with a wide cross section of the local public. All addresses received a postal invitation to become involved (Scottish Government, 2010). In explaining why the team did not solicit local groups in this way, it is helpful to return to Duany's own thoughts on practice. The Charter of New Urbanism, which provides the guiding set of principles for the movement, commits its adherents to "reestablishing the relationship between the art of building and the making of community, through citizen-based participatory planning and design" (Congress for New Urbanism, 2001, p.2).

The charter provides little further information on how to approach this goal during a charrette. Duany's own writings reveal a complex attitude to the concept of local 'democracy', which he views as vulnerable to distortion on the part of local interest groups (Duany, 2003). This is a commonly acknowledged issue within participative planning and design in the form of the already mobilised 'usual suspects' who, it is argued, are over represented in these processes (Lee and Abbot, 2003; Bishop, 2015).

Duany notes the potential of small, but politically influential local groups to have a much more significant impact on the decisions made after a charrette, than their size would suggest. Consequently, he views direct engagement with these interests almost as pandering to a form of 'mob rule':

> "Let us say that three hundred people show up for a hearing. This certainly fills the chamber and gives the impression of substantial input and yet, what percentage of the population of even a small town is that? And that is supposed to be representative government? Worse, such a group is not only a microscopic minority, it is a self-designated minority with vested interests in its backyard." (Abridged from (Duany, 2003, p.1-2))

Instead, Duany discusses several ways through which, at least in theory, facilitators could secure something approaching a genuine random sample of the local populace. He suggests that those who demonstrated commitment through repeated attendance at a charrette could then form a core steering group to oversee implementation of the vision generated through the event. What is implicit, is that the charrette not only establishes a new vision for the physical landscape of the area in which it operates, but also changes the institutional landscape. As the following section will show, this approach led to a variety of experiences between participants when deployed 'on site' in Lochgelly.

6.3 Charrette 'Encounters'

6.3.1 Community Members

Focusing directly on taking part in the Lochgelly Charrette raises two important issues from the theoretical framework. These relate to how charrettes function as 'spaces of encounter' Conradson (2003; 2005) between the public and professional. Separating 'participation' from more tokenistic 'consulting', is a willingness on the part of professionals to work together with the lay person, in 'partnership.' If a charrette were to realise such joint working, the position of the community would shift toward the top rungs of Arnstein's 'ladder', occupied by partnership and control (Arnstein, 1969). It would act to build the confidence and sense of agency to act for change in a place, essential to the linked concept of 'community development' (Bhattacharyya, 2004). These were especially desirable outcomes for a place like Lochgelly, considering its troubled economic circumstances. Local professionals saw the key challenge for the charrette in encouraging the community's confidence that this situation was not terminal, in the face of their disillusionment with the status quo:

> I think the challenge of holding a charrette anywhere is how to maintain momentum after its done and the people go... away into their lives elsewhere. The challenge I think for Lochgelly (is to) maintain the momentum in a community where... the market's not gonnae take control of things... The market has failed over decades in Lochgelly to bring investment (LCGEL 5 Housing Officer)

This chapter argues that the programming of the Lochgelly Charrette placed limitations upon the transformative potential of these encounters. Grant (2006) highlights the architectural background of many of the New Urbanists in this respect. She comments that this training adds a highly creative dimension to their practice, but also an idiosyncratic one. As such, New Urbanist planning assumes, rather than tests, the benefits that neo traditionalism might deliver. Consequently, some of tenets of the movement, for example, the belief that compact, traditional or neotraditional neighbourhoods foster community spirit and are more environmentally sustainable, are questionable in the face of empirical evidence (Grant, 2002; Nasar, 2003).

These arguments appear to have had little impact upon the New Urbanist appeal to policy makers. Indeed, the previous chapter provided evidence that the creative dimension of the movement was crucial in attracting the Scottish Government to the use of charrettes within SSCI. One senior figure noted the potential for actively engaging people in shaping their places in that "Duany could show how (an abstract) concept like 'density', would look." (OVR 15, Former Scottish Government Planner). The ideal of "design with everyone" (Condon, 2008, p.56) is upheld as a foundation of good charrette practice. Facilitators are encouraged to see the event as a blank sheet of paper which all participants should have equal rights to fill with ideas, no matter their professional understanding or creative skill (Roggema, 2014a). In Lochgelly, the facilitation team's pre event brochure offered residents "a hands-on approach where ideas are translated into plans and drawings" (Turnberry Consulting, 2010, p.1).

Despite these aspirations, the Lochgelly facilitation team deployed their professional skills in a quite different way. Rather than the design work bringing community and professional participants together, it became a source of division. Andrés Duany's notes indicate a complex attitude towards the work of a charrette. He sees planning and designing in the presence of the community as essential to maintaining their interest in the project and gathering their ideas. Yet running beneath is also the desire to put the public 'in their place'. Just as the facilitation team were not ready to plan with the community unconditionally, there were also limits on their willingness to work in a spirt of partnership with local citizens:

> "When anyone has an idea that may be drawn, draw it for them… It is not necessary to let the people attending do any drawing themselves. This gets perfectly good ideas tangled up in technical inadequacy… Besides, you will undermine your professional standing, leading them to the conclusion that, "hey, I can do that, this must be easy." Draw beautifully at all times… This subtle distancing gains their respect." (Duany, 1999, p.2)

From the viewpoint of the charrette attendees, the creative elements of the planning and design process were delivered in the 'back room'. Paradoxically, Andrés Duany's role in the eyes of the public was to shift from facilitation, to something much more akin to Sandercock and Lyssiotis' (2003) 'heroic' planner or designer. As the event proceeded, community participants came to view Duany as almost the event's personification, as evidenced below:

> "He took up station, as you might say, in the Institute, and he took up a back room. And his planners and architects, ten that he brought with him from America… it was him that did the speaking, they sat and drew and did what he told them to…" (LCGEL 7 Community Group Member).

As a result, the community remembered the process of masterplan development summarised in Figure 7, in emotive terms. Healey (2010b) notes the depth of feeling that local people ascribe to the places where they live. The emotional response to change in these places can be intense. This is especially so when change is seen to issue from outside, contrary to the ideal of empowerment at the local level (Adamson and Bromiley, 2013). During the charrette, the interview fieldwork highlighted several instances where local citizens viewed DPZ's role not as facilitating a vision for Lochgelly that was informed by the community, but rather as their own redesign of the town.

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Figure 7 - Charrette Vision Concepts

The output of the Lochgelly Charrette was an extremely comprehensive masterplan. Concerned that the separate SLA sites represented an invitation for disconnected sprawl around the existing town, the team defined new boundaries through the plan that they saw as the natural limit for growth to 2066. This new timeframe went forty years beyond the lifespan of the Mid Fife Local Plan undergoing examination at the time. By virtue of this longer timeframe, the vision assumed a greater quantity of new housing. Some areas of green space kept out of the original SLA were also designated for development, with the town's golf course gaining a proposal for a further 499 unit's through the charrette (Scottish Government., 2010, Fife Council., 2011a). The masterplan detailed a new street network for each of the expansion sites together with transect designations to guide a future design code. In addition to this new development, the plan also included several 'special projects' concerned with infill or redevelopment of sites within the existing urban fabric, as well as modifications to planning applications currently under consideration by Fife Council's Development Management. Finally, the plan proposed renovations, or 'improvements' to some of the existing residential and retail properties, as well as the public realm.

Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

Clockwise from top left:
1. Full masterplan drawing showing urban expansion to 2066.
2. 'Special project' in the town centre: Miners' Square redevelopment option.
3. Planning application under consideration (top) and proposed redesign (bottom).
4. Existing house and proposed renovations.

Source: Scottish Government (2010)

Clashes arose between Lochgellians' local understandings and the masterplan vision. Particularly emotive were the proposals to 'improve' existing housing through the addition of traditional detail to the roofing, facing materials and fenestration (Scottish Government, 2010). The facilitation team argued these additions could turn around the negative perception of the towns' stock and by extensions, its wider built environment. As noted in Figure 7, the team used photographs of actual houses as examples. These properties represented a substantial investment of time and money on the part of their owners, especially considering the economic issues facing Lochgelly. As a result, some saw the vision more as passing judgement, than as the product of a collaborative discussion:

> Then he (Duany) showed a house, that was a private owned house… an old cottage. The couple that had owned the house had renovated it, and he wanted it put back… so it would look nice and quaint, so he hadnae actually stopped and spoke to the people roundabout as to their opinion, he came with his opinion (LCGEL 8 Community Group Member).

Tensions were also raised between the facilitation team and community through the proposed 'special projects' around the town centre, one of note being *Miners' Square*. Forming a cross between Main Street and two other main thoroughfares, the Square is a principal public space. As shown in Figure 8, the vision advanced several options, replacing the existing public realm with either a café, shop or restaurant (Scottish Government, 2010). Again, some within the community felt this vision was out of touch with local circumstance and needs:

> He (Duany) complained that he couldnae get a decent cup of coffee in Lochgelly. Now you stand in a town hall and say that, that's how arrogant he was. At the Cross here (Miners' Square)… he (would have) built a slim restaurant café thing and it looked lovely. Practical in Scotland (though)? No, because it had outside seats, but looked nice, if it was in say, London, or some holiday resort."(LCGEL 8, Community Group Member)

Figure 8 – Miners' Square Charrette Proposals

Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

More personal feelings of disconnect were raised related to the Miners' Institute. Donations from local colliers had originally funded this category B listed building, dating from circa 1925. The decline of the Institute, sited centrally on the town's Main Street, paralleled the wider decline of the coal industry, until a funding package was secured from local organisations to renovate it in the mid 2000s (Loch of Shining Waters, 2017). The facilitation team developed the Miners' Square proposals adjacent, in response to previous renovation works by HARCA that had installed new seating, planting and a statue. During the charrette, the team also undertook an exercise to redesign a new social housing development submitted by Ore Valley Housing Association (Scottish Government, 2010). They proposed that this scheme, at the urban edge of the settlement on South Street (Fife Council., 2011b), should be altered to better complement the character of the emerging masterplan. For the Regeneration Forum, the use of the Miner's Institute as a venue fed a sense of rebuff. This began with the facilitation teams' lack of acknowledgement of their group and continued as the charrette challenged the regeneration work that had come through the Forum with counter proposals:

> "Through the regeneration process funding was drawn from all different agencies, to actually renovate that building (the Institute). And when he (Duany) went in to show his work in that building, he had no history of what had went on before, and he didnae ask for that history" (LCGEL 8, Community Group Member)

The community response to the Lochgelly Charrette was further complicated in that the event was required to balance regeneration of the current built fabric with a very different set of issues surrounding new build development. The established planning framework was controversial in its significant use of greenfield land. These concerns featured highly in the volume of representation they elicited in the Mid Fife Local Plan. While the charrette was advanced as a forum to test options for growth, the amount of development had already been dictated by the overarching Fife Structure Plan adopted in 2009 (Fife Council, 2009a). The now discontinued event website, clearly stated that the role of the charrette was not to investigate objections to the emerging local plan (Loch of Shining Waters, 2010c), making the principle of growth non-negotiable.

Despite this, some of the most confrontational encounters arose not because of the existing SLA, but against the principle of the substantial additional housing proposed to extend the masterplan timeframe until 2066. Particularly controversial was the suggestion to redevelop the golf course for approximately 500 new dwellings. Looking at the masterplan from my own training as a planner, the golf course represents a potentially attractive site within the natural boundary of the town that could feasibly accommodate further housing development. Equally, from the community's perspective, these sites were important and cherished aspects of local heritage. In either case, Andrés Duany's own analogy of the attending public to a 'mob' or 'pack' suggests the facilitation team were well prepared to defend their own vision in the face of these tensions:

> "Do not let anybody disrespect you or the principles of town planning. Push back immediately. When the disrespectful smell weakness, the pack will attack and not stop. If a number of persons are not in some way angry at the planner… the planner has been merely a secretary to the mob and the plan will be weak" (Duany, 1999, p.1)

Because of this defensiveness, the expansion issues served as a flashpoint for conflict between the facilitation team and local people, particularly where the proposals concerned established facilities:

> Lochgelly Golf Course: he wanted that to close and build houses on it. Now you cannae do that to an old institution that runs, and so you've got Lochgelly Golf Club committee there, shouting their words, and it become a kind of battle… He (Duany) **never thought on the fact of communities, how it would affect them**." (LCGEL 7 Community Group Member, my emphasis)

Community participants felt the facilitation team neglected their own lived experience of these issues, as is most clearly shown with respect to the contention surrounding the Mossmorran Petrochemical Plant to the south of the town. The plant has a history of highly visible emissions of smoke and flares that are still a matter of considerable concern to residents (BBC, 2019). Additionally, the presence of a health and safety exclusion zone around one of the connecting long distance pipelines limited local building options. In drawing up plans for housing on sites around the exclusion zone to harmonise the urban form, some saw DPZ belittling local knowledge, instead of integrating it within the planning and design exercise:

> "He (Duany) wanted that (site for development) because this side of the road had housing on it, he wanted housing on that side of the road but that is the oil pipeline that runs under that… And it was like a full scale battle: I mean you had a guy who'd retired from Mossmorran, and he's quoting stats, because he was an operator over there, and he (Duany) just poo hooed everybody" (LCGEL 7, Community Group Member)

In his conclusions on the Tornagrain Charrette of 2006, MacLeod (2013, p.2214) critiques Duany's role as a "persuasive guru", or fixer brought in to smooth consensus on controversial new development, through a glamorous and supposedly more democratic way to work around the established local planning conventions.

These circumstances are not immediately applicable to Lochgelly. Despite the concern common to Tornagrain about development on greenfield land, some participants at Lochgelly had little need of 'persuasion' to accept plans for local change, if they were to provide renewed impetus for regeneration. The Lochgelly Charrette thus represented an opportunity missed compared to the existing HARCA efforts for some:

> "The idea and the principle of having someone come into an area was brilliant; but know the people and know the town. Dinnae come in and say, right, were gonnae to do this and gonnae to do that without giving them a say. Before, when it was the (HARCA) regeneration, the people of Lochgelly did have a say… but he (Duany) definitely didn't listen to the people of Lochgelly (LCGEL 7 Community Group Member)

The Scottish Government's mandate for a foreign practitioner to deliver plans and designs addressed to local issues, rendered the charrette an emotive exercise. The government commentary on the event in retrospect was overwhelmingly positive and did not voice the difficulties and conflict that my research evidenced (Scottish Government, 2010; Scottish Government, 2011c). In turn, this served to reinforce some of the feelings of disempowerment and disillusionment felt at the local level:

> "Why is the man being flown in at great expense and listened to, while people in Scotland who could do the job (and talk with as much, if not greater, knowledge) are being sidelined? "Most of your fields aren't even greenbelt". Well no, but they are good farmland, and simply not being greenbelt doesn't mean it's fair game." (Anonymised comment taken from (Loch of Shining Waters, 2010e))

While the facilitation team's approach served to alienate and dismiss some participants, others welcomed the potential to have an outside appraisal that challenged established views. In this respect, Duany's candid comments were instrumental in making citizens think again about the existing development framework:

"Andrés Duany was excellent and… pointed out the stupid planning Lochgelly has had to endure so far. You could see the planners from Fife Council faces changing from happy-smiley to concerned as the presentation went on" (Anonymised comment taken from (Loch of Shining Waters, 2010e))

"Let's hope that Mr. Duany gets the chance to air his views and properly consult the Lochgelly people. I think the plans that Fife Council are enforcing upon us …will destroy the town! 3,000 and 4,000 houses is just far, far too much. (Anonymised comment taken from (Loch of Shining Waters, 2010e))

Beyond the planning issues, there is evidence that the charrette also encouraged citizens to 'think again' about their lived experience of Lochgelly. Healey (2007; 2010b) draws attention to the multifarious nature of people's relationship to their places and the difficulty that planning strategies often have in capturing these complexities. As such Bishop (2015) notes the difficulties in engagement settings of encouraging local people to move beyond the 'baggage' they bring to the process and drill down to their core concerns about the area. One participant saw value in bringing many existing 'taken for granted' attitudes into question, particularly those on the part of the Local Authority. This would not have occurred without Duany's critical attitude to the institutional status quo:

"I think this is where Andres Duany was quite good… because he came in and… (said) "why are you sitting with a brown(field) site, a bit of land which has just been left?" And that was a good question, especially when that land was owned by the council… He identified a kind of different mind-set… (to) things people had walked past for years" (LCGEL 6 Community Group Member)

6.3.2 Practitioners

To investigate the mixed reactions on the part of the community toward the Lochgelly Charrette, is only to tell half the story of the event however. As noted earlier in this chapter, viewing charrettes as a space of encounter also implies a personal impact or 'affect' (Anderson, 2014b) for the local planning professionals in attendance. As a nationally driven exercise, the potential for 'ownership' of the Lochgelly Charrette on the part of these professionals was limited. DPZ's work queried both the existing development plan timescales and many of the previous regeneration projects in the town. Indeed, some within the community viewed the local authority planners who attended more as 'passengers' than active participants:

> "There was five people from Fife Council Planning Department, worked with the charrettes and those five people should have (had) some impact on what Duany was doing, and, it didn't show, it was as I'd said, it was his way or no way." (LCGEL 8 Community Group Member)

Both Onyango and Hadjri (2009) and MacLeod (2013) draw attention to the potential of the charrette to create an alternative space within which to approach planning and design issues outside of local convention. The preceding chapter highlighted from the interview fieldwork that for some planning consultants, this afforded them the opportunity to 'short circuit' local planning systems or 'jump start' debate on change in the built environment, where discussions had broken down (OVR 13, OVR 18, Charrette Facilitators). Not captured from these contributors, is how their counterparts at the local level react to the charrette engagement space. Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones (2013, p.221) consequently draw attention to the challenges faced by planners on the "front line" of practice in local authorities. These include constraints both from above, in the form of management reform and targets and from 'below', in the drive for planning to present a more participative face to communities. These pressures may conspire to create stress or despondency, however there is evidence that they also spur planners to develop their practice creatively. Most practitioners become involved in planning due to an interest in place and environment. A sizeable proportion also feel inspired to act as advocates for the public interest, or to "make the world a better place" (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013, p.203).

In Chapter 2, I argued that the nascent planning profession developed toward the end of the 19th Century within various 'grassroots' movements that upheld social justice and sought to redefine the relationship between society, state and economy (Hall, 2014; Bowie, 2016). In practice, attitudes to participation and the community from the 'front line' are complex. Planners see participation as a valuable reality check on their work. Yet many are also concerned that it 'bogs down' a strategy or design in local issues that are not material to the system. Others feel they lack the skills and personal capacities to carry out a participative exercise effectively (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013). The interview fieldwork highlighted that local practitioners valued the Lochgelly Charrette sessions as a way to rethink their relationship to the area and to 'push the boundaries' of their practice. An outside facilitation team offered the chance to jettison some of the 'baggage' attached to previous interactions with the public:

> "It's good to have someone independent from the council as they can, be one step removed, they don't get bogged down in the sort of 'nitty gritty' issues or gripes people have with the council, they don't become blockers to having a constructive conversation." (LCGEL 4 Local Authority Planning Staff)

My later case studies illustrate how planners and designers might view a charrette more broadly as an opportunity to not only reconsider the place in which they work, but to put a human face to those people on whom this work impacts. Reflecting some of the ambiguities I described above, no such reflections were forthcoming from local practitioners in Lochgelly. They did not see any significant change in their relationship with local people (LCGEL 4 Local Authority Planning Staff, LCGEL 5 Housing Officer). Rather, they engaged from a standpoint of professional interest, considering the skills that DPZ's international team put on display. As I noted in Chapter 2, both planning and urban design have a strongly visual tradition (Taylor, 1998; Carmona *et al.*, 2010). As shown in Figure 5, the convention for Fife Council planning documents was to use a series of coloured zones on a map to convey the development strategy. The local planners were highly impressed at the detailed artwork produced by DPZ. They upheld the visualisations as a good prospect to find common understandings between professionals and citizens on the kind of development that could take place within the town:

"I think something that we all got from it was about drawing… there were a lot of really good 3D images, sketches that were developed and people really respond to those. We can understand a plan but quite often people really don't understand plans; they can understand that… I think that was the big thing that we all came away with: how good that is as a communicator." (LCGEL 4 Local Authority Planning Staff).

Aside from the visual presentation the extended timescales integral to the masterplan were also challenging. For the council planners, they prompted a reconsideration of development beyond the boundaries of the pre-existing SLA sites. The council had rejected the principle of reviewing the sites at an early stage. However, local planners did think again about how they could realise a better quality of design within the allocations. These thoughts coalesced into a Supplementary Planning and Transport Guidance document, (LCGEL 4 Local Authority Planning Staff) that came into effect in 2011. The document sought to extend the principles of the charrette vision into simpler terms that could be used to guide all future planning applications (Fife Council, 2011c).

Those professionals whose work focussed on development projects on the ground valued the extended development vision to 2066 in a different way. One of the local housing officers used the vision to reflect the work the organisation had invested in the town. The study DPZ had provided of how an urban area could expand over a half century, put the challenges of achieving redevelopment and regeneration into perspective. The officer consequently contrasted the timescales necessary to implement change in the long term to those of individual development projects:

"When we did the original work in 2000 we thought "oh, in twenty years we'll never keep this going". Whereas looking at… the life of a community over a much longer period… was actually really quite useful and… a way of managing expectations: "we're not going to achieve all of these things quickly … let's think about it over a much longer period" (LCGEL 5 Housing Officer).

6.4 Post Charrette Developments

This discussion of timescales makes it relevant to consider how the Lochgelly Charrette Masterplan of 2010 has weathered the years that followed. Within the town centre, the impact on Lochgelly's landscape was uncertain during fieldwork. Ironically, considering the masterplan's focus on creating new residential neighbourhoods, there has been very little housing development. To present, the SLA has remained undeveloped with only one other major residential planning application on site (Fife Council, 2018). The council granted planning permission for the 109 dwellings in 2006. In a revised form it approved the application again when submitted in 2012. As such, it became the first significant proposal to be assessed with the framework of the Lochgelly Supplementary Guidance (Fife Council, 2012).

As illustrated in Figure 9 the proposals, under construction in 2019, carry forward some of the tenets stated in the Guidance, particularly its preference for shared surfaces (Fife Council, 2011c). However, the charrette masterplan's vision for permeable, public transport orientated development incorporating new public open spaces and a variety of house types (Scottish Government, 2010) is not present. Overall, the development proposals approved, have far more in common with the standardised 'volume' house builder output on a greenfield site than with the distinctive neo traditional developments that followed from New Urbanist design projects elsewhere (Biddulph, 2007).

Figure 9 - 'The Avenues' Housing Development

Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

These images contrast the new 'volume' and car orientated housing currently under construction in Lochgelly (top) with the charrette's vision for mixed use, public transport orientated development in the expansion areas. Sources: After Scottish Government (2010) and Easy Living Homes (2017).

While the charrette was intended primarily as a development planning exercise, by critiquing current proposals through the event, DPZ had also attempted to influence development management practice. In this respect, the South Street planning application subject to DPZ's redesign efforts is of interest. While Fife Council considered the application, public representations argued that the proposal's design was inappropriate given the outcomes of the charrette. The response from the case officer in recommending for approval as submitted, was telling. The representation was deemed not materially relevant, as the application site was not within one of the strategic allocations that provided the original justification for the charrette (Fife Council., 2011). As such, the response evidences that the council's own planning service failed to recognise the event's 'whole town' ethos.

The previous chapter introduced charrettes as a way of synchronising the efforts of the diverse professionals that work in the built environment sphere. Some argued that as public events, they provide a measure of transparency that discourages disconnected or 'silo' thinking (Lyons, 2007). Despite staff from Fife Council's regeneration partner HARCA meeting the facilitation team in advance and attending the studio days (LCGEL 5 Housing Officer), there is little evidence the charrette built constructively from its efforts in this instance. The winter of 2009/2010 saw the Council's Development Services brief both the Planning Committee (Fife Council, 2009c) and Community Planning Partnership (Fife Council, 2010b) on the scope of the charrette. However, none of these meetings raised the prospect of involving HARCA more formally in the organisation of the event or linking into the regeneration work already undertaken. Post-charrette, the masterplan provided a comprehensive guide for physical development but did not outline the mechanisms and partners that would ensure delivery in the long term (Scottish Government, 2010). This situation was damming for HARCA. As an organisation used to implementing development projects in the town, they felt that the event used the act of designing visions of the future to obscure the more practical issues of how these visions might be later delivered (LCGEL 5 Housing Officer).

Even in 2019, Lochgelly still lacked the new health centre, school, community centre, supermarket and farmer's market that formed the basis of DPZ's 'special projects (Scottish Government, 2010). Despite the public aspirations for 'what could be done' to bring professionals and citizens together through the charrette, the 'what was actually done' (Flyvbjerg, 1998), was marked by disconnect and division. These problems were evident between the Scottish Government and Fife Council, Fife Council and HARCA, the facilitation team and community and even between different planners working within Development Services. From within the community therefore, life in Lochgelly post-charrette was back to 'business as usual'. One participant contrasted the striking vision presented through the event, viewed as almost personally the work of Andrés Duany, and the outlook on the ground:

> "He could talk the talk and some of his ideas were brilliant: on paper, but nothing's every come out of his (ideas). I mean we couldnae point at anything and say "well, that was Andres Duany"" (LCGEL 7 Community Group Member).

Considering these comments, the original masterplan vision of Lochgelly regenerated with six new neighbourhoods, a new employment park and railway station / public transport hub, appears over ambitious. Part of the blame for this situation appears to lie in the contextual differences between the town and the settings where New Urbanist projects more normally take place. The key projects in the New Urbanist 'canon': Poundbury, Seaside and Kentland's were all located exclusively on self-contained greenfield sites where crucially, a developer's interest and finance was already secured (Grant, 2006). In the Lochgelly case these circumstances did not apply, given the difficulties in securing developer interest in the SLA sites (Ryden, 2017). The immediate aftermath of the charrette was marked by inertia from Fife Council. In the following months, councillors were briefed about the outcomes (Fife Council, 2010a), but without further action or discussion apparent. Having accommodated a facilitation team who once prided themselves on setting a record for presenting and having a plan adopted within a matter of hours (Grant, 2006), participants expressed their frustration at the inertia shown by the local authority on acting on the vison and projects.

The Lochgelly facilitation team appeared to have ignored many of the local development constraints. Nevertheless, some local people felt that elements of the masterplan might have been viable, had the council acted more quickly in the charrette's wake. Andrés Duany, reflecting his preference to form a steering group of citizens through a charrette, pressed Fife Council to nominate an officer to take this work forward immediately. A missed opportunity was identified in that neither this, nor dedicated project funding was forthcoming:

> "There wasn't the follow up funding that… could do a lot of the low-lying fruit, there was lots of small issues… The (charrette) cavalcade packed up after the week and headed off somewhere else, and not one penny was allocated. The key, recommendation from Duany was, whatever you do, appoint one person whose sole job it is to take it forward… and that didnae happen." (LCGEL 6 Community Group Member)

This view was to gain wider recognition when one of the local elected members lobbied the council to allocate funding and personnel. In October 2010, one councillor spoke of "a large to-do list" left by the event that they felt was becoming a "distant wish-list." (Central Fife Times and Advertiser, 2010).

In a reactive step in November 2010, the council began drafting a project programme for moving some of the charrette outcomes forward. This included formation of a working group and the subsequent employment of a dedicated project officer. It was approved by the elected members a full year after the event, in March 2011 (Fife Council, 2011b). These personnel faced demoralised community organisations, including the former Regeneration Forum, the members of which were offended by the charrette's failure to recognise their previous work in the town. The Working Group nevertheless, attempted to draw a line and take what benefits it could moving forward. Whatever one's opinion on the charrette, its position as part of the SSCI 'cavalcade' had brought Lochgelly to the attention of decision makers and funders at the national level:

"They were told "come along and have your say on how we design the town", and what they thought they were gonna do, was have full engagement, what they actually had was more consultation… What I wanted to do was have a clear line in the sand to say, you know your charrettes a bit like marmite[22], you know love it or hate it, it's given a bit of momentum, a bit of focus, its put the spotlight on Lochgelly, there is a mandate for resources, let's make this work for the town." (LCGEL 3 Development Officer).

A new organisation, the Lochgelly Community Development Forum was founded. With the support of the Council its work included a 'live local shop local' campaign and a competition with schools to design a 'brand' for the town. None of these interventions was financially ambitious, with the shop local campaign estimated at a cost of approximately £250 per business. However, they rebuilt confidence amongst residents that positive change could happen (LCGEL 3 Development Officer). This confidence increased when the local organisations received funding from the Council in 2015 to formalise their goals in a Community Action Plan of their own making (Lochgelly Going Forward, 2016). Contrasting with their charrette experiences, some of the same community members felt humbled that so many of their fellow residents were willing to participate and through the reconnection to place and solidarity they gained by this work:

We had lots of meetings… then we'd had a vote in Lochgelly Town Hall, and we couldnae believe again, how many hundreds of people turned up that day. We were giving them yellow posit its and they were writing on and sticking on the things that they think (mattered) We were inundated with people… we work hard here in the community: all the groups are working hard trying to improve Lochgelly." (LCGEL 7 Community Group Member).

Developments have also taken place around the closed church near Miners' Square. DPZ's proposal to renovate the building as a farmers' market courted controversy with some in the community who considered the concept as out of touch with local circumstances, especially economic ones:

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[22] Marmite is a British food spread made from yeast extract, marketed with the slogan "love it or hate it, just give it a try!".

> "His (Duany's) idea, was to turn that into a market hall to be used one day a week as a farmers market. Now, folk couldnae even afford to buy a half pound o' mince, how could they afford to buy farmer's market stuff coming in there…His ideas was like that, it was way out the box." (LCGEL 7 Community Group Member)

The regeneration efforts for this building after the charrette focussed instead, on encouraging physical activity and sport. Plans are currently under way to renovate the Church as an indoor rock climbing wall (Stark, 2016). Lochgelly was judged 'Scotland's Most Improved Town' in 2016 by the Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum on the basis of other small civic projects including a refurbished community centre and theatre and the creation of a heritage trail (SURF, 2016). Looking at these achievements, and despite their scepticism about the original charrette process, local practitioners acknowledged its contribution to change in the town. The council's regeneration officers credited the event with focussing the attention of key decision makers, particularly those in command of funding, on Lochgelly. Having a highly visible participative planning process within the town gave the green light for initiatives like the climbing wall, that would have been difficult to implement using local resources alone:

> "I feel that's one of the benefits of the charrette approach, because, some of these 'bigger ticket' items end up being delivered on… it's the right thing to invest in on the part of other external funding bodies: maybe Scottish Government, maybe Sustrans, maybe Sports Scotland. There's a whole range of streams that can be brought to play as a result of charrettes." (LCGEL 2, Development Officer)

6.5 Summary: Lochgelly's Journey

Despite the publicity surrounding it, the charrette represents just one part of Lochgelly's ongoing "journey of people and place" (LCGEL 3 Development Officer). Some of the most visible outcomes have not been the physical transformations proposed through the masterplan. Rather, they have been realised within the sphere of 'community development' (Bhattacharyya, 2004).

While the groundwork was being set out for charrettes to come to Scotland in the 2000s, Lochgelly already had a history of economic decline, but also of regeneration activity. As a 'mobile' policy intervention (Peck and Theodore, 2010) charrettes are viewed organically, being transmitted between countries via various vectors and agents and 'mutating' in their new practice settings. Policy tools from one global setting do not mobilise without first passing a process of 'selection', by which they attain a following within another. A policy as a mobility is therefore, never the product of only one maker: both 'customer' and 'supplier' actively condition it (McCann, 2013).

On the 'customer' side, the concept of holding a charrette in Lochgelly came directly from the Scottish Government, rather than the local Fife Council. The prestige of having Andrés Duany lead the early SSCI projects was a crucial factor in Government's decision making. DPZ's brief was clearly to focus on Lochgelly not in itself, but as a typical Scottish small town facing social and economic difficulties. On the 'supplier' side, DPZ saw their commission primarily as a design exercise based around the full suite of New Urbanist planning principles.

In the run up to the Lochgelly Charrette, the international credentials of Andrés Duany and DPZ added to anticipation within the community that the Miami based team would be able to turn around the town's fortunes. The Scottish Government too, were keen to promote the event as an opportunity for planners and designers to learn from local people's knowledge. Beneath the picture painted by the SSCI Series brochure, the charrette was in fact, the subject of significant local conflict and disillusionment. In attempting to explain these tensions, I identified several factors. A key finding was that the charrette 'landed' from the outside. It is clear that as the first such initiative of its type in Scotland, the opportunities within SSCI for charrettes to be released 'into the wild' (Peck and Theodore, 2010) and consequently adapted or 'mutated' to local circumstances, were limited. Consequently, the Lochgelly event was shaped by decisions and agreements made in the national government sphere, with very little local influence. As only the third such event to take place within Scotland, the Lochgelly Charrette represented a relatively 'pure' example of the format, with respect to its New Urbanist roots. The Charter of New Urbanism commits practitioners to local democracy in principle. In practice, the view that emerges through my findings is of a willingness to work with communities, but not from first principles and not without a few 'ground rules' first being established.

During the charrette, the opportunities for the public to encounter the facilitation team were limited. Despite these conventions, the facilitation team's thinking was more radical in that it envisaged a new delivery vehicle to take forward the charrette proposals, overlooking the collective experience of the existing organisations. Others within the community felt the event did not go far enough, in that discussion on the principle of the controversial greenfield SLA sites was taken off the agenda from the beginning. As a result, the 'encounters' between public and professionals could become highly confrontational. Rather than the facilitation team working in partnership with the community, the charrette achieved 'consultation' (Arnstein, 1969) at best. The degree of citizen ownership of the masterplan that resulted from the charrette remains questionable.

To view the Lochgelly Charrette as a purely academic or 'showpiece' exercise would however, be to misunderstand it. Chapter 2 introduced the idea of 'encounter' as a balancing point. On one side, participative governance initiatives like a charrette are said to represent a 'technique' through which the state offers the illusion of power to the citizen, but not an actual reworking of established power relations (Lemke, 2001). Yet such administrative rationale is not 'terminal' (Foucault, 1982). Rather, power necessarily constitutes the incitation to resist it and is therefore, a dynamic rather than static force (Bourdieu and Nice, 1977; Nealon, 2008). Far from passively accepting the charrette's designs, local people instead actively challenged its conduct. The appointment of a dedicated working group to take forward regeneration in Lochgelly in 2011, while a politically reactive step, marked a turning point. Subsequently, a major driver of change has been the confidence of local people to re-engage and work on behalf of their place through the new organisations that arose in the wake of the charrette. The very fact such an event happened in Lochgelly supported by the Scottish Government, also made the town more visible to potential funders.

The overall impact of the Lochgelly Charrette is ambiguous. While some in the community were disillusioned, others valued the charrette and felt that it encouraged them to reconsider their relationship to the place. Local professionals also found inspiration in the skills and abilities of Andrés Duany's team. However, both the interviews and archive data indicate that the event did little to change the 'day to day' exercise of planning practice within the area. To realise this, is to acknowledge the limitations of the 'encounters' that characterised the event but more fundamentally, to question the overall 'transformative' potential of charrettes as participative planning and design tools. Considering the developments that have taken place since 2010, my following case study chapters move on from Lochgelly's 'journey' to show how charrettes changed on their own travels throughout Scotland.

7 Govan / Partick 2015

In the previous chapter I discussed the SSCI Series charrettes of 2010 through a case study of Lochgelly. This chapter picks up the story in the mid 2010s. By this time, charrettes were increasingly established in planning practice, following from the Scottish Government's decision to 'mainstream' the format in 2011 (Scottish Government, 2011b). The goal of this chapter is to illustrate how charrettes had, following from the policy 'mobility' framework established by Peck and Theodore (2010; 2012), developed in their new Scottish setting. I approach this through a case study of the Govan / Partick Charrette in Glasgow, during 2015.

Through this chapter I will argue that the charrettes of this timeframe, now taken forward almost exclusively by Scottish based consultants, represented a far more locally responsive approach than the Series events. Many in the Govan / Partick community felt that the charrette facilitation team listened to them and were prepared to put nothing 'off limits' for discussion. This is not to say that local people viewed the planners' designs on their communities uncritically. Glasgow's citizens have a historic sense of feeling denigrated, or 'done to' by the profession. Particularly in Govan, which is the focus of my enquiries, many people viewed the City Council's regeneration strategy with alarm. These concerns were afforded little recognition however, in both the charrette report and planning document that followed. My findings show that the output of the Govan / Partick event failed to positively articulate the concerns of the community against the established planning framework.

7.1 Local Background

Glasgow was the Second City of the British Empire and its development was shaped by the River Clyde (Maver, 2000). At its height in the 18th and 19th Centuries, flourishing maritime trade led to the development of associated financial institutions and entrepreneurs (Meighan, 2013). Trading spurred investment in industry that was enabled by the mineral resources in the surrounding regions. By the beginning of the 20th Century, Glasgow could be defined as one of the most important industrial locations in the world, based on the expansion of iron and steel working, shipbuilding and heavy engineering (Pacione, 1995) The districts of Partick and Govan, respectively to the north and south of the Clyde, were centres of shipbuilding and other dockside activities (Maver, 2000).

Formerly the site of a ford crossing and then a ferry route, Govan and Partick remained socially and commercially linked. However, the decline of Glasgow's industrial base and the advent of modern housing and road development resulted in Govan becoming increasingly isolated as an area suffering economic deprivation in the last quarter of the 20th Century (Glasgow City Council, 2014). Partick by contrast, located close to the University of Glasgow and the City's more affluent West End, did not suffer these difficulties. It is for these reasons that I focused mainly on Govan during the fieldwork for this case study. Of the two areas, it was the landscape of Govan that would potentially change the most as the result of any development proceeding from the charrette. There were also practical reasons in that of the eight interview participants from the community that I secured, only two were located in Partick.

In the 1980s, Glasgow began a programme of arts and culture based regeneration aimed at attracting talent and investment from the financial and creative sectors (Damer, 1990). This approach is encapsulated in the current city marketing slogan "people make Glasgow" (Glasgow Life, 2019). Within these dynamics, Govan was targeted for a range of regeneration incentives, the most recent being the Central Govan Action Plan (CGAP) (Central Govan Action Plan, 2006) commissioned by the City Council in 2004. CGAP was considered highly successful, winning the RTPI Award for Quality in Planning in 2014, based on the strength of £88 million of investment that it was reputed to have secured (Royal Town Planning Institute, 2014).

CGAP maintain a dedicated website and office in Govan (Central Govan Action Plan, 2018a). As of 2019, the highest profile of the CGAP projects was the redevelopment of Water Row. This street is reputed to be the area's oldest thoroughfare (Central Govan Action Plan, 2006). The end of the street was formerly the landing stage for the Govan – Partick Ferry (Central Govan Action Plan, 2019b). The surrounding area had also seen extensive new public realm works at the time of the charrette (Central Govan Action Plan, 2010).

Figure 10 - Water Row, Govan

Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

Water Row at centre, connects the south bank of the Clyde at bottom right with Govan Cross at the top left Source: (Google., 2019)

7.2 Learning About Place: What Made Glasgow 'Cross'?

The Govan / Partick Charrette was commissioned by Glasgow City Council and the Glasgow Housing Association (GHA) as part of the production of the Council's emerging City Development Plan (Glasgow City Council, 2014). In their application for SSCI Mainstreaming Funding, the City Council promoted the use of a charrette on the basis that collaboration between decision makers and the community would create a "fundamental shift" in the area's fortunes (Glasgow City Council, 2014, p.2). The City Development Plan designates six 'Strategic Development Framework' areas (SDF's) that cover one or more districts (Glasgow City Council, 2017b). The SDF's are supplementary documents that detail how the City level plan priorities might be achieved locally. At the highest level, Govan and Partick were assigned SDF status on the basis of their location along the River Clyde Development Corridor. The area is recognised in Scotland's National Planning Framework as a key regeneration and economic growth location (Scottish Government, 2014a). More widely, the purpose of SDF status in the context of Glasgow's post-industrial legacy, was to 'repair' the areas, in terms of their physical fabric, economically and socially, creating "sustainable, liveable places with a distinct identity and purpose" (Glasgow City Council, 2018, p.7).

The council planners reasoned that regeneration would be best achieved by connecting the affluence and culture of the West End to Govan. Its residents would then be able to freely access the education and employment opportunities north of the river. Connections having been made, negative perceptions might improve and the draw of the area for economic growth and development could also increase (Glasgow City Council, 2014; 2018).

The expressed goal of the charrette was to provide a structure for the SDF, ensuring it represented a shared vision for both areas. On completion, the council felt that the SDF could be derived from the charrette outputs within 12 – 18 months (Glasgow City Council, 2014).The council stressed the originality of the event, noting that it would be the first time that a design orientated participative approach was taken to planning in the districts.

While understandable in the context of a competitive funding application, this claim was questionable in the case of Govan. Here, the original Central Govan Action Plan included a detailed townscape analysis and an engagement statement that detailed three months of interviews, focus groups and exhibitions during the plan's preparation in 2005 (Central Govan Action Plan, 2006). While they acknowledged the progress already achieved through CGAP in their application for SSCI Mainstreaming Funding, council officers argued that more remained to be done in connecting Govan and Partick, both with each other and the wider city (Glasgow City Council, 2014). Yet the prospect of approaching residents with another participative initiative caused the planners some concern. Doing so raised the spectre of 'consultation fatigue': adding one more exercise onto a chain of previous interventions with unfulfilled, or only partially attained outcomes (Diduck and Sinclair, 2002; Bishop, 2015).

The city planners were sensitive to the adversarial tradition of relations between the City Council and public. In the immediate post-war years, the city authorities embarked upon a radical redevelopment programme. These efforts were guided by the infamous Bruce Report of 1945. Named for the municipal Chief Planner at the time, the report's original ambition of levelling and rebuilding the entire city centre was never implemented. However, both it and subsequent planning strategies left behind a fragmented landscape of derelict land, disjointed roads and footpaths and system built high rise housing, often constructed with no regard to basic quality standards. Furthermore the various interprofessional and political conflicts, both within the city and between the former City Corporation and Scottish Office, did little to encourage Glaswegians' trust in the authorities (Urban, 2018).

While the City Council claimed that they had adopted a 'placemaking' approach to address these deficiencies, the charrette area still bore many scars in the early 2010s, as shown in Figure 11. During the 2000s a substantial area of Partick's former docklands were redeveloped under the auspices of the 'Glasgow Harbour' regeneration project. The retail, leisure and marina elements of the scheme failed to materialise due to the impact of recession late in the decade. As a result, only two phases of luxury apartments and the Zaha Hadid[23] designed Riverside Transport Museum, were complete at the time of charrette. They represented isolated islands of development surrounded by vacant brownfield sites (Varna, 2014). In Govan too, the contrast between the redeveloped areas of the riverside and the wider dereliction and sense of economic deprivation, was marked (Hatherley, 2013).

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[23] Zaha Hadid (1950 – 2016) was a celebrated architect and twice winner of the Stirling Prize, one of the discipline's highest accolades.

Figure 11 - Govan / Partick Riverside

Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

Sources: (EDINA, 2019; Google., 2019)

Interview participants from both neighbourhoods articulated these difficulties as a sense of having been 'done to' through the conventions of the planning system and development industry (GOVPA 5, GOVPA 7 Community Group Members, GOVPA 12, Local Businessperson). This sentiment was especially well encapsulated in the words of one respondent. Lamenting the damage wrought on Glasgow by planners and other built environment professionals in the past, they saw only one avenue for reconciliation. Practitioners must be willing to listen to their experience and recognise the everyday implications of their designs on local people's lives:

> "We let developers away with too much. Going back forty years, we demolished far too many good properties (in the city) for no reason at all to put, to build eyesores... like the multi storeys... those grey monstrosity concrete jungles... because housing policy was "oh, they're all bad folk and they're all this so we'll shove them all in that block..."

> "Planners aren't the only people on the council who don't listen, but they affect our lives more than anybody else. They need, forgive me saying, a good boot up the a%@# and they need to change their ways and stop and think and listen." (GOVPA 7, Community Group Member)

For their part, the City Council planners viewed the 2015 charrette as an avenue to heal these divisions. Their funding application to the Scottish Government noted the City Corporation's post-war redevelopment projects. They acknowledged that these interventions exacerbated the effects of economic decline both by constructing new barriers to movement and through relocating and splitting up established residents (Glasgow City Council, 2014). In outlining the difficulties attached to bringing planners and local people together in the charrette, one officer gave voice to the sense of adversity they felt existed toward the council:

> "...In Glasgow there's a certain antagonism towards planning, which... goes back to that history of rational planning in a post war... people sitting in offices 'doing to communities', and certainly in Govan (there exists) a big sense of being 'done to' by planning." (GOVPA 1, Local Authority Planning Staff.)

The planners understood that residents might have been asked for their opinions before, not always seeing change for the better as a result. They felt the charrette must be tailored to local circumstance from the outset. This 'non-standard approach, as noted by one of the team members, created space for innovation:

> "I think there's always a danger in communities that have seen a lot of regeneration development…of…'consultation fatigue': people just getting sick of hearing the same thing, talking about the 'future' of the area…if you attempt to standardise a charrette and just do a standard approach every time, I think you probably would face challenges and risks." (GOVPA 8, Facilitation Team Member)

The complete charrette programme is detailed in Figure 12 below. In contrast to the SSCI Series, the SSCI Mainstreaming Programme imposed fewer dictates on the events it supported. Unlike Fife Council five years before, Glasgow City made the application for Scottish Government funding free to select their own facilitation team. In contrast to the Series process, SSCI Mainstreaming did not specify any government approved contractors. As they had approached the Port Dundas charrette in 2014, the council issued competitive tender invitations to three practices they felt could deliver in the role (Glasgow City Council, 2014).

The eventual appointee was **Barton Willmore,** a UK wide planning and urban design consultancy, with offices in both Glasgow and Edinburgh (Glasgow City Council, 2015a). Unlike in the Series charrettes facilitated by DPZ, the leaders of the mainstreaming events were located within Scotland. They had the advantage of being able to directly engage with the local community in advance of the charrette starting. Given the schism felt between practitioners and citizens in Glasgow, one of the facilitation team members articulated the challenges of establishing trust and local credibility This was dependant on careful preparation and research:

> "Preparation is key… its understanding the context of where you are, ultimately you're going to be meeting with people who have been living in that community possibly all their lives and you're wanting to try and understand enough that you can make them feel you've shown a proper interest in that area and you're there to make a positive contribution so, my experience is researching, talking to people ahead of time, getting in touch with different interest groups" (GOVPA 4, Facilitation Team Member).

The Govan / Partick Charrette strategy sought engagement both in depth and in breadth (Bishop, 2015) across a wide range of possible community participants. The team undertook sessions in local schools as well as dedicated meetings with local interest groups by invitation. (Glasgow City Council, 2015a). As noted by one team member bearing the potential issues with consultation fatigue in mind, the charrette needed to be competitive for people's time and attention by promoting itself on the 'broadest front' possible:

> "It's a broad front approach when you're doing this kind of stuff… you've got to just try everything you can to get people talking…and one in ten buy into it and get involved: you've got to spread your net quite wide to create that level of buzz and activity." (GOVPA 8, Facilitation Team Member)

An important implication of the non-representational dimension of the theoretical framework is that social phenomena and social spaces are irreducible to a single study object. Rather, they consist of 'assemblages' of various elements of the setting. Spaces of encounter are always actively negotiated, practised and 'performed' (Thrift, 1997). From this standpoint, not only the human participants of the charrette have relevance in understanding it as an encounter space. The event's physical setting is also important.

Rodgers (2014) highlights these dynamics in her case study of 'The Passion': a drama staged in Port Talbot, Wales in 2011. In the play, loosely based on the Christian Easter story, a teacher awakes in the town with amnesia. Through the ensuing tale, his missing memories are replaced with the stories of various local characters, who recount their experiences of the town's industrial development and post-industrial decline. The performances were staged over three days using the setting of the town itself as a backdrop. In one scene, held under the M4 motorway that cuts through the settlement, actors dressed as ghosts portray the spirits of the neighbourhoods demolished to make way for the road. The concept of 'development' was conveyed in a new and vivid way through the performance. A subsequent documentary research project found that many in town felt that the Passion instilled a new sense of community and hope for the future. Local people were encouraged to vision how Port Talbot might deal positively with its post-industrial legacy.

Figure 12 – Govan Partick Charrette 2015 Key Facts

The Govan / Partick Charrette ran during February and March 2015. The engagement programme comprised the following (Glasgow City Council, 2015a; Glasgow City Council, 2015b):

- Saturday 21 (Govan) & 28 February (Partick): 'Community Gazebo Days' where the facilitation team were on site in the Govan and Partick Weekend Markets and undertook video interviews and questionnaire research with local people there.

- Tuesday 24 February: A dedicated workshop for students from local high schools in the Riverside Museum.

- Wednesday 4 and Friday 6 February: Four 'Stakeholder Workshops' held for the benefit of local organisations and business and accessed by invitation only.

- Tuesday 10 March: A dedicated session with a local heritage society, the Govan Reminiscence Group

- Monday 16 - Thursday 19 March: Formal charrette sessions:–

    o Monday 16 March: Opening presentation from the facilitation team (18:30 -20:00)

    o Tuesday 17 March: Initial meeting with the facilitation team and choice of four site walks (09:30-12:30) followed by afternoon workshop (13:30-17:00) and 'drop in' sessions (18:00 -20:00)

    o Wednesday 18 March: Morning workshops (09:00-12:30) followed by afternoon workshop (13:30-17:00) and 'drop in' sessions (18:00 -20:00)

    o Thursday 19 March: Closing presentation from the facilitation team

The formal charrette sessions were held in Glasgow's Riverside Museum. This building is separated from Partick by a railway line and major road and Govan by the River Clyde. To aid access, the facilitation team arranged for the Govan Ferry to run during the event.

The exact attendance numbers and composition are difficult to ascertain. The charrette report does not list attendance for the formal sessions. The opening presentation on the evening of 16 March was reported to have gathered 50 attendees. These included members of the public, other 'stakeholders' in the area and local politicians, although the exact breakdown of these participants is not stated. Similarly, the attendance at the dedicated stakeholder workshops was not reported: 20-30 organisations were invited to each. The Gazebo days reportedly generated over 80 completed questionnaires and video interviews with members of the public attending the markets in each of the two areas (Glasgow City Council, 2015a).

As I noted in the previous chapter, the initial Series Charrettes relied heavily on 'representational' understandings of the place, in the form of the detailed drawings and paintings that were produced by the DPZ facilitation team. The community were invited into the charrette 'studio' to comment on the team's designs. Yet as professional architects and artists, DPZ used their talents as "subtle distancing" (Duany, 1999, p.2), to manage the flow of the event. This approach created friction with the townspeople, some of whom felt the team were effectively redrawing the place regardless of their own feedback.

By contrast, the facilitation team in the Govan / Partick event, not bound by the New Urbanist charter, were willing to experiment or "try everything" new (GOVPA 8, Facilitation Team Member). At least initially, this approach embodied the kind of non-representational, direct experiences of the local place so vivid in the experiences of Port Talbot that I outlined above. The team felt that time spent getting to know the community on their own terms was especially valuable in the run up to the charrette. The initial approach took the form of a question "What Makes Govan / Partick Cross?". The wordplay was intended to have a clear geographical connotation.[24] This was used as the main theme of the event throughout its programme, starting with the initial promotional campaign (Glasgow City Council, 2015a; 2015b).

As recounted by several of my respondents from both neighbourhoods, a strong sense of spatial disconnect was felt between Govan and Partick, despite the areas' shared history (GOVPA 7 Community Group Member, GOVPA 11 Local Businessperson, GOVPA 15 Community Group Member). The facilitation team explained how these issues prompted the selection of the Riverside Museum as the main venue for the formal charrette sessions. Already forming an 'island' of development at the time of the event, as noted by Varna (2014), the museum served as a neutral ground between the two communities. As one council officer recounted, it also simultaneously highlighted the nature of these divisions and the challenges they posed. These difficulties were felt by local people every day and impacted the areas' regeneration prospects:

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[24] 'Cross' is the traditional way to refer to a central road junction in Scotland.

> "We chose the Riverside Museum because it was iconic from one point of view but also because… it was difficult to get to from Partick and it was difficult to get to from Govan but it was right on the river, right where that connection would potentially be" (GOVPA 2, Local Authority Planning Staff).

The council and their consultants were keen to approach the community on their 'home ground' before meeting in this more formal setting. They commissioned a small motor vessel to provide free ferry crossings throughout the charrette period. They also sub contracted an artists' studio with which the team ventured 'on site' at the weekend markets centrally located in both neighbourhoods. The artists were able to deploy innovative communication techniques to start conversations. The site installation accordingly, consisted of a covered stall where participants could complete questionnaires or take part in video interviews. The stalls were also equipped with rickshaw bicycles and drivers who would take participants on a tour of the surrounding area, encouraging residents to think about how the various spaces could be used (Glasgow City Council, 2015a).

Work on the communities' home grounds sought to place the facilitation team in residents' 'shoes'. As recalled by one team member, the act of walking, being driven through, or otherwise approaching a place 'live', fostered common understandings between the charrette practitioners and those who experienced it every day. The value of these experiences was twofold. They created a useful way to frame how the charrette outputs could reflect local aspirations. More abstractly, they also provided a way to link the past and present of the places with the evolving designs on their futures:

> "We will often use the lens of the 'live' quality of walking through a place… you're confronted with it 'live'… look at how that junction is working and look at the shortcuts people are taking through here because the council put square lines and people like to walk in diagonals…And then you sit down and say… what needs to be done?
>
> Often there's a conversation that bridges what people have just seen live, with some idea of what they have remembered or encountered… and how that fuels some idea of the future" (GOVPA 9 Arts Consultant)

Through their attention on site to local stories and memories, the facilitation team felt they could take the first steps toward empowering the citizen voice. Feelings of being 'done to' by the authorities prevailed in both areas. Particularly in Govan, this was compounded by the loss of the strong work identities which were part of the area's lived history. One of the participants worked for a local community organisation. They felt the major barrier to involving local people in an exercise like a charrette was the damaged self-esteem of many:

> I think, one the barriers (to participation) is just perceived self-worth, I think people struggle to have the confidence that their opinion matters and whether people would then attend the event, was (then) the question (GOVPA 13, Community Group Member)

Given these challenges, the facilitation team felt that they first had to offer something engaging while they were on site in the areas, 'making themselves look interesting' to entice people in. Then, through actively journeying with residents around their neighbourhood, the team could build their confidence to engage by persuading them they had a story or experience worth telling. One team member described the creation of this 'honey trap' so:

> "We make ourselves look really interesting and people can't help themselves to wander over, even though they're busy on their day's shopping: it's almost like a honey trap. And in that way, you hope to harness the voice of people who would… never go… to the Riverside Museum… and you get those people and then the job is to convince them that they have something worth recording" (GOVPA 9 Arts Consultant)

Through these actions, the facilitation team felt that they could effectively reach out to those who would not otherwise have the inclination or confidence to participate in a more formal 'workshop' setting. Instead of the team 'landing in' the place', as it had in the SSCI Series charettes, the facilitators now sought an 'invitation' into the host communities.

7.3 Charrette Encounters

7.3.1 Community Members

Supported by this pre-engagement, the formal Govan / Partick charrette sessions began in the Riverside Museum at 9:30 on the morning of Tuesday 17 March. By 2015, charrettes had become commonplace. Their openings were no longer attended by the Chief Planner or MSP's, as had been the case at Lochgelly five years previously.[25] Nevertheless, the launch of Govan / Partick 2015 reportedly attracted several local councillors. After a welcome presentation, the facilitation team devoted the remainder of the morning to getting on site again, through a series of walks with participants around the area. (Glasgow City Council, 2015a).

The sessions evidenced that both areas were possessed of local community organisations whose members understood planning through previous engagements with the system. Several respondents were members of community councils (GOVPA 5, GOVPA7, Community Group Members). In trying to make the Riverside sessions as open as possible, one officer recounted that the facilitation team were challenged to create an accessible event for all the interests that might attend. In planning to accommodate 'everybody in the room', a common-sense concept was necessary around which a diverse range of people might orientate themselves:

> "Certainly a challenge we had was the different types of participants. So, we would have been hoping to engage with the person coming in off the street almost accidentally, to the local community activist and organisations, right through to big institutional land owners, stakeholders like that who have got quite different interests, quite different voices and levels of political influence… ***everybody's in the room."*** (GOVPA 1, Local Authority Planning Staff, my emphasis)

The facilitation team found a common theme in asking participants to define five 'big things' that would substantially add to the assets of both areas and a further five 'wee things'.[26]

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[25] The inaugural Lochgelly 'lecture' involved presentations by the then Minister for Culture and External Affairs, Fiona Hyslop MSP and Jim Mackinnon, Chief Planner for Scotland.

[26] (Scotch colloquial: small)

The 'big things' that arose from the discussion included major project ideas such as re-establishing the crossing between the two districts. The 'wee things' represented less ambitious, but more immediately attainable goals that might build capacity and connections within the communities and attract more substantial investment later. These included ideas for new events in addition to small projects to improve key public spaces (Glasgow City Council, 2015a). As shown in Figure 13, the workshops revolved around tables equipped with large photo maps, tracing paper, flip charts and post it notes. Participants from the community were encouraged to use these resources to record their comments or could ask one of the facilitation team members to do so for them (Glasgow City Council, 2015a).

Figure 13 - Govan / Partick Charrette Workshops

Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

Source: After Glasgow City Council (2015a)

Through the interview testimony, it was clear that some community participants found this especially effective in attacking the divisions that they felt existed between their own comprehensions of place and those of the planner. For these respondents, the sense of being 'done to' by practitioners, was replaced by an invitation to work constructively with them. In contrast to the design – review – design format that typified the Series charrettes five years previously, community participants received the impression that no issues were off the agenda. From a non-representational standpoint, these encounters took place in what appeared to be a highly convivial 'atmosphere' (Anderson, 2014a).

One participant had lobbied the council and acted as a representative on its planning committee. They drew a sharp distinction between the experience of working in the charrette sessions and making these more formal representations. The informality of the Riverside workshops generated a chain reaction between the various participants in the room. One person's comment inspired another's. As had typified the gazebo days and rickshaw rides, family and place entered the minds of participants and inspired their reflections. Once the energy had started flowing, it was a challenge for the facilitation team to channel it:

> "(The charrette) seemed to be more open to everybody, I've sometimes been... the only representative going to City Chambers, and it was much more formal... a bit of a talking shop, but (during the charrette)... people were bobbing up and down with ideas and you had big maps so we could draw things that we thought were important and...something where we put flags (on) important buildings...

> "It was a whole group of people you knew (and) that you didn't know, and you would say, "I agree or I disagree" or, "my sister lives there and she doesn't think that's a good idea"... we were bouncing ideas off one another... every now and then whoever was leading the discussion had to coral us back, but I don't think anything was really off the subject, it was what people were interested in..." (GOVPA 5, Community Group Member)

Throughout these sessions, some participants felt that the facilitation team offered a reassuring and understanding presence. One, who was also familiar with the workings of the planning system through their involvement in a local organisation, gave an account of the 'tactics' they felt planners had used in previous encounters. Davies (1972) argued planners were 'evangelistic bureaucrats'. He felt they hid their unwillingness to engage meaningfully behind a mask of acting in the public interest. The art of practitioners actively listening to citizens but pursuing their own strategy regardless of what is said, is characteristic of the tokenism argued to lie at the heart of participative planning within a neoliberal governmentality (Purcell, 2009).

By contrast, the participant noted that the charrette facilitation team were prepared to listen, but also to challenge citizen comments. They considered these more active transactions much more productive than the lip service or 'nodding donkey' approach that they felt they had endured before the charrette. A developing atmosphere of mutual respect between the two groups became evident:

> "(The charrette) was very different… with a team who were prepared to listen and throw back comments to your thoughts and suggestions. It was clear that they had done their homework and were open to being engaged and were taking all comments back for the report… It wasn't the case of a 'nodding donkey' approach: you would throw a question and they would come back with another counter – question" (GOVAP 7, Community Group Member)

7.3.2 Practitioners

The community reflections nevertheless, constitute only half the experience of the Govan / Partick event. The council officers and consultants who participated also noted how the charrette changed their thinking on the two districts and on their residents. As the facilitating consultants had a Glasgow office, some of the facilitation team members were Scottish and had experience of living in the city. As opposed to the experience of the Series charrettes, there was evidence of more personable interactions between citizen and professional during Govan / Partick 2015. Successive years of mainstreaming funding had cleared space for what community participants felt were more 'down to earth' discussions:

> "There was a guy there who I was talking to and he did have quite a down to earth attitude, I think he said he was from Govan at one time and he was very relatable… and he was coming from an angle (that) was very much about speaking to local people about local issues rather than thinking of it from a business point of view" (GOVPA 6 Community Group Member).

As I noted in the Chapter 2, both the planning and design professions have faced a longstanding tension in the way they define their work identity. Planners and designers have special skills and training that enables them to make decisions on the built environment. The ultimate expression of confidence in these skills may be seen in Sandercock and Lyssiotis' (2003) figure of the 'heroic' practitioner of the post-war years. However, this image is an anachronism in contemporary times, replaced by the figure of the planner as a facilitator or mediator for the various interests involved in the development process (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013).

Far from being a concern solely of planning theory, these issues are played out daily at the 'coalface' of the planning system. Many practitioners feel challenged as to where the line should be drawn professionally between them and the citizen (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013). The recollections I gained of the practitioner experience of the Govan / Partick Charrette, sheds light on both sides of this issue. During the Series events, as outlined through the case study of Lochgelly, I argued that local practitioners were highly impressed with the visual outputs of the charrette. However, the way in which the event was organised, rendered them very much 'passengers' in the creation of its eventual masterplan output. The charrette did not compel them to reconsider their relationship to the town and those within it to an appreciable degree.

A new theme emerged within the Govan / Partick charrette experience (GOVPA 1 Local Authority Planning Staff, GOVPA 3 Regeneration Practitioner, GOVPA 4 Planning Consultant and Designer). Professionals valued the charrette experience as putting a 'human face' on those who might be affected by their work. This could only be realised through working together with local people proactively 'in the field':

> "Any opportunity you have to spend time with, with people who are impacted by what you do daily in your working life as a planner and designer (is valuable) I think is always good to make sure you ask questions of yourself… in anything you do. You know: who is this affecting, who's going to get the most out of it… how's this going to be the best (place) you can make?" (GOVPA 4 Planning Consultant and Designer)

> "Those moments where you step away from your desk and you're reflecting with people from the area that you work in... is always a really positive and enriching experience... there's a knowledge obviously, that's coming from local people." (GOVPA 3 Regeneration Practitioner).

To draw attention to these standpoints is not to say the professional experience of the Govan / Partick Charrette was not a challenging one. Team members spoke of the considerable personal effort and reflection required in navigating the interpersonal interactions. Preparations for the charrette were intensified by the need to acquire a comprehensive enough knowledge base on the areas to confidently address the public there. The charrette was an immersive experience and one that was 'lived', to the exclusion of all other things, as noted by one team member:

> "We do (charrettes) for a period of days ...it's full on. You really have to think it and live it for the three days. I mean, I'll push my guys quite hard in the run up, because I want to know, I want to be prepared for the kind of stuff that's gonnae come at me...because...I can't hold the room unless I know the answers to all these...(questions)" (GOVPA 8, Facilitation Team Member)

As consultants, the facilitation team's charrette experience ended with the handover of the report to the City Council as the client. For the council officers, the sense of momentum that was generated through the event was viewed through its longer-term implications. A key issue was how expectations could be managed. One council planner gave voice to the difficulties of having built up a more direct and personable relationship with locals through the charrette, but still being required to maintain a professional distance after the event. Ultimately, the power of decision was reserved to the council's political members. This carried the risk of creating a disconnect, between the hopeful energy of the charrette encounters and the planning outcomes and decisions that eventually resulted:

> "So there's then a bit of a challenge when you're working in quite a contested space... because some people probably saw me as being like, almost 'their planner'. Charrettes can very easily look like a certain kind of very open, 'touchy feely' planning... but at the end of the day, we're professional officers of the council and we have to (work with) council decisions, which are often political." (GOVPA 1 Local Authority Planning Staff)

7.4 A Glasgow Journey?

The practitioners' testimony that I gave voice to in the previous section, highlights the distinction between the 'touchy feely' elements of the charrette and its embeddedness within the complicated realities of Glasgow's redevelopment. The charrette workshops were clearly interesting, educational and often productive spaces. No issue was apparently placed off the table for discussion. Nevertheless, the spectre of the existing regeneration strategy resonated in the event outcomes. Following the first full charrette day, the workshops of Wednesday 18 March focussed on refining the various 'big' and 'wee' things from the previous sessions.

The charrette closed on Thursday 19 March with a presentation of these summative outcomes. The charrette output was organised around three vision points. These were: connecting the two communities through a new river crossing, reactivating the waterfronts and achieving coordination between the various civic, social and commercial organisations in the areas (Glasgow City Council, 2015a). Of the three, the new crossing concept was clearly the facilitation team's highest priority. It forms the central theme of the short summary film the team uploaded to the YouTube video sharing website immediately after the charrette, on Friday 20 March.

Throughout the film, the team present various interviews with participants. These were recorded at both the Gazebo Days in February, that proceeded the main sessions. All of the respondents that the facilitation team presented through the summary video, were supportive of the idea of a fixed link between Govan and Partick (Govan Partick Charrette, 2015b). An internal memo by the facilitation team on the Gazebo Days noted that of all the solutions discussed towards Govan and Partick's isolation from one another, a fixed crossing was the most popular idea. (Govan Partick Charrette, 2015a). By the time of the Govan school sessions on Tuesday 24 February, the video shows a team member leading the pupils toward the idea of a fixed crossing, through the rhetorical question:

> "How many people feel that circulation in a city is a good thing and an important thing, and how many people think that Govan should keep to itself and Partick should just keep to itself and that we want to *burn bridges and keep things nice and separate*?" (Govan Partick Charrette, 2015b, [time 2:28-2:44], my emphasis).

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Figure 14 - Charrette Vison Concepts

The initial output of the Govan / Partick Charrette eschewed the kind of physical planning and urban design focus that characterised the SSCI Series charrette masterplans.

The eventual vision was orientated around a north south movement axis, enabled by the proposed river crossing. A circuit of pedestrian movement and activity was extended east along both banks of the Clyde, connecting into existing bridges up-river at the Scottish Exhibition and conference centre. A wider and more diffuse circuit was also proposed connecting the six parks surrounding the charrette area.

Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

Source: After Glasgow City Council (2015a).

The concept of an additional river crossing in Western Glasgow was mooted as early as 2006, through the original Central Govan Action Plan (Central Govan Action Plan, 2006). During fieldwork for Varna's (2014) study carried out from 2009-10, the City Council remained apparently 'desperate' to have the bridge connection between Govan and Partick. However, a costing of more than £5 million, together with disagreement with the Glasgow Harbour developers, prevented progress beyond the concept stage. The developers initially opposed the link connecting to their site. This was ostensibly on the grounds of the impact on river traffic. However, their unspoken objection was against the prospect of connecting Govan, with its economic and social problems, to the luxury apartments that they were marketing (Ibid, 2014).

At the time of the charrette, the crossing anchored a series of deeper questions about the City Council's plans for regeneration. As I noted at the start of this chapter, while applying to both neighbourhoods, these questions impacted on Govan most strongly. They were addressed to the large disparities in economic deprivation across the River Clyde in addition to re - energising the Transformational Regeneration Area (TRA) that the district shared with the adjacent neighbourhood of Ibrox.

Glasgow's later attempts to portray itself as a centre for culture, the arts and creative industries, attracted almost equal criticism to its post-war redevelopment (Damer, 1990; Helms, 2008). Beginning in the early 1980s, the city authorities made a concerted effort to shed the prevalent image of post-industrial decline in favour of the famous 'miles better' image. Encouraged by low land and property prices, the City Centre and West End saw an influx of investment in new housing and commercial space (Damer, 1990). Through the 1990s and 2000s, the city's economy was reoriented toward financial services and the creative industries. The authorities offered various incentives to attract investment and talent from these spheres (Turok and Bailey, 2004). However, this led to an increasingly polarised economy based on insecure and low paid jobs within the service sector (Helms, 2008).

On city authorities' assumption that the benefits of redevelopment and regeneration would 'trickle down' to even the most marginalised residents, Boyle *et al* (2008, p.314) argue that Glasgow's turn toward market led governance distinguished it as a "leading pioneer of neoliberal experimentation" in the UK. The most recent approach towards planning for regeneration bears traces of this ethos. It professes to provide new social services, particularly social housing, through the participation of local communities. Yet at the same time, these investments also open up formerly marginalised areas for new private investment. The Transformational Regeneration Area programme that drove the Govan / Partick Charrette stands out in this respect. Grey's (2015) study found that in one of the TRA's, only 17% of the new homes planned were offered in affordable tenures, with the remainder for private sale.

The extension of this new development 'frontier' (Smith, 1996) is especially contentious, due to the uneven nature of the housing market in Glasgow. At the time of the charrette residential property prices in the West End, of which Partick is considered a part, were almost 70% above the average sale price in the city (Bailey, 2016). Govan participants expressed concern over developments in the district of Finnieston, directly to the east of Partick and with a similar former working identity. Here, property price rises during the 2010s were among some of the highest in the UK (Dyckhoff, 2018). With an eye to the north bank, a number of Govanites had in fact expressed concern at the Gazebo Day that a new crossing would transmit 'gentrification' over the river, making the area too expensive for them to continue living there (Govan Partick Charrette, 2015a). These concerns were not noted directly in the charrette report and were not noted at all in the event video, which acted almost as a promotional film for the bridge concept (Glasgow City Council, 2015a; Govan Partick Charrette, 2015b).[27]

Private development was by no means the only controversial issue at the time of the charrette. In the public sector, 2015 saw the opening of the Queen Elizabeth University Hospital on the Western edge of Govan. The Hospital development was accompanied by several local road projects including the Glasgow 'Fastlink': a length of new bus lane extending to the area from the City Centre. The considerable disruption involved in constructing the Fastlink angered Govan residents who felt the City Council ignored the representations that they had raised. These included concerns over the segregated bus lane's removal of on street parking and the disruption the proposal could cause to pedestrian access and businesses on the local streets (Grey, 2014). One of the Govan Gazebo day participants had moved to the area due to a family member needing constant medical care, but spoke of the difficulty and confusion in getting to the hospital even from within the district. Fastlink also attracted further controversy following a series of pedestrian accidents along its route (McHardle, 2016).

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[27] The charrette report did voice concern from housing associations in Partick. They felt out competed for new development sites by luxury student accommodation developers, given the area's already high property prices and location adjacent to the University of Glasgow.

Considering these issues, some community participants felt the charrette failed to get to the root of local people's frustrations. While my interview participants all found positive points about the charrette, the majority attended the event as a representative of a community organisation. A key theme evident in their interview feedback, was questioning the representativeness of the others in attendance. Although the opening presentation reportedly secured approximately 50 "local stakeholders" (Glasgow City Council, 2015a, p.33) the breakdown of these people is not made clear. Neither are attendances given in the charrette report. My interview data suggested that those who took part in the formal charrette might have been more biased than the somewhat ambiguous term 'stakeholders' implied.

The interview testimony highlighted the difficulty of making a charrette open to all. Indeed, one of my participants, working within a Govan based welfare organisation took issue with the name 'charrette'. They felt that as an unfamiliar French word, it was off-putting to the wider public and as such, excluded the kind of 'person in the street' whom the council ideally wanted to see attend (GOVPA 1, Local Authority Planning Staff). Even given their own experience and training as a community worker, they considered the facilitation style involved too many formalities and too much jargon. They felt that the idea of being involved in 'workshops' and dealing with practitioners discouraged those who were not aligned with a group, or possessed of a specific 'agenda' to advance:

> "It was the first time I had heard the terminology of 'charrette', and I think a lot of local people were just a bit bewildered by the speak and saying its going into workshops… it seemed very formal, even for me as… a community worker, and yeah, I think it can be quite off putting for a lot of local residents… So, I think there was quite a few barriers to participation… you had to perhaps have an agenda before you would go." (GOVPA 6 Community Group Member).

Another participant in a similar role felt that the workshops were selective. They were aware of the challenges facing the district considering its history and levels of economic deprivation. They conceded that the facilitation team were challenged to reach the kind of clients who used their own organisation's services. However, at the same time they questioned whether the team's promotion of the charrette was targeted toward those groups and individuals who would not be overly critical of the regeneration agenda:

> "I live and work in Govan but I wouldn't necessarily think of myself as a representative Govanite and there were a few other people who were invited from the community who were in a similar position. I don't remember it feeling as if there were enough Govan faces there. I'm wary of being overcritical because sometimes when you're hard against it, carving out that kind of space, for that level of engagement can be an achievement… But, who selected these people (in the workshops) and on what grounds? Was it felt to be people who would… not create too much discomfort within the room?" (GOVPA 13, Community Group Member)

Reflecting this scepticism, my fieldwork evidenced a schism in Govan around the CGAP priorities. Some organisations were supportive of the longstanding major development priorities of the Action Plan, such as the Water Row housing and river crossing. These participants viewed a bridge as something that might anchor the prospect of further physical and economic regeneration. It also encouraged reflection and revelation of the history of the two communities and their relationship to one another:

> "Because apparently, and I didn't know that until the charrette, Govan used to extend into the West End, the townscape of Govan included part of the West End, and it went over the river at one time, so Govan just shrank and became very concerned only with shipbuilding and of course then shipbuilding shrank too and what we were left with, we've had to reinvent ourselves…" (GOVPA 5 Community Group Member)

Other groups felt by contrast, that the regeneration priority should be less about physical projects and more about supporting change from the grassroots, within the 'community development' sphere (Bhattacharyya, 2004).The feelings around these issues were so emotive that one of the local organisations abstained from participating in the charette altogether, although they did arrange to receive updates on the workshops from an attendee. In the space of almost a decade that passed between the publication of CGAP and the charrette, this group had seen substantial change in the area as exemplified by the new public realm and the 'Fastlink'. However, the seemingly top down nature of these developments created anger and feelings of disenfranchisement. They felt that the council were willing to impose projects in the name of 'regeneration' in the short term, but unwilling to be held to account as to how these endeavours would build the agency and solidarity of local people in the long term, or even benefit them economically:

> "That was the thing about the Central Govan Action Plan (works), it's the same badges you see on the sign outside the construction. Immediately you've lost the confidence of the local people because you've given away five million to your 'friends'... and your no holding them to account to say "how many local people are you going to employ with this money that we're going to give you? If there was ten people working on a project like that, they'd all get different skills and experience and who knows what they might do in their own community after that?" (GOVPA 12, Community Group Member)

These comments must be qualified however. This group had a history of refusing engagement with many of the public agencies or forums operating in the area. Despite their views on local employment, CGAP did operate a local apprenticeship scheme alongside its projects, at least for people from southwest Glasgow if not Govan specifically (Central Govan Action Plan, 2010). Nevertheless, the perception of a hidden agenda underlying the charrette was expressed more widely. Another participant felt that the major CGAP projects like Water Row effectively served to hijack proceedings. In this context, the participant felt the charrette debate was swung too heavily toward the physical planning and design considerations of the proposals, rather than the issues of most immediate concern in the community. This was felt especially regarding the roadworks associated with the new hospital, still controversial at the time:

> "I think it seemed as though certain people were commandeering certain tables… There were certain organisations that I knew were there with an agenda… especially about the Water Row, so, I felt on the day that it was almost as if they were lobbying, so they seemed to be taking the lead on a number of the tables… but they were very much knowledgeable about planning, which I kind of think… maybe stopped engagement about other conversations"

> "At that time there was an awful lot of dissatisfaction about the road link: people did really have that feeling that things are getting done to them, it caused huge disruption, people have lost their lives" (GOVPA 6 Community Group Member).

Others felt that the charrette facilitation failed to engage critically with the consequences of regeneration. It is clear the facilitation team were aware of the implications and local disquiet about the bridge proposals in the run up to the charrette. This was noted in the internal memos circulated during the pre-engagement (Govan Partick Charrette, 2015a). Nevertheless, the interview data suggested that the charrette facilitation served to downplay these potential negativities. One participant felt the workshops failed to be upfront about whose interests were envisaged. Were they those of the area's longstanding residents or of potentially wealthy incomers, should the district be reconnected to the affluent West End of the City?:

> "You know for me the big issue was, that was touched upon, but not explored in what felt like any constructive way, was the issue of gentrification… talking about property prices going up in Govan and if that's necessarily a good thing: you could argue that that could be a bad thing…Is it displacing people who were born and have grown up in Govan, rather than creating Govan as a better place for *everyone* to live and work in?" (GOVPA 13, Community Group Member, my emphasis)

As such, some felt that the charrette represented an attempt by the City Council to feign conversation on what they felt was already a 'done deal' with the development industry. The prospect of a new fixed crossing convinced them that the event was a tacit way of extending gentrification from the north bank of the Clyde. If anything, this served to increase the feeling of being 'done to' by the planning authorities. After decades of neglect, the area was now seen as fit for exploitation due to its proximity to the West End and City Centre:

> For us it was just too much in the future, for us, it was basically boiled down to "a bridge would be a good idea, end of story". It's out with your control, out with your knowledge, just leave them to it till the next time it comes back…To us, Govan has been neglected, it's never been given (to), it's like, any assets you've got, we're (the authorities) taking... (GOVPA 12, Community Group Member)

The charrette was better publicised and resourced than previous public engagement exercises in the area. Yet for some community participants, it failed to change their perceptions of the power dynamics at work in planning. Despite the fanfare that surrounded the event, there was a sense of déjà vu, as a process of 'rubber stamping', or naturalising consent for the City Council's development agenda. This was summarised by one respondent who stated:

> "Community consultation has been around for a long time: I think this was taking it to a new level (but planners) continue to use these events to tell us what (they) want to do… To confirm our plans, our thoughts, so… it's a kind of rubber – stamping exercise, most public consultation in my opinion (and) I've been involved in a huge amount of it and the charrette wasn't that different to be honest." (GOVPA 11 Local Businessperson)

Since the Govan / Partick Charrette ended, a consultative draft of the Govan / Partick Strategic Development Framework (SDF), was under consultation in 2018 (Glasgow City Council, 2018). The document was fronted by a sketch illustration of the proposed crossing, as shown in Figure 15 below.

Figure 15 - Proposed Govan / Partick Bridge
Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

Source: (Glasgow City Council, 2018).

The bridge design was finalised and was at the pre-tender stage during 2019 (Dalziel, 2019), having received City Deal Funding from the UK Government two years previously (Glasgow City Council, 2017a). It has also received attention in the national media (BBC, 2017). Much as it could connect the two communities, the bridge also revealed divisions in opinion. As I noted above, the community groups who participated in the charrette were divided into two camps. Some supported the physical development-based regeneration agenda. Others felt the effort should instead be focussed toward community development. From the former perspective, the prospect of the new bridge was a highly desirable outcome (GOVPA 7 Community Group Member, GOVPA 11 Local Businessperson, GOVPA 15 Community Group Member). From the latter standpoint, the charrette was something of a 'rubber stamping exercise'. The bridge was at best an unnecessary showpiece project, and at worst an avenue along which to transmit the kind of gentrification they saw taking place north of the River Clyde. Regardless of these standpoints, it is debateable how much the genuinely original "vision for place" envisioned by the City Council emerged through the Govan / Partick charrette (Glasgow City Council, 2015a, p.2). All of the three key outcomes: reactivating the waterfront and surroundings, the new river crossing and upgrading the green infrastructure, were included in the original Central Govan Action Plan (Central Govan Action Plan, 2006).

In my previous case study, the Lochgelly Charrette's conduct served to limit the avenues the along which the community could critically engage with the local development plan framework. It took the principle of the controversial greenfield land allocations surrounding the town explicitly off the agenda. In Govan / Partick, by contrast, the agenda was not so strictly managed, and participants felt that nothing was beyond discussion. Despite these positive aspects, my findings in this chapter evidence that the Glasgow facilitation team more tacitly steered the charrette outcomes. During the workshops, my findings highlighted that the controversial aspects of the crossing and fears over gentrification were avoided. Where local people raised concerns regarding the prospect of the river crossing, the team's reporting downplayed them.

This is not to say that the charrette was a completely tokenistic exercise as measured on Arnstein's (1969) ladder. My findings in this chapter suggest an inherently more reflective process than the Lochgelly event five years previously. Some of my interview respondents alluded to an atmosphere of 'partnership' working between professional and community participants. The facilitation team were attentive to innovative methods of engagement. Rather than 'landing on' the host place, they instead endeavoured to secure an 'invitation' into the community through reaching out to them in familiar spaces.

Given the different socio-economic positions of Govan and Partick, holding a charrette between the two areas was undoubtedly a challenging prospect. Nevertheless, my findings are troubling in that several aspects of the event appear to have been arranged to engineer consensus to the City Council's development agenda. In this light, the charrette outcomes represent something of Flyvbjerg and Richardson's (2002) 'dark side' of participative planning under neoliberalism. The charrette report and video are particularly damming in this respect. They portray the idea of a fixed river crossing as one that arose from within the community, ignoring its invention by the City Council in the previous decades. While many charrette participants were indeed optimistic about the bridge, the charrette outputs and the eventual Strategic Development Framework did nothing to provide critical balance to these views.

The consequences of not being afforded a voice through the charrette were particularly high for some of the most vulnerable of the area's residents. The southern end of the proposed river crossing, is located at Water Row. The charrette report stated that the vision for future development would include a "re-imagining / redevelopment" of the surroundings (Glasgow City Council, 2015a, p.52). These proposals were complicated in that Water Row is home to travelling show people, some of whom are third or fourth generation Govanites. Show people do not have the legal protection afforded to other minority groups who travel as part of their lifestyle, yet the showyards on which they spend the winter months are an integral part of their culture (Goodwin, 2018). In approaching the issue, the charrette report was vague. It spoke of respecting the presence and needs of all existing residents. However, it also extended the boundaries of the proposed Water Row development off the line of the street itself, to encompass the showyards, as shown in Figure 16 below.

Figure 16 - Charrette Proposals for Water Row and Surroundings

Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

Showyard at top left. Sources: (Glasgow City Council, 2015a; Google., 2019)

Since the charrette ended, the Water Row proposals became second only to the bridge concept in their visibility. In 2019 CGAP presented an outline master plan for the site, to be progressed as development funding and detailed permissions were attained (Central Govan Action Plan, 2019b). This process incorporated a further programme of engagement throughout 2018 (Central Govan Action Plan, 2018b).

For the two families of show people involved however, this period was marked by renewed threats of eviction from the site, progressed through separate legal channels on the City Council's behalf (Marland, 2018). Something of the ambiguities of this situation are captured in one participant's reflections. They recalled that during the 2015 charrette, the facilitation team had been understanding of the challenges and anxieties faced by the families on the site. They were particularly disappointed therefore, when the threats of eviction were issued, due to the more positive indications that the team had made during the event:

> "When the show families were at the Govan / Partick Charrette... they were very clear, that whatever happened... that it shouldn't preclude, the show families being able to stay in Govan. I mean (the facilitation team) are professionals: so it certainly isn't as though they said "we wouldn't recommend anything that involved this area being developed", but they did say that... if there was a bridge, the anchor of the bridge on the Govan side would not be smack in the middle of the (show) yard... and I remember feeling that that was a small but quiet victory, but actually, with hindsight, I'm not sure..." (GOVPA 14 Arts Consultant)

It was clear that this debate elicited strong local feelings. In one of the consultation events I observed in 2018, participants were asked to leave their comments on post it notes about the 'identity and character' of Govan. One was prominent in stating simply: "DIVERSITY = OUR HOME -GROWN SHOW PEOPLE" (Fieldnotes, 03/05/18). Unfortunately for the families involved, despite these protests the City Council concluded that their yards constrained the area's housing development potential and could not be retained (Central Govan Action Plan, 2019a).

7.5 Summary: Bridges Too Far?

The legacy of the Govan / Partick Charrette I presented in this chapter was a mixed one. The event began positively with the facilitation team attempting to secure an 'invitation' into the hearts and minds of local people through a series of interventions that sought to uncover their lived experiences of the areas. In this sense, the charrette was seen by some within the community as a shift for the better. They felt the professionals listened to them and were prepared to put nothing 'off limits' for discussion. As opposed to the focus on physical planning and urban design that typified the SSCI Series charrettes, Govan / Partick was structured around 'big' and 'wee' issues grounded in the everyday experience of place within these areas.

As a result, this chapter in the non-representational sense, evidenced mutual learning incurred by both citizens and practitioners. The encounters between these groups generally took on a constructive 'atmosphere' (Anderson, 2014a). For some citizens, they spurred ideas of new possibilities for their area. Practitioners too, welcomed the opportunity to work together with those people who were impacted by, but usually removed from, the day to day exercise of their job. Designs for the new Govan / Partick pedestrian bridge have progressed. The bridge forms the lynchpin of the charrette vision. Yet as I argued throughout this chapter, much of the vision already existed for almost a decade before, in the form of the City Council's Central Govan Action Plan.

The regeneration proposals remained controversial. Particularly in Govan, they raised the spectre of the gentrification crossing the Clyde into a community that held a strong sense of local belonging but had also been impacted upon by economic deprivation. There is evidence that the charrette workshops did not critically consider the possible negativities of 'regeneration'. Other parts of the charrette acted almost as a promotion for the idea of the new crossing. As such, questions remain over the extent to which the event, for all its 'gazebo days' and site walks, provided a true community led plan.

These issues again highlight the questions of power that underpin my thesis. Working from Flyvbjerg's (1998) concept of 'realrationalität' I critiqued the public face presented by government on participation in planning and design under neoliberalism. Reflective of these tensions, this chapter provided evidence that for some in the Govan / Partick community, the charrette was seen merely as 'consultation' dressed in new clothes. I used the chapter to call into question the relevance of the event in changing the 'business as usual' attitude to development in Glasgow, where many citizens feel 'done to' by planners and other officials. Particularly relevant are the cases of the show families residing off Water Row. For these established, but relatively insecure members of the community, I questioned whether their participation in the charrette provided anything more than platitudes and good intentions.

Of my three case studies, the Govan / Partick charrette took place in a development context closest to that in which the events are normally deployed in their original, New Urbanist form. The scope of the event transcended individual sites, but it was clear that there was generally strong market interest in the City Council's 'regeneration' agenda. Ultimately, it appears that the charrette failed to break away from the lower levels of 'tokenism' defined by Arnstein (1969). Although no issues were off limits for discussion in theory, it was unrealistic to assume in practice, that the authorities would have made any fundamental changes to the direction of their strategy based on citizen feedback from the two neighbourhoods.

These questions are particularly 'wicked' ones. Looking upon the charrette in Scotland as a 'policy mobility' after Peck and Theodore (2010), they point to some evolution of the conduct of the events, but not in their outcomes. Consequently, Govan / Partick 2015 did little to articulate the community's concerns about the planning framework constructively. Instead, it acted as a powerful tool to legitimise the key tenets of this strategy, despite some residents' fears over the consequences. The picture that emerged though this chapter is one of appearing to challenge the conventions of the planning system, but also being subtly bound by them. In the final case study, I consider whether Scottish charrettes moved beyond these limitations as the 2010s came to a close, through the experiences of the 'Clydebank Can' event of 2018.

8 Clydebank 2018

The preceding chapters examined the journey of the charrette in Scotland from the first government supported SSCI Series events in 2010, to the SSCI Mainstreaming that followed. I argued for what I considered as something of an evolution in the conduct of participative planning and design, if not necessarily in the outcomes of the process. With these developments in mind, the goal of this chapter is to illustrate the 'state of the art' in charrettes in Scotland during 2018 and 19, as I completed fieldwork and prepared to submit this thesis. I present the findings of my final field case study, 'Clydebank Can', held in West Dunbartonshire during spring 2018. Methodologically, this case differs slightly from the preceding two, insofar as I attended the event as a participant observer. I argue that Clydebank Can continued the convivial atmosphere and constructive encounters between professionals and citizens I highlighted in Govan / Partick 2015. However, I still question whether the event was ultimately successful in placing the local community's voice first in planning and designing their place.

8.1 Local Context

Clydebank, located on the northwest edge of Glasgow, is the largest settlement in West Dunbartonshire. The town has a strong industrial heritage centred on both shipbuilding and the manufacture of sewing machines, through the world-renowned Singer brand. In common with my other case study locations, Clydebank has suffered from the effects of deindustrialisation. 'Clydebank Can' focussed on the town centre and its relationship to the Forth and Clyde Canal, a key asset that runs through the town from East to West. The Canal was reopened in 2001 through the £78 million 'Millennium Link' project. Clydebank Town centre received two new road bridges and a footbridge (Millenium Link Project, 2003). As shown in Figure 17 below, the town centre consists of an enclosed shopping mall with large areas of surface car parking and service yards straddling the Forth and Clyde Canal, as well as what remains of the traditional tenement street pattern.

Figure 17 - Clydebank Town Centre and Canalside
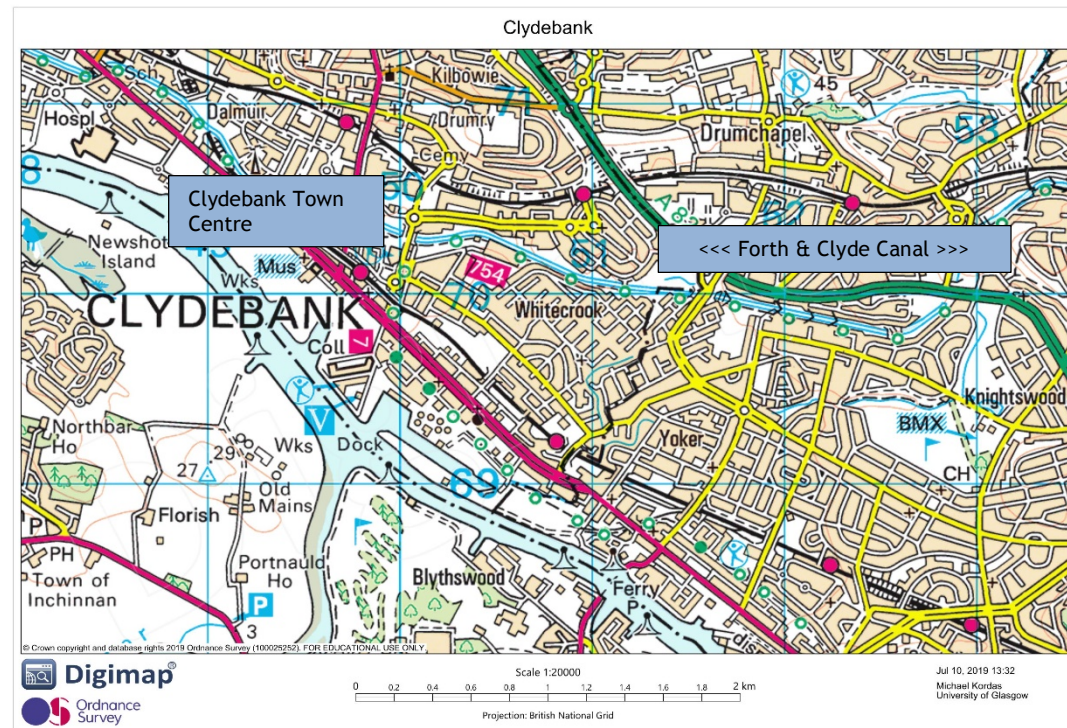
Clydebank Town Centre and canalside area. The former Playdrome leisure centre site is located in the centre of the top inset image. Note the amount of space within the town centre given over to car parking and service roads and the remnants of the original tenement street pattern at bottom left. The bottom inset image shows a view looking east along the canal, over 3 Queens Square. Sources: (EDINA, 2019; Google., 2019).

Previous regeneration projects attempted to recover some of the lost local heritage by creating the central '3 Queens Square'. The name alluded to the famous Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth and QE2 ocean liners built in the town's former John Brown's Shipyard (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2015). Under the 'Clydebank Rebuilt' initiative, part of the Clyde Waterfront Urban Regeneration Company (URC), the Square was refurbished with high quality paving and public art. The town's historic bandstand was also moved into the space and fitted with mains power and lighting to facilitate performances (ClydeWaterfront, 2011). The town centre designation also included the former 'Playdrome' leisure centre and West Dunbartonshire Council Offices at Rosebery Place. Both were relocated to 'Queens Quay', a large-scale redevelopment of the site of the former John Brown's Shipyard and were vacant in 2018 (Fieldnotes, 2018).

Another prominent vacancy in the town centre was the large unit formerly occupied by the Irish department store Dunnes, who closed all their U.K outlets from late 2017 into early 2018 (Williams, 2018). In the background of Dunnes' departure were a set of wider difficulties facing town centres throughout the UK (Graham, 2018). These added to the more longstanding challenges Clydebank Town Centre faced, along with competition from Glasgow City Centre and the more modern purpose built malls across the surrounding city region, including the Braehead complex across the river in Renfrewshire (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2015). It was in this context that West Dunbartonshire Council won funding from the Making Places Initiative, the latest incarnation of public funding for participative planning, to conduct a charrette or 'community led design event'[28] in January 2018 (Scottish Government, 2018c).

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[28] The 2017 /18 funding year had seen the term 'charrette' fall from favour within official use by the Scottish Government, as I noted in Chapter 5.

8.2 Setting the Agenda

In advance of the charrette, West Dunbartonshire Council brought forward a new policy approach entitled 'Your Place Your Plan[29].' Throughout September 2017, the council consulted on the Main Issues Report (MIR) for the emerging Local Development Plan (LDP) with workshops that involved personnel from both the planning service and the other community planning partners (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2017b). These measures were consistent with the direction of Government's most recent structural review of the system, in the form of the 2017 Planning Bill.

The review process advocated the alignment of the land use and design concerns traditionally the purview of 'spatial' planning with those of the 'community planning' sphere (Independent Review of the Scottish Planning System Panel., 2016). The Bill declared a structure to address these aims in the form of 'Local Place Plans' (LPPs). Communities could create their own vision for a town or neighbourhood that would then require formal recognition as a counterpart to the Local Development Plan. Crucially, however, Government did not issue formal guidance on how LPPs would operate in practice, delegating the details to the local level (Scottish Government, 2017).

The experience gained through the MIR work prompted the council's planning staff to apply to the Scottish Government's Making Places fund. The MIR events had indicated that local residents felt they lacked a sense of influence in the area (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2018a). The Scottish Government provided £20,000 of Making Places match funding, with a total event budget of approximately £40,000. The balance was drawn from the council's own revenue budget (CCAN 11 Planning Officer).

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[29] 'Your Place Your Plan' also reflected the Christie Commission's thinking on how the functions of government could be decentralised and delivered through a local partnership or 'place based' approach (Association for Public Service Excellence, 2011).

The council planners selected KMA, a team of Glasgow based consultants to lead a facilitation team that also included architects, an artist's studio and representatives of Scottish Canals.[30] KMA had gained experience facilitating the Bowling and Muirtown Basin and Port Dundas Charrettes in 2014 and were recognised for their experience in waterside site contexts (Fieldnotes, 2018). The charrette's purpose was intentionally threefold. Firstly, it could provide more detailed participative design work on the key development sites in the town centre and the canalside. Secondly, beyond the realm of physical planning and urban design alone, the council intended to bring the community together. They were to be encouraged to think in a more holistic or 'place based' way about the social, environmental and economic issues facing the town and to be emboldened to take forward smaller projects on their own initiative. Finally and most critically, a further incentive was demonstrating to the Scottish Government that the council had both the staff experience and procedures ready, for producing a Local Place Plan:

> "What we tried to do was something that would tick a lot of boxes. We also needed to 'upskill' the community to get them used to discussing place… much more than their street. We wanted to see how we could (then) take forward within an LPP, projects we could get the community involved in… With dwindling resources, sometimes we can't access funding for these things, it has to be constituted community groups that can, it's quite good that the communities themselves can take ownership of doing some of these projects" (CCAN 8, Planning Officer)

Through this wide-ranging agenda, the council planners set high ambitions for the charrette, challenging the facilitation team. The complexity of the brief made organising an event to meet both spatial and community planning and development goals difficult. As alluded by one of the consultancy staff, developing Clydebank Can's programme pulled them in two different directions professionally:

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[30] Scottish Canals is the body public body responsible for maintaining the country's inland waterways.

> "You know, when you're doing a lot of design work across three days. You're allocating a lot of resources to that and not so much to that capacity building. If you split things 50/50 between pre-engagement outreach, capacity building and the design work you'd find yourself spread pretty thin on the design work side of things... So, it's about what kind of outcome are you prioritising?" (CCAN 15, Facilitation Team Member)

The event briefing materials stated "we (the facilitation team) are not working from a blank sheet in these design workshops" (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2018a, p.3). The team were in fact, instructed to work towards refining the "trajectory for change" established for the area by the council. This 'direction' had its origins in a previous charrette in 2015. This event's report set a vision for a Clydebank in 2025, as a town possessed of a "friendly, clean and green town centre: a community focussed, safe and dynamic place to live, work, visit and invest" (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2015, p.7). The council planners took this vision forward through the Main Issues Report for the emerging LDP in the form of a 'preferred strategy' for the Town Centre and surroundings. This pivoted around some of the key development sites discussed in the 2015 Charrette, particularly Rosebery Place, the former Playdrome, 3 Queens Square and the North Canalside (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2017a).

The team's dilemma over the balance of spatial and community planning and development issues reflects the blurred boundaries between the two spheres. Community development action might coalesce around physical assets (Pollock and Sharp, 2012) where these have a shared local meaning. In the case of Clydebank, the predominately 'drive in' configuration of the town centre environment was a significant difficulty. The 2015 charrette concluded that Clydebank Town Centre needed to be perceived as more than just a retail location, instead providing community space and encouraging civic events and pride. To achieve this, the built form needed to change through encouraging pedestrian and cycle access and better responding to the canal as a heritage asset (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2015).

The various public landholdings in the area had an important role to play. Of these sites, the council's sale in December 2016 of the former Playdrome Leisure Centre, most strongly influenced the potential for new design options. The 2015 charrette report noted that this prominent site might accommodate a variety of different uses. It argued that new development proposals must above all, create an active frontage to all four sides of the site, in order to repair the damage that the large and isolated Playdrome building had wrought on the urban fabric (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2015). Despite the recommendations of the 2015 event, the sale imposed the development brief for drive in retail sheds shown in Figure 18 below. The results of the 2015 charrette received some cognisance in the land sale. The successful bid design included a new area of greenspace in the same location where a pocket park was repeatedly suggested during the earlier event (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2015). Nevertheless, the crucial principle of all round active frontage was clearly not recognised.

Figure 18 - Playdrome Site Land Sale Brief
Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

Source: (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2016)

The actions of the council planners in then making the site one of the central elements of Clydebank Can were surprising. The land sale, representing a capital value of approximately £3.9 million (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2016) effectively curtailed the kind of aspirations that the 2018 event could raise for the town centre. As noted by several consultants on the facilitation team, this situation acted to make planning the programme difficult. The team were never fully sure as to how far the charrette could challenge the kind of development represented in the Playdrome site brief. As is evident from the respondents below, the various council services themselves seemed divided on the issue and vacillated on it in the run up to the event. It was clear the council did not want the charrette to create any risk to the completion of the land sale:

> "The council had already done deals… they all put their backs onto the canal. You're not adding to the sense of place and sense of wellbeing that the canal provides if everything… puts a brick wall to it. So we pushed it as far as we could but… the difficulty was key sites already in the middle of negotiations between developers and the council." (CCAN 14, Facilitation Team Member)

> "We would be in a meeting about the site… we would be pushing what can we discuss… and there would be the 'good cop bad cop' between planning and economic development. And you would go to a meeting again three weeks later and the same issue would come up, and you'd get 'good cop bad cop' again and it had swopped round, and that was quite confusing." (CCAN 15, Facilitation Team Member)

These uncertainties cast a shadow on the charrette sessions that followed. In its best moments Clydebank Can deployed genuinely innovative engagement practices that created an intensive collaborative 'atmosphere' (Anderson, 2014b). At its worst, it was characterised by lengthy periods of inactivity and indecision with respect to its complex goals. These dynamics acted to define the event as an unstable space of 'encounter' (Conradson, 2005; Darling, 2010).

8.3 Clydebank Can on Site

8.3.1 'Encountering' Clydebank

As shown in Figure 20, a weekend session in the town centre acted as the first point of contact between the Clydebank Can facilitation team and the community at large. It was also my entry into the event as a participant observer. The facilitation team occupied the bandstand on 3 Queens Square on Saturday 24 March, seeking to make themselves a part of the regular weekend street life. As shown in Figure 19, the afternoon's activities included presenting the public with a large map of the surroundings where they could place post it notes with their thoughts on particular locations. Participants could also draw or write on a large roll of blank paper while members of the facilitation team audio-recorded stories about the area. Additionally, the opportunity to try canoeing on the canal or to take part in a model boat race was available (Fieldnotes, 2018). My field notes illustrate the experience of being around the bandstand on Saturday 24th March 2018:

> *A spring afternoon in Clydebank:*
>
> I arrived in Clydebank around 12:20pm. The weather was brisk but sunny for the West of Scotland in the springtime, to the extent that some of the participants were wearing sunglasses. The team are running slightly late at the bandstand and they have only fully set up by 12:30. The event shares the same space as a religious group who have their own stand by the lift bridge across the canal. Additionally, a busker sets up at the bandstand around 12:55 playing her guitar and singing. The event feels like just another 'attraction' that might be found in any town centre in Scotland on a Saturday morning. The area clearly has both heavy footfall and bike traffic along the canal: I personally feel it is positive to see a planning and design event integrated with the normal street life of a place like this. As a result, I consistently count 10 people or more circulating around the bandstand at any one time while I am observing.

I listen-in to some of the conversations between the public and facilitation team. Several of the older people mentioned that the large shopping mall, apparently built in the 1970s, has ruined the character of the town centre. From their reflections, I understand that the town centre was once focussed on a more traditional tenement form around Kilbowie Road running north to south, and Dumbarton Road running east to west. The most common complaints relate to the perceived lack of vitality.

Many lament that the only kind of businesses that the town centre appears to be able to attract these days, are vape shops and bookmakers. Nevertheless, most feel a sense of connection to the town and see potential for the centre. There is clearly a strong community spirit in the area: one participant recalls how a friend is working to open art classes, a gallery and concert venue in one of the vacant units as a social enterprise. However, none of the units have active frontage to the canal or 3 Queens Square, complicating this idea.

On my journey home, I reflect on the challenges that I feel lie in store for the facilitation team. It is clear they are trying hard to engage with people outside of the 'normal' charrette setting of a town hall or community centre. Yet, I most strongly remember the words of one community participant after they had taken part in one of the audio interviews with the team: "Well, that's me put the world to rights, now we just need the funding!" (Fieldnotes, 24/03/2018)

My previous case study of the Govan / Partick charrette illustrated the evolution of new engagement techniques in Scottish charrettes. Through occupying a central location or taking part in site visits with the community, facilitation teams experience the host place 'live' (GOVPA 9 Arts Consultant). My observations show that in Clydebank, by providing a selection of different activities in this way, local people were encouraged to reflect on their lived experiences of the place and to use these reflections as a foundation to vision how it could develop. The team set out their 'stall' in the public realm as any other group might. This resulted in a set of convivial encounters with the local public, who clearly also enjoyed the opportunity to reminisce and be listened to. As conveyed through the words of one of the above, the experience was almost 'therapeutic' (Schweitzer, 2016), in the chance it offered to be a 'good citizen' for the day. This positivity however, did not obscure the challenges facing transformational change in either the town centre or canalside (Fieldnotes, 24/03/2018).

Figure 19 - Clydebank Bandstand Session 24/03/2018

Clydebank Bandstand

Post it note map and model boats

Images of the Clydebank bandstand sessions. Source: Author's collection.

Clydebank Can was promoted to the community as a process of "gathering your memories of past canal life, thoughts on existing qualities and ideas for future use" (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2018c, my emphasis.). By arriving early at the bandstand, I was able to talk to some of the professionals on site before the main event began. The implications of the unstable charrette agenda were manifest, even at this early stage. One of the facilitation team members noted that they felt the council's division over the Playdrome site would complicate the programme: "they (the council) already have a deal with a developer for (the Playdrome) and it's very hard to improve that, because it isn't very good" (CCAN 14, Facilitation Team Member). Somewhat ironically another, a council planner, expressed concern over the amount of administrative 'red tape' applying to 3 Queens Square itself (Fieldnotes, 24/03/2018).

Figure 20 - Clydebank Can 2018 Key Facts

Clydebank Can ran during March, April and May 2018. All aspects of the programmed sessions were open to anyone from the community to 'drop in' to. The programme comprised the following:

- Saturday 24 March: On site session at the Clydebank Bandstand on 3 Queens Square in the Town Centre and middle of the study area.

- Wednesday 18 April, Session 1: Initial walk around the town centre and canalside followed by a briefing presentation and two workshops:

  - o Workshop 1: Focussed on participants examining the existing vision for change in the area agreed through the 2015 charrette and then visioning what the area could look like in 2030.

  - o Workshop 2: This session was originally programmed as a repeat of Workshop 1 for those who could not attend during the day. As no more community members did attend, it was used as a review session for the facilitation team.

- Friday 4 May, Session 2: 'Business Breakfast' followed by three workshops:

  - o Workshop 1: Participants were asked to review the ideas from Session 1.

  - o Workshop 2: This activity used a large wooden model of the study area to physically imagine development scenarios.

  - o Workshop 3: This workshop was originally programmed as a repeat of the first two for those who could not attend during the day. As in Session 1, it attracted a limited community attendance and became predominantly a review session for the facilitation team.

- Wednesday 23 May, Session 3: A briefing presentation on the proposals generated so far in the event followed by three workshops:

  - o Workshop 1: Participants were asked to review the main proposals generated through the previous sessions.

  - o Workshop 2: Participants were asked to prioritise each element of the vison and projects.

  - o Workshop 3: Again, the evening workshop attracted a limited community attendance and became mainly a review session for the facilitation team.

In Session 3, the facilitation team reported that more than 280 people had been involved throughout the various parts of the event. Outwith the official event programme, the facilitation team also held workshops in local schools.

The event received extensive promotion in addition to the attention generated by the bandstand afternoon. The council set up a dedicated Clydebank Can web page on their site as well as a Twitter social media account. Flyers were also distributed around the area (Fieldnotes, 2018). The formal charrette sessions were, consequently, characterised by a varied balance of professional to community participants, as noted in Figure 20. The first, held in the Waterfront Parish Church off 3 Queens Square failed to attract significant attendance from the public. It was only viable as it coincided with a regular afternoon gathering of churchgoers (Fieldnotes 18/04/2018). By contrast, the opening two workshops of session 2 attracted approximately 30 people altogether. The day-two evening sessions, although planned around participants working regular hours (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2018b) gathered only three local people and were used by the team mainly for review (Fieldnotes, 04-05/2018). My fieldnotes below, highlight the experience of these more formalised encounters during the charrette's busiest times:

Session 2 Workshop 1[31]

The first workshop of session 2 was a 'business breakfast'. To facilitate this, a long tea table with coffee and hot morning rolls was set on one side of the venue, a hall within the Centre 81 community space adjacent to the canal. The facilitation team had provided seating for 48 people around six tables. However, possibly because of the 08:00 start, only four participants were present, excepting the facilitation team and council staff: a local businessperson running a social enterprise, a member of the chamber of commerce, a representative of the town's further education college and one of the local housing officers.

The atmosphere of the workshop is a little discouraging: I note one participant exclaiming "I thought there would be more people here". Another asks, "Why a second event after the 2015 Charrette?" One of the council planners explains there has been no development on the sites and that the community keep reiterating the Town Centre is not an asset to them. There is therefore a need for further engagement.

I am not sure that this response is convincing. Nevertheless, once one of the facilitation team members begins the workshop at 08:40, the discussion is active, although no further participants have arrived. A PowerPoint slide asks participants to discuss the principles that were tabled in the last session. However, discussion quickly breaks away to focus on the current limitations of the Town Centre and canalside as vibrant places. One participant notes that most nearby buildings turn their back to the canal, including Centre 81, which has a steel palisade fence between it and the watercourse. Another, who sits on the Community Council, notes that there are crime and safety concerns. One of the council officers suggests a policy in the local development plan that would require developers to consider a canal frontage in new proposals. The group receives this idea well and a facilitation team member notes it down.

The discussion moves on to the town centre. One participant notes the area is attractive to local people as an everyday meeting place, but also that they prefer to go elsewhere to access restaurants, entertainment and high value shopping. As such, the area has no real night-time economy. The lead facilitator interjects that the council's licencing board has historically been very restrictive on permitting alcohol sales. One of the participants notes that there is a higher than average incidence of alcohol problems in the area and that some of the local shops are notorious for permitting sales to under-agers. The lead facilitator probes if there might be a way for the council to take a more open-minded approach to these issues and encourage family restaurants to locate around 3 Queens Square instead.

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[31] Due to lack of attendance on the first charrette day, my field observations are presented from the second onward.

One participant notes the challenges they faced in trying to get a public entertainment licence for their business adjacent to the Square and feels that there might be difficulties ahead. This is followed by a discussion of the other barriers to the active use of this space. A representative from the council's estate service notes that their used to be a market on the Square, but that this was closed following damage and spilled diesel from traders' vehicles. The lead facilitator and one of the council planners' probe if the market could be restarted, perhaps on a basis where traders park off-site. The estates service's representative is non-committal.

The tone becomes heated: one of the community participants expresses frustration. "There's one problem and then they (the council) say no, never again!". The lead facilitator once more asks if there might be some other way to bring regular activity to the area. One community participant suggests that play facilities or a skate park could be located adjacent to the canal. The discussion continues informally between the participants as the group breaks up at approximately 10:00 and participants for the next workshop arrive.

My observations highlight that active negotiation is crucial to the charrette encounter, as an assemblage of various personalities, agencies and other elements of the setting (Boyd, 2017). The facilitation team came to the workshops with a definite 'order of service' However, the 'encounter', in a non-representational understanding exists as a 'work in progress'. Any preconceptions are constantly open to challenge or renegotiation by both the human participants and the dynamics of the setting itself (Crang, 1994). Arriving at an outcome from the workshops was a disruptive process. For the business breakfast, the facilitation team presented the following items for discussion on a PowerPoint slide (Fieldnotes, 04-05/2018):

1. Do you agree with the council's direction for change? (the policy for the area as established through the Local Development Plan)
2. What are the constraints to achieving this?
3. What ideas do you have that could overcome these constraints?
4. What could you do as a businessperson to change the area for the better?

Community participants subverted the agenda: they did not want to discuss council policy. Instead, they steered the subject of the workshop toward their own wider impressions of the performance of both the town centre and canalside as places. In one avenue of discussion, the session venue itself entered the 'assemblage'.

The Centre 81 building, presenting a palisade fence onto the canal, exemplified the sense of physical disconnect that the community participants experienced. The issues with licencing and anti-social behaviour also became an obstacle to their visions of a more active night-time economy. Neither of these avenues relate directly to the four questions the facilitation team asked at the outset. Nevertheless, working against the pessimistic mood at the start of the workshop, the team attempted to engender hope that some form of definite planning outcomes could arise. This is evidenced through their suggestion that a different approach to both planning policy and the wider council edicts on licensing, could be brought forward from the feedback. These dynamics were intensified by the larger 'critical mass' of participants who attended the second workshop session:

Session 2 Workshop 2

The second workshop of session 2 benefited from a diverse range of attendees. I noted 30 participants from different gender, age and ethnic groups. The workshop began by asking two questions of participants:

1. Do you agree with the principles / 'direction for change' established throughout the charrette so far?

2. If not, what parts of this vision would you adjust?

Participants first explored these questions in a way conventional to all the charrettes I had attended before: discussion around tables of up to ten with a member of the facilitation team making a written record. Particularly notable was the presence of several members of the Syrian refugee community. Accompanied by their young families and an interpreter they formed a distinctive group within the workshop setting. Perhaps due to the exceptionally difficult circumstances that had brought them to Clydebank, their understanding of the place was quite particular. They felt that new plans and designs must create a sense of inclusiveness and physical safety in the area, as well as making it more navigable to those who are not long-term residents. These views contrasted with the more general questions around the quality of the canalside environment and the sense of vitality in the centre that were raised by other participants.

The workshop then moved from the conventional table setting to something I have never seen before: a large map of the charrette area in the middle of the space, with model buildings, composed of small wooden blocks, on top. The model creates some particularly animated activity. The team ask the same questions as during the table sessions. However, in contrast to having their opinions or understandings merely written down, participants can now point to places on the map or put down a block. A member of the facilitation team asks a local "What should Clydebank celebrate?" One suggests a giant sewing machine statue and points out on the map where it should go by placing a few wooden blocks. The second workshop creates a tangible 'buzz' in the charrette hall. It is of special delight to the children present, fascinated by the model buildings.

An hour's lunch break follows. During this, around half of the community participants from the morning's exercise leave, including all the families. The second part of workshop 2 ask participants to consider the detailed design of the proposals. The focus of discussion shifts to technical subjects like the massing and orientation of buildings. It is clear that not many of the community participants have the confidence to use the model to articulate these kinds of issues. As a member of the facilitation team positions blocks to form a concept of housing on the Playdrome site, one of the participants, a physically big man with a broad and loud West of Scotland accent, is incredulous: "You are building new housing, but what are you doing for the people?" He dominates the next few minutes criticising the lack of services and activities in the area – "Where are the people who live in the new houses going to shop or eat out?" given the lack of vitality he perceives in the Town Centre as is. Eventually, one of the facilitation team must step in to politely, but firmly, ask the man to let another participant speak: "Let's hear from some of the other community members".

A tension becomes palpable. The model is a good testing ground for the proposals, but I start to sense a disconnect developing over it. When one of the team members proposes a residential frontage alongside the north of the canal, another participant exclaims, "how are you going to find people to live in these houses if you have a failed town centre basically?" Around 14:50, the remainder of the community participants start to drift off from the model, taking part in informal discussions, looking at the visualisations pinned to the wall from the previous sessions, or simply must leave Centre 81 to attend to daily life. By the time the team brings the workshop 'officially' to a close around 15:30, the crowd around the model is made up of only the facilitation team and a few council staff who are doing a 'shift' at the event. One of these exclaims to another that the event has hit its natural end. I take a seat at one of the now vacant tables, to write up my fieldnotes. The architects and designers attached to the facilitation team continue to hover around the model, experimenting with different building layouts. This continues until around 16:15, when the charrette breaks for an early dinner.

Here my observations define the turbulent atmosphere attached to a charrette as a space of encounter (Anderson, 2009; 2014b). They highlight a sense of the 'ebb and flow': moments of hope and delight alternating with frustration and despondency at the status quo. The non-representational approach asks researchers to consider such an encounter, as an 'assemblage' of different personal and group agencies (Boyd, 2017). Session 2 was particularly vivid in both my own recollections and those of the interview participants, due to the number and diversity of the attendees. 'Community' in a charrette consists of people from many different backgrounds and experiences. In turn, this creates diverse expectations of place. As people who had been forcibly displaced, the Syrian community envisioned a more welcoming future Clydebank. Those who were already long settled in the place and who possessed a different cultural understanding, prioritised services and activities. The act of expressing these standpoints was one of negotiation, or even conflict. Both the previous chapters and the literature (Bishop, 2015) noted the potential of certain interests to dominate the encounters within participative events. While my observations here attest to these dynamics, they also evidence other elements that charge the atmosphere of charrettes in practice.

They show participants in the various acts of "becoming" that create affect (Anderson, 2014a, p.760), be they becoming vocal in the case of the complainants, enthralled in the case of the younger participants or eventually, for most of the community members at the end of the workshop, becoming disengaged or having somewhere else more important to be. In keeping with the conceptualisation of the charrette as an 'assemblage' (Boyd, 2017), it is again, not only people who have agency. The physical model of the area was a pivotal tool in harnessing the interest of the diverse participants during the first part of workshop 2 and creating the 'buzz' I felt then. Models can be used just as much as a representation of a space as drawings can. However, during the middle section of the workshop, I argue the facilitation team deployed the model 'non-representationally' in an intensely practical and performance based dimension (Thrift, 1997).

When community participants were free to move the building blocks, they were afforded a powerful way to actively convey their understandings of and aspirations for the place to the team. This method did not require the kind of artistic skill DPZ used in the early Series charrettes to 'distance' themselves professionally from the public, in attempting to win their respect. Rather, it served to break down the barriers between citizens and practitioners, conveying an atmosphere of partnership working. Nevertheless, this feeling was easily dissipated. When the facilitation team began using the model not for co working but 'consulting' the community on their own ideas and designs, it quickly became a source of contention (Arnstein, 1969). My observations highlight that even the best attended of the workshops were 'punctuated' by the act of working together, rather than being completely defined by it. As I indicate in the excerpt below, this pattern continued into the third and final session.

Session 3

Clydebank Can's final session takes place in the Town Hall. I arrive later than intended: I am unable to park my car adjacent to the former Playdrome as I normally do in Clydebank, as the building suffered an arson attack in the early hours of the morning and the emergency services are still on site. The event begins slightly later than scheduled, at 10:20, with a PowerPoint presentation detailing the facilitation team's proposals for the four key development sites: the former Playdrome, 3 Queens Square, Rosebery Place and the North Canalside.

At Rosebery Place, the team propose low rise apartments and terraced housing facing onto the canal. The most ambitious of the proposals however, concerns 3 Queens Square, the North Canalside and Playdrome combined. Even though the Playdrome site's future is already defined by the council's land sale, a team member nevertheless, presents a series of aspirational sketches for it and its surroundings. The most ambitious idea, "A New Green Heart", creates a park on the North Canalside. It also attempts to redress the current automotive dominance by reimaging the Playdrome site and 3 Queens Square as a tightly defined urban block with live / work units enclosing new mews and courtyards and informal 'pop up' shops and cafés. Both the slides and a printed folio at each table vision the kind of active street life that the team think will be possible in future.

The proposals reference exemplars of urban design on the waterfronts of several 'world' cities. I can't but help personally feeling that the proposals are over ambitious, considering Clydebank's history and position in the local hierarchy of town centres. This is notwithstanding the recent downturn of highstreets in the news over the past few months. Despite this, the audience appears to remain engaged throughout the presentation, which lasts just over an hour until 11:30.

Around eight local people, two of whom I recognise as being involved in a local community council and who are long-term residents, attend the first morning workshop that begins at 11:35. It asks participants to consider their feelings about the development package proposed in the opening presentation. The discussion is animated, and I note that it functions as something of a 'reality check' for the facilitation team. The community participants are generally enthusiastic about the concept of the vision for renewal that the team presented, but they note at the same time that previous regeneration efforts also advanced these sort of ideas. The participant sitting next to me consequently asks "is there funding for any of this?". It will not be the first time this question is voiced.

The session breaks for lunch at 12:35. I welcome the opportunity to get out of the stuffy hall, into what has become a sunny and breezy day. The second workshop of the day begins at 13:40. It asks participants to prioritise the project ideas using coloured stickers. Red represents the highest priority / quickest chance of implementation and yellow the lowest. Only half of the community participants who attended the morning workshop have returned after lunch, however, there is again some animated discussion about the possibilities. Participants propose some new ideas, the most interesting of which I feel is organising a running event along the canal. The second half of the workshop asks participants to move to the model at around 14:35. One of the facilitation team has set it up to indicate the proposed projects. Blocks placed along the canal for example, represent 'pop up' retail units and cafés. Initially, the model engages the non-professional participants that remain. However, as in session 2, most of those not required by their employment to be part of the charrette drift away to attend to other commitments. The facilitation team again comes to dominate the model session, testing various options for massing and design.

This part of the day into the evening starts to feel like a 'long drag'. The hall for today's design sessions, in common with the previous two venues, lacks any windows or other connection to the outside world. A shorter presentation by the facilitation team precedes the evening workshop that suggests how the various local agencies might implement the vision. One of the facilitation team members notes how previous successful regeneration projects began with sets of principles derived through community participation. However, the settings they give as exemplars of this approach: London and Detroit, again feel removed from the circumstances of Clydebank.

After the facilitation team have broken for dinner, workshop 3 begins at 18:20. A group of three local people attend this workshop from the beginning. One is quite vocal compared to the tone of the previous sessions. When the lead facilitator attempts to start the workshop by asking, "What is missing from the Town Centre?" they interject mockingly, "Somewhere to go, something to do". Another is particularly sceptical about the 'direction for change' with respect to the littering and lack of upkeep they see along the canal and in the Town Centre today. Faced with the ambitious proposal drawings, they ask, "Why build more and what's the point of having it, if you're not going to look after it?" Several council staff have joined the facilitation team who note down the group's issues. On seeing the team are listening, the tone of discussion becomes less adversarial and focuses on what the group want from the area: a better diversity of shops, an evening economy in the Town Centre and more leisure activities, particularly for young people. Nevertheless, as the event ends at 20:00 and I am leaving the hall, one member of the group, looking at the proposal sketches is again asking, "Who funds all this?"

8.3.2 'Your Place, __Whose Plan__'?

While the above is but an abbreviated record, it illustrates the considerable demands that Clydebank Can placed on its participants. Charrettes can be a "masochistic" exercise even for paid members of the facilitation team, due to the intensity and level of attention and commitment required throughout (OVR 18, Charrette Facilitator). Equally, the 'ebb and flow' of the charrette experience can involve the lengthy periods of inactivity I noted and the loss of momentum that results.

Charrettes are 'assemblages' within which the non-human elements are as relevant to understanding as the various human agencies involved. The charrette atmosphere is at its most dynamic when it connects directly to the 'sense of place' of the host area in a practical, 'non-representational way'. So far, I have showed how the mainstreaming charrettes approached this challenge through activities like site walkabouts, setting up stalls, annotating maps or using building block models. In this respect, Clydebank Can began positively, with the facilitation team occupying the area of their charrette's concern. These active methods allowed the community to take an active role, rather than the back-seat position they were given in the Series events, as a result of the precedence given to formal architectural drawing.

This shows that from the period of mainstreaming support and beyond, charrettes have gone through a marked adaptive mutation (Peck and Theodore, 2010). The confrontational encounters that typified the Series charrettes were generally absent from the Clydebank sessions. However, in some ways the 'DNA' of the New Urbanist charrettes remained. The 'non-representational' dynamics my observations noted, stood out precisely because they represented the exception rather than the rule. Despite reaching out to the community through the bandstand session, most of the event revolved around the same kind of 'design – review – design' format, that typified the Series charrettes eight years previously.

The three formal sessions were in fact, referred to as 'design workshops' in the promotional material (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2018c). All three took place in venues that offered no sense of the surroundings (Fieldnotes, 04-05/2018). The walkabout that preceded the first session was open to non-facilitation team members, but was not publicly advertised (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2018c). Despite being punctuated by activity around the model and map tables, the majority of Clydebank Can's long programme was organised around more conventional discussion on the key local plan sites (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2018c). Although participants were free to 'drop in' at any time, the programme carried the expectation that each individual workshop must follow on from the previous one in an iterative process (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2018b). Overall, attending all the Clydebank Can sessions required a commitment of more than 30 hours (Fieldnotes, 2018). The impact of this tacit commitment to attend through the full charrette, was telling. One participant, who was experienced in attending engagement events through their role in one of the local community councils nevertheless, felt that the time demands of Clydebank Can were excessive:

> "They would actually want you to spend from ten o'clock in the morning to eight o'clock at night at a single event… We seem to have misunderstood and thought that it was going to be workshops which would be repeated rather than continued. Lots of people including myself can't really spend that amount of time. This limits the number of people that can actually take part in the charrette in its entirety". (CCAN 6, Community Member)

What outcomes did Clydebank Can offer the community to justify this substantial investment of their time? As a 'Making Places' event, Clydebank Can reflected the Scottish Government's priority to use charrettes to connect with both the spatial and community planning spheres. The council acknowledged that not every part of their 'direction for change' set out in the development plan could be approached by the community organisations. However, any projects generated through the event were to be community-led where appropriate (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2018a). In this way, the planners felt that the authorities, community and development industry could be brought together in a virtuous cycle. The strategic priorities identified by the earlier charrette and emerging local plan might be underpinned by action from the 'grassroots'. One of the Council's Senior Managers, who attended the design sessions, exclaimed in kind, that the community needed to be emboldened to look beyond a "council will fix it" attitude (Fieldnotes, 2018).

The prospect of integrating spatial and community planning and development concerns into one charrette, gave Clydebank Can a wide ranging and challenging agenda. The event was promoted at the outset to the community as a process of gathering "your memories… and ideas for (the) future" (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2018c). However as it proceeded, local participants began to see the strategic development priorities dominating the discussions. The vison presented on the final day, as shown in Figure 21, exemplified this sense of disconnect. It represented a complete reimagination of the town centre and canalside. The massing of the Playdrome development brief was broken up into smaller pavilions. Greenspace was extended further into the town centre replacing some of the surface car parks. Additional public art was to be complemented by 'pop up' stalls and facilities, to create a civic and leisure offer along the canalside. The design references for the proposals came from world cities including Paris, Barcelona, Amsterdam and London.

Figure 21 - Clydebank Can Design Proposals

Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

Source: Clydebank Can Facilitation Team (2018)

While the community participants I interviewed were keen to see the town centre and canalside rejuvenated, the vision did little to indicate what the first steps of this regeneration might be, or how they themselves might have a role to play in the process. One participant captured this sense of ambivalence especially well. The facilitation team suggested Clydebank's canalside might one day host pavement cafes and waterfront housing. While impressive and aspirational, it also felt disconnected from the realities that local people felt that they faced in the town centre:

> "Let's get some concrete things that make a difference to people. I suppose again this is where that tension is, between a presentation of practitioners that are very much on the meso planning twenty-year design level and the residents who are very much on a local immediate need level and the two languages and the two desires were not in synch…" (CCAN 7, Student)

Realising the vision might well take years if not decades to implement. Most local people by contrast, wanted to see evidence of change that could occur in weeks or months. One participant was especially well placed to understand this through their years of volunteering for one of the local community councils. They recalled that:

> "I've been doing it for so many years that I'm not apathetic but...(people don't normally) realise that in a lot of cases, for example, the Playdrome site, architects will take months to draw up plans for that, they'll take years... Ordinary everyday people think that if you talk about it today, by the end of next week something should've happened, so they stop coming, they stop doing these meetings, the usual statement is "nothing ever gets done so why should I miss Coronation Street?"[32](CCAN 6 Community Member)

Consequently, the message that the community took home, was that the event was just another development plan consultation, rather than the kind of 'blank sheet' (Roggema, 2014a) that had been implied through its promotion. They sensed the underlying influence of the 'direction for change' issuing from the 2015 charrette and emerging local plan. They were also aware of the 'done deal' that the council had in place over the former Playdrome site. Consequently, they felt that these issues diminished Clydebank Can's credibility as a forum for their own ideas:

> "If you were able to figure out where they (the facilitation team) wanted to go, the charrette became easier and you were listened to more. To be quite honest in the recent charrette, it appeared to be leaning towards building houses, now we are in favour of more people being in the town centre (but in) all honesty, most people are looking for shops and entertainment in this particular area" (CCAN 6 Community Member)

> "Various companies are putting bids in for the Playdrome, and how much is that transparent, how much is that going to reflect local people's wishes? I suppose that's a big question mark for me. I've no idea about that process really, but is big business going to have a bigger voice?" (CCAN 4 Community Member)

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[32] Coronation Street' is a popular British TV soap opera.

The design sessions programme focussed on drawing up and then refining and reviewing various projects. From the first day onwards, I noted the facilitation team did little to consider in detail which of the various agencies in the area needed to work together to implement the charrette proposals (Fieldnotes, 2018). This appears a particularly large omission, considering that one of the event's original driving forces was producing a Local Place Plan (LPP). The Scottish Government's guidance on the production of these strategies encourages local authorities to work with a defined community organisation or a new formalised alliance of these bodies. However, only during the afternoon of day-three, Wednesday 23 May, was time set aside to take stock of what the local organisations might contribute and to fully consider the implementation of the project ideas (West Dunbartonshire Council, 2018b). Even at this point, a full 'stakeholder analysis' that defined the impact of the proposals on each of the groups and how they could be involved, as outlined in Figure 22, was not attempted. Rather, participants were asked to consider only what were the highest and shortest-term project priorities, rather than who could take them forward (Fieldnotes, 2018).

Figure 22 - Stakeholder Analysis

Images removed due to Copyright restrictions

Stakeholder analysis involves taking an inventory of the various individuals, groups and organisations that are invested in a place and their level of agency to act for change within it. This defines what impacts a planning strategy might bring upon them as well as their ability to deliver its goals. Source: After Bishop (2015)

As I identified in the previous chapter, a common theme running through my fieldwork in Clydebank was a sense of the community having been 'done to' by the wider authorities. This was especially manifest as disappointment with what local people saw as a succession of unfulfilled promises and diversionary tactics around their concerns. Several interview respondents (CCAN 1 – 4, Community Members) felt that the council was not taking enough action on everyday environmental issues, particularly on the littering and illegal dumping prevalent around the town centre and canal. The excuses were always seen the same, that "they (the council) never seem to have any money for things" (CCAN 1, Community Member).

The central area of Clydebank had nevertheless seen major investment, particularly during the 2000s, through the Clyde Waterfront and Clydebank Rebuilt regeneration bodies. During the 2010s however, these initiatives contracted. Clyde Waterfront was wound up by the Scottish Government with responsibility for its activities, including the ongoing regeneration of Queens Quay, transferred to West Dunbartonshire Council in 2014 (ClydeWaterfront, 2014). This year also saw Clydebank Rebuilt, which had managed a total investment of £54,000,000 become insolvent. Responsibility again transferred to the council who purchased the organisation for £800,000 (Nicoll, 2014).

This history served to further erode the credibility of the optimistic development visions that the charrette created. The community felt that the legacy of previous projects was neglected. My observations noted one participant's incredulity at the final design session, exclaiming, "Why build more and what's the point of having it if you're not going to look after it?" (Fieldnotes, 2018). Others questioned the relevance of the vision considering the council's finances and seeming evasiveness to the everyday problems and maintenance issues that they saw in the area. They felt that without a considerable turnaround in the attitude of the authorities, the proposals would only become a further unfulfilled wish list:

> "The only thing that comes in to my mind is everything that we've spoken about, is any of it going to come to fruition? Is there money available: that's what I kept thinking about…" (CCAN 1 Community Member)

> We had that regeneration scheme that did (public realm work) on the main road, then they run out of money, they vanished and the council were supposed to (take over). I went along it yesterday and it's all just neglected. A lot of the issues are really to do with the council: the things that we really need in the town that they don't have the money for, or are not addressing them, like the litter and the lack of shopping (CCAN 3, Community Member).

To give voice to these opinions is not to say that Clydebank lacked the 'social capital' (Halpern, 2005) necessary to support the community development outcomes anticipated at the start of the charrette. The design sessions engaged with representatives of the community councils in the area, as well as several social enterprises (Fieldnotes, 2018). The charrette encounters at their best, brought these organisations together with the council and its partners. One local participant, who had recently established a social enterprise in the town centre, saw a value in these meetings. The issues that they felt were normally confined to discussion 'behind closed doors', instead became transparent:

> "The fact that they (the council and partners) actually came out and gave you the information and they were looking for everybody's opinion and how we can take it forward together and not just a couple of board members making decisions behind the scenes, actually putting it out there to the public, was brilliant." (CCAN 9 Community Member).

The prospect of delivering a community led Local Place Plan that harnessed these interests, originally spurred the council planners into applying for funding from the Making Places programme. However, in the run up to the charrette, their anticipations clashed with the more conservative standpoint of their colleagues in other council services. One of the facilitation team members observed that this attitude was focussed on the 'book value' of the various town centre assets in isolation, rather than with how they could be enhanced for the benefit of the wider place:

> "They were thinking about it in estate management terms rather than place... I think there was a fear that if we pushed too hard at inclusion of other (uses and functions), we might divert investment from sites that they are trying to dispose of. So we've got everyone interested and positive about the charrette, but they're coming just to block something that upsets their perceived interest." (CCAN 14, Facilitation Team Member)

The facilitation team considered that both spatial and community planning and development issues might ideally be reconciled through building a civic base that could then be 'scaled up'. In this way, a new and virtuous cycle of 'social capital' and 'economic' capital could begin in the long term. Harnessing the canalside and town centre as venues for small community activities could build fresh interest in the areas over time. This might in due course, encourage commercial interest and activity and improve the area's status with potential investors:

> "I think a big story around the community led aspect was about using grassroots activity to create demand and scale things up… You know, you create an event at the bandstand and that moves on to a pop-up street food festival which then moves on to the Dunnes store perhaps being used with openings onto the canalside. So, it's not about necessarily creating a grassroots place, but about grassroots leading at the forefront of scaling things up…" (CCAN 15, Facilitation Team Member)

Throughout the charrette, several small interventions were suggested that might begin this process. One social enterprise wanted to organise concerts on 3 Queens Square. Discussions also touched on organising a community led clean-up of the canal and on providing facilities for canoeists in the town centre (Fieldnotes, 2018). However, supporting these grassroots ideas required a commitment to flexibility on the part of the council. The authority needed to overcome its fear that working toward a more vibrant town centre in the long term, might disrupt its short-term property deals. Secondly, the council had to be willing to address the administrative 'red tape', that made diversifying the use of the town centre spaces so challenging. Ultimately, some within the facilitation team felt this readiness to innovate and challenge convention was lacking:

> "There was interest in music and events on the Saturday's and things like that. So, there were projects and they were potentially community driven. But we just don't know how committed the council are … so there is a bit around music and the bandstand, but you really need to suck it and see and go with that… and I'm not sure the council are committed enough to back anything that's risky…" (CCAN 14, Facilitation Team Member)

Because of this intransigence, it was difficult to see the value of Clydebank Can in the long term. When interviewed in the autumn of 2018, one facilitation team member expressed their frustration over the lack of response to a draft version of the charrette report. It was clear that the authorities had not taken steps to follow up on the kind of 'grassroots' projects discussed. The approaching winter jeopardised the chances of carrying forward what civic interest was generated:

> A lot of the outcomes from it were about striking while the iron's hot… using the rest of the summer to get some community led initiatives started, but that stuff's going to have to sit on the back burner for six months now until winter's over and people are out an about again. So, I think momentum was potentially lost that was a potentially important element of the community led aspect of delivering things." (CCAN 15, Facilitation Team Member)

A full year after the event[33], the Clydebank Can webpage and Twitter account were no longer active. Most disappointingly, the Local Place Plan that was supposed to have come from the event, was not available to the public. Indeed, no formal report on the proceedings had materialised. My findings highlight that some Clydebank citizens, or 'Bankies' are strongly interested and invested in their town's future. Nevertheless, it remains difficult to see how they might take ownership of the charette vision and projects.

In their own reflections, the council staff and other professionals who made up the facilitation team, learned lessons from the way that they managed the event. Within the framework of non-representational theory, some of the most complex assemblages are those that constitute the atmosphere or sense of a 'place'. The more active elements of the charrette: the bandstand sessions on site and model making in the workshops, were where the team felt their approach was strongest. Through directly engaging with elements of the built environment, local people gained a sense of the potential for change. This arose through experiencing the canalside 'live' as a public space during the bandstand session or being able to see how different options for the town centre could evolve, as one team member argued:

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[33] As of 15 May 2019, as this PhD project entered the thesis pending stage.

(Through the models) we were looking at key sites and how to explore things and I think that engaged some people in thinking about change: that it's not all predetermined that they could explore different possibilities…" (CCAN 14, Facilitation Team Member)

For the facilitation team members, the formalities that characterised most of the design sessions resulted in the charrette losing this momentum. Part of the problem were the venues, none of which related well to the canalside. More fundamental however, was the concept of asking local people to attend a series of workshops, rather than one. Were they to run the event again, several team members would move the space of encounter into the heart of the charrette area. Ultimately, they felt that a simplified agenda might have been more effective: one that downplayed the physical planning and design elements in favour of the possible community development outcomes:

"I think the venues were difficult: the church we were in the first day had no relationship to the canalside, yet the sites we were trying to get everyone to talk about were the canal sites: you wouldn't have known the canal was beside you. Sometimes you're almost just better talking to people in the town centre on the street and just grab people for a few minutes for some informal input rather than expecting people to come for a full four-hour workshop." (CCAN 12 Facilitation Team Member)

"I don't think a design led approach worked the best it could. It's a start: we need to build on the lessons we learn to truly get people talking about place. So it's back to front, and I think that's where we got lost. Too much was made of the bigger sites, where it was meant to be more strategically about the canal. Most of us felt that that that message got lost, the community capacity building got lost in that respect." (CCAN 11, Planning Officer)

With these lessons in mind, my findings point to Clydebank Can as an opportunity lost overall. The stumbling block for charrettes in the late 2010s appears not to lie in developing innovative methods of engagement. Clydebank Can was marked by a generally convivial atmosphere (Anderson, 2014) between citizen and professional participants. Rather, the problem appears to lie in how these discussions and encounters are taken forward into outcomes within the planning system.

In this regard, Clydebank Can's failure to deliver the proposed LPP is especially disappointing. As outlined in the Scottish Government's (2017b) guidance, such a strategy might have offered a community led vision that would constructively sit alongside the existing development plan framework. This kind of outcome was markedly absent from my two previous case studies. The Lochgelly Charrette of 2010 placed some of the most controversial elements of the local planning framework out of bounds for discussion from the beginning. In Govan / Partick, local people were concerned about the pace of change, yet their fears were downplayed or ignored in the workshops and reporting.

It is difficult to fully judge the outcomes of Clydebank Can due to the lack of a formal report or other public announcements. The vision presented on the final day set an ambitious agenda for how the town centre and canalside could be transformed. While most of the projects could only be moved forward by the commercial development industry, some were small enough to harness the energies or 'social capital' (Halpern, 2005) of local people. The vision complemented the traditional property based understanding of 'development' prevalent in spatial planning with the concerns of the community development sphere (Bhattacharyya, 2004). The council planners were challenged during the event to justify organising a further charrette in the area only three years after the last. My findings indicate that behind the scenes, much of their motivation came from the chance to pioneer an LPP. A further charrette in support of this could raise the standing of the authority in the eyes of the Scottish Government and unlock further funding resources. Yet this is not to say the planners were acting only out of self-motivation: the event could also have broken new ground in activating the energies of the community within the area.

Clydebank Can's ambitious vision raised the spectre of risk within the wider council organisation. The event came at a time when successive funding years had built up a substantial body of experience with participative planning and design. The burden of fiscal austerity was also becoming especially apparent within the public sector in Scotland, despite the political rhetoric to the contrary. Supporting the kind of grassroots community development projects that evolved through the charrette required the council to reconsider its existing policy approach, especially around issues like licensing and maintaining public spaces, at a time when the authority was being forced to make cuts in these activities. Furthermore, the event reenvisaged the existing development plan sites in a way that threatened the return on the council's property deals.

The risk calculus weighed heavily against the aspirations of the charrette. As a result, the event attempted to tackle too many competing priorities and the eventual vision lacked clarity and depth. The community sensed this confusion and greeted the vision with a sceptical 'wait and see attitude'. The prospect for the kind of transformational change in Clydebank envisioned at the outset of the event appeared unlikely in 2019. As I move to the concluding discussion of the research project, this situation raises important questions regarding the mutation and evolution of charrettes in Scotland, after what has been a long period of deployment as a policy mobility (Peck and Theodore, 2010).

8.4 Summary: Missing the Boat?

Clydebank Can took place at a time when Scottish local authorities and consultancies could draw on more than eight years of experience with charrettes. West Dunbartonshire Council's planning service were keen to see the event generate a vision for transformational change in the town. It began with professionals reaching out to community, actively setting up their 'stall' in the town centre on a Saturday afternoon. Through interviewing local people or inviting them to draw or annotate maps and models, the facilitation team pursued an active form of engagement encouraging animated reflection and discussion. As in my Govan / Partick case study, these 'non-representational' engagements with the area helped the facilitation team understand local people's everyday experiences of and connection to place and how to build from these strengths. In this respect, the council planners ambitiously wanted West Dunbartonshire to be the first authority to deliver a Local Place Plan (LPP), in addition to a community led vision for the existing Local Development Plan (LDP) sites. As the charrette progressed, the team encountered challenges in fulfilling these wide-ranging objectives.

They faced a fluid brief with the attendant difficulty of focussing the event on one set of issues. The design and physical planning issues arising from the 2015 charrette served to obscure the kind of wider conversations on place that the council planners intended. Local people felt that testing design options for the LDP sites dominated discussion, when their own issues lay with the lack of local activities and facilities. The facilitation team created a wide-ranging vision that challenged the pattern of disconnected, 'drive in' retail development that previous planning decisions, some of them taken relatively recently, had established in the town centre. The change envisioned could be primed by several small civic projects grown from the charrette discussions.

While broadly supportive of the vision, participants from the community were sceptical on its substance. Where the authorities had previously led on regeneration, local people had been disappointed by a succession of failed projects. Where the charrette now proposed a vision built up partly from the grassroots, there is evidence that the local authority lacked the flexibility to support it. Ultimately the value judgements of the wider council served to maintain the status quo despite the aspirations of its planners. The overwhelming message conveyed to the community was therefore, one of inviting only 'consultation' rather than partnership. Despite the initial impressions of the facilitation team, some 'Bankies' are strongly interested and invested in their town's future. Yet the event programme served to delay discussion of how this civic engagement or 'social capital' could advance the vison contained in the charrette.

The facilitation team felt they had learned several lessons from Clydebank Can. However, given the tens of thousands of pounds needed to finance the event, critical questions remain. How far have charrettes evolved in practice in Scotland if the same limitations that constrained the first events persist after almost a decade of government funding? It is these limitations that underpin the cross-cutting discussion of my findings that follows in the next chapter.

9 Discussion

The purpose of this chapter is to present a cross cutting analysis of my research findings. At the outset of this project, I asked the overarching question: to what extent do charrettes offer a new way for communities to participate and be empowered within planning and design in Scotland?

Table 8 - Theoretical Framework

Main Concept (s)		Research Sub-Question	Theory Context
	Policy Mobility	*Why did the Scottish Government consider charrettes to be the optimal method of community engagement and participation within the planning process and how were the events 'mainstreamed' into practice?*	Mobility studies after Peck and Theodore (2010; 2012) investigate the networks of agencies and relationships through which policies and policy tools are transferred from one global setting to another.
	Encounters	*Do the encounters between professionals and citizens in charrettes establish effective partnerships between the two groups?*	Viewing the charrette as a space of encounter (Conradson, 2005; Darling, 2010), I question how effectively the events bring planners and citizens together in considering the futures of places. These considerations are especially important in that it has traditionally been professionals that lead in forming development strategies.
	Power Dynamics	*In what circumstances do charrettes result in development plans and designs that participants from the community feel are responsive to their needs and vision for the area?*	In judging the qualities of charrette outcomes, I will consider how effectively the events 'empower' citizens within the planning process. After Dean (2012b) the power held 'over' the citizen by the state planning authorities and development industry may be ceded through the deliberations of the event. A charrette might also activate the energies or 'power to do' that local people invest in their places.
	Policy _Mutation_?	*What implications do charrettes in Scotland hold for the theory and practice of participative planning?*	Through considering the processes / encounters and outcomes / power dynamics attached to real world charrettes, I can surmise how far they have adaptively mutated, or 'evolved,' as a policy mobility and whether distinctly Scottish 'alt models' of practice have developed (Peck and Theodore, 2010).

In this chapter, I return to the theoretical framework I defined at the close of the Chapter 3, as recapped in Table 8 above. I revisit the four main theoretical concepts, answering the research sub questions. Through this process, I define the unique contributions to knowledge stemming from my project.

9.1 Policy Mobility

The charrette was not a policy tool developed within Scotland, rather it was 'imported' into the country from the USA. This journey took place within a world characterised by increased connection between places. The faster and more reliable communications that developed in the latter part of the twentieth century, created opportunities for governments to evaluate their own policies and policy tools against those deployed by others. As Dolowitz and Marsh (1996; 2000) argue, this situation created fresh interest over how governments learn from, borrow or attempt to 'transfer' successful ideas from elsewhere. More recent scholarship by Peck and Theodore (2010) suggests two ways in which this process works. The "orthodox" perspective (Ibid, 2010, p.169) sees it as a simple appraisal of the benefits of any given approach or policy tool. Peck and Theodore's own work sets this standpoint against a more critical consideration of the agencies and power relations that act to 'mobilise' certain solutions ahead of others.

In investigating the arrival of the charrette in Scotland from this second, more critical standpoint, I acknowledged Flyvbjerg's (1998) 'realrationalität'. This concept sets out the ideals that governments use to justify their public management actions, against the more opaque decisions taken 'behind closed doors'. Informed by these ideas, I question the balance of rhetoric and reality that brought charrettes 'across the pond' and made them the Scottish Government's participative planning and design tool of choice.

Throughout the reforms of the 2000s, the Scottish Government alluded in policy statements and planning advice notes[34] to citizens contributing to the decisions concerning their places. Economic realities also lay behind these ideals. Successive governments since the revival of the Scottish Parliament have demanded that planning must be "open for business" (Inch, 2018, p.1083). The development industry lacked confidence in the ability of the planning system to provide certainty, in both allocating land in local plans and defining consistent criteria against which to judge planning applications (Scottish Executive, 2005b). Government equated these shortcomings and the resulting delays, to the complexities of handling objections in the process.

Encouraging participation offered civil servant planners both an avenue to reconcile communities to change and one to increase certainty for developers. The planning system could, in theory, resolve the paradox of being both pro-community choice and pro-development. Creating this image became particularly important considering the 2007 parliamentary election win by the Scottish National Party (SNP). Parliament was for the first time, led by an administration seeking independence from the UK. The party saw an important prerequisite in showing how they could encourage autonomous economic growth. A key priority for planning was removing the barriers to development, particularly housing development. Alongside the ongoing reforms issuing from the 2006 Planning Act, the Scottish Sustainable Communities' Initiative (SSCI) design contest was the most important policy initiative intended to achieve this. SSCI challenged local authorities and developers to deliver new housing with an exemplary standard of urban design, in accordance with the 'place making' priorities established at the start of the decade (Scottish Executive, 2001). Winning SSCI proposals stood to benefit from a support package for community engagement. Aided by this support, the first Government sponsored charrettes in Scotland took place during 2010, through the SSCI Series.

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[34] Particularly *Designing Places (2001)* and PAN 81 *(2007)*.

An 'orthodox' standpoint (Peck and Theodore, 2010) might consider that a rational appraisal by Government of the benefits to planning reform, led to the choice of charrettes to lead SSCI. Planners in the civil service were certainly possessed of the material to enable this. John Onyango and Karim Hadjri's practice based study of the privately commissioned Tornagrain Charrette in 2006[35] was available at the time (Onyango and Hadjri, 2009).They could also compare and contrast a number of different participative approaches developed through local authority experimentation, as evidenced through PAN 81 *Community Engagement* (Scottish Executive, 2007). Some councils also trialled different proprietary formats, including Planning for Real® or developed their own style of workshops. However, my enquiries found no evidence that such an evaluation ever took place.

Rather, what I found was that the journey of the charrette to Scotland had more to do with serendipity than strategy. The evidence suggests this story began with a meeting at Balmoral in 2004, where representatives of the Prince's Foundation for the Built Environment were introduced to Jim Mackinnon, Scotland's Chief Planner at the time. In Mackinnon, the Foundation found an influential civil servant who was receptive to their New Urbanist inspired vision for the built environment. In Scotland, it also found a small, centrally governed nation with potential as a practical testbed for their ideas. Through a series of further private meetings, training events and study tours, the connection between senior figures in the Foundation and the Planning and Architecture Division of the Scottish Government increased. By the end of the decade political figures as influential as the First Minister were New Urbanist advocates (Urban Realm, 2008). During the late 2000s, Scotland was seemingly moving towards independence and hoped for greater recognition on the world stage. At the same time, policy makers in Edinburgh remained keen to achieve parity with developments in Westminster. The original SSCI contest that led to charrette 'mainstreaming' was a reaction to the Eco Towns Initiative then being advanced South of the border.

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[35] This was the first charrette to take place in Scotland, albeit by private commission.

Within this wider milieu, Andrés Duany's 'brand' of charrette was selected to spearhead SSCI. As my interview data suggests, the Scottish Government's choices were heavily influenced by Jim Mackinnon and his staff's positive personal assessment of Duany, the sometimes-outspoken Principal of Miami based consultancy Duany Plater-Zyberk (DPZ) (Respondent OVR 15). On first encountering the American practitioner in 2006 at Tornagrain, they were thoroughly impressed by his confidence and eloquence in the facilitation role. These skills had the potential to place both Scotland, and more critically, the Scottish Government's Planning and Architecture Division, 'on the map' globally. These aspirations were realised through the excitement and controversy that followed the first SSCI charrettes. Over nine years after the SSCI Series began, DPZ's web site in 2019 still references the projects on the front page, under the promotional heading "promoting sustainable town design across the pond" (DPZ, 2016b).

In Peck and Theodore's (2012, p.23) terms, the work of the Prince's Foundation in Scotland in the early 2000s effectively established the "field of reception" for New Urbanist policy tools. Thereafter, the charisma and global celebrity of Duany, a Foundation Fellow, was a crucial factor in the Scottish Government gravitating towards charrettes. There is perhaps a tinge of irony inherent here, in that Government's expressed aim of making the planning system more inclusive, was progressed through the influence of royalty and a select group of globally itinerant 'elite' consultants. The movement of policies and policy tools from one location to another is better understood in political and economic terms, rather than merely as a learning process. The policies that move most often, do so because they have gathered the prestige necessary to signify competitiveness in the global 'market' (González, 2011). Yet this is only one part of the mobility story. The various 'agents' through which mobility occurs all bring their own professional and political standpoints with them. They also operate within practice settings that are intermediated by a range of different interests in the process, be they other professionals, politicians or expert consultants. These settings are themselves unstable, shifting with political trends and the wider changes in public organisation. The seemingly haphazard nature of the charrette's journey to Scotland, is exactly what defines it as a complex policy mobility rather than a smooth policy 'transfer' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996).

9.2 Policy Mutation

Having investigated how charrettes gained official recognition in Scotland, I then examined how the method then developed through successive rounds of Government funding. My research conceives of travelling policies as complex and unstable 'mobilities', rather than simple 'transfers.' The process is seldom one of replicating policies or policy tools from one location to another. Rather solutions "reproduce" themselves (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p.170), actively 'mutating' across both space and time. I argue that a series of these mutations can be traced through the charrettes' ascendance in Scotland throughout the 2010s, as summarised in Table 9 below:

Table 9 - Charrette 'Mutation' Phases

Mutation Phase	Funding Arrangements	Field Case Study
Phase 1:	SSCI Charrette Series (2010)	Lochgelly (2010)
Phase 2(a):	SSCI Charrette Mainstreaming (2011 – 2017)	Govan / Partick (2015)
Phase 2(b):	Making Places Initiative (2018-Present)	'Clydebank Can' (2018)

As set out in the theoretical framework, my fieldwork sought to examine the quality of encounters between professionals and citizens within charrettes. I also considered the power dynamics that operate through and beyond the events. The following two sections consequently synthesise my three individual case study findings, into an overarching 'theoretical case' (Yin, 2018) of the exercise of charrettes in Scotland.

9.2.1 'Phase 1': The SSCI Series

My first case study was the Lochgelly Charrette in 2010, part of the SSCI Series. These charrettes were the first to run with support from the Scottish Government. They were facilitated directly in the New Urbanist style by DPZ, led by firm Principal, Andrés Duany. From the outset, the relationships between planners and local citizens were problematic. The Lochgelly community were only introduced to the facilitation team after its members had toured the town accompanied by council officers and drawn up initial sketches. The team consequently came to the public with a pre-conceived vision of how the town's growth should be managed. Beyond the opening 'lecture' by Duany, citizens could sit in on meetings between the facilitation team and local development interests or attend one of the 'pin up' review sessions. Promotional material invited citizens to "have your say on the future of development in Lochgelly" (Turnberry Consulting, 2010, p.1) yet the event's conduct drew distinct boundaries around what this 'say' allowed.

Duany's own notes on the conduct of charrettes suggest that professionals' skills might serve best to 'distance' them from participants. Furthermore, he advises practitioners to maintain a defensive stance in engagement, not being afraid to "push back" against challenges they might receive to the New Urbanist principles. (Duany, 1999, p.1). So inclined, the main output of the Lochgelly charrette was a highly detailed masterplan and set of hand drawn visualisations that reimagined the town predominantly in a neotraditional style. The team isolated the act of planning and design from the public. Interview participants indicated that much of the detailed drawing work was done 'in the back room', contrary to the indication of an open studio portrayed in the Scottish Government's (2010) report.

My research approached charrettes using non-representational theory. This conceives of social life as a series of encounters with a range of other people, practices, forms of knowledge and physical spaces (Thrift, 1997). The quality of the charrette as an encounter is further defined by the *affects* generated: how participants feel that the event changed their outlook on their place, the planning process and those others involved within it. Although each participant is affected on a personal level, these feelings combine between them as wider *'atmospheres'* (Anderson, 2014b).The ideal of participation, deployed within a context of neoliberal planning 'reform', is to achieve more collaborative working (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013) between professionals and citizens. I asked, in a non-representational sense, whether charrettes in Scotland establish the atmosphere of trust and partnership that this implies.

The research data questioned the Lochgelly Charrette's conduct in this respect. Some of the encounters that typified the charrette were extremely conflicted. The team felt that the original SLA sites defined by Fife Council presented too piecemeal a growth pattern. To ensure the continuity of the masterplan, the facilitation team in fact, extended the proposed built area beyond the SLA. This threatened the local golf course, football pitch and allotments. They also proposed development in greenfield land over the oil pipeline to the controversial Mossmorran Petrochemical plant. Compounded by the impression that most of the decision making in the charrette took place in the 'back room', participants recalled heated arguments between Andrés Duany and the public, who felt that their local knowledge and sense of place were not respected (Respondents LCGEL 7/8).

When speaking of participation in planning, the highest 'rung' of Arnstein's (1969) ladder represents a shift in the balance of power, in its ideal of citizens having full control of decisions affecting their places. Within the wider neoliberal public management rationale, or 'governmentality' (Dean, 2010), planning is expected to act as a mediating force between the various interests involved in development (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013). Through the mantra of 'participation', governments claim that they wish to give communities a voice on these matters. My research approached the power dynamics of charrettes by asking in what circumstances they result in outcomes that citizen participants feel respond to their own vision for the area. I conceived of power in two interlinked ways after Dean (2012b). Power can firstly, be held 'over' the citizen by the state planning authorities and development industry. It is these interests who have traditionally possessed the influence to decide the shape of places. From this angle, I asked, if through charrettes, state professionals and the development industry effectively yield power to the community in these decisions.

The conduct and eventual outcomes of the Lochgelly Charrette in this first regard were unfortunately, highly reflective of Flyvbjerg and Richardson's (2002) 'dark side' of participative planning under neoliberalism. From this standpoint, charrettes and other participative methods become a 'technique of power' (Foucault, 1991), or means of replicating the status quo. As such, participative processes are engineered to provide citizens with the impression they can influence plans and designs on their area. However, these processes are not accompanied by structural provisions that uphold community interests equally in the planning system (Huxley, 2000). The view held by many Lochgellians, of the charrette as a tokenistic exercise, or 'charade' (Urban Realm, 2011), resonates with both this theoretical standpoint and my empirical findings. By the nature of the SSCI competition, the Series charrettes focussed on testing options for development plan land allocations (Scottish Government, 2010). In the case of Lochgelly, these took the form of the greenfield Strategic Land Allocation (SLA) sites. The concept of the SLA received substantial objection from the community during the local plan examination in 2009 (Scottish Government, 2011a). Many felt the sites were disproportionate to the scale of the town or would cause coalescence with the nearby villages.

The Scottish Government and Fife Council were willing to use the charrette deliberations to write supplementary guidance for the SLA, but not to reconsider the scope of the allocations. However, these restrictions clearly did not extend to the international facilitation team. In producing the final charrette masterplan, the team in fact exceeded the bounds of the SLA sites. This established the principle of new housing on the golf course and pipeline exclusion zones, despite the objections of local people. The event therefore provided little evidence to citizens on the value of their participation or indeed, that the planners were prepared to cede some of their 'power over' the future of the community.

Through transferring power over decision making to the local level, contemporary governments also claim that participation 'activates' the energy communities hold to activate positive change in their places (Adamson and Bromiley, 2013). Through a charrette, the property and economic growth-based conception of 'development' prevalent in the planning system, might be complemented by one of 'community development.' This second concept speaks of the need to improve the confidence and social cohesion of a place, rather than alter its spatial configuration (Bhattacharyya, 2004). Nevertheless, the kind of action that the term applies might coalesce around these physical assets (Pollock and Sharp, 2012).

Invoking power in this second capacity, as a more individual agency or means 'to do' (Dean, 2012b) my research examined the charrette's potential to harness the interests and energies local people invest in their places. I consequently queried the event outcomes as an avenue for local people's own 'social capital': the ability of members of a community to form effective relationships and take collective action (Bourdieu, 1986; Halpern, 2005).

In this dimension too, the Lochgelly Charrette results were ambiguous. The town possessed an established community council and regeneration forum. Through the latter organisation, some local people had committed almost a decade's voluntary work to the Fife Housing Association Regeneration Community Alliance (HARCA). During the Lochgelly Charrette, the facilitation team were suspicious of the influence of established community organisations. Members could attend the event as private individuals but controversially, neither received invitations as a group (Loch of Shining Waters, 2010d).

The charrette masterplan did not acknowledge this preceding work directly, and in certain cases challenged projects discussed through the regeneration forum with counter proposals. Some local people found the masterplan's vision of coffee shops and farmer's market's wholly inappropriate in the context of an economically depressed former mining town. Instead of feeling engaged, the forum members and others involved in the HARCA initiative felt the charrette disruptively "landed" (Respondent LCGEL 5) on top of the town and its citizens. When Fife Council later established a working group to consider how to take the masterplan vision forward, its personnel faced demoralised community organisations with a strong antipathy toward the charrette and its outcomes.

9.2.2 'Phase 2': Mainstreaming and Beyond

The SSCI Series charrettes represented a 'first' for Scotland. Facilitated directly by DPZ, they were almost purely aligned with New Urbanist practice. As a flagship exercise of the Scottish Government, the decisions that shaped the Series issued from both the national and international level. They offered little scope for the kind of local adaptation or creative 'mutation' of mobile policy tools to local circumstances that is suggested by Peck and Theodore (2010). They also proved that a method tried and tested in one place does not necessarily fit comfortably when transplanted to another. Nevertheless, the Series events were only Phase 1 of a wider support agenda. They were followed by the SSCI Mainstreaming Programme, operating from 2011 until 2016. Government then renamed the support package the 'Design Charrettes / Activating Ideas Fund' for the funding year 2016 -17 (Scottish Government, 2016a). It has been known as the 'Making Places Initiative' since the 2017-18 funding year to present (Scottish Government, 2018d). Through this second phase of mainstreaming and its continuing programmes, consultancies based in Scotland gained experience with charrette facilitation, adapting it from its New Urbanist roots.[36]

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[36] The last New Urbanist charrette in Scotland was a private commission undertaken by DPZ in Edinburgh, in October 2010 (Moray Estates & DPZ, 2011).

This is borne out most prominently in the quality of citizen / professional encounters evident in my later Govan / Partick and Clydebank case studies. Both facilitation teams set up their own 'stall' in the local town centres in advance of the charrette. Through this they, in the words of one team member, endeavoured to make themselves look 'interesting' to those who might not have the desire or confidence to engage with a formal workshop setting. These measures included offering rickshaw cycle tours around the area, or informal audio and video interviews of local people, gaining their personal stories. The Phase 1 / Series charrettes were founded on what I argue was a 'representational' understanding of place (Thrift, 1997) in the form of the detailed drawings and paintings that were produced by the DPZ facilitation team. Such an approach is inherently one sided. At worst in Lochgelly, community participants felt the team effectively 'redrew' their locale, regardless of their feedback. By contrast, the act of walking, cycling through, or otherwise experiencing the Glasgow and Clydebank case study areas 'live', fostered common ground between practitioners and those who experienced the locales every day.

The Govan / Partick facilitation team arranged the event around the theme of big and 'wee' things that would improve the neighbourhoods. In kind, the Clydebank facilitation team used the canal running through the centre of the town as a motif. In both events, the practical workshops revolved around community participants discussing their ideas directly with professionals. These deliberations took place over tables equipped with photo maps, tracing paper and flip chart and post it notes to record suggestions. These experiences of working together contrasted with the Phase 1 / Series events' officious and at times defensive 'charrette studios.' In Glasgow, the facilitation team encouraged the community to bounce ideas off one another. The team were prepared to listen to these, but also to provide a reality check on citizens comments where they felt necessary (Respondents GOVPA 5-7). Participants who had a history of involvement with the planning system through their roles in community organisations felt this approach fostered a sense of partnership working with the public officials (Respondents GOVPA 5/7). This markedly contrasted with their previous feelings of being evaded, denigrated or otherwise 'done to' by the city planners. Nevertheless, as I illustrate in more detail below, the eventual outcomes of the event belied the congeniality of these exchanges.

In Clydebank, my research benefitted from my own immersion within the events as an observer. Here, I was able to outline the dynamics of the charrette 'atmosphere' (Anderson, 2014b) in more detail than through interview and archive work alone. An important aspect of theorising a charrette as a non-representational encounter is that it constantly exists as a 'work in progress'. While the facilitating professionals might approach the event with a specific plan or 'order of service' (Crang, 1994), this is constantly open to challenge or renegotiation. This occurs through both the actions of the participants and dynamics of the setting itself. My observations here gave an enhanced sense of the 'ebb and flow' of the charrette encounters. The Clydebank workshops saw participants quickly breaking away from the facilitation team's prompts into an involved dialogue on the issues facing the canalside and town centre. The facilitation team were forced to adapt, suggesting potential policy fixes to address some issues and critiquing the limitations of existing policy in the process. In some of the sessions, the facilitation team deployed maps and building block models of the charrette area. Here, participants were able to point to places on the map where they wanted to see change or build a tangible representation of this change with their own hands.

My observations consequently showed participants in the various acts of "becoming" that create affect (Anderson, 2014a, p.760). These acts could involve becoming vocal in their frustration over Clydebank's dysfunctional town centre, or equally, becoming enthralled in imagining change in the area through the models (Fieldnotes, 2018). As the Clydebank observations highlighted most strongly, the atmospheres that pervade a charrette are spontaneous, but transitory (Conradson, 2003; Darling, 2010). Something as simple as breaking for lunch served to dissipate the energy of one of the workshop sessions. The fragility of these 'atmospheres' often belied that the case study charrettes fostered more long lasting and emotional reflections, or 'affects' (Anderson, 2014a). In the Govan / Partick case, the charrette encounters prompted reflection on the facilitation team members' own practice and relationship to the public. In more than one instance, they felt the charrette transformed them from a distant professional to someone akin to 'their (the community's own) planner' (Respondents GOVPA 1/3-4, CCAN 12/15).

For the community in both Govan / Partick and Clydebank, the respective charrettes encouraged fresh reflections on the 'taken for granted' aspects of each place; be they the disconnection of the two Glasgow neighbourhoods or the lack of vibrancy in the latter's town centre. The encounters that typified the Phase 2 charrette case studies point to advancement in the conduct of the method during the mainstreaming funding and beyond. The obstinacy on the part of the facilitation team that marked my Lochgelly findings, was conspicuously absent from both the Glasgow and Clydebank examples.

I argued through the case of Lochgelly that the Phase 1 / Series charrettes made only tokenistic overtures to participation. Throughout this thesis, viewing power as a force held 'over' others (Dean, 2012b), I asked if through charrettes, the state professional and development industry effectively cede power in the planning system to communities' own interests. I articulated 'empowerment' here as attaining the upper 'rungs' of Arnstein's (1969) ladder, moving toward putting local people in control of the decisions made about development in their places. Both the Govan / Partick, and Clydebank case studies were, at least on the surface, well placed to create such a community led vision. Yet even in these more recent case studies, the lasting sense of empowerment that the host communities gained is questionable.

In the Govan / Partick case, participants expressed concern over the city council's regeneration strategy as a facilitator of gentrification. In Govan some feared the prospect of a new river crossing, an idea that had been tabled for almost a decade before the charrette. They felt the proposal would extend the city's affluent West End onto their doorstep, effectively pricing people out of their homes (Govan Partick Charrette, 2015a; Respondents GOVPA 12-14). However, the interview and archive data suggested these concerns were downplayed throughout the charrette pre-engagement and workshops. My interviews also revealed evidence that the convivial atmosphere of the workshops served false reassurance to the travelling show people families who were present (Respondent GOVPA 14). They were given the impression that their place in Govan, long contested by the City Council, was safe. By contrast, more recent developments brought forward legal action for their removal and the replacement of their yards to accommodate the most recent iteration of the council's redevelopment proposals (Glasgow City Council, 2018).

Of the three events, Clydebank Can possessed the most potential to deliver a true community led vision. The brief was to revisit the existing local development plan sites in the town centre, but in the context of community planning and development issues. In this latter respect, the charrette was also intended to produce a protype of the 'Local Place Plans' (LPP) suggested in the Planning Bill of 2017. This offered the community the prospect of creating its own vision for the town, that would become a formally recognised counterpart to the local development plan (Scottish Government, 2017b). Through this balance, the facilitation team and council planners wanted to gain fresh perspectives on Clydebank town centre and canalside from the community. However, the authority's property service feared this critical atmosphere might challenge their own interests in the area. Caught between these shifting priorities, the facilitation team felt they had lost direction of what the event was meant to achieve (Respondents CCAN 14/15). Consequently, the conduct of the charrette was confused. Most positively, the team brought several new engagement methods to the event. These secured animated discussion and debates that linked directly to local people's experience of Clydebank as a place. However, most of the time devoted to workshops proceeded in a similar design – review – design format to that which typified the original Series charettes (Fieldnotes, 2018).

Local people felt that testing design options for the development plan sites dominated discussion, when their own issues lay with the lack of vitality in the town centre. They were also concerned about the overall neglect of this area and the adjacent Forth and Clyde canal section running through. The facilitation team created a highly detailed imagination of the LDP sites. This challenged the pattern of disconnected, 'drive in' retail development that previous planning decisions, some of them relatively recent, had established in the town centre. While broadly supportive of the vision, participants from the community were nevertheless sceptical about the substance of these imaginative visions.

They questioned the facilitation team's proposals for housing on one site, by asking how new residents could be encouraged to locate to what they saw as a failed town centre. Clydebank had a history of only partially successful regeneration initiatives. How, they asked, would private investment or public funding be secured to make the charrette's vision of pop up shops and waterfront art galleries a reality? One of the team's designs for the redundant leisure centre was effectively vetoed by the council's property service before the event began. The service was unwilling to risk amending their land disposal brief accordingly. Because of these issues, my local interview respondents treated the charrette vision with a sceptical 'wait and see attitude'. (Respondents CCAN 1-6).

This situation was particularly damaging in that, had the council been truer to their original agenda, the charrette might have more firmly engaged the energies of the area's community organisations and social enterprises. During the charrette, the facilitation team evaded the question of how to deliver on the vision until the very end. Despite some overtures to projects that could be community led, the greatest part of the Clydebank Can vision was relevant only to the established commercial development industry. The planners' original intention that through an LPP, the community could direct the groundwork for the rehabilitation of the town centre and canalside, appeared to be lost on most of local people to whom I spoke.

9.3 Directions for Charrette Evolution

The overall picture that emerges of this second phase of charrettes is therefore, one of both defying the 'conventions' of the planning system, but also being bound by them. In this summative section, I firstly consider the implications of my findings for the theory of participative planning, before linking them to practice in the 'participative dimensions' that form part of my unique contribution to knowledge.

As in most established democracies, planning in Scotland today takes place under a neoliberal approach to public management. Through policy, the state promotes individual judgement and the right to personal and commercial freedom. By extension, any restrictions on free investment and property development discord with the neoliberal state's conception of the public interest (Jessop, 2002; Harvey, 2005). Citizens' demands for the right to influence how land and property should be developed in their area are problematic. These demands must be resolved through the planning system in a way that acknowledges the citizen voice, but does not restrict development from happening (Inch, 2015)

Analysis of this milieu in the literature often takes on an almost conspiratorial tone. Interventions like charrettes are considered akin to one of Foucault's (1991) 'techniques of power.' These events offer citizens the impression that their 'say' on development plans and proposals will make a difference. They may, indeed, offer some latitude to change unpopular aspects of these agendas. They do not however, enable the citizen to challenge the underlying principles of development as established by the state and market. Chiefly, it could be argued, this occurs because the events are invariably organised or at least funded by the state and public authorities. 'Participation' therefore empowers communities in shaping their places only by degree rather than in entirety. The process both reproduces and legitimises the existing conventions of development and manufactures a sympathetic citizenry (Huxley, 2002; Purcell, 2009). In this way, previous inequities in the construction of the built environment and urban policy are replicated rather than redressed (Fainstein, 2014).

My findings have some resonance with this view. In all three case study communities, my interviews and observations highlighted that local people were concerned about the implications of the kind of development enshrined in the local planning framework. In Lochgelly, these concerns were directed toward the greenfield expansion proposed around the town. Here, the eventual charrette masterplan extended beyond the established greenfield sites. In Glasgow, the event report noted some of the concerns raised over gentrification and displacement. Nevertheless, it promoted the cornerstone projects of the existing redevelopment strategy uncritically. In Clydebank the charrette results were perhaps the most disappointing. The event failed to produce the community led Local Place Plan intended. None of the charrette outcomes thus challenged the limitations local people saw in the existing planning frameworks. Rather, they appeared merely to add to the momentum of the development principles enshrined in these strategies. Throughout this thesis, I have been especially critical about the prospects for participative planning in Scotland using charrettes based on this aspect of my findings. An important question is thus raised; what justification remains for continuing to hold the events at all?

While charrettes in Scotland lack the capacity to articulate local people's concerns against existing development agendas, my findings show that their ability to 'manufacture' consenting citizens is more suspect. In all three case studies, my interviews and observations highlighted that the community actively challenged the charrette masterplans and visions as they were evolving. In Lochgelly, this took the form of heated arguments between the community and the facilitation team. In Glasgow and Clydebank citizens more subtly steered the discussion towards what they felt were the key issues facing the areas. The facilitators were then forced to adapt and react accordingly.

If charrettes are indeed a 'technique of power' within neoliberal governmentality, they are one of many such mechanisms that operate on the citizen. These instruments address themselves to different imaginations of the individual (Rose, 1998). Inch (2015) defines two such conceptions of the citizen within a participative planning space. The 'good' citizen enters the participative event with faith in the integrity of the process and an expectancy that through deliberation, the different interest in planning and development might be reconciled.

By contrast, the 'agonistic' citizen seeks to continually challenge the prevailing development pattern in an area, often being labelled as anti-development 'NIMBY's' or manipulative 'usual suspects' by the development industry and public authorities alike (Bishop, 2015; Inch, 2015). As Rose (1998) argues after Foucault, the contrasts between these different imaginations of the self, lead to contradiction and tension. This problematizes any notion that the techniques of neoliberal government 'produce' citizens' responses. Rather, these responses may act to contest and reformulate the messages that are conveyed through a participative event.

In Lochgelly, enough time has passed to show this process in action. Here, the charrette initially addressed community participants as 'good citizens' inviting them to discuss the future of their town. However, in its aftermath, the legitimacy of the resulting masterplan was questioned by many participants, labelling the charrette a 'charade' (Urban Realm, 2011). Although they were at first discouraged by the outcome, the existing community organisations worked to critically redefine the charrette vision in the event's aftermath. Where the original masterplan was dependant on new build housing and commercial development, this alternative vision for 'development' was much more focussed on rebuilding local solidarity and confidence. Its viability was recognised at the national level through a Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum award that led to Lochgelly's transition from being dubbed Scotland's most 'miserable town' in 2004, to its 'most improved' in 2016 (SURF, 2016).

As these experiences highlight, the power relations that typify neoliberalism and its policy tools are never "entirely trustworthy"(Bourdieu, 1977, p.190). I argue that charrettes are at their most productive where they contrast planners' professional knowledge on places with citizens' practical or 'everyday' understandings, drawing on the uncertainties of these encounters. In the Glasgow and Clydebank examples, professional participants felt challenged by the host communities' hopes for and sense of attachment to their locales. New empathies emerged through activities like the cycle tours, storytelling and building block models. Practitioners enjoyed the "touchy feely" (Respondent GOVPA 1) energy of these encounters but were disappointed that it was not sustained after the events. During the charrette, they worked together intensively with the community, making interpersonal connections in the process. However, this time served only as a brief 'window' into these local understandings of place.

Viewing charrettes through the lens of non-representational theory highlights the dynamic nature of the encounters (Conradson, 2005; Darling, 2010) that take place between citizens and professionals within the events. The way in which these encounters 'affect' (Anderson, 2014a) or change the 'taken for granted' understandings of professionals and citizens, suggests potential for charrettes in Scotland. The events can begin to reconcile the formalised knowledge of the professional planner with citizens everyday experiences of place. However, they appear to lack the means to sustain it, at least in their current form.

Under neoliberal public management, planners are encouraged to collaborate with the community but at the same time 'deliver' development more efficiently. The planner's traditional professional identity is based on delivering the public good and their new role as facilitators of the different and complex interests in the system, suggests a further tension (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013; Inch, 2018).

The foundations of a participative planning ideal in the literature, arose during the heyday of the planner and planning as arms of the state. Were planners to come down from their 'heroic' position within this apparatus and listen to the citizen, a more community responsive form of development might result (Jacobs, 1961; Davidoff, 1965; Arnstein, 1969). Davidoff's work is especially important in this regard. It issued a clarion call for planners to advocate for the community in their strategies, albeit at a time when the planner was enabled to directly marshal the development industry on the ground, by virtue of their assumed possession of the 'public interest' (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013).

Within a contemporary Scottish system where "sustainable economic growth" is defined as the core purpose of planning (Scottish Government, 2014b), the concepts of development and economic growth equate to the public interest in the political imagination (Harvey, 2005; Inch, 2015). Excepting relatively isolated exceptions where the public sector leads on land assembly, sale and master planning, under contemporary neoliberal governmentality, the planner can only hope to 'steer' the commercial and property-based forces that effect development (Adams and Tiesdell,2013).

The continuing focus on 'open for business' planning in Scotland limits its regulatory function even further. Rather than raising concerns against development, the contemporary planner is instead challenged to find "solutions" toward making it happen (Inch, 2018, p.1087). The unquestioned assumption that growth and development will address all ills in a place, appears to pervade all levels of the planning profession in Scotland. It was particularly visible in Lochgelly. Fife Council planners' solution to the town's declining population and economic deprivation, was to designate speculative new private housing and employment spaces rather than focussing on regenerating the existing assets.

As neoliberalism addresses different conceptions of the citizen, it also conceives different ideals of the public professional. Despite the continuing influence of neoliberal ideals within planning and other public management systems, the people who make these systems work do not merely act as passive recipients for these values. Rather, the process of reform comes up against personal contradiction and tension (Inch, 2018).

My case studies evidenced several instances where planners were moved by the concerns that communities expressed over their places through charrettes but felt tied by the status quo. In Govan / Partick, the opportunity to work with the public was welcomed by the city council's planning staff who were at the same time wary that the ultimate decision on planning outcomes was not theirs to make. Similarly, in West Dunbartonshire, the planning staff wanted to use the community's input to challenge the limitations of the established built form of Clydebank town centre and canalside. Nevertheless, the financial and estate management terms through which some of their colleagues approached these places as fiscal assets, ended up overriding the planner's vision.

From my own experience as a practitioner, I urge caution to those who idealistically expect charrettes to bring about planning and design from a 'blank sheet' of paper (Roggema, 2014a). No matter how strong the rhetoric on participative planning, the neoliberal public management rationale operates in terms of calculus (Lemke, 2001). The community's voice represents an unstable element within a planning system that upholds the value of economic growth above all other factors (Inch, 2015). As long as neoliberalism persists as the guiding mantra for public management, the prospect of planners truly taking on the role of 'advocates' for the community through participative practice (Davidoff, 1965) appears unlikely. It is unrealistic to expect planners as public professionals to be able to completely isolate themselves from the political and economic forces within which they are enmeshed (Huxley, 2000; Cullingworth *et al.*, 2015). However, my findings show that the encounters that take place within participative planning through charrettes clearly have value for both planners and citizens, by encouraging reflection on their relationships to both places and to one another. The Scottish Government has invested substantial financial resources in the format. This has given planners in both the private sector and in local government, at least the opportunity, to learn from working together with communities in practice. As a professional planner myself, I recognised the value of these transactions.

I do not suggest abandoning the charrette altogether, rather altering the way the events are organised and deployed. In this fashion, I hope that the academic and practical knowledge base on charrettes could be modified, so they might reach a higher potential.

To expect a participative space like a charrette to result in a mutually acceptable 'consensus' on the future of development in a place, appears somewhat naïve. This is especially so considering the numerous vested interests in and conventions around the development of towns and cities in Scotland, that my findings have uncovered. These severely limited the transformative potential of my case study charrettes. Nevertheless, the ideal of the communicative planning theorists, that participation should bring together the diverse interests in a place in deciding its future (Forester, 2006; Healey, 2010b) remains a valid one. Likewise, I respect the agonistic perspective, that the goal of participative planning should be to maintain critical debate (Purcell, 2009, Inch, 2015). Throughout this thesis, I have noted my dual position as a planning professional and also as a researcher and given voice to the tensions between the two. I have attempted to find conceptual middle ground between participative planning as it is deployed in the real world and as an object of social theory and academic study. My own, perhaps cautious, suggestions for a progressive agenda for participative planning and design attempt in kind, to find balance between the various ideals that impact on the practice.

Friedmann (1973; 1987) argues that planners might bring together their education and professional experience with the lived experiences and knowledge of the citizen in a "transactive process" (Friedmann, 1993, p.484). Such planning does not purport to abolish existing orders and put control of place completely in the hands of local people. It does however, consider the benefits of combining professional and lay knowledges, beyond those gained through each working in isolation. Drawing from Bourdieu, Calhoun (1993, p.62) argues for just such a form of conceptual middle ground, or "third path." Both professional and everyday knowledges are always unstable. Encounters with others challenge one's own dispositions and conventions and modify them accordingly.

For Friedmann (1993), this form of socially embedded learning is central to transactive planning. Transactive planning is agile: it rarely seeks to make long term commitments. Rather it requires a willingness on the part of the authorities to invite and respect critical comment and be willing to constructively move on from situations where plans and strategies fail to meet citizens' expectations. Drawing from these arguments in the context of my research findings, I argue that the major constraint on participation through charrettes in Scotland is the expectation the events should generate some formal planning or design outcome. In Lochgelly, this was a masterplan to inform the design of the SLA sites. In Glasgow it was a Sustainable Development Framework (SDF) for the emerging City Development Plan. In Clydebank the outcome was to be a Local Place Plan.

These documents created a 'vision' for the future of each place that was supposedly representative of all the community therein. Several sources urge caution against the role of these supposedly inclusive 'visions' of the future in the planning process (McCann, 2001; Gaffikin and Sterrett, 2006). Equally, others are sceptical over the potential for such visons to be fulfilled given the vagaries of the market, development industry and increasingly, public finances (Shipley and Newkirk, 1999; Uyesugi and Shipley, 2005). In all three cases, my findings reflected these issues. They showed that the eventual reporting on the charrettes in question downplayed local peoples' concerns or resistance to the established plans and strategies. The documents are thus, potentially dangerous and misleading. In the Lochgelly and Clydebank cases, they provided promises of change and regeneration that although visually seductive, were highly unlikely to ever be fulfilled. In the case of Govan / Partick, the charrette report and resulting development framework acted to further legitimise the City Council's regeneration strategy, despite local people's concerns over the gentrification it might cause.

I do not suggest that charrette facilitators need abandon the production of planning strategy as an objective. Some formal outcome, or at least a process of reporting, would normally be required as a condition of funding, as it has in most of the Scottish Government supported charrettes held so far (Kennedy, 2017). Nevertheless, I would argue that charrettes should uphold the transactive conversations, reflections and sometimes, the contradictions and conflicts they generate, rather than attempting to 'fix' these in a masterplan, vision statement or any other document. This form of charrette would by nature, draw inspiration from the 'agonistic' school on participative planning (Purcell, 2009; Inch, 2015).

Any 'consensus' agreed through such an event would be only a partial one: an agreement to respect disagreement (Mouffe, 1992). One of my contributions to knowledge from this PhD project is therefore, a set of what I term 'participative dimensions.' This framework is intended to be of practical use as an assessment tool for current charrettes and community led design events. It also has conceptual value as a manifesto for how such events might challenge the failings of participative planning under neoliberalism. I present my concept, building from the theoretical framework and field studies, in Table 10 below.

Table 10 - Participative Dimensions

- **One-dimensional participation** has the goal of facilitating citizen commentary to the authorities on the planning, design and development of places.

- **Two-dimensional participation** has the goal of establishing partnership between citizens and the authorities in the planning, design and development of places.

- **Three-dimensional participation** establishes partnership between citizens and the authorities, with the goal of an additional feedback loop that changes how the planning design and development process operates locally.

Participative Dimension	Commissioning Organisation	Facilitation 'Approach'	Event Structure	Nature of the Vision	Event Outcome
1D	_A governing authority with overall responsibility for the planning process_	_Facilitation team invites local participants to the participative event._	_Event is orientated around formal workshops._	_Projects are deliverable within the scope of the established development industry._	_A report that details the agreed projects._
2D	_A local organisation within the place the event is held_	_Facilitation team establishes local interest and may locate in the everyday spaces of the area for part of the event._	_Event is orientated around formal workshops with the additional ability for participants to 'drop in' to the event informally._	_Some projects are deliverable within the capacity of the local community organisations._	_A report that identifies agencies that could implement the projects agreed._
3D	_A community organisation within the place it is held._	_Facilitation team locates in the everyday spaces of the area throughout the event._	_Event is orientated around drop in involvement._	_Event does not identify projects above the scope of those deliverable by local community organisations._	_A communications network of local partners and a series of further meetings to implement the projects agreed._

As Arnstein (1969) defined her 'ladder', my schema is structured around three 'levels' of participation. Progress toward the higher 'dimensions' depends on several aspects of the planning, implementation and follow on work around a charrette or similar event.

Based on my findings, I equate one dimensional participation to the first phase of charrettes supported by the Scottish Government, during the SSCI Series of 2010. Through the case studies, I associated these events most strongly with the 'tokenistic' levels of Arnstein's ladder. I argued that for all their complexity, they sought only to 'consult' local people on pre-determined directions for development. The 'Phase 2' SSCI Mainstreaming and Making Places events that followed, approached two-dimensional participation in that the facilitators were willing, at least on the surface, to work in partnership with the host communities. To effect full three-dimensional participation I argue, requires the event to be designed from the outset to change how the planning and development process operates locally, moving towards Arnstein's original ideal of 'citizen control'. The shortcomings I noted in real world participation through charrettes rarely represented a lack of will on the part of professionals to make planning and design more accessible. However, the wider structural arrangements that currently surround the events limit their potential. Despite the degree of 'mutation' I identified in the conduct of charrettes in Peck and Theodore's (2010) terms, there remains evidence of the normalisation of the process around a common 'model'.

Most charrettes in Scotland are commissioned by local authorities who use the Scottish Government's extra funding to employ specialist facilitators. Public sector resources became scarcer throughout the 2010s, particularly through the retrenchment of many of the regeneration measures available at the start of the decade.[37] Consequently, the importance of the Government's support for participative planning rose by default (Kordas, 2017). It is clear from my previous research that holding a charrette has further value in positioning local authorities as 'pioneers'. This view was true of the earliest charrettes in Scotland and gained more significance towards the latter part of the decade (Clydewaterfront, 2014).

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[37] Most notably, the abolition of all but one of the Urban Regeneration Companies (URC's), one of which extended along the River Clyde into Clydebank (ClydeWaterfront, 2014).

Through Kordas (2016), I presented a case study of two councils holding charrettes to test the new community planning instruments emerging from the 2015 Empowerment Act. In this PhD thesis, I likewise noted how West Dunbartonshire Council proceeded with 'Clydebank Can' inspired by the potential to be the first local authority to deliver a working Local Place Plan (LPP). For planners employed in the private sector too, participative planning by event has become a highly important 'product' for some practices. This has been aided by the consistency of the Scottish Government's funding structure. Although they have been given a variety of names, the arrangements whereby funding applications for charrettes are sought, remained essentially the same since 2011. For both local planning officers and consultants to suggest change in the way charrettes are organised, incurs risking an important source of funding or income. For charrettes to evolve out of this mould as a policy mobility requires a new "alt model" (Peck and Theodore, 2010, p.171) of participative planning that challenges, rather than reproduces, neoliberal norms (Mahon and Macdonald, 2010). Although there are many challenges in approaching this goal, I see two directions along which it could potentially proceed.

Firstly, all three of my case studies evidenced that both local government planning officers and facilitation team members were keen to reflect on the outcomes of the charrettes that they were involved in. Several explained how they would take steps to make the events more accountable to the host communities if given the chance to run them again. By example, a member of the Clydebank facilitation team suggested that the authorities provide annual progress updates to the community to prevent the kind of inconclusiveness that characterised that charrette's outcomes (Respondent CCAN 12). This reflection also went beyond experience with single events. One consultant whose practice had led on several charrettes, suggested a new arrangement whereby the Scottish Government could rationalise charrette budgets into both a participation and delivery component (Respondent OVR 6). A less ambitious event focussed around a single project could be supplemented by money set aside for implementation without the need to apply for competitive funding again. These examples highlight that while practitioners need not fundamentally challenge the model of charrette that has coalesced through the government's funding, they could still implement incremental change within it.

More radically, throughout this thesis I have given voice to many people across Scotland concerned with how their communities grow and change. These people were quite the opposite of the stereotypes found in the literature. How might the 'three dimensional' charrette or community led design event harness this grassroots energy or 'social capital' (Bourdieu, 1986; Halpern, 2005) and channel it into an alternative growth agenda? I argue that such an event must be conceived of and commissioned locally in response to an identifiable local development need. The event directive must proceed from a recognised community organisation in the host place. Having more local organisations designate if and where they want to see change in their places, would realistically, still be bound within the confines of the Scottish Government's established funding structure. However, these restrictions could be lessened if Government was willing to provide more detailed advice and guidance responsive to the needs of these groups. This has been demonstrated by the several community led charrettes[38] in Scotland that followed from the first in Dunblane that I covered in Kordas (2016). Here the Community Council and Development Trust encountered difficulties in navigating a funding application structure that had been designed for local authorities.

The more modest scale implied by a community led event, might encourage smaller practices to apply as facilitators. These would likely be consultants more willing and able to take risks in tailoring participation to local circumstances. A three-dimensional charrette might in this spirit, only operate 'on site' in its host place. The facilitation team might 'set out their stall' either in a town or village centre, or perhaps rotate around other important locations in the area. In this way, such an event would eschew what can be lengthy, inflexible and time intensive workshops in favour of a structure that allows participants the freedom to 'drop in' with their contributions at any time.

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[38] These include events in Glasgow, Fife and Edinburgh.

If designed from the start by an organisation within the local community, a 'three dimensional' charrette should by nature be focussed on outcomes and projects that are attainable with local resources. Such an event would not preclude the involvement of the local authority. However, the brief would have to be drawn up in expectation of the kind of resource limitations that impact upon the public sector in Scotland today. For these reasons, the primary 'outcome' of the three-dimensional charrette, instead of a fixed report, strategy or masterplan, would be a more diffuse set of social relationships. This could create a communications network between the local organisations, both third sector, public and private. To be effective, this implementation network would also have to draw up an agreed programme for further action and a series of critical follow up progress meetings after the charrette. Such a programme would be designed to sustain the energetic and hopeful atmospheres evident through the best moments of the real-world events I studied. By not moving beyond small projects where community led action can achieve results, the outcomes of a three-dimensional charrette would be sharply focussed. This would avoid the confusion and common question from the community that I encountered throughout fieldwork of "where will the money come for all this?"

I seek to move the field of discussion on participation in Dean's (2012b) terms, towards the realm of communities' 'power to do' (change), rather than the Government's overtures to cede the power they hold 'over' the built environment to them. My research findings showed a fundamental deficiency in Scottish charrettes. Where growth or regeneration is a desirable outcome for the community, they deliver imaginary futures that pay little heed to the existing development context and constraints. Where the community has concerns over the prospect of more development, the events fail to acknowledge these in a constructive way, or simply place them off the agenda altogether.

My findings show that it is unrealistic within a neoliberal governmentality to expect the public authorities and industry to enter into 'participative' planning and design willing to abandon their ideas for development, should the local community disagree (Purcell, 2009). At a time of fiscal austerity, it is also improbable to expect that these powers will step in to finance development in those places where the market has failed to deliver. My concept of three-dimensional participation aims to focus attention on issues where local people feel they have a realistic chance of effecting change.

In a non – representational sense, the three-dimensional charrette would be not an end, but instead the beginning of further action. Such an outcome would avoid the kind of power imbalances or 'closures' (Mouffe, 2005) that are critically tied to the notion of participative planning under neoliberalism and would instead represent a 'non closure' (Hillier, 2007), or continuing debate. As my research outlined, especially in the case of Lochgelly, these dynamics, although having small beginnings, may extend to recognition at the national level if local communities have the agency and solidarity to maintain their momentum.

9.4 Summary: Towards Three-Dimensional Participation

In this chapter, I brought my research journey to a close by answering my research questions and synthesising the findings from my three field case studies. I explained how the charrette originally travelled to Scotland from its home in North America as a fluid policy mobility (Peck and Theodore, 2010). Despite the sense of dynamism apparent, I argued that the first 'phase' of charrette deployment in Scotland, through the SSCI Series events of 2010, represented a very limited degree of 'mutation' of the format. I subsequently stated the case for a second phase of charrette that I saw stemming from the SSCI Charrette Mainstreaming Programme of 2011. While I suggested that the conduct of charrettes has mutated and indeed 'evolved' in Peck and Theodore's terms over the course of this phase, my findings questioned the outcomes of the events. Charrettes in Scotland appear to promote the image that they empower communities in the planning and design of their places, without actually delivering on these claims.

In the final part of this chapter, I suggested several avenues whereby these imbalances might be redressed. I articulated this through my concept of 'participative dimensions'. This framework is intended to be of practical use as an assessment tool for current charrettes and community led design events. It also has conceptual value as a manifesto for how such events might challenge the failings of participative planning that my research identified. Through the concluding chapter that follows, I deliver several suggestions for policy change to move toward these goals. I also summarise my research journey and suggest directions for future enquiries that could build from the ideas I explored.

10 Conclusion

Through this concluding chapter, I offer reflection on the findings of my research. As a professional town planner, this project grew out of my desire to investigate the policies and policy tools that underpinned my practice more critically. At the outset, I asked the question: *to what extent do charrettes offer a new way for communities to participate and be empowered within the development planning process in Scotland?* This overarching question was underpinned by the four sub questions that I revisit below. In delivering the answers I summarise here, I employed a qualitative methodology, organised around a series of three case studies. My conclusions are bound up with the specifics of each charrette. Yet, the individual cases also combine to illustrate the story of a more comprehensive government funding programme, as it moves toward its tenth year. I close this chapter by outlining the limitations of this study and by suggesting the directions for further research and policy change that are emergent.

10.1 Charrettes in Scotland: Potential and Pitfalls

My choice of a qualitative case study research design was intimately linked to how charrettes are implemented in Scotland. Due to the specific challenges of the areas where they take place, no two events are alike. The use of qualitative case studies in social research remains controversial. In defence of my chosen design, I argued that generalisation in qualitative research is bounded by the specifics of the study context. Due to the depth of focus that characterises the approach, the kind of 'statistical' generalisation and inference that is the tool of the quantitative researcher was not attainable. I argue that my findings instead, represent an 'analytic' generalisation: interrogating existing theoretical concepts in the literature on participative planning and design, so that further research may build upon beyond the limits of the specific case studies (Yin, 2018). My findings in this respect were guided by the four research sub questions that I recap and summarise below.

10.1.1   Question 1

- *Why did the Scottish Government consider charrettes to be the optimal method of community engagement and participation within the planning process and how were the events 'mainstreamed' into practice?*

The end of the 20th Century witnessed the turn from public administration as government to 'governance' (Kjær, 2004) and the attendant disruption to established power relations in the form of Skelcher's (2000) 'congested state'. These dynamics changed the landscape for planning, as a traditionally public based activity. The turn of the new millennium saw effort to change the 'culture' of the discipline and open planning and design processes to range of voices from the community. The public were redefined as 'stakeholders' with respect to the activities of planning authorities (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013) with the planner themselves, becoming a facilitator or mediator (Adams and Tiesdell, 2013). Specifically to my Scottish case study, devolution imparted further impetus to these changes and heralded a raft of new policy. During the mid-2000s, government publicly promoted these developments as a direction to demystify the planning and design process to the citizen. Less openly expressed was the desire that 'participation' might reconcile communities to change and reduce the objections to development, so speeding implementation. For the then Scottish Executive and its local authorities, the search was on for new participative methods to carry forward these goals.

The 20th Century into the 21st saw faster and more reliable communications compress traditional barriers of space and time (Harvey, 1990). It was possible for governments to experiment with and emulate different policy tools from a global 'marketplace' of these solutions (González, 2011). In this regard, my findings provided critical evidence for the charrette as an unstable 'mobility' (Peck and Theodore, 2010). I focussed on the networks of empowered agencies and political and economic decisions that brought the charrette to Scotland, using Peck and Theodore's (2012) 'distended' case study approach.

The seemingly haphazard nature of the charrette's journey to Scotland I illustrated, defines it as a complex policy mobility, rather than a rational knowledge 'transfer' (Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996). As I consequently noted in Chapter 5, behind the public face of the charrettes' ascension, several figures loomed large. The first of these is the former Chief Planner, Jim Mackinnon. His introduction to the Prince of Wales linked the Scottish Government to a network of globally active 'New Urbanist' practitioners. This group's professional charter committed them to deliberating development with local citizens, with the charrette their preferred participative method. During the mid-2000s, civil servants increasingly gravitated toward the New Urbanist techniques advanced by the Prince's Foundation. Senior figures within the Foundation favoured Scotland as a testing ground for their ideas. Mackinnon's introduction to one of the Foundation's senior fellows Andrés Duany, at Tornagrain in 2006, was instrumental in this process. The government staff were particularly impressed by Duany's ability to communicate the abstract concepts of planning and urban design to the public. In this way, charrettes could achieve consensus on the principle of development in an area, through offering a stake in the form that development would take.

As the Scottish National Party ascended to political power in Scotland in 2007, the ability of government to adopt this seemingly 'pro community' and 'pro-development' stance, took on renewed importance. Much of the impetus to support the charrette as the mainstream participative planning and design method was made on the understanding of the global prestige attached to Duany's practice. This led to his invitation to facilitate the SSCI Charrette Series in 2010. The perceived accomplishments of these initial government supported events led to further funding through the SSCI Mainstreaming Programme and its successors, the Design Charrettes / Activating Ideas Fund and the Making Places Initiative.

10.1.2   Questions 2 and 3

- *Do the encounters between professionals and citizens in charrettes establish effective partnerships between the two groups?*

- *In what circumstances do charrettes result in development plans and designs that participants from the community feel are responsive to their needs and vision for the area?*

My case study of Lochgelly's experience in 2010 in Chapter 6, was the first of three through which I changed the discussion from the mobility of the charrette to how it has been deployed in practice in Scotland. This part of the research drew from non-representational theory in considering the nature of the encounters between professionals and citizens established through the events. It was also inspired by a wider literature on power that considers the balance of rhetoric and reality behind governments' overtures to 'participative' planning and design.

Facilitated directly by Andrés Duany and DPZ, the Lochgelly event directly transplanted the approach to charrette facilitation that the New Urbanists deploy in the USA. In this respect, I argue the events of 2010 represented a first 'phase' of charrette deployment in Scotland, with only minimal adaptation or 'mutation' (Peck and Theodore, 2010) to the circumstances in the country. The Scottish Government was keen to promote the charrette as an opportunity for planners and designers to learn from local people's knowledge. Yet beneath the optimistic picture painted by the event brochure, the charrette was the subject of significant local conflict and disillusionment. This stemmed partly from the defensive approach that the New Urbanist inspired facilitation team brought to their practice. This limited the scope for a genuine 'atmosphere' (Anderson, 2014a) of partnership working to develop between the team and local people in the non-representational sense. The anger with which the Lochgelly charrette was received was also catalysed by the removal of controversial greenfield expansion sites from the agenda at the beginning. Indeed, the event normalised the prospect of further greenfield development against citizens' wishes.

From 2011 I identified a second phase of Scottish charrette through the SSCI Mainstreaming Programme. Instead of Government commissioning charrettes directly, local authorities and other interested parties were able to apply for competitive funding to action them. Consultancies based within the country became more experienced in the facilitation role. Charrettes proliferated in Scotland as the original SSCI funding was repeated through several successor programmes. The cases of Govan and Partick in 2015 and Clydebank in 2018, in Chapters 7 and 8, provide two examples of these developments in practice. From the earliest stages, the facilitation teams took the effort to reach out to local people and understand their daily experience of place. The encounters (Conradson, 2005) that resulted between planners and their public were much less conflicted than those that typified the initial SSCI series, as I exemplified through the Lochgelly case.

Despite the advances apparent in this second phase of charrettes, some of the same limitations applied. In Govan / Partick the core principles of the vison generated through the charrette did nothing to articulate the concerns of some local people, regarding the City Council's redevelopment framework. In Clydebank, the charrette agenda was muddied by indecision and conflict within the host local authority. It resulted in a far-reaching vision for both physical and community development in the town centre and canalside. However, local participants used to a succession of failed regeneration projects, remained sceptical that these plans will ever be realised.

My findings in this second phase highlight an 'evolution' in Scottish charrettes only in terms of their conduct. While the events generate intense discussion and reflection from citizens and planners on their host places, this is all too easily dissipated. All three of my case study events viewed through their longer term outcomes, failed to move the citizen's voice on planning and design up to the level of genuine 'empowerment' on Arnstein's (1969) ladder. Rather they appeared to represent merely 'tokenistic' overtures to participation.

10.1.3 Question 4

- *What implications do charrettes in Scotland hold for the theory and practice of participative planning?*

The story of charrettes in Scotland that I have presented is one of opportunities missed or only partly fulfilled. These difficulties are compounded by the context in which participative planning and design is operationalised within the neoliberal approach to public management. Planners on the 'frontline' of practice continue to face the pressure of declining public-sector budgets. The funding application process results that participation becomes something done incrementally and in competition with other local authorities for scarce resources. Even when planning departments want a charrette to deliver a transformative vison for a place, they risk clashing with the more conservative and revenue driven priorities of their colleagues in other council services. Beyond the public sector, my research showed that charrettes have become something of an 'industry'. For consultants well synchronised to the conventions of Government's funding cycle, the events represent a lucrative 'product' in addition their normal business. Here too therefore, the potential for innovation also clashes with commercial realities.

I began this study by asking the extent that charrettes offer a new way for communities to participate and be empowered within planning and design in Scotland. Ultimately my findings highlight a curious situation of charrettes both defying the conventions of the planning system, but also being bound by them. I argued that the events in their current form in Scotland, are limited in ceding the power that the state and development industry have traditionally held 'over' change in the futures of places. I also questioned their ability to activate the energy and sense of dedication, or 'power to do' (Dean, 2012b) that some local people invest in these places. In this respect, there are grounds to see charrettes as another 'technique of power' (Foucault, 1991) of neoliberal governance: a machination that claims to welcome citizen choice and voice in public management decisions, that in fact merely reproduces the status quo.

While I acknowledge there are certainly strong grounds to view charrettes in this light, I steer away from the sense of domination, closure or 'terminal' power relations (Foucault, 1982) that sometimes accompanies commentary on participative public management in the literature. My case studies show that local people who engage with charrettes, far from being passive victims, are active in challenging the decisions made about their places. Some value that the events encourage them to reconsider their relationship to place. Others voiced their dissatisfaction with the property-based concept of 'development' that planners advanced through the charrette. They redefined an alternative agenda for community development (Bhattacharyya, 2004) in building the social capacity and agency of their places. In sum, these findings highlight that the certainty of charrette outcomes under neoliberalism is never a total one (Bourdieu, 1977). They point to the latency of the charrette as an active 'non closure' after Hillier (2007).

Considering these potentialities, I built a case for my concept of 'participative dimensions'. This draws from the literature I visited through this project, to define a practical blueprint for more locally responsive forms of participative planning and design. The highest, 'three dimensional' level of participation would establish partnership between citizens and the authorities, with the goal of an additional feedback loop that changes how the planning process operates locally. This framework is intended to be of practical use as an assessment tool for current charrettes and community led design events. It also has conceptual value as a manifesto for how such events might challenge the failings of participative planning that my research identified.

10.2 Outstanding Questions

The enquiries I define in this PhD thesis covered substantial conceptual and practical ground. However, I feel that they are only the beginning of a wider research agenda. Throughout my project, I encountered several limitations on my findings. While I have already outlined these restrictions as they relate to the multiple qualitative case study research design, several other issues also suggest avenues for future enquiry. Firstly, whether charrettes or community led design events can operate without the financial support and expert consultancy services that have typified the Scottish experience to date, is an interesting avenue for further research. Traditionally, charrettes have been operationalised through a local authority receiving Scottish Government funding to employ expert facilitators from the private sector. The suggestion for three-dimensional participation that I advanced disrupts this order. I advocated instead that local community groups or other third sector organisations could lead participative planning and design, through more focussed and leaner resourced events.

Some of my previous studies indicated the difficulties for these kind of organisations in navigating the Scottish Government's funding application criteria. These were developed in relation to the experience of councils and other public bodies (Kordas, 2016). In this respect, Ede's (2017) article is interesting. Working within a church group, the author organised a weekend long participative event in Hamiltonhill, Glasgow that incorporated many of the elements of more formal charrettes. It involved 'pop up' engagement on site in the area as well as an informal design studio in a local hall. With much of the facilitation relying on local volunteers, the total event budget was £4000, less than 10% of that spent on my Clydebank Can case study of 2018 and 3% of the budget I estimated for each of the Phase 1 / Series Charrettes of 2010.[39]

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[39] Fife Council was required to contribute £55,000 to the Lochgelly Charrette. DPZ received £250,000 to facilitate the SSCI Charrette Series as a whole. I assume an average budget of £138,000 per Phase 1 / Series event based on £55,000 per local authority and £83,000 from DPZ's total fee.

Were more events like this to take place in Scotland, the experience might challenge the 'model' of practice that I argued emerged through the mainstreaming funding and beyond. This suggests an avenue whereby participative planning and design might emerge more strongly from the grassroots within the host community. The Hamiltonhill project was also supported by practitioners and students volunteering their time through Planning Aid Scotland (PAS). Future encounters like this could provide fertile ground for the kind of 'transactive' planning (Friedmann, 1973), that I advocated in this thesis.

My use of a non-representational perspective in the theoretical framework led to several practical challenges. Within the time limitations of a PhD scholarship, I found arranging my presence as an observer throughout the full course of a charrette challenging. I was only able to devote the results of one such case study to this project. I necessarily focussed on the 'encounters' (Conradson, 2005) between planners and citizens at the expense of considering more individualised 'performances' (Crang, 1994). A future study might focus on the professional performances that facilitation teams deploy across different participative events. As I alluded to in Chapter 5, this is an interesting direction given that several smaller consultancies, sometimes operating as sole practitioners, have come to specialise in the facilitation role in Scotland in recent years. The Scottish Government's own study into facilitation acknowledges the potential idiosyncrasies of particular facilitators and calls for more research in this respect (Scottish Government / University of Dundee, 2018). Was I myself to be in a position to pursue this role in the years to come, my experiences could also provide background to a more personal, practice-based research study. This could provide more insight into the 'behind the scenes' elements of participative events than I was able to deliver in this thesis.

During this project I carried out semi structured interviews with over 50 participants from the public, private and third sectors as well as groups within the case study communities. This resulted in some valuable insights into the conduct of charrettes in Scotland. However, the interviews and observations spoke only of the people who attended the events and did not capture the potential 'silent majority' in a community who did not attend. The sample was further constrained in that my community respondents for the most part, already possessed knowledge of or had engaged with, the planning and design process. In this respect, my research suffered from the same restriction faced by several of the other interview and observationally based studies that inspired it (Bond and Thompson-Fawcett, 2007; MacLeod, 2013). Future mixed methods research might build out from these perspectives and reach a wider cross section of the public at large. A mail survey in the neighbourhood of an event in practice could be particularly useful in engaging those members of the public who attend for the first time, or on a casual basis. This method could also provide fuller insight into the factors that serve to discourage participation.

Within the conditions of my ethical approval, I also did not approach people who fall into the seldom engaged or 'easy to ignore' groups (Lightbody, 2017). A project focused on the experience of these groups might reveal completely new perspectives on the charrette, or of participative planning by event more widely. In this respect, Wood's (2015) study suggest a developing research agenda around children's participation in planning and design. My experience undertaking youth work with Planning Aid Scotland might help me to secure access to this demographic in the future.

Finally, the Planning (Scotland) Bill and forthcoming Act raises interesting implications for the study of participative planning and design. The Bill's process of parliamentary review was convoluted and heavily politicised. This situation reflected the swing back to a minority SNP led administration in the 2016 Scottish elections (Hague, 2019). The prospect of a new Planning Act for Scotland raises many challenges for resource stretched local authorities. Nevertheless, as I alluded in my final case study, the Local Place Plans (LPPs) declared by the new legislation, offer a new reason for deploying a charrette or similar initiative.

The ultimate progress of LPPs might address some of the failings with the ostensibly similar 'neighbourhood planning' process introduced in England through the Localism Act of 2011 (Parker *et al.*, 2017a). It could act as the basis of a comparative research programme between England and Scotland, updating the studies of convergence and divergence in policy post-devolution, that I referenced in this project (Tewdwr-Jones, 2001; Allmendinger *et al.*, 2005; Pemberton *et al.*, 2015). The prospect of a further referendum on Scottish Independence in 2020 adds a further dimension to these endeavours, as does the more imminent departure of the UK from the European Union. Whatever the outcome of these events, they speak to the dynamism of the field of enquiry. Change is clearly a constant in planning, design and policy studies and will undoubtedly inspire many similar projects to mine in the years to come.

10.3 Policy and Practice Recommendations

Recognising both the strengths and practical limitations of charrettes as a mobile participative planning and design tool, I offer several recommendations for policy. My findings reaffirm those of other researchers in the field who argue that planning is a charged and contested space of neoliberal governance. Within, the citizen voice is unequally weighted against that of the professional planner or real estate developer (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002; Purcell, 2009; Inch, 2015; 2018).

As I noted in Chapter 5, considering the resources committed by the Scottish Government there has been surprisingly little official evaluation of participative planning and design by event in Scotland. What research that has taken place, stressed that effective engagement is a long-term process. The outcomes of a charrette or community led design event will be judged not only on what occurs during the sessions, but in the longer term 'follow through' (Alwaer and Cooper, 2019). Based on the findings of my project, I feel it is essential to focus a charrette on a specific set of planning outcomes or projects and consider from the outset, the resources and people that are necessary to deliver these. Government also commissioned a study into the barriers to community participation in planning in 2017 (Scottish Governemnt / Yellow Book, 2017). The study highlighted a fundamental lack of trust in the system that could not be addressed through changes in legislation alone (Wright, 2017). My suggestions consider where the current processes of planning reform could enhance the outcomes of charrettes. They do not represent any radical agenda for change or list of technical fixes, but instead some directions that may be achievable within the current governance context for planning and design in Scotland. My first practical suggestion relates to the Scottish Government's funding allocation decisions. Government should support more charrettes that are commissioned through community organisations. Of the 78 events that had taken place up to the end of my research fieldwork only 14, or 18%, were actioned in this way. I argue that such charrettes would be more tightly geographically focussed and driven by an agenda for physical and community development issuing from the grassroots. Supporting these events would not necessarily exclude local authorities. It could instead, seek their involvement as equal partners, through a design and implementation steering group.

This approach could ensure that engagement stems from an identifiable local development need, rather than the impetus to trial the Scottish Government's latest policy innovations alone. To avoid 'consultation fatigue' (Bishop, 2015) repeated charrette funding applications in the same area should be also be discouraged, unless the applicant can justify that further engagement is essential. Such an approach could avert the kind of ambiguities and confusion that accompanied my Clydebank case study.

Government might also take a more flexible stance to how it delivers its participative planning and design funding. Again, my suggestion is not to abandon the 'model' of charrettes that I argued evolved under the mainstreaming programme, but to consider alternatives. One of my professional respondents suggested a new arrangement whereby the Scottish Government could rationalise charrette budgets into both a participation and a delivery component (Respondent OVR 6). A less ambitious event focussed around a single project could be supplemented by money set aside for implementation, without the need to apply for competitive funding again.

Instead of granting funding for only a single event, Government could additionally investigate an application process that divides support into a series of smaller packages over multiple years. Under this system, an interested organisation could win support in one year to scope out the physical and community development challenges impacting on their place. They could then be supported automatically to organise a charrette in the second year and budget for project implementation in the third. There is already precedent for this sort of structure in the Design Charette / Activating Ideas fund that replaced SSCI in 2016 (Scottish Government, 2016a). The third sector orientated Aspiring Communities Fund was also administered through a successive engagement and project implementation application (Funding Scotland, 2019).

It is unrealistic to call for planners to completely disentangle themselves from the political and commercial interests that impact on their role (Huxley, 2000). However, both the Scottish Government and local authorities should recognise and give voice to the diversity of opinions on place that my research evidenced, even where these are critical of existing strategy. The community's views should be articulated by planners both through the cycle of development plan preparation and review, as well as in the development management process. Authorities can amend or remove existing local plan sites (Scottish Government, 2013b) and should consider doing so where communities can suggest a viable alternative use through involvement in a participative exercise.

The wider remit of reform advanced through the Planning Bill of 2017 highlights further possibilities. The exact operation of the community led Local Place Plans (LPPs) declared through the Bill remains unclear. As a minimum, the documents are to act as material considerations in planning decisions and have the potential through examination, to become part of the approved Local Development Plan (Scottish Government, 2017b). Where a charrette or similar exercise is committed to formulating an LPP, this mechanism might provide an avenue to extend the community's voice into consideration of development proposals.

Government could also consider defining the results of charrettes and other participative exercises more generally as material considerations within the planning system. There is precedent in policy for this: the *Designing Places* document of 2001 re-established design as such (Scottish Executive, 2001). Material considerations are not rigorously defined in statute. They need only perform a definite planning purpose and be fairly relatable to the specific planning application under judgement (Planning Aid Scotland, 2015b). An arrangement like this might avoid the kind of disconnects between the development planning interests of local authorities and their development management colleagues that surfaced in my Lochgelly case study.

Finally, the current reforms create a simplified structure for development plan preparation. Authorities are to compile a list of unresolved objections to their draft plan before submitting it for examination (Scottish Government, 2017b). Similar measures could be encouraged within a charrette situation. They could be actioned through the facilitation team making a list of opinions that surfaced through the event that were contrary to the vision and projects eventually agreed at the conclusion. In the spirt of a 'transactive' planning ethic (Friedmann, 1973), publishing this document might be made a condition of funding for every participative planning event. It would convey that the authorities are willing to invite critical feedback and constructively move on from situations where plans and strategies have failed to meet citizens' expectations. This approach could have avoided the misrepresentations, that some participants felt thwarted the outcomes of my Govan / Partick case study.

10.4 'Whose Vision, Whose Places, Whose Future?'

While I deliver these suggestions and so bring this project to a close, the story of participative planning moves forward in earnest. The overarching 'theoretical case' of charrettes in Scotland is a large and complex one. I was inspired by the firmness of the theory that I used in this study. My thesis represents an important real-world illustration of the evolution of a mobile policy tool, over the timeframe of almost a decade. I brought together two strands of 'grand theory' in the social sciences in order to understand the complex power dynamics surrounding both, the Scottish Government's attempts to mainstream charrettes and the three individual case study events. Equally, my findings show how a non-representational understanding can uncover the lived experience of participation in planning. Nevertheless, my work raises fresh questions. I hope to be able to pursue these directions through further studies. I also have confidence that this PhD project might be of use to future students of planning and design in their own enquiries.

In March 2020, as I made the final corrections and comments to this thesis, the advancement of participative planning and design in Scotland remained incomplete. Throughout the work, I have been critical about the prospects for participative planning in Scotland using charrettes.

The Scottish Government has invested substantial financial resources in the charrette format, with the average budget per event reaching into the tens of thousands of pounds (Kennedy, 2017). I examined the value for money these sums represent several times throughout this thesis. In the case of the Lochgelly Charrette of 2010, I questioned why the Scottish Government and Fife Council devoted reputedly more than £100,000 to bringing Andrés Duany to the town, when during fieldwork seven years later, there was no sign that the ambitious masterplan generated by the event might ever be fulfilled as envisaged. Similarly, I drew attention to the budget of over £40,000 devoted to Clydebank Can in 2018. This sum appeared particularly ostentatious in light of the fact that the event failed to deliver a viable series of follow up actions, or even a public report of the proceedings, in its wake.

Beyond these material issues, I also brought to light how many of the local people whom I spoke to in my case studies were dissatisfied or confused with respect to the return on the investment of their time, from attending the charrette. In Clydebank, this was evidenced by the common questions from the community that I encountered of "where will the money come for all this?", when faced with the facilitation team's ambitious vision of the town centre and canalside transformed with waterfront cafes and pop up shops. In Govan / Partick, these issues were more severe, with Govan's show families still facing eviction from their home grounds, despite apparent reassurances of their future in the area during the charrette.

Faced with these issues and my critical response to them, at the examination of this thesis, one of the key questions raised was why continue to hold the events at all? The conclusion that I draw, through my concept of participative dimensions, that charrettes should still continue in Scotland, albeit in a modified form, is perhaps not the most obvious one. I justify this conclusion in three ways, in the belief that it is important to consider what the alternative would have been had the Scottish Government not decided to attempt to 'mainstream' participative planning and design through charrettes. Despite my critical views over the outcomes and impacts of the events and analysis that the 'evolution' of the format in Peck & Theodore's (2010) policy mobility terms remains incomplete, I still argue that Scotland's charrette experience has added value to the process of shaping places.

I feel firstly, that the charrette has put planning and design issues 'on the radar' of local people in a way that the previous, more uncoordinated local attempts at participative practice evidenced in PAN 81 (Scottish Executive, 2007) did not. This publicity was most evident in the earliest of my case studies, in the media anticipation that gathered around the Lochgelly Charrette. Here the planning strategy of a small Scottish town, although briefly, came to national popular attention. In the longer term, the charrette experience was at times conflictual and local people felt their experiences and understandings of place were ignored. Nevertheless, I presented evidence that the very fact such a high profile participative event was held in the town served to focus the attention of decision makers on it, particularly those in command of regeneration and project funding. The local regeneration practitioners I spoke to, highlighted that having a highly visible participative planning process within the town gave the green light for projects that would have been difficult to implement using local resources alone. Despite the 'love it or hate it' (LCGEL 3 Development Officer) mentality towards the charrette within the town, local practitioners felt it unlikely that Lochgelly's most recent, award winning, regeneration (SURF, 2016) could have taken place in the form it did without this spotlight.

Secondly, while there has been limited official evaluation of the effectiveness and scope of participative planning from the Scottish Government, this has not been the case in both the academic and professional literature. My own publications on charrettes in Scotland (Kordas 2014; 2015; 2017) sit within a considerable literature base on charrettes both from other scholars (MacLeod, 2013; Onyango & Hadjri, 2009) and practitioners (Wheeler, 2014; Wright, 2017). In time, I would expect the findings of this thesis to add to further debate in this field. I have already started toward this goal by presenting them to other scholars on both the national and international conference circuit. I previously argued that the resources invested in charrettes in Scotland makes the country a most 'favourable' one for investigating participative planning (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Had charrette mainstreaming never taken place, this substantial basis of experience and reflection would not have been available. By extension, were no further charrettes to take place in Scotland, the momentum gained by these studies would be surely lost.

Finally, despite the evolution of charrettes in Scotland being only partially fulfilled, they still have evolved as a policy tool in Peck & Theodore's (2010) terms. The first Government supported charrettes, in the SSCI series of 2010, were tightly aligned with New Urbanist practice from North America and showed little adaption to the Scottish contexts in which they were enacted. However, throughout the different iterations of mainstreaming funding that followed, the charrette proved adjustable to the creativity of local facilitators. This is borne out most prominently in the quality of citizen / professional encounters evident in my later Govan / Partick and Clydebank case studies. Both facilitation teams set up their own 'stall' in the local town centres in advance of the charrette. Through this they, in the words of one team member, endeavoured to make themselves look 'interesting' to those who might not have the desire or confidence to engage with a formal workshop setting. These events also dispensed with the formal 'charrette studio arrangement through which DPZ had orchestrated the SSCI Series Charrettes and instead brought professional and community participants face to face. This occurred either through working over maps and sketches together, or experiencing the host places 'live' on walking tours and site visits.

Through this contact, my study evidenced the impact, in a non representational sense of these 'encounters' (Thrift, 1997) between peoples and places. In Govan / Partick, the encounters spurred members of the community to reconsider the nature of the two districts and the challenges and opportunities of recovering their lost connections. In Clydebank too, they posed reflection on the industrial past of the town and its potential future. My professional interview respondents spoke of 'affects' (Anderson, 2014b) that lasted long after the charrette had ended. Practitioners enjoyed the "touchy feely" (Respondent GOVPA 1) energy of their encounters but were disappointed that it was not sustained after the events. During the charrette, they worked together intensively with the community, making interpersonal connections in the process. These encounters afforded only a short insight into the community's understandings of place, nevertheless, they spurred further reflection into what could be done again differently in further engagement.

These learning experiences highlight a continuing trend of charrette development in Scotland. Given the amount of time and money that was been invested into charrettes during the 2010's, it would be imprudent to simply abandon the format and lose the opportunity to see the events meet their full potential in the new decade. The practice of planning and design are in themselves, learning experiences. While the way in which the ideals of these activities in their post-war 'heroic' (Sandercock & Lyssiotis, 2003) phase were enacted attracted much criticism and debate, few would contest the values, like universal housing and a healthy environment, that lay at their heart. Similarly, I would not seek to desert the prospect of a genuinely participative form of planning and design in Scotland, if the way to get there involved building on the mistakes and lessons I have identified issuing from charrettes thus far. Rather, my concept of 'participative dimensions' provides a roadmap for how this experience could be put to work in overcoming the limitations of the outcomes of charrettes in Scotland. I argue that with the correct measures of government support and the more modest scope and focus that a three dimensional charrette requires, the future for participative planning in design in Scotland could be a brighter one than my research indicates has taken place to present.

The research 'journey' that led to this thesis began in 2014, when I was part of a charrette team working in the Far North of Scotland. As opposed to previous experience of coming to the public with pre-formulated plans and project ideas, I was impressed by the potential to begin with local vision and collaboration. Yet I also saw danger in charrettes raising communities' expectations above that which could realistically be realised within the planning system.

Throughout this project, I have been more challenged by my dual position as a professional planner and a social researcher than I had first anticipated. From the former stance, I have noted how the possibilities for the development of participatory planning and design seem especially constrained in Scotland. Planners in the public sector are continually pressured by declining budgets and retrenchment (Hague, 2019). As evidenced most strongly in the case of the 2015 Planning Review, their voices are also marginalised from impacting on changes that define their profession and practice (Beveridge et al. 2016). My position as a social researcher has also brought me into contact with members of communities across Scotland who have devoted a great deal of their time and interests in improving their places, often in ways that substitute the property based vision of development prevalent in the official planning system, with that of a more socially based community development (Bhattacharyya, 2004). From this latter perspective, I hope to have given adequate voice to those in communities who are frustrated by the limitations of the charrette experience, after almost a decade of government support.

During this research, I drew on the work of more radical scholars of planning theory, noting especially the writings of Purcell (2009) and Inch (2015) after the work of (Mouffe, 1992, 2005). From this reading, it might have been expected that my conclusions and recommendations would advocate more immediate and dramatically transformative outcomes from participative planning in Scotland – what form might such a suggestion have taken?

A key issue facing more radical approaches to planning action is similar to that which confronted early figures in the town planning movement. Toward the end of the 19th Century they, alongside other social reformers of their time, viewed unrestricted development with alarm. However, few saw a solution in abandoning the established market economy and state entirely (Rodgers, 1998). Rather, planning could become a "fourth power" in the public sphere, enabled to create a better environment and society than might be attained through political and market competition alone, without abandoning these institutions entirely (Klosterman, 1985). This dilemma continues in planning theory to date. Some, like Purcell (2009) see the solution to the kind of inequalities that, as my own work has highlighted, persists in current participative planning practice under neoliberalism, in citizens assembling to pursue action outside of the framework provided by the state. The model for citizen action here is that of the protest movement, disparate in their interests and experiences of the impact of the neoliberal model of development, but united in their opposition to it. On a smaller scale, Inch's (2015) research provides examples of scenarios where local people have pursued resistant strategies to planning decisions, through actions like picketing council meetings or letter writing campaigns.

My own vision for participative planning in Scotland is a pragmatic one, that draws on both sides of the planner / social researcher dichotomy positionality I have developed in the course of my studies. While I acknowledge the issues with charrette outcomes that my research highlighted, I do not advocate abandoning the events and ceasing to learn from their successes and failures. My concept of participative dimensions and the attendant policy suggestions are realistic, in that they are designed to operate from within the economic and political environment that impacted upon planning and design as I finalised this thesis at the start of the 2020's.

My arguments are not 'radical' in the sense that they advocate action outside of the state, but still provide a route toward meaningful change in that they aim to give both citizens and professionals 'ownership' of participation (Brownill & Inch, 2019). They suggest ways of working from the grassroots to develop more responsive, or 'transactive' (Friedmann, 1973) ways of planning and design through the use of participative tools like the charrette. The 'three dimensional' events that I see at the top of my hierarchy of participative practice, would be owned by the communities who commission them and would be responsive to what they see as their own development needs. They would not exclude the professional planner and the public authorities, but would enlist these forces as potential allies that could help to deliver the project under discussion. They would not shun any financial support that government is willing to provide for participatory planning and design on principle, but would not seek to be dependent on it. They would not aim to close consensus through fixed plans or strategies, but would instead create local communicative networks that would respect the spirit of agonistic debate (Mouffe, 2005). By bringing together interested professionals and publics around attainable local goals in the kind of 'cells' envisaged by Friedmann (1973, 1987) my three dimensional approach could contribute to a more energised, creative and responsive form of planning, than the neoliberal norms that have become de-rigour under the present system.

I feel that the challenge of this research project has been one of achieving balance in different perspectives and positions. From my stance as a professional planner, I have tempered some of the ideals of participative theory with the dark side or 'realrationalität' that lies behind planning under neoliberalism (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002). I have shown that in participation through charrettes as it stands in Scotland, many important decisions and deals are already made by the the time the community comes to the table. While some scholars might see this as a reason to abandon the framework of participation offered by the neoliberal state entirely, from my position as a social researcher I offer an alternative. Through my own conception of the three dimensional charrette, I suggest ways for the community to rethink and circumvent the inequalities in participative planning and design, rather than to attacking them head on. In this sense, I believe that a transformation could still be achieved in planning and design in Scotland, albeit with time.

Some individuals within communities show great dedication, energy and a sense of responsibility toward their places. My enquiries evidenced that many planners and other built environment professionals are keen for these voices to be heard and these energies given further direction. Through this thesis I have been critical of the charrette. However, I have also acknowledged the collaborative potential of the events as well as the recognition of the importance of participative planning that has been imparted by successive years of funding.

The balance of these forces will ultimately, define the future course of participative planning and design in Scotland. I argued that a true 'three dimensional' participative ethic must come from the local level. The issues that should be discussed are those over which local people can realistically have influence and invest their energies in. Otherwise, the charrette or community led design event in Scotland will remain something that is mostly imposed on communities from above and offers a vision of their place in the future that is never fully their own.

Appendix 1: Respondents

Respondent Identifier and Role	Date of Interview
Respondents interviewed for My M.Res Dissertation, Spring / Summer 2016	
OVR 1, Scottish Government Planner	16.4.16
OVR 2, Scottish Government Planner	13.6.16
OVR 3, Dunblane Development Trust Representative	26.7.16
OVR 4, Charrette Facilitator	16.4.16
OVR 5, Loch Lomond and Trossachs National Park Authority Planner	10.6.16
OVR 6, Planning Consultant	5.5.16
OVR 7, Balloch Facilitation / Design Team Staff 2	7.6.16
OVR 8, North Ayrshire Council Planner	9.6.16
OVR 9, West Lothian Council Planner	16.8.16
OVR 10, PAS Facilitation / Design Team Staff 1	13.6.16
OVR 11, Charrette Facilitator	13.6.16
OVR 12, PAS Facilitation / Design Team Staff 3	28.6.16
Respondents interviewed for this PhD thesis Spring 2017 – Autumn 2018:	
OVR 13, Charrette Facilitator	6.7.17
OVR 14, Planning Consultant	25.5.17
OVR 15, Former Scottish Government Planner	25.8.17

OVR 16, Planning Consultant	7.9.17
OVR 17, Prince's Foundation Representative	17.11.17
OVR 18, Charrette Facilitator	21.11.17
OVR 19, Civil Engineer	08.12.17
OVR 20, Scottish Government Agency Practitioner	11.12.17
OVR 21, Design Consultant to the Scottish Executive	13.01.18
OVR 22, Community Development Organisation	01.06.18
OVR 22, Community Development Organisation	01.06.18
OVR 24, Scottish Executive Non-Departmental Public Body	08.06.18
OVR 25, Community Development Organisation	03.07.18
GOVPA 1, Local Authority Planning Staff	12.6.17
GOVPA 2, Local Authority Planning Staff	12.6.17
GOVPA 3, Regeneration Practitioner	11.7.17
GOVPA 4, Facilitation Team Member	6.7.17
GOVPA 5, Community Group Member	17.8.17
GOVPA 6, Community Group Member	23.8.17
GOVPA 7, Community Group Member	19.03.18
GOVPA 8, Facilitation Team Member	8.9.17
GOVPA 9, Facilitation Team Member	9.10.17

GOVPA 10, Housing Officer	10.10.17
GOVPA 11, Local Businessperson	12.10.17
GOVPA 12, Community Group Member	27.10.17
GOVPA 13, Community Group Member	01.11.17
GOVPA 14, Arts Consultant	31.01.17
GOVPA 15, Community Group Member	19.03.18
LCGEL 1, Local Authority Planning Staff	21.6.17
LCGEL 2, Development Officer	21.6.17
LCGEL 3, Development Officer	21.6.17
LCGEL 4, Local Authority Planning Staff	30.6.17
LCGEL 5, Housing Officer	2.8.17
LCGEL 6, Community Group Member	31.8.17
LCGEL 7, Community Group Member	14.9.17
LCGEL 8, Community Group Member	14.9.17
LCGEL 9, Facilitation Team Member	17.10.17

CCAN 1, Community Member	25.04.18
CCAN 2, Community Member	25.04.18
CCAN 3, Community Member	25.04.18
CCAN 4, Community Member	16.05.18
CCAN 5, Community Member	18.05.18
CCAN 6, Community Member	24.05.18
CCAN 7, Student	29.05.18
CCAN 8, Housing Officer	18.06.18
CCAN 9, Community Member	20.06.18
CCAN 10, Community Member	26.06.18
CCAN 11, Local Authority Planning Staff	28.06.18
CCAN 12, Facilitation Team Member	08.08.18
CCAN 13, Facilitation Team Member	18.09.18
CCAN 14, Facilitation Team Member	08.10.18
CCAN 15, Facilitation Team Member	08.10.18

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